Between International Policy and Local Practice: Negotiating Meaning and Strategies to Address Domestic Violence in Nepal

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Abstract

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In recent decades, domestic violence (DV) has gained traction as an international concern. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) outlined steps that governments should take to live up to commitments expressed in the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and, largely in response to national women's movements, laws against DV have been passed in 144 countries. However, in low-income countries such as Nepal, policymakers and donors concentrated in wealthier (often Western) countries have disproportionate influence on DV policy and practice, both through international treaties and policies, and through donor funding priorities. Nepali activists and service providers working both within and outside of government organizations play a crucial role in the translation of international and national policies into local practice. Yet, in this context, two

enduring questions exist: First, how could knowledge grounded in local practice meaningfully inform international understandings of DV, which in turn impact international policy? Second, what does the knowledge of Nepali DV practitioners elucidate about DV and strategies to address it? This dissertation explores these questions across three papers: one theoretical and two empirical papers. The empirical papers are based on fieldwork conducted with DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal. It is informed by my situatedness as a white American daughter writing from a U.S.-based research institution and as a Nepal *buhārī* (daughter-in-law) with experiences living and working in Nepal.

Given the complex structures of power that shape—and are reproduced through—colonial knowledge production practices, the first paper outlines major contributions of postcolonial theory for epistemic justice in international social work research. This paper suggests three analytic strategies that extend from postcolonial theoretical insights: reflexivity, critical discourse analysis, and postcolonial translation. Subsequent papers apply these strategies to the analysis of Nepali-language interviews and focus groups with DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal. Paper two presents a critical discourse analysis study in which service providers' constructions of DV were compared with those forwarded in major international policy documents (BPfA & CEDAW). This analysis revealed that service providers constructed DV both through an analysis of systemic oppression and through recognition of the centrality of family for individuals' economic and social well-being, as well as for their legal standing as rights-holders in Nepal. The third paper explored service providers' accounts of the types of support DV survivors sought from family members, and the ways in which family members addressed DV. This analysis revealed that family members provided emotional and instrumental support, as well as direct engagement and confrontation of those using violence. The results of

this dissertation not only elucidate contextually and culturally responsive DV practice in Nepal, but also challenge dominant international assumptions about what it means to address DV.

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Key Nepali Terms

Nepali (Devanagari)	**Latin Transliteration**	**English Translation**
आँखी झ्याल	*ānkhi jhyāl*	Newari lattice window design
बिग्रियो	*bigriyo*	broken, gone bad
बुहारी	*buhārī*	daughter-in-law
घर	*ghar*	home/household
घरेलु हिंसा	*gharelu hiṅsā*	domestic violence
हिंसा	*hiṅsā*	violence
कुर्ने मान्छे	*kurne mānche*	Literally someone who waits (in the hospital this is a family member who accompanies a patient)
माइती	*māiti*	married woman's natal home
माया	*māyā*	love
माया बढ्छ	*māyā baḍcha*	love increases
माया गर्नु	*māyā garnu*	to love
माया लाग्यो	*māyā lāgyo*	feeling love or sympathy
नहेर्दिनु	*naherdine*	not looking after
नपालने	*napālne*	not looking after, not raising
वास्ता नगर्ने	*wāstā nagarne*	not caring
सम्झाउनु	*samjhāunu*	to remind, but with a stronger connotation
स्वर्ग	*swarga*	heaven
सुत्केरी	*sutkerī*	post-partem time
तेस्रो लिङ्गी	*tesro liṅgī*	third gender

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DEDICATION

for Neil

INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence (DV) continues to be a significant obstacle to global health and well-being, particularly for women. The World Health Organization (WHO, 2021) estimates that 27 percent of women 15-49 years old have experienced physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner. Negative effects of DV on the mental and physical health of survivors and subsequent generations have been well-documented (Campbell, Glass, Sharps, Laughon, & Bloom, 2007; Devries, et al., 2013; Lagdon, Armour, & Striner, 2014; Loxton, Dolja-Gore, Anderson, & Townsend, 2017; Vu, Jouriles, McDonald, & Rosenfield, 2016). In addition to gender, intersecting systems of oppression, including those organized along the lines of race, class, culture, sexual orientation, language, and citizenship have been shown to impact survivors' experiences of DV and opportunities for support (Almeida & Dolan-Delvecchio, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2016; Richie, 2012).

In recent decades, DV gained traction as an international concern. It has been highlighted as a women's human rights issue through the 1993 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) and by the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which has been signed and ratified by 189 countries (United Nations, 2019). Largely in response to national feminist movements, governments have enacted policies to address violence against women (Weldon & Htun, 2013). Laws against DV have been passed by at least 144 countries (UN Women, 2018). The government of Nepal ratified CEDAW in 1991, and Nepali women's rights activists have used this as a platform for advocacy, leading to the creation of many laws and policies to address women's rights, gender-based violence, and DV (Colombini et al., 2016; Forum for Woman, Law and Development (FWLD) and HRTMCC, CEDAW Committee, 2018; Office of the Prime

Minister and Council of Ministers, 2009; Sahavagi, DidiBahini, and Feminist Dalit Organization, 2015).

In low-income countries like Nepal, activists and service providers working both within government offices and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a central role in the translation of international and national policies into local practice. Yet, in this context, two enduring questions arise. First, how could knowledge grounded in local practice meaningfully inform international understandings of DV, which in turn impact international policy? Second, what does the knowledge of Nepali DV practitioners elucidate about DV and strategies to address it? The first question is methodological, and it is the central question that threads across the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. The second question is substantive, offering opportunities to try out the research strategies proposed and to learn from DV practitioners in Nepal. At heart, these are questions of epistemic justice, or how the production and circulation of knowledge can serve to reinforce or challenge hierarchical social relations between groups, such as those based in race, culture, and nationality (Medina, 2011). By attending both to whose knowledge and which interpretive frameworks are recognized, this dissertation investigates analytic strategies that support the reversal of customary flows of policy knowledge from the "top-down" (i.e. international to local) to the "field-up," in order to advance possibilities for more reciprocal knowledge exchanges in development settings.

Nepal is an important case through which to explore questions of epistemic justice in relation to negotiations of international and locally grounded knowledge about social issues. Due to its low income and vulnerability to economic and environmental shocks, Nepal has been identified as a least-developed country since this category was created by the United Nations (UN) in 1971 (Committee for Development Policy and UN Department of Economic and Social

Affairs, 2018). As such, it has been among the group of countries prioritized as targets for international development activities and, in addition to being channeled through NGOs, foreign aid has consistently accounted for a significant proportion of the Nepal government's budget over the past 50 years (Dixit, 1997; Pradhan & Zellmann, 2018) and knowledge about social issues has largely come to be understood through interpretive frameworks that extend from a dominant international, largely Western, idea of development (Pigg S. L., 1993; Shrestha, 1995). Yet, a premise of this dissertation is that, while knowledge forwarded by relatively powerful international organizations may influence understandings of social issues in Nepal, it does not determine them (Leve, 2007; Mosse & Lewis, 2006; Shakya & Rankin, 2008). Instead, individuals negotiate between diverse worlds and worldviews, as well as knowledge grounded in experience, to make sense of social problems such as DV. By exploring the deeply contextualized meanings, strategies, and negotiations that DV service providers engage, this dissertation seeks to illuminate knowledge about DV which is unrecognized in international policy. Where such knowledge (e.g. concerns, constructions, contexts, and values) is shared across diverse settings, it can illuminate some of the limitations of, and cultural assumptions embedded within, international policy.

After providing some notes on language, I will situate this study in relevant literature and perspectives on knowledge within and across development organizations, including that of service providers within them. I then reflect on some of the personal experiences, concerns, and commitments that have driven this work. Finally, I discuss each paper in this dissertation and its relationship to the whole.

A Note About Language

The term domestic violence is the direct translation for the Nepali term *gharelu hiṅsā* that Nepali service providers tend to use, where *ghar* refers to the home or household and *hiṅsā*

refers to violence. These are also the terms used for Nepal's domestic violence law (Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act, 2066, 2009; Gharelu Hiṅsā (Kasūr Ra Sajay) Ain, 2066, 2009). As will become clear in subsequent pages, this term more accurately depicts experiences of violence in Nepali families than the term intimate partner violence. For direct quotes in the two empirical papers, I use both Devanagari script and an English translation. For Nepali terms used in the rest of the manuscript, I use standardized Latin transliteration as outlined by Turner (1931/1966).[i]

Epistemic Injustice in International Development Knowledge

International development as it is known today comprises a complex web of institutions that include 1) financial institutions such as the World Bank; 2) multi-lateral development, health, and human rights institutions exemplified by the United Nations (UN) and its branches; 3) bilateral government institutions such as the US Agency for International Economic Development (USAID); 4) international non-governmental organizations such as Mercy Corp and Heifer International; 5) foundations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and 6) a host of contracted organizations and individuals who conduct research and implement projects on behalf of other organizations. Additionally, international development work depends on similarly intricate and diverse networks of government offices, non-government organizations (NGOs), and local research institutions. For the sake of this dissertation, development knowledge refers to bodies of research as well as the ways that development actors and institutions make sense of research and other evidence. Such knowledge is shaped not only by data and observations, but also the assumptions, worldviews, frameworks, measures, categories, research practices, and explicit or implicit values used to identify and make sense of social issues.

Scholars highlighting issues of epistemic justice within and across international development organizations have argued that such organizations have most often operated from development frameworks that were developed by organizations representing wealthy, mostly Western, nations. Emphasizing Western schemas such as individual economic rationality and scientific objectivity, development frameworks emerging in the mid-20th centuries tended to ignore colonial histories of recently decolonized nations as well as the worldviews and values of diverse peoples that may have had priorities other than those espoused in successive development programs and projects (Crewe & Harrison, 2002; Escobar, 1995/2012; McMichael, 2012). In recent decades, local knowledge has been afforded increased value in development projects, yet some ethnographic studies have found that such knowledge is largely considered to be only relevant at the local level and only important as in terms of its functionality to support or hinder already designated development goals (Fujikura, 1996; Pigg S. L., 1997).

In addition to which types of knowledge are recognized within and across development organizations is the issue of whose knowledge is afforded disproportionate credibility, and therefore the opportunity to shape knowledge within and across organizations (Koch, 2020; Medina, 2011). Some scholars have noted that unearned attributions of credibility are most often extended to experts who come from outside of the country, at the expense of expertise from within (Koch, 2020), and that being white has been a signifier of greater expertise and afforded greater privilege (Pailey, 2019; White S. C., 2002). The credibility excesses offered to outsiders within and across development institutions are deeply intertwined with ways of knowing long prized in international development, that is, technical knowledge which is disembedded from the historical, cultural, institutional, and political contexts in which programs and projects were developed and in which they are carried out (McMichael, 2012; Mosse, 2014).

In the 1990s, international development and international human rights projects were brought into increasing proximity after the U.N. 1993 World Conference on Human Rights unanimously adopted a policy of the "right to development" (Uvin, 2007, p. 598) as part of the Vienna Declaration and the Program of Action. At this same conference, violence against women was declared a violation of women's human rights, heralding increased international attention and funding to the issue. In the early 2000s, the rights-based approach to development was named and developed. Characterized by some scholars as a move away from the top-down bureaucratic practices of the U.N., organizations adopting a rights approach have emphasized rights over charity, the accountability of duty-bearers to protect rights, processes in development work that emphasize the dignity and autonomy of those the work seeks to help, recognizes discrimination, increasing opportunities for participation of members of marginalized groups through activism and advocacy (Broberg & Sano, 2018; Uvin, 2007).

Given their focus on redressing structural inequalities and advocacy, rights-based approaches to development, as implemented by local NGOs, in some ways run counter to development knowledge practices that prioritize technical apolitical knowledge. Additionally local actors have adopted rights frameworks—or grafted these frameworks onto their existing social movements—and in the process developed relationships with powerful national and transnational actors to address issues such as gender-based violence (Chowdhury, 2011; Mosse, 2014). However, women's human rights perspectives have not fundamentally challenged hierarchical relationships across nations as international organizations are much more likely to hold local organizations accountable to their work than the reverse (Chowdhury, 2011). Furthermore, Chowdhury (2011) found in her exploration of narratives of gender-based violence activism in Bangladesh, that some narratives of acid violence packaged and translated by and for

Western audiences have continued to promote a story of progress—as old a European colonization—in which women in developing countries are victims of local cultural practices in need of saving by enlightened white benefactors (Mani, 1987; Spivak, 1988).

Nepali women's organizations have made important contributions to international knowledge about DV. Early studies on violence against women, conducted by the NGO Saathi were among the first to bring attention to DV as a social problem in Nepal that the government and development organizations should address (Saathi, 1997; Deuba & Rana, 2001). However, a recent study I conducted (Willey-Sthapit, 2018) found that as research increased on the issue—and particularly as international organizations began to write about DV in Nepal and South Asia—this body of work coalesced around an overdetermining, culturally essentialist, progressive narrative. According to this narrative, Nepali traditional culture was depicted as the source of DV and challenges to DV were constructed as something that would be to be brought about through processes of modernization and development. Across the documents I examined, discussions of strengths and resources to address DV in Nepal were remarkably limited; they only appeared in short phrases indicating cracks in this dominant narrative. Moreover, this narrative impacted the definitions and measures used to conceptualize DV. On the one hand, DV was often conceptualized as universal—using behavioral definitions which such as physical, sexual, and/or psychological violence which did not require an analysis of patriarchy to be considered violence. On the other hand, it was constructed through the concept of "harmful traditional practices" which were depicted as explicitly patriarchal and particular to Nepali of South Asian culture. Thus, discussions of widespread forms of domestic violence that make sense through the analysis of patriarchy, such as restriction of women's mobility or their ability to earn money were nearly absent (Willey-Sthapit, 2018).

Given the ways in which the above findings echoed previous critical scholarship on the production and circulation of development knowledge, I suspected that both the limitations in conceptualizations of DV in Nepal as well as the dearth of exploration of strengths and resources available in the country were not merely indicative of a gap in knowledge so much as of the dominant assumptions and knowledge practices of international development organizations. This study, therefore, sought to center the knowledge of service providers addressing DV as a step towards developing a more contextualized understanding of DV and strategies to address it in Nepal. By foregrounding issues of epistemic justice, asking about service providers' conceptualizations of DV, as well as about some of the local strategies that are used to address it, this dissertation additionally seeks to trouble the cultural essentialist narrative of progress that reinforces and legitimizes existing hierarchical social relations between nations.

Domestic Violence Services Providers as Knowledge Negotiators

The two empirical papers in this dissertation are based on fieldwork conducted across two summers (2015, 2018), consisting of interviews and focus group discussions with DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal. Located in Nepal's Western Region, Pokhara and surrounding areas have long been a site of development interventions (Shrestha, 1995). Pokhara is home to many NGOs, which are diverse in terms of their sizes, their reach, their relations with donors, the issues they address, and the communities and constituents they seek to serve. Some operate as head offices with capillaries in far villages and others are branches from main organizations based in Kathmandu. Some are large and others small. I lived and worked in Pokhara for three and a half years prior to pursuing a doctorate and had a chance to be part of the day-to-day work of one Nepali NGO, as well as to work closely with social workers and counselors, across multiple organizations.

Based in my observations while working with social service organizations in Pokhara, I understood DV practitioners as operating in the spaces between donors, international and national policy, with other organizations and practitioners, and the communities in which they practice. Figure 1 depicts common lines of communication that I theorized to exist in development practice in Pokhara, Nepal. The model depicts the roles that government and NGO service providers play to link international and national policy to local practice. Because many regional and local NGOs in Pokhara are directly funded by international organizations, this model also shows how some have direct access both to international organizations and local practice contexts.

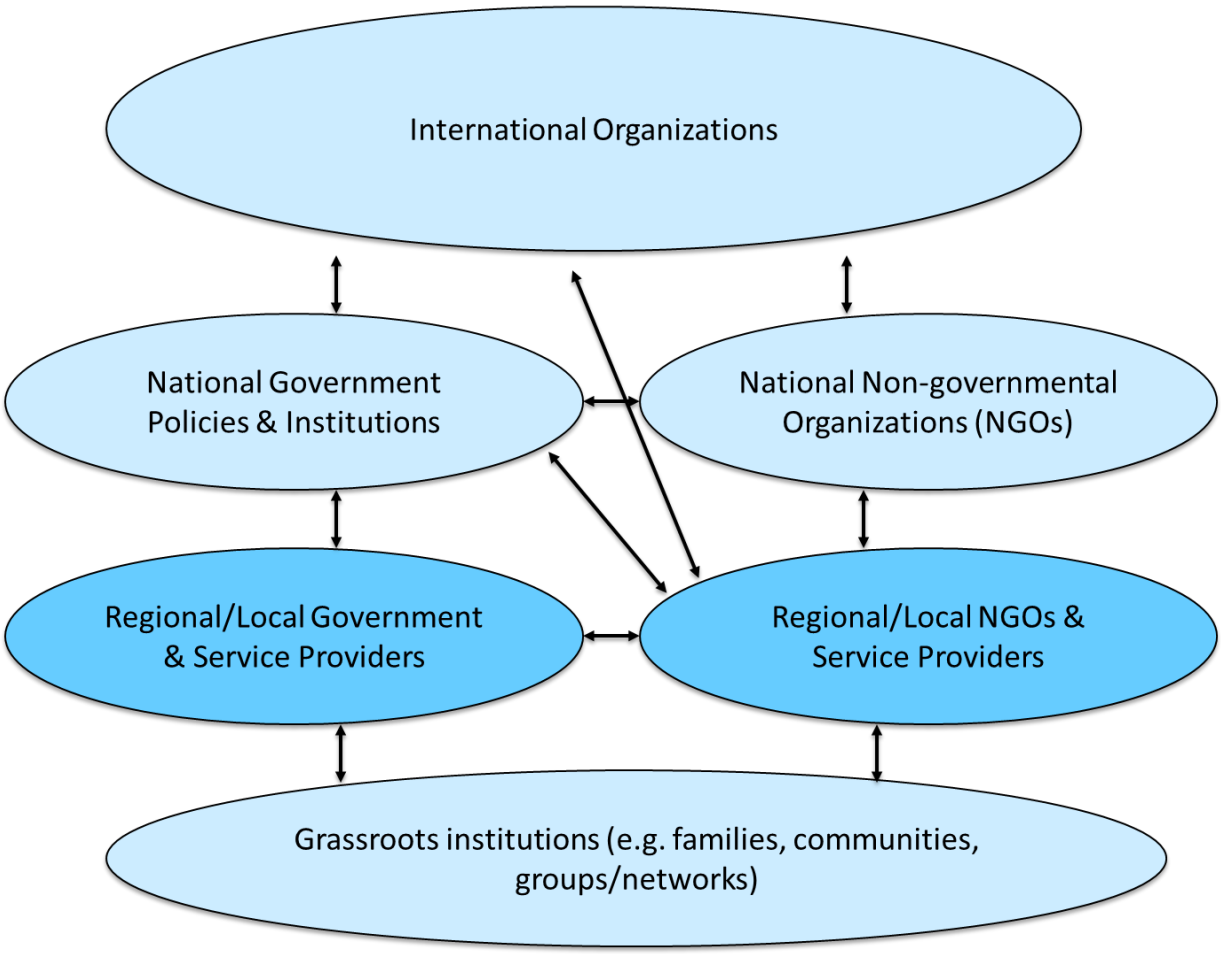


Figure I. Lines of Communication in Development Practice. Darker blue indicates regional/local practitioners, the group engaged for this research.

Development scholarship has suggested that practitioners and community members are more likely to adopt the language used by large international development institutions than for international institutions to adopt local conceptualizations (Mosse, 2014; Pigg, 1997). For example, Mosse (2014) found that Dalit activists adopted the language of human rights onto their century-long struggles against caste discrimination. Pigg (1997) found, rather ironically, that in seeking to promote and train traditional birth attendants in Nepal, internationally funded training programs in fact constructed this category, which locals then adopted.

Despite the disproportionate influence of international organizations on knowledge about social issues, international understandings do not determine knowledge or practice on the ground (Mosse, 2014). Instead, practitioners negotiate knowledges (including worldviews and values) existing within and between the diverse spaces of their work (Chowdhury, 2011; Mosse & Lewis, 2006). Through practice experiences, they create meaning and frameworks to understand social issues like DV within local contexts (Chakraborty, Daruwalla, Jayaraman, & Pantvaidya, 2017). I theorize that practitioners use language and communication strategies to enroll others into their projects—such as the project of addressing DV (Mosse & Lewis, 2006). In the same vein, service providers will use language that translates their work and its importance to me, the researcher, and I will seek to do the same for the potential audiences to whom I communicate this research. This work of translating a topic for a particular audience is not viewed as a matter of deception, nor of necessarily conscious persuasion (though it can take this form), but instead as a skill that is born of inhabiting the spaces between different worlds and worldviews.

Given the stance that I take in this study, that the researcher cannot stand outside of the research to view it objectively, reflexivity is important both as an opportunity to reflect on how who I am impacts the research. As far as I communicate these reflections, it allows for the audience to also draw their own conclusions about what my positioning offers and what I might be missing. Therefore, in the section that follows, I discuss some of the positionalities, experiences, and concerns that inform this research. In subsequent chapters, I will return to this to reflect on other ways in which who I am, and how my identities were perceived by research participants, may have impacted the research process and the interpretations made.

Positionalities, Experiences, and Concerns that Inform this Research

This dissertation is shaped by my experiences as a social worker in the U.S. and as a practitioner with foreign workers (mostly from Australia, Europe, and the United States) in Nepal. It is also informed by my positionings as a white American daughter writing from a United States (U.S.)-based research institution, and as a Nepali *buhārī* (daughter-in-law) with experiences living and working in Pokhara, Nepal. I became concerned about DV because clients often disclosed the issue to me while I was working as a direct practitioner in the U.S. and later with foreign workers (mostly from Europe, the U.S. and Australia) in Nepal. I later consulted with Nepali social service organizations in Kathmandu and then Pokhara over a three-and-a-half-year period. I became interested in community-based approaches to address DV because these approaches counteracted the social isolation that I had witnessed and sought to address with DV survivors as a practitioner.

In addition to my professional experiences, I am also a Nepali *buhārī*, a daughter-in-law married into a Nepali/Newari family, where Newar is one of the many ethnic groups in the country which has its own language and cultural heritage. Kinship terms are frequently used in

Nepal, both within and outside of families, and this is the most common way in which I am introduced by colleagues within professional settings, sometimes with reference to my own parents-in-law or a description of the exact location of our family home. I began to learn Nepali language while living in Nepal as a student in 2003. I continued to study Nepali while living there, and both my professional and personal life were primarily conducted in Nepali language.

These personal and professional experiences have attuned me to some of the negotiations taking place within families as well as between local non-governmental organizations and the international development actors (including funders and volunteers) with whom they interacted. While in Pokhara, I lived in our family home. Within my own family, we have worked hard to develop trust and to creatively negotiate our own family culture across differences stemming from nationality, race, language, worldviews, age, and gender. I love the possibilities for understanding and interacting with the world and with one another that have flowered as a result of being part of this family. I have also been part of conversations, sometimes challenging and often full of laughter, with other young professional women in Nepal about negotiations between work and family, gender equality, and respect for elders. Through my work, I have had opportunities to talk with local leaders and field staff in NGOs, as well as donors and volunteers. I have been a part of and witnessed interactions between these groups and the differences in power, which were sometimes contested, but in which donors and others, such as myself who were trained abroad often accommodated. My relatively longer stay, afforded by marriage, being a *buhārī*, and my ability to speak Nepali offered me some opportunities to deepen relationships with colleagues, as evidenced by the personal and professional stories, concerns, advice, and feedback that have been shared with me over the years.

Though I experience my insider-outsider status as somewhere in-between, the concerns centered in this dissertation are largely shaped by my status as an outsider. As a white American doctoral student enrolled in a U.S.-based doctoral program, I enjoy considerable privilege and some power to shape knowledge in my field. I have sought to understand the ethical use of this power in research through the development of transnational feminist and postcolonial theoretical frameworks, some of which are discussed in this dissertation. For me this has largely meant trying to make sense of the ways in which privilege and oppression operate through the production and dissemination of knowledge—particularly in the field of international development.

As a middle-class white person, my society[ii] raised me in a liberal white perspective in which diversity was appreciated but there was still a tacit assumption that there was a universally preferential way of making sense of and acting in the world. In the field of gender-based violence, this assumption is most easily expressed by the common question that was so often asked in the 1990s (but which I have come across in subsequent decades), about whether human rights or culture should be prioritized in questions of gender-based violence. Implicit within this question was the assumption that human rights were largely the purview of the West and that culture, discussed as it was through examples of practices of "traditional" cultural groups outside the white West, was the purview of everyone else.

Being raised within this dominant culture, the worldviews I inherited were never denigrated by an outside colonial power. However, my experiences in Nepal and as part of a cross-cultural family, has allowed me to, in some limited ways and times, live within other perspectives (which hearing and speaking another language has been particularly importing to unlock). Still, my closeness to, and rearing within, colonial ways of thinking, has meant that a

significant part of my work as a doctoral student has been learning to see and articulate a critique of Eurocentric worldviews, without resorting to *a priori* assumptions about cultural differences, and while recognizing injustices anywhere. This dissertation is my attempt to move from critiquing dominant international assumptions towards the production and communication of knowledge arising from practice in the in-between spaces inhabited both by service providers and myself. Such questions of epistemic justice, centering relations of knowledge and power, have been explored at length by postcolonial scholars. As such, I began this work by revisiting the fundamentals of postcolonial theory.

Paper #1

The first paper in this dissertation draws on postcolonial theory to identify analytic strategies that support epistemic justice in international social work research. The body of scholarship known as postcolonial theory has extensively examined the ways in which knowledge is shaped by and reproduces power, both during colonial rule, as well as in places and times that are not characterized by direct colonial relations (Smith, 1999/2012; Stam & Shohat, 2012). In this paper, I discuss two major ways in which colonial knowledge formations support the power of already powerful groups: 1) hegemonic universalism, which assumes the universality of Western knowledge and fails to recognize the cultural worldviews and values that shape the contours of this knowledge; and 2) cultural essentialism, which presents non-Western groups in terms of absolute difference, and often inferiority, to the West. Drawing on postcolonial and transnational feminist scholarship, I argue that remedies to hegemonic universalism sometimes take the form of cultural essentialism. This is problematic because cultural essentialist perspectives do not recognize the diversity or struggles for power within non-Western contexts, they deny actors in these contexts their own agency in the construction of

knowledge and identities, and—at best—treat non-Western knowledge as only relevant to "local" places and groups.

After reviewing these critiques, I revisit two major postcolonial works, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987/2012) by Gloria Anzaldúa and *The Location of Culture* (1994) by Homi Bhabha. Each of these works, in different ways, explore the production of knowledge in the interstices between worlds and worldviews—what Anzaldua referred to as the borderlands and Bhabha as hybrid spaces—and argued that struggles for survival and integrity in these metaphorical spaces can result in knowledge that does not merely reproduce colonial centers of power and can, in fact, challenge such knowledge. Drawing on these works to identify analytic strategies for research that could meaningfully inform—and possibly challenge—dominant knowledge in the international sphere, I propose three strategies that extend from this postcolonial theoretical framework: reflexivity, critical discourse analysis, and postcolonial translation.

Paper #2

The second paper explores the methodological and substantive questions framing this dissertation through empirical analysis of service provider constructions of DV in comparison to those forwarded in the international women's human rights policy documents they cited. Specifically, this paper applies the analytic strategies outlined in paper one, and especially features the use of a comparative approach to critical discourse analysis. By comparing service providers' constructions of DV to those found in CEDAW and the BPfA, this method enables the detection of, and elaboration on, differences in service providers' constructions of DV from these documents. These differences ground service providers' understandings of DV both within a patriarchal context as well as within their analysis of the centrality for individuals' economic and

social well-being, as well as for legal standing as rights holders in Nepal. I argue that the forms of DV described by service providers, as well as the contexts—especially economic contexts—in which these constructions of DV make sense as violence, are found in many parts of the world, including within wealthy countries. Therefore, they warrant reconsideration by policymakers.

Paper #3

The third paper explores the methodological and substantive questions framing the dissertation through the analysis of service providers' perspectives on the types of supports survivors seek from family members as well as how family members, in turn, support survivors and address DV. Given the overdetermining cultural essentialist progress narrative that has framed much international development research literature on DV in Nepal (Willey-Sthapit, 2018), exploring and communicating service providers' perceptions on the role of the family to address DV centers the analytic strategy of postcolonial translation outlined in paper one, in that I seek to understand multiple worldviews and use this understanding to disrupt colonial assumptions. At the substantive level, this paper builds on the finding in paper two. Given service providers' perception that families play a central role in individuals' economic and social well-being, as well as legal standing in Nepal, it is important to explore the supportive role that family members can play in response to DV.

The three papers of this dissertation endorse analytic strategies to make sense of DV service providers' knowledge and bring it to bear on dominant international understandings of DV. By exploring the deeply contextualized meanings, strategies, and negotiations that DV service providers engage, these papers illuminate contextually and culturally responsive DV practice in Nepal. By considering the elements of DV practitioners' knowledge and practice which are shared across settings but not represented in policy, this dissertation brings into relief

some of the limitations of, and assumptions embedded within, international policy frameworks related to DV. I conclude this dissertation by summarizing the substantive findings from papers two and three, followed by a reflection on the postcolonial analytic strategies outlined in paper one. I consider the analyses that were made possible and constrained by my positionings as well as those of service providers involved in this research, my relationships with participants and social service organizations in Pokhara, my concerns and commitments, and the research processes used. I then discuss future directions for research suggested by this dissertation.

PAPER ONE: EPISTEMIC JUSTICE IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH: POSTCOLONIAL THEORY AND ANALYTIC STRATEGIES

> *"Pero es difícil* differentiating between *lo heredado, lo adquirido, lo impuesto.*
> She puts history through a sieve, winnows out the lies, looks at the forces that we
> as a race, as women, have been part of."
> -Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/2012) *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza, p. 104*

Epistemic justice is concerned with how knowledge can be sought, generated, and circulated in ways that do not merely reinforce—and may, in fact, challenge—unwarranted claims to power based on the knowledge of already powerful groups and institutions. The pursuit of epistemic justice centers the questions of *whose* knowledge is afforded credibility as well as *which* knowledges are rendered intelligible in dominant social imaginaries, or collectively shared images and scripts (Koch, 2020; Medina, 2011). For at least four decades, conversations about epistemic justice have been evident in the international social work field. In light of colonization and other global inequities that have accorded undue epistemic influence to the West, social work scholars have grappled with naming the core knowledge and values that connect us as a profession and debated the processes through which social work knowledge should be generated (Askeland & Payne, 2006; Gray & Coates, 2008; Jones & Truell, 2012; Midgley, 1981; Ornellas et al., 2018; Sewpaul & Henrickson, 2019). The most recent Global Definition of Social Work (2014) explicitly named the impacts of colonization on the production of knowledge, stating:

> Part of the legacy of colonialism is that Western theories and knowledges have been exclusively valorised, and indigenous knowledges have been devalued,

> discounted, and hegemonised by Western theories and knowledge. The proposed definition attempts to halt and reverse that process by acknowledging that Indigenous peoples in each region, country or area carry their own values, ways of knowing, ways of transmitting their knowledges, and have made invaluable contributions to science. (IFSW & IASSW, 2014)

Indigenous was defined according to the United Nations (UN) definition, which includes 1) maintaining attachments to "distinct ancestral territories," 2) maintaining "distinct social, economic and political institutions within their territories," 3) aspiring to "remain distinct culturally, geographically and institutionally," and 4) self-identifying as "indigenous or tribal" (IFSW & IASSW, 2014).

Naming colonization and acknowledging the knowledge of Indigenous peoples are important steps for our profession. However, it is important to recall that a hallmark of European colonization has been to undermine attachments to ancestral land, autonomy in governance, and the maintenance of distinct languages and cultures (de Sousa Santos, 2016). Therefore, it is not enough to recognize the different knowledges of Indigenous peoples as if such knowledge has always developed in separate spheres. To halt and reverse colonial knowledge in this context means to struggle with the ways colonization has impacted knowledge systems in much of the world, *including* the West (Dittfield, 2020; Ranta-Tyrkkö, 2011). Second, this definition recognizes the knowledge of only two groups: Western and Indigenous. If we use the term "West" to describe the socially constructed geographies, institutions, and knowledges emanating from Western Europe and the settler colonies established by Europeans (Hall, 2019), then the knowledge of most of the world's peoples is not included here. These groups include those whose ancestors were enslaved and forcibly moved; migrants and refugees; non-Indigenous groups within non-Western nations; and groups whose claims to Indigeneity have not been recognized by authorizing countries or the UN. Third, knowledge not only arises out of being Western or Indigenous, but from intersecting experiences and social relations, such as relations

of race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997; Anzaldúa, 1987/2012; El-Lahib, 2017).

This paper provides a robust postcolonial epistemological framework and analytic strategies to support researchers to make sense of the complex relations of knowledge and power that international social work researchers must engage. In the section that follows, I provide a brief overview of postcolonial conceptions of knowledge and power and discusses major critiques of colonial discursive formations. I then draw on two classic postcolonial authors, Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/2012) and Homi Bhabha (1994), to discuss the kinds of knowledge that arise in the borderlands—or at the meeting places—between worlds and worldviews. Finally, I discuss three analytic strategies for researchers that are suggested by a postcolonial lens: reflexivity, critical discourse analysis, and postcolonial translation.

The research experiences that I draw on for this paper include two projects: 1) an analysis of cultural essentialism in international development research publications about domestic violence in Nepal, and 2) research with Nepali service providers about their constructions of domestic violence and strategies to address it, which is based in data gathered through Nepali language interviews and focus groups in Pokhara, Nepal. Although Nepal was never officially colonized by a European power, long-standing and far-reaching investments of international development organizations to address social welfare issues within the country have made it an important site to examine how development knowledge has been produced and circulated (Leve, 2007; Pigg, 1993; Shrestha, 1995; Tamang, 2000, 2009; Yadav, 2019). I am a white scholar located in a United States (U.S.)-based academic institution. I lived in Nepal and worked for three and a half years with non-governmental organizations (NGO) whose work related to women and children's human rights and psychosocial well-being. Through marriage, I am a

Nepal *buhārī*, a daughter-in-law of Nepal. Despite the focus of this paper on research and my positioning as a white researcher in a U.S.-based institution, the strategies proposed here do not require academic credentials, and certainly not a gaze from universities in the West. The goal of this paper is to provide tools for those engaging in research to open the space for the recognition, production, and communication of knowledge that challenges colonial assertions.

Theorizing Colonial Knowledge and Power: Caught in the Net

Postcolonial scholarship explores relationships between knowledge and power as established through and continuing after colonization. Developed and named as an interdisciplinary body of theory amid anticolonial, anti-imperial, and Civil Rights movements of the mid-20th century, a key contribution of postcolonial scholarship has been to highlight the ways that relations of power are legitimized by dominant understandings of the world that rose through European colonization (Frankenberg & Mani, 1992; Hall, 1996; Stam & Shohat, 2012). Postcolonial theory offers a perspective for examining the impacts of colonization on knowledge and power, and has been applied in places and times characterized by European or settler colonial rule, as well as in places and times that are not, or are no longer, characterized by direct colonial rule (Smith, 1999/2012; Stam & Shohat, 2012).[iii] Below, I provide an overview of a postcolonial conceptualization of knowledge and power and discuss two colonial discursive formations that postcolonial scholars have highlighted and critiqued: hegemonic universalism and cultural essentialism.

Postcolonial scholars have largely drawn on poststructuralist conceptions of power, in turn influenced by Algerian anti-colonial struggles (Stam & Shohat, 2012). Poststructuralists view modern power as operating through the circulation of discourse in society. Discourses are systems of representation, including language, imagery, and practices which produce common

understandings of the world (Chambon, 1999; Gee, 2014; Hall, 2001). The circulation of discourses is conceived of as operating through a net-like structure in which actors have differential power to shape discourses, but are always involved in either their reproduction or contestation (Foucault, 1980; Hall, 2001). Discourses influence knowledge by providing the categories and frameworks that influence what we observe and how we make sense of these observations (Fairclough, 2015). Knowledge is seen as value-laden, as it is founded upon discourses about what is considered to be normative or preferred (e.g. normal, healthy, good, modern, beautiful, developed) (Chambon, 1999; Fairclough, 2015; Gee, 2014; Hall, 2001).

Dominant discourses often operate as foundational assumptions and support the power of already powerful groups and institutions, generally by rendering oppressive systems invisible and blaming marginalized individuals and groups for the problems they face. Dominant discourses are contested, often by the groups deemed to be outside of established norms, or they may also be internalized by actors in society (Chambon, 1999; Hall, 2001; Shrestha, 1995). Discourses become discursive formations when sets of discourses "refer to the same object, share the same style and …support a common institutional, administrative drift and pattern" (Cousins and Hussain, 1984, p. 84-85 as cited by Hall, 2001).

Two colonial discursive formations that postcolonial scholars have repeatedly identified are hegemonic universalism and cultural essentialism. These critiques offer two important perspectives on the ways in which powerful institutions and actors assert the superiority of their own knowledges. Below, I show that it is important to hold these critiques in dynamic tension, so that critiques of hegemonic universality do not slide into essentialist assertions of absolute cultural difference (Narayan, 1998; Said, 1978/1994; Sewpaul, 2016; Wong, 2002).

Hegemonic Universalism

Hegemonic universalism, also called pseudouniversalism or simply universalism, is the assumption that knowledge is neutral and universally applicable, when in fact it is built on dominant assumptions about whose knowledge and what kinds of knowledge are viewed as legitimate and accorded value (Narayan, 1998; Ranta-Tyrkkö, 2011). For example, within international development, scholars have argued that, despite the diverse and ever changing priorities promoted by international development institutions, a persistent theme has been the measurement of development using idealized Western approaches as the "yardstick" (Escobar, 1995/2012). For example, countries continue to be ranked by how closely they resemble Western norms of political economy. Similarly, white feminists in the West have been critiqued for promoting a narrow agenda through the international women's movement that reflected the concerns of white middle-class heterosexual women rather than recognizing the diverse experiences and priorities of women from different geographic and social locations (Falcón, 2016; Lal et al., 2010; Narayan, 1998; Ong, 1996).

Critiques of hegemonic universality center both the methods of dominant knowledge production as well as the norms, values, or ideologies that underlie the types of knowledge sought. For example, early international development research has been critiqued for the use of ahistorical lenses that failed to recognize the impacts of colonization and slavery on the development profiles of previously colonized countries (McMichael, 2012). Moreover, the privileging of quantitative methods and claims to scientific objectivity have enabled people, often from the West, to gain credibility as technical experts in developing countries even as they lacked context-specific knowledge (Koch, 2020; Mosse, 2014). For example, Mohanty (1991) critiqued white feminist research for using the number of women wearing veils in a society as an

indicator of the level of gender oppression, a formulation which discounted the diverse, situated meanings of veils for those who wear them.

An impact of hegemonic universalism is that subjugated lenses and values through which knowledge could be constructed are, at best, considered only relevant at the local level (Pigg, 1997). The postcolonial critique of hegemonic universality suggests that researchers, especially those coming from positions of relative privilege, should embrace an understanding of knowledge as partial, become attuned to the culturally and historically specific processes through which supposedly universal knowledge is produced, and make visible the norms and values that underlie it.

Cultural Essentialism

Cultural essentialism is a discourse of absolute cultural difference between the West and those groups considered to be cultural outsiders to the West (i.e. cultural Others), as well as a presumption of homogeneity within culturally Othered groups (Narayan, 1998). Edward Said (1978/1994) famously examined how discourses of cultural difference, established through colonization, structured knowledge in his own field of Orientalist Studies. He demonstrated that European writings about "the Orient," which included the Middle-East and extended across Asia, consistently constructed knowledge around a discursive binary between "the Orient" and the West. This binary, Said argued, began and ended with the conception of difference, where non-Western cultures were depicted as completely different from, and inferior to, the West. Similarly, critical development scholars have described how the field of development was founded on a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, where societies were depicted as historically separate from one another, and to become modern was to become more like an idealized version of the West (Bernstein, 1971; Crewe & Harrison, 2002).

I use the term “idealized” above to point out that the West is co-constructed alongside those places and peoples considered to be outside the West, and to advocate for skepticism of claims that celebrate ideas such as science or human rights are the sole purview of the West (Narayan, 1998; Sewpaul, 2016). For example, in Western Europe and the United States (U.S.) the concept of rights has co-existed with justifications of slavery, colonization, and denial of women’s equal rights with men. Contemporaneously, the U.S. still has not signed international rights conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Sewpaul, 2016). The current conceptualization of human rights as, in its ideal form, applying to everyone, is the result of long struggles by oppressed groups against racism, patriarchy, and colonization (Narayan, 1998).

Although at first glance discursive formations of hegemonic universality and cultural essentialism may seem to be opposed to one another, Narayan (1998) argued that these discursive formations are, so to speak, two sides of the same colonial coin. She observed that some international feminists have responded to critiques of ethnocentrism in their solidarity efforts with a pendulum swing towards culturally essentialist relativism. Because this brand of cultural essentialism does not recognize the heterogeneity within non-Western societies, it undermines the efforts of those working for gender justice within these contexts and provides ideological cover for conservative movements that seek to maintain or deepen gender inequality (Narayan, 1998).

Postcolonial scholars have further pointed out that colonial discursive formations, including both hegemonic universalism and cultural essentialism, have been replicated within regions, countries, and other localities. In fact, an early strategy among international development experts was to support a class of with-in country elites, who would lead the way

toward modernization (Bernstein, 1971). Through the professionalization of development, hegemonic universalism and the discursive divisions between those considered developed and those considered to be in need of development have been replicated within developing countries (Pigg, 1993). For example, Tamang (2000) argued that early development efforts targeting women in Nepal constructed Nepali women through the priorities of the dominant Hindu ethnic, caste, and political group, bringing Indigenous peoples—some of whose cultures had more flexible gender norms and practices—under increased control of the single-party state.

Held together, critiques of hegemonic universality and cultural essentialism, and an understanding of the replication of colonial dynamics of knowledge and power at regional, national, and local levels, demonstrate that postcolonial scholarship cannot be a matter of uncritically replacing "Western" knowledge with "non-Western" or "local" knowledge. This substitution can result in the privileging of the knowledge and priorities of more powerful actors in a country or locality at the expense of people with less social power. In the section that follows, I draw on two classic postcolonial works by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/2012) and Homi Bhabha (1994) to explore the production of knowledges that can neither be easily subsumed under hegemonic rubrics nor dismissed as Other.

Knowledge in the Borderlands

Thus far, I have discussed broad postcolonial understandings of knowledge and power and two major colonial discursive formations that have been critiqued in postcolonial scholarship. Social work scholarship from a postcolonial lens has most often engaged one or both critiques. Yet, once these critiques are understood, the question remains about how knowledge can be produced that does not merely reify colonial legacies and other injustices. In what follows, I draw on classic postcolonial works of Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/2012) and Homi

Bhabha (1994) who each in their own ways sought to understand and described the production of knowledge, in the spaces between worlds and worldviews, arguing that certain forms of knowledge arising in these in-between spaces had the capacity to challenge colonial worldviews that placed Western knowledge and ways of knowing above all others.

These postcolonial works should be understood within the contexts from which both Anzaldúa and Bhabha wrote. Anzaldúa (1987/2012) drew on her experiences growing up near the U.S.-Mexican border to communicate a theory of the borderlands, conceived both as a state enforced border terrain as well as a metaphor for intersecting structures of privilege and oppression. Bhabha (1994), an English studies scholar who was born in Mumbai and lived in the United Kingdom and the U.S., employed a similar concept of hybrid spaces. Hybrid spaces that he described included metropolitan cities, colonized, and previously colonized spaces, in which he explored the borders between multiple subject positions created by race, class, gender, migration, geopolitical location, and sexual orientation. For both Anzaldúa and Bhabha the borderlands between groups (also interstices/*intersticios*) were not only sites of struggle, but also of creativity, specifically the construction of new worldviews, identities, and knowledge.

Both Anzaldúa and Bhabha conceived of the interstices as not only playing out between people but also within them. Embodied in *mestizaje* (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012) and hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), those persons who hold borderlands within themselves, whether by virtue of ancestry, migration, or education, call into question the essentialist claims of absolute difference *and* universalism upon which colonial power is founded. According to Anzaldúa, *Mestiza* consciousness is, at least in part, knowledge generated through inner struggle to keep "intact one's shifting and multiple identity and integrity" (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012, p. 19). Such consciousness comes about when those with claims in two or more cultures refuse to stand either

on one riverbank or the other, instead seeking to negotiate elements among these cultures. Similarly, Bhabha (1994) argued that those occupying hybrid places negotiated worldviews as a strategy for cultural survival, and that these negotiations resulted in the emergence of new knowledges, identities, and politics as individuals and groups creatively assert themselves as "neither one nor the other" (p. 27).

Such negotiations are struggles not only because of the violence wrought through colonization, but because they involve the negotiation of incommensurabilities, or "incompatible frames of reference," that exist between worldviews (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012, p. 100; Bhabha, 1994). It is through such negotiations, which Bhabha called postcolonial translation, that cultural identifications and alliances are forged (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012; Bhabha, 1994). According to Bhabha (1994), postcolonial translation is powerful because knowledges arising in this process can neither be subsumed under hegemonic rubrics, nor totalized as absolute difference. Instead, they "enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority" (p. 162). Anzaldúa (1987/2012) cautions, however, that merely countering colonial domination is not the end goal. It is one step towards, in her context, *mestiza* consciousness, and the new knowledges that emerge from the struggle to hold and evaluate conflicting worldviews and ways of knowing.

Cultural studies scholar Ien Ang (1997) emphasized that both common ground (commensurable elements, shared language) *and* those ideas or affective experiences that cannot be reconciled, often exist simultaneously. Rather than seeing incommensurabilities as blocks to communication, Ang writes, "Ironically, such moments of incommensurability, while generally not acknowledged as such, are precisely what propel us to go on communicating" (p. 59). Arising largely out of my own experiences navigating the borderlands as an American daughter and a Nepal *buhārī*, I believe that holding onto what Tuck and Yang (2012) called an "ethic of

incommensurability" (p. 28)[iv]—that is, the deliberate search for and grappling with elements that do not sit easily together—is the crucial element of what it means to enter the borderlands. In the final section of this paper, I will outline three postcolonial analytic strategies for research that support the recognition, production, and amplification of subjugated knowledges.

Postcolonial Analytic Strategies

A postcolonial epistemology presumes that knowledge is not merely a description of the world as it is but is shaped through processes of giving meaning to our observations. It is further concerned with the negotiation of knowledge within uneven terrains of power. Since no knowledge is considered neutral, analytic that extend from a postcolonial epistemological framework seek to intervene on colonial worldviews and to create space for the surfacing of knowledges and values that could support a more just world. In this section, I discuss three analytic strategies that extend from a postcolonial epistemological framework: reflexivity, discourse analysis, and postcolonial translation. As postcolonial theory sits at crosscurrents between many different bodies of scholarship, I borrow examples that draw on, and are consistent with, postcolonial theory.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the practice of continuously considering how the researcher and participants influence the research process, the interpretations made, and the impacts of the research process on those who have a stake in it (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009; Gilgun, 2008). Reflexivity is an essential component of any postcolonial research endeavor because it enables the researcher to "break away from a frame of reference and look at what it is *not* capable of saying" (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009, p. 270). This ability is crucial to postcolonial knowledge production because postcolonial scholarship seeks to make visible and challenge dominant

theories, assumptions, or common sense and to surface knowledges that do not support hegemonic worldviews. As Anzaldúa (1987/2012) described it, the practice of reflexivity between worldviews involves not only intellectual, but also emotional and spiritual resources, as knowledge producers are stretched, not only to see the world, but also ourselves, from another vantage point. Rather than discussing specific methods for reflexivity, which might include writing memos and fieldnotes, conversation, and, as Anzaldúa did, taking time to be awash in and sieve through different worldviews, this section describes some of the concerns to which postcolonial reflexivity would attend.

If knowledge is circulated through societies via individuals and institutions holding unequal power to shape them, reflexivity must entail reflections on researchers' entanglements within this knowledge-power matrix (Carranza, 2018). This reflection examines the intersecting positionalities of the researcher, while recognizing the contingent nature of our identities, as they have been carved out through social processes such as racism, colonization, nation building, the formation of alliances, and the material conditions these processes have created (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996). The contingent nature of our identities is also found in research processes. For example, Carranza (2018) reflected upon the many ways her identity was constructed by potential collaborators in different locations of Central America and the Caribbean. Contingent on the specific histories of these places, she was alternatively constructed as white, Spanish, North American, *mestiza*, and oppressor. Understanding the contexts for these constructions and listening to the stories of those with whom she met enabled her and her research team to respond in ways that could support increased trust.

Given the prominent role that institutions play in the circulation of discourse, postcolonial reflexivity also entails reflections upon institutional, geopolitical, and material

relationships of those engaged in research (Nagar & Geiger, 2014). For example, the academic and development organizations that employ researchers, though diverse and changing, may accord higher value to quantitative research methods or expectations of scholarly productivity that can inhibit critical reflection or ensuring that research directly benefits those who have a stake in it (Nagar & Geiger, 2014; Willey-Sthapit et al., 2020). They may also afford disproportionate credibility to international actors, and a credibility deficit to more locally situated researchers, thereby constraining their ability to shape development theories of social life and social change (Koch, 2020).

Though we can never view knowledge from an objective vantage point, philosopher José Medina (2011) asserts that "Alternative social imaginaries can serve as correctives of each other, epistemic counterpoints that enable people to see the limitations of each viewpoint, creating beneficial epistemic friction" (p. 29). Thus, being in the borderlands allows each worldview to be evaluated through the rubric of the other. For those concerned with social justice, beginning to see the world through lenses of subjugated knowledges can make oppressions visible and call hegemonic knowledge (including worldviews, theoretical frameworks, and values) into question (Swarr & Nagar, 2010). At the same time, understanding dominant worldviews can enable researchers to speak to them directly, to highlight contradictions, or demonstrate their limitations.

According to postcolonial theory, the production of knowledge is never politically neutral. Thus, postcolonial reflexivity must include reflection on why researchers believe the research matters, our commitments, and the struggles we hope to enable. These commitments can service as guiding lights for the research and can also help us to seek collaborators (e.g. co-researchers, gate-keepers, participants) who have shared commitments (Nagar & Geiger, 2014).

Such shared commitments in turn allow for the cultivation of relationships characterized by the "proper relations of trust" that are necessary for openness to having our worldviews challenged (Medina, 2011). Such trust should additionally entail trust that collaborators know things that the researcher does not and, ideally, that we can enable exploration of issues of power among us and the limitations of our collective knowledge (Sangtin Writers & Nagar, 2006).

According to philosopher José Medina, the credibility excesses afforded to those in dominant groups can limit individuals' ability to understand the world from non-dominant perspectives. This inability, in turn, can lead to what he called a 'hermeneutical gap' (p. 27) which, in the case of research might lead researchers to listen to participants' views but only incorporated them insofar as they fit with the researchers' already existing views. Although my positioning as a Nepali *buhārī* affords me some of the opportunities of a borderland resident, I have sought to be mindful in my research about the ways my positioning may be different from Anzaldúa's and Bhabha's, who recognized that colonial worldviews and ways of life have often been thrust upon those occupying borderlands or hybrid places. As a middle-class white person from the U.S., the cultural understandings which I was raised have not been impinged upon by a more powerful cultural group. For me, entering the borderlands—that is, grappling with worldviews different from the one I was raised, and allowing my own cultivated sense of self to be challenged when examined from a different cultural rubric—has always been and continues to be a choice. Reflection on my positioning as a dominant group member is what has led me to explore postcolonial analytic strategies that could help me to hear and learn from views that challenge my own.

A second example of how reflexivity entered my research is reflection on the ways that service providers' perceptions of my identities may have influenced research interactions in my

fieldwork in Pokhara. I expected that my proximity to outsider (and relatively powerful) identities would be salient. Indeed, in several interviews I was addressed as a researcher or a potential future donor. For example, service providers made requests related to the research, such as asking me to analysis differences in experiences of DV in Nepal based in class, or requests for the development of projects to address DV in Nepal. I was surprised to find, however, that participants additionally evoked other outsider and insider identities, including my experiences as a woman, as a wife, and as a *buhārī*. For example, upon realizing who I was, one interviewee called my husband on the phone before our interview to say hello and to share that he was doing an interview with me. In one focus group discussion, service providers asked me about my experiences as a *buhārī* in a Newari family, and some of the gendered practices related to menstruation in Newari families. Other identities evoked in research interactions my identity as a practitioner and colleague in Pokhara, expressed through phrases which suggested that some of these were things I already understood. In one interview, my research assistant and I were constructed as relatively young people who had much to learn about research. Thus, in addition to insider and outsider identities, some of the identities evoked were those in which I possessed relative power while others were identities in which I possessed relatively little power. I memo-ed about these interactions and marked them when they showed up in the transcripts, to consider the ways service providers' constructions of me might have influenced our conversations.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis includes diverse analytic strategies that elucidate and interrupt unjust relations of knowledge and power through the examination of discourses (Fairclough, 2015; Gee, 2014; Willey-Sthapit et al., 2020). Because these relations are of primary concern to postcolonial theorists, the analysis of discourses has been used extensively by scholarship

incorporating postcolonial perspectives. Two potential uses of critical discourse analysis in postcolonial research are the critique of dominant discourses and discursive comparison.

Critiquing dominant discourses, such as those that reproduce hegemonic universalism or cultural essentialism, entails exploring the ways they distort or exaggerate plausible observations and the effects of these discourses on relationships of power. Critiques of dominant discourses, such as Said's (1978/1994) critique of Orientalism or Mohanty's (1991) critique of hegemonic universalism in white feminist scholarship, are typically about challenging colonial knowledge with the intension of clearing the ground for more empowering knowledge formations to grow. My first study, which examined constructions of culture in international development research publications about DV, revealed a dominant culturally essentialist narrative that framed DV as a product of the patriarchal Nepali past and processes of development and modernization, led by cosmopolitan and international actors, as the solution to DV. Critiques of dominant discourses are enabled through non-dominant frames of references, such as those arising from experience, cultural values, or—as was the case of my project—critical theoretical literature.

Despite the power they wield, dominant discourses are not the only game in town. Within the field of development, knowledge is a matter of constant negotiation, as are the discourses that organize it. For example, local activists may graft international discourses of human rights onto their on-going movements to forge new relationships with powerful actors (Mosse, 2014). Discourses spread through development may lead to unintended effects, such as when development discourses of women's empowerment, albeit transformed in the process of adoption, were used by women to support their own enrollment in Nepal's Maoist insurgency (Leve, 2007). Development discourses may also be openly contested or they may be adopted but subverted in practice, as when women involved microfinance programs used loans in ways that

were not intended (Shakya & Rankin, 2008). Comparing discourses that are used by different development actors across different sites in which development processes are enacted allows for researchers to reflect on the ways knowledge is taken up, challenged, and changed by diverse actors. For example, in my fieldwork with DV service providers, I am using discursive comparison to examine similarities and differences in constructions of domestic violence forwarded by service providers Nepal, and major international women's human rights documents that service providers cited to support their work (Willey-Sthapit, In process b). Considering the similarities in international and service providers' constructions of domestic violence enables me to also detect differences without assuming them beforehand. Whereas dominant knowledges often explain such differences in terms of the specificities of local settings, I can instead consider whether such differences point to incommensurabilities that elucidate the limitations of dominant frameworks to understand social issues such as DV.

When undertaking the analysis of discourse, it is important to consider the role of language in its more conventional sense. When I began fieldwork, I conducted interviews in Nepali language with the support of a research assistant to helped to smooth gaps in linguistic and cultural understanding. When I began to transcribe this data, I quickly found that, had I translated and transcribed interviews in English, the worldviews opened up through our shared used of Nepali language would have been lost as service providers' statements would have been forced into English molds. I do not claim fluency in Nepali, and to some extent, service providers certainly adjusted their speech to help me understand. Yet, my Nepali skill was sufficient to transcribe research interactions in Nepali language (using Latin script), thus closing some of the hermeneutical gap, to return to Medina's (2011) concept, that would have opened up had I not spoken Nepali. To recognize this is not to prescribe that all researchers should speak

the same language as interviewees, but it is to consider the ways that worldviews are constructed through language and what is gained when we can understand the language that is most used by participants.

Postcolonial Translation

As described by Anzaldúa (1987/2012) and Bhabha (1994), new knowledge arises out of the processes of negotiation that occur at the borderlands between worlds and worldviews. Such knowledge neither promotes a perspective of absolute difference nor allows subjugated knowledges to be subsumed under dominant Western rubrics. This process, which Bhabha (1994) called postcolonial translation, also can inform research that takes a postcolonial lens. I propose that in the context of research, postcolonial translation refers to the process of considering social phenomena through multiple cultural lenses and communicating resulting knowledge in ways that may include shared understandings, but that also disrupt the authority of dominant frameworks. I see postcolonial translation to be operating at three levels within my own research with DV service providers: 1) the processes through which participants translate between diverse constituencies in the course of their work, including donors, other organizations, and community members; 2) the ways service providers translate their knowledge for me, the researcher, and 3) the ways I, the researcher, translate the research and findings for audiences of my research.

In the development field, Mosse and Lewis (2006) emphasized the ways in which such negotiations produced shared understandings, conceptualizing translation as involving the "creation of coherent representations" that "permits the negotiation of common meanings and definitions and the mutual enrollment and cooptation into individual and collective objectives and activities" (p. 14). The flip side of this, which is attended to in Anzaldúa's and Bhabha's work, is giving attention to the incommensurabilities found in different frames of reference.

Seeking shared understandings offers a way to enable the surfacing of those knowledge, values, or priorities that are not shared, without resorting to *a priori* assumptions of difference. Guided by an ethic of incommensurability (Tuck & Yang, 2012), researchers and collaborators can reflect on whether the various differences arising between service providers and various groups with whom they interact including clients, donors, and researchers are a matter of differences in the particularities of the context, or if they represent incommensurabilities in viewpoints. Pointing to, and trying to make sense of, incommensurabilities can in turn challenge the authority of dominant worldviews, theories, values, and assumptions. They point out the cultural worldviews within which dominant frameworks are embedded and they often highlight issues of privilege and oppression that dominant frameworks so often obfuscate (Ang, 1997).

The concept of postcolonial translation offers a lens that can support the design and interpretation of research. For example, in my research, I theorized that because of service providers' longstanding work with international policy and donors, and because I am a white America, service providers might tend toward drawing on dominant international discourses in our research interactions, both because they already employ these ideas in their work and to aid my understanding and enrollment in their projects. Thus, to draw out perspectives that might lie outside of the dominant discourse, I asked service providers to reflect on differences. For example, I asked about the ways service providers negotiated between the knowledge and priorities of the communities in which they practiced, other organizations, and donor organizations in their work to address domestic violence. During interviews and while analyzing transcripts, I found that service providers also initiated efforts to help me understand the differences they perceived. For example, one service provider drew comparisons between gender-related legislation in Nepal and Western countries, arguing that provisions for Nepali

women are quite high were the laws fully implemented. Others described differences they perceived between American and Nepali values related to divorce as well as the pooling of economic resources in families. By asking and analyzing service providers' own analyses of similarities and differences, I could begin to consider what their critiques meant about the limitations of dominant international perspectives.

Finally, and crucially, the concept of postcolonial translation applies to the negotiations of knowledge undertaken by researchers in the dissemination of research. In contexts in which dominant groups and institutions wittingly or unwittingly distort or erase subjugated knowledges, an important task of postcolonial translation for researchers is to hold up a mirror to dominant perspectives that expose their limitations. This can be done when sharing research in diverse settings including within centers of power such as donors or academic audiences in the West, or with service providers in Nepal. For example, given the cultural essentialist discourses that I found in development research publications through my first project, and the limited academic research on strategies that are being used in Nepal to address DV, the act of asking about and communicating strategies that are used by Nepali families to address DV can help to disrupt the narrative that progress only comes through processes of development as directed by international and cosmopolitan actors.

Such disruptions to dominant discourses can also be communicated when presenting the research back to service providers in Nepal. At the end of one focus group, a participant expressed the hope that I would compare strategies to address DV between Nepal and the U.S. At the time, I had not thought this comparison would be part of the research project. Yet, using comparative analysis between research interactions and international policy documents, the process of reviewing the literature, and the process of talking with DV researchers in the U.S., I

have been able to appreciate the limitations of various dominant vantage points when evaluated from the frameworks shared by service providers. In sharing my research with them, rather than positioning myself as an expert bringing knowledge back to Nepal, I can reflect on what the research has illuminated for me, both including shared commitments and the limitations of our approaches to DV in the West, and specifically, in the U.S. For example, this research has led me and to wonder at the fact that the U.S. has not ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) given the apparent importance of this platform for domestic violence work in Nepal. It has prompted me to imagine what struggles could be enabled were the U.S. to demonstrate its commitments to gender equity by ratifying CEDAW. Pointing to such differences, and my own learning from talking with service providers, estranges the basis of my authority as U.S.-based researcher and opens opportunities for deeper dialogic reflection on the strengths and limitations of our various vantage points.

Discussion

In this paper I have argued that international social workers pursuing epistemic justice need a theoretical framework that is responsive to the complexities inherent in relationships of knowledge and power. Postcolonial theory is up to this task. Yet, without an encompassing understanding of postcolonial theory, scholarship can too easily swing from an indictment of professional imperialism toward cultural essentialism. The concept of postcolonial translation allows for recognition of the ways in which actors whose knowledges have been subjugated develop knowledge through the creative negotiation between worldviews. The analytics described here offer strategies to, as the Global Definition wrote, “halt and reverse” top-down knowledge transmission processes, not by seeking to re-establish absolute dichotomies between Western and non-Western or Indigenous knowledges, but through processes that Anzaldúa

described as sieving and winnowing through knowledges, seeking to make underlying knowledge structures visible and challenging entanglements of knowledge with colonial power.

While I believe postcolonial theory has applications in most settings, it cannot do all things in all settings. Analysis that centers epistemic injustice is not sufficient to address overt abuses of power such as coercion and violence, the appropriation of indigenous lands, or environmental exploitation (Tuck & Yang, 2012). The anti-essentialist thrust of postcolonial theory can also run counter to movements that seek to claim or reclaim territories against encroachment as well as origin stories, language, and culture (Stam & Shohat, 2012). There are many examples of scholarship that leverage the insights of postcolonial theory as part of broader strategies to contest overt abuses of power including legitimation of war (Abu-Lughod, 2011), settler colonialism (Smith, 1999/2012), and the reconsolidation of heteropatriarchy through DV legislation and legal practices in a neocolonial state (Alexander., 1997).

Even as I write this conclusion, I recognize that research has never been innocent of colonization or its legacies. Those of us seeking to understand social issues, rather than claiming a stance outside the webs of knowledge and power, must continuously acknowledge the limitations of our perspectives, and seek to highlight structural inequalities, as well as the agency of those who have been marginalized by colonial discourses (Deepak, 2011). Such calls have been made, and taken up, by critical scholars from many disciplinary traditions, identities, and contexts, many of whom have overlapped with, borrowed from, and augmented the insights of postcolonial theory. While attending to these issues of epistemic justice may appear self-evident to social workers, given our expressed commitments to social justice, solidarity, and self-determination (IFSW & IASSW, 2018), this paper has resurfaced some of the complexity of—and insights that buoy—this work.

PAPER TWO: BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL POLICY AND LOCAL PRACTICE: SERVICE PROVIDERS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CONTEXT

How organizations and service providers conceptualize domestic violence (DV) directly impacts the kinds of services that are seen as appropriate and necessary. At the international level, organizations located in wealthier (often Western) countries possess significant power to name and shape definitions and set global agendas on issues such as DV. Yet, the extent to which international policies are informed by and reflect the knowledge and priorities of those addressing issues of gender justice in development settings is not always clear (Chowdhury, 2011; Hemment, 2014; Lal, McGuire, Stewart, Zaborowska, & Pas, 2010; Ong, 1996). Practitioners and communities addressing violence in their day-to-day work and lives offer important perspectives on the dynamics of DV and strategies that can be used to address it. This study examined how service providers in Pokhara, Nepal constructed DV by closely examining the ways in which these providers described what they interpreted as DV and the contexts that gave meaning to these conceptualizations. Providers defined DV in ways congruent with international ideas, but also saw DV occurring in ways that were not represented in international policy statements on DV. This study is an important first step for considering how differing constructions of DV influence work that is done with survivors and the relationship of these definitions between local and international contexts.

Classified by the United Nations (UN) as a "least developed country" due to low income, relatively low levels of health and education, and vulnerability to economic and environmental shocks, Nepal has long been among the countries prioritized as targets for international development activities (Committee for Development Policy and UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2018), including those focused on women's empowerment, women's rights,

and gender-based violence (GBV). With the backing of international bodies such as the UN, the government of Nepal signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1991 and adopted the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) in 1995. Alongside additional interpretations of CEDAW in the form of General Recommendations 19 (GR 19, 1991) and 35 (GR 35, 2017), these documents provide guidelines for how DV should be defined and addressed. Bolstered by an influx of international funding for development activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), women's rights organizations and networks in Nepal have used these international policy documents to challenge laws that discriminate against women and to call for the government to implement policies that address gender-based discrimination and violence (Forum for Woman, Law and Development (FWLD) and HRTMCC, CEDAW Committee, 2018; Sahavagi, DidiBahini, and Feminist Dalit Organization, 2015). At the same time, gender-based discrimination and violence were condemned by Maoist insurgents in Nepal's 10-year civil war (1996-2006), many of whom were women (Advocacy Forum and ICTJ, 2010; Lohani-Chase, 2014; Tamang, 2009). In 2007 the National Alliance of Women Human Rights Defenders (NAWHRD), a network that has sought to center concerns of marginalized women and LGBTQ+ communities, was formed (Maskay, 2021).

In response to growing global awareness and on-going activism, the government of Nepal enacted a series of policies to address gender discrimination and violence. Laws against rape were amended to include marital rape in 2002 (Sahavagi, DidiBahini, and Feminist Dalit Organization, 2015). Violence against women was declared a human rights issue in the post-war Interim Constitution of Nepal (2006) (Colombini, et al., 2016). The Domestic Violence Act was passed in 2009 (Nepali year 2066) and the government of Nepal declared 2010 as the "Year to

End Gender-Based Violence" (Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers, 2009). To examine the relationship of international policy to local DV policy and practice in Nepal, the purpose of this study was to compare constructions of DV used by service providers with those definitions found in CEDAW (including GR 19 and GR 35) and the BPfA. These international policy documents represent an international benchmark on the framing of DV, have been used as a platform for activism related to the creation and implementation of new laws in Nepal (Forum for Woman, Law and Development (FWLD) and HRTMCC, CEDAW Committee, 2018), and were repeatedly referenced by study participants.

Throughout this article, I use the term domestic violence (DV), which has been employed interchangeably with the Nepali term *gharelu hiṅsā* (literally *ghar* = household or home and *hiṅsā*=violence) by the government of Nepal (DV Act, 2009) and DV service providers. For reasons that will become clear in this paper, the term DV better reflects Nepali service providers' constructions of *gharelu hiṅsā* than intimate partner violence (IPV). To situate this study in a theoretical and policy context, I next review major approaches to understanding DV that have influenced international policymakers. I then discuss what praxis—or the cyclical movement between theory, practice, and reflection—offers for studying DV as phenomenon understood in context.

Constructing Domestic Violence in Context

Codified in international policy documents and expressed through the funding priorities of donors, international organizations have long wielded considerable influence on how social problems should be addressed in developing countries, including Nepal (Dixit, 1997; Tamang, 2009). However, transnational feminist scholars have maintained that priorities of entities such as the state and international organizations may influence, but do not determine, what happens as

policies are interpreted and implemented at the local level. These scholars have argued for examination of the negotiations undertaken by local organizations, social movements, and communities to forge social change in relationship to international and national policy goals (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997; Chowdhury, 2011). An important site for such negotiations is how the social problems to be addressed are constructed—that is, how they are conceptualized, the ways they are framed, narratives about how change happens, and who possesses the agency and is accorded responsibility to carry out social change projects (Chowdhury, 2011; Hemment, 2014).

Policies, social movements, and service provision are all examples of historically situated processes, embedded within cultures, which may take up or challenge broader social constructions of DV. In Western countries, two broad theoretical approaches have been used to conceptualize DV, behavioral and contextualized approaches. A behavioral approach defines and measures DV through assessing actions such as hitting, choking, or threatening an intimate partner. This approach has been used in epidemiological surveys all over the world to bring to light the prevalence of intimate partner violence and sexual violence (Measure DHS/ICF International, n.d.; WHO, 2021) and has generally been reflected in legal approaches to the problem (Alexander M. J., 1997; Stark, 2007; Tavares & Wodon, 2017). Using similar behavioral measures in research efforts across various national contexts has produced estimates of the prevalence of DV that are used to establish the extent of the problem nationally and internationally. For example, using this behavioral approach, the World Health Organization estimates that 27 percent of ever partnered women aged 15-49 years have experienced physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner (WHO, 2021). Nepal's most recent Demographic and

Health Survey estimates 26 percent of ever married women have experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence (Ministry of Health, Nepal; New ERA; and ICF, 2017).

Behavioral understandings of DV have been critiqued for missing the more subtle but very harmful tactics of coercive control, violence from persons outside of intimate relationships, the cumulative impacts of violence over time, and the particularly harmful effects of violence within the context of patriarchy and other systems of oppression including racism, classism, and heterosexism (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2016; Richie, 2012; Stark, 2007). Limiting violence to a list of behaviors also raises critical problems for informing DV practice. For example, narrow conceptualizations of DV as physical violence have limited assessment and services only to those survivors who can report that they have been physically harmed (Donnelly & Holt, 2020; Stark, 2007). In contrast, physical violence is not always seen as the most important violence occurring to survivors, as in some studies survivors have reported that psychological forms of abuse were more hurtful to them than the physical violence they experienced (Mitra, 2013; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005). In the U.S., where the legal system has become a primary mechanism through which violence is addressed, the use of definitions of DV that primarily focus on incidences of physical or sexual assault has led to a lack of recognition and responsiveness to victims who experience other abusive behaviors, such as isolation, or whose physical attacks may not rise to the level the legal system requires for involvement. Kelly and Westmarland (2016) found that discussing violence as discrete "incidents" rather than as patterns of behavior was very similar to the discourses used by men to minimize their own violence. Narrow definitions of DV have also led to the arrest and imprisonment of women who sought to defend themselves in situations in which men have

systematically used coercive control, sometimes alongside grave and repeated physical violence, to restrict their partners' autonomy (Stark, 2007).

Contextualized approaches situate DV historically, examine how it operates within contexts of privilege and oppression, and consider the cultural and situational contexts in which behaviors take on meaning as violence (Lindhorst & Tajima, 2008). Although there is broad agreement across approaches that certain actions such as physical abuse are core to constituting DV, contextualized approaches understand DV as constellations of patterns (as opposed to discrete "incidents") existing in relationships. They also give attention to the purpose of the behaviors and their impacts within the victim's life context. For example, during the early battered women's movement in the U.S., feminists argued that DV had to be understood within the context of patriarchy, where patriarchal norms and gendered structural inequalities (e.g. unequal access to work and pay) both enabled men's use of DV and were reinforced by men's efforts to control their partners (Schechter, 1982). These insights continue to be influential in models that center efforts to control partners as a defining feature of abuse (Guerin & de Oliveira Ortolan, 2017; Richie, 2012; Stark, 2007). Scholarship that takes an intersectional perspective has further elaborated the ways that not only gender, but also structures of privilege and oppression around race, class, immigration experiences, and sexuality have impacted survivors' experiences of DV, the supports and services available to them, and interventions from the state—including surveillance, coercion, and violence in contexts such as DV service provision, child custody laws, welfare requirements, and policing (Anitha, 2019; Crenshaw, 1991; INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2016; Lindhorst, Mehrotra, & Mincer, 2010; Richie, 2012).

Contextualized approaches do not presume that all survivors' experience violence in the same way, but instead identify the patterns of violence that are of concern for survivors in

different settings. For example, among Japanese immigrants, a husband overturning a dining table may be experienced as violence because of its symbolic relationship to "women's legitimate role and place in the Japanese home" (Yoshihama, 2001, p. 310). In South Asian contexts, husbands threatening to divorce their wives or to remarry have been described by women as abusive (Ali, Krantz, & Mogren, 2012; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005). A benefit of contextualized approaches for practice is that they can allow for the detection of DV that may not be widely socially recognized as such. Guerin & de Oliveira Ortolan (2017) argued that centering functions of DV, such as the function of control, can allow for detection not only of overt forms of violence and coercive control, but also the culturally accepted ways men obtain control such as promising to economically provide for their partners, but later requiring obeisance as a condition for this support.

With some exceptions (Pun, et al., 2016; Puri, Shah, & Tamang, 2010), much of the research on DV in Nepal has employed behavioral constructions of DV. Often the use of a behavioral approach is necessitated by reliance on secondary data from Nepal's USAID supported Demographic and Health Survey—or on similar surveys—which include measures of physical, sexual, and psychological violence alongside some measures of coercion. Although some of the research conducted by government offices, NGOs, donors, and consultants has offered broader perspectives on DV, much of this body of literature defines DV either as a universal set of behaviors that are de-contextualized (i.e., physical, sexual, psychological assaults) or as harmful patriarchal practices specific to Nepal (Willey-Sthapit, 2018). Thus, understandings of DV that are both gendered and widely practiced, such as economic abuse, are underrepresented in literature on DV in Nepal. This is the case even though many studies justify the importance of addressing DV through discussions of patriarchy and women's human rights.

Postcolonial and transnational feminist scholars have emphasized the importance of praxis in social change processes. The circular movement between theory and practice allows for testing theoretical perspectives and observing the avenues for action that formulations of social issues enable and constrain (Chowdhury, 2011; Swarr & Nagar, 2010). This study takes the theoretical perspective that government and NGO service providers are positioned to engage in praxis in the borderlands between definitions of DV developed by international policy bodies and the diverse community settings found in Nepal. According to Homi Bhabha (1994) and Gloria Anzaldúa (1987/2012), such situatedness between worlds, can lead to the forging of critical knowledges which can neither be neatly integrated under dominant rubrics nor dismissed as cultural difference. Employing this idea of praxis, this study theorized that service providers may adopt or contest ideas from any number of sources to understand DV, to forge relationships, and to facilitate action (Chowdhury, 2011; Mosse, 2014; Mosse & Lewis, 2006; Willey-Sthapit, In process a).

Given the important role that international women's human rights documents, such as the CEDAW and the BPfA, have played in women's organizing in Nepal, and concerns expressed by scholars and activists that the international women's rights movement has largely centered the priorities of relatively privileged groups of white women in the West (Hemment, 2014; Falcón, 2016; Lal, McGuire, Stewart, Zaborowska, & Pas, 2010; Ong, 1996), this study sought to understand Nepali service providers' constructions of DV in comparison to those found in the BPfA (1995) and CEDAW (1979), including CEDAW's General Recommendations number 19 (1991) and 35 (2017)[v], which explicitly discuss DV. The study addressed the following research questions:

1. *How do Nepali service provider's constructions of domestic violence compare with those found in the Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA)?*
2. *What contexts account for differences in the ways that service providers construct DV?*

Methods

This research used critical discourse analysis as part of a broader study of how DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal negotiated between international policy and the knowledge generated through local practice. The concept of discourse draws attention to what language and practices do beyond communicating information (Willey-Sthapit, Storer, Jen, & Gonzalez Benson, 2020). CDA allows for the examination of how discourses reproduce and/or challenge existing power relations in and across societies, including unearthing assumptions and ideologies that have been presumed to be commonsense, dominant norms about what is natural or good, the construction of identities and subject positions, and possibilities for action enabled and constrained through discourse (Chambon, 1999; Fairclough, 2015; Gee, 2014). CDA also enables the tracing of discourse through time as well as the circulation, uptake, and deployment of particular discourses by social actors and institutions who possess differential power to influence dominant worldviews (Hall, 2001; LeGreco & Tracy, 2009).

The comparative approach to CDA in this paper allowed for examination of the ways that service providers both used and critiqued constructions of DV encountered in their work. This dialogic approach enabled rigorous analysis without having to claim an objective vantage point and was thus consistent with CDA's epistemological premise that no knowledge is neutral (Willey-Sthapit, Storer, Jen, & Gonzalez Benson, 2020). It also allowed for practice perspectives

to surface that are underrepresented in international policy, without relying on a cultural essentialist dichotomy in which certain ideas were designated *a priori* as Western and non-Western (Narayan, 1998; Sewpaul, 2016).

Research setting. Field research was conducted across two summers (2015, 2018) in Pokhara, Nepal. The second largest city in Nepal, Pokhara is home to numerous non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in addition to regional and local government offices. NGOs working in Pokhara include branches of national NGOs based in Kathmandu, as well as large and small Pokhara-based organizations whose programs are often funded directly by international donors. Pokhara is also an urban-rural nexus. Many persons living in Pokhara have origins and family ties in rural communities and service organizations work both in the city and in surrounding rural areas.

Although caste discrimination is officially illegal in Nepal, it continues to exist, and such ethnicities and castes are used by the government and other organizations to collect Census data and to track a variety of health and development outcomes. As with the country more generally, Pokhara is home to diverse caste and ethnic groups, including large numbers of those identified by the government of Nepal as Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Magar, and Dalit. The caste system is reflected in and shaped by Nepal's 1854 legal code, wherein Brahmin and Chhetri were non-Indigenous groups placed at the top, Gurung and Magar were Indigenous (*Janajati*) groups who were incorporated into the caste system as below high-caste groups but above lower-caste groups, and Dalit were non-Indigenous low-caste groups, who remain among the most disadvantaged in Nepal (Pariyar & Lovett, 2016).

Sampling strategy and recruitment. Procedures for each round of data collection were approved by the University of Washington IRB and the Nepal Health Research Council (NHRC).

The data used in this analysis comprised 15 interviews with government and NGO DV service providers and 3 focus groups with upper-level managers of NGOs whose work included DV prevention or intervention. A snowball sampling strategy (Emmel, 2013) was used to generate a pool of representatives of organizations that performed work related to DV, beginning from a list generated by a local NGO partner[vi] which aided in the design and implementation of the research. From this pool, research participants were selected through maximum variation sampling, seeking representatives of organizations that were diverse in terms of their size, geographic reach, and primary target groups (Emmel, 2013). Interview participants were recruited through phone calls, in which the date and place of the interview was determined according to interviewee's preferences and follow-up emails were sent which contained informed consent forms approved by the University of Washington (UW) IRB (study #49804) and the NHRC.

Focus group participants were recruited through phone calls and hand-delivered invitation letters to organizations stating the time and place of the discussion (held at the partner organization office), with an enclosed copy of the informed consent form. This portion of the study was deemed exempt from review by the UW IRB. All recruitment and study tools were approved by the NHRC. Completed informed consent forms were collected prior to the beginning of the interview or focus groups and any questions about the study were answered at that time. Both groups were provided thank you letters and a nominal financial token of appreciation that was commensurate with local practices. Focus group participants were additionally provided tea and a snack cooked in-house after the completion of the discussion.

The final interview sample included 6 service providers in government offices and 9 with NGOs. Eleven interviewees identified as women, 3 as men, and one as third gender.[vii] Primary

target groups served by these organizations included women (12) and children (11), Dalit (9), poor or marginalized groups (9), and victims of natural disasters (8). Additionally, a few organizations worked with more specific marginalized communities, including disabled persons, Dalit women, single women, victims of human trafficking, and the LGBTQ+ community, and employed people with these identities. Government representatives included those working in regional, district, and ward level branches in the areas of human rights, development, health, and law enforcement. Several interview participants mentioned that they were active members in the Women's Human Rights Defenders' Network, a Nepali advocacy group. Focus groups included a total of 22 participants, including 13 women and 9 men. Organizations with whom participants worked included those whose primary target groups were women and children, disabled communities, and human trafficking survivors. Service providers in both interviews and focus groups reported having worked on the issue of DV anywhere from 2 to 23 years, with a mean of 12 years.

Data collection. All recruitment and data collection tools were translated into Nepali by a research assistant and the translation checked by the author alongside a second person fluent in Nepali and English to determine that the intended meaning was preserved. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by the author in Nepali language with the support of research assistants who helped to bridge gaps related to language or culture. Interviews were guided by an interview guide which asked service providers to discuss DV cases, the strategies employed by survivors, non-abusive family members, community members, and organizations to address DV, the contexts that that enabled or deterred the use of these strategies, differences between donor and local priorities, and how they would like to address DV in the future. Because Nepal had experienced a series of devastating earthquakes just before my fieldwork in 2015, I also asked

about the impacts of the earthquake on service providers' work at the beginning of the interview (See Appendix A). Focus group discussions explored positive and negative changes over time, at local, national, and international levels that have impacted DV work, perceived similarities and differences in donor, organization, and community priorities related to DV practice, how service providers negotiated these differences, and a question that asked service providers to imagine that it is 10 years into the future and asked what happened to bring about a reduction in DV (see Appendix B). Questions included:

- के तपाईं मलाई सेवा प्रदायक रुपमा आफ्नो कार्यको दौरान सहयोग गर्नुभएको कुनै साधारण किसिमको घरेलु हिंसाको केशको वारेमा बताउन सक्नुहुन्छ? (Can you tell me about a typical case of domestic violence that you have handled in the course of your work as a service provider?)
- के तपाईंको संस्थाको कार्यक्षेत्र बाहिर पनि घरेलु हिंसाको केशहरु छन् ? यदि छ भने तपाईं मलाई एउटा उदाहरण दिन सक्नुहुन्छ? (Outside of who your agency serves, are their other cases of domestic violence? Can you provide an example of somebody who wouldn't get services here, but who you still think is experiencing violence?
- के तपाईंले घरेलु हिंसा सम्बन्धि तपाईको र दातृसंस्थाविचको धारणा र प्राथमिकतामा कुनै फरक पाउनुभयो ? के यो फरकले तपाईको काममा कुनै असर पुऱ्याएको छ ? (Have you noticed any differences in your perspectives and priorities when it comes to domestic violence and those of donor organizations? How have these differences affected your work?)
- विगतमा परिवार र समुदायले घरेलु हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्ने विषयमा के सकारात्मक तथा नकारात्मक परिवर्तन भएको ? (What significant events have changed how families and communities address domestic violence?)

The interview and focus group guides, including English and Nepali versions approved by the IRB (interview guide only as the focus group discussions were exempt) and NHRC, are found in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively.

Research interactions were audio recorded with participant permission. After each meeting, memos were written to capture impressions and interactions. Transcripts were created of the interviews and focus groups in the following ways. First, I transcribed interviews in

Nepali language (using Latin script). The products of focus group discussions included worksheets filled out by individual participants and a timeline generated by each focus group, which were then typed in the original language. Passages from audio-recorded focus group discussions that directly related to this analysis were recorded verbatim in Nepali, using Latin script. In this manuscript, all direct quotes are provided in Devanagari script with English translations. Passages used in this manuscript were translated into English language by the author, with the goal to preserve the feeling of the passages over the literal words or punctuation (For example, there are small words like "ke" and suffixes like "ai" or "ta" which add emphasis to the words or sentences). Translations were checked and written in Devanagari script by a professional translator. Service providers often used English words (such as "care" or "love marriage") and one service provider frequently switched back and forth between English and Nepali. These words or passages are only presented in English. Ellipses within quotations provided here denote parts of the passages not directly related to the themes they illustrated which were taken out for brevity. Some important words and phrases, such as *māiti* (women's natal home/family), are written in Latin script, with an explanation in their first use.

Data analysis. Initial analysis focused on reading Nepali transcripts multiple times to familiarize myself with the texts. I then identified places in the transcripts where participants used terms to refer to DV and the larger discourses and categories in which these terms were situated. Initially, I used detailed targeted summaries to summarize emerging discourses in relation DV. These tables included the documentation of the specific terms used to refer to DV, DV behaviors, significant characteristics of DV, subject positions produced in conversations about DV (especially those who employ DV and those who experience it), and uses of intertextuality—such as when providers cited international and national policy documents (Gee,

2014; Willig, 2008). Explorations of patterns between these targeted summaries revealed similarities and differences related to the actions that were perceived to be part of the broader constellation of DV and aided in further focusing the analysis. A detailed checklist matrix was then used to record who described which behaviors as DV, including CEDAW (including GRs 19 & 35) and the BPfA, and to facilitate cross-case analysis across all cases (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Based on these analytic products, I then examined figured worlds, as noted by Gee (2014), including theories, perspectives and evaluative judgements that gave meaning to DV in the texts. These I understood as the contexts that service providers drew upon to make sense of DV.

Research quality and integrity. The background I brought to this research included training in social work and marriage and family therapy, through which I became concerned about DV while working as a couple's counselor in the U.S. and later with foreign workers (mostly from Europe, the U.S. and Australia) in Nepal. While working with local organizations in Pokhara, I became interested in community-based approaches to address DV because these approaches counteracted the social isolation that I had sought to address with DV survivors as a practitioner. I am also a *Nepali buhārī*, a daughter-in-law married into a Nepali/Newari[viii] family. Kinship terms are frequently used in Nepal both within and outside of families, and this is the most common way in which I am introduced by colleagues within professional settings. Prior to this research, I lived in our family home and worked with social service organizations in Nepal for 3.5 years. These experiences have attuned me to some of the negotiations taking place within families as well as between local and international development actors. As a white American doctoral student enrolled in a U.S.-based doctoral program, I enjoyed considerable privilege and some power to shape knowledge in my field. I sought to understand the ethical use of this power

in research through the development of transnational feminist and postcolonial theoretical frameworks.

Throughout the research process, I used several techniques to enhance trustworthiness and reflect on how my experiences and positions impacted the research. I consulted with my partner organization in Nepal, my research supervisor in the U.S., as well as scholars working in the region, in each phase of the study. I used fieldnotes and memos to keep track of observations, operational decisions, and emerging analyses, and to reflect on how my own positioning, theoretical framework, and commitments impacted the research and writing processes (Birks & Mills, 2011; Willey-Sthapit, In Process). The comparative approach to discourses analysis described above provided a mirror for me to critically reflect on the feminist understandings of DV in which I had been raised. Iterations of this manuscript were shared with Nepali scholars who are familiar with the region, language, and issues of gender-based violence. I consulted with multiple knowledgeable individuals, including my own long-time Nepali instructor, about assertions made in the manuscript. The feedback received in these consultations helped me to consider how to clarify and make explicit understandings that were implicit within the interviews, such as knowledge about family life in Nepal, relevant laws, and the connotations of words in Nepali language.

Results

Analysis revealed that service provider constructions of DV shared both important similarities with, and differences from, constructions found in major international policy documents. Like CEDAW and the BPFA, service providers constructed DV largely through a women's human rights lens in which DV was understood as a form of gender-based violence that disproportionately impacted women and girls. Like CEDAW and the BPfA, service providers

recognized domestic violence as occurring between spouses as well as between other family members. Whereas discussion of "non-spousal violence" or violence from other "family members and other members of the household" (BPfA, p. 49) did not further specify who else used DV in international policy documents, service providers discussed cases in which in-laws, parents, and adult children abused household members, as well as cases in which girls, older adults (including men), and domestic workers experienced abuse. All these experiences constituted DV in a Nepali context, not just acts of violence within a spousal context.

As shown in Table 2.1, the constellations of behaviors that service providers constructed as comprising DV largely overlapped with how DV was constructed in CEDAW and the BPFA.

Table 2.1. Comparison of constructions of DV behaviors forwarded by CEDAW (GRs 19 & 35), BPfA, and Service Providers in Pokhara, Nepal.

Type of Violence	**Policy Documents**	**Service Providers**
Physical	✓	✓
Sexual	✓	✓
Psychological	✓	✓
Economic	✓*	✓
Threats	✓	✓
Preventing freedom of movement/mobility	✓	✓
Reproductive coercion and violence	✓	✓
Dowry-related violence and extortion	✓	✓
Sexual or labor exploitation	✓	✓
Preventing women's paid employment		✓
Neglect/lack of care (unspecified)	✓	✓
Withholding financial/material support		✓
Withholding care		✓
Denial of family belonging		✓
Withholding support for legal documents		✓
Kicking out of, or pressuring to leave, the home; abandoning outside the home		✓

* "Economic harm" was only specified in the later policy document, CEDAW's General Recommendation 35 (2017). Although the prevention of women's paid employment was not part

of the specific discussion of DV in the policy documents, employment discrimination was included within the broader frameworks of CEDAW (1979) and the BPfA (1995).

Service providers saw physical, sexual, and psychological violence as well as coercive tactics such as threats, social isolation, exploitation, and gaining control over survivors' and household financial resources to be part of the definition of DV. Like international policy documents, they made sense of DV largely as occurring within, and reinforcing, a patriarchal context. Some of the ways in which the contexts disadvantaged women and made them vulnerable to DV, included gendered divisions of labor that tended to make women more economically dependent than men, gendered double standards (such as in relation to sexuality), gender discrimination (such as blaming women for the death of husbands or lack of sons), the minimization of men's violence, and expectations that women quietly cope with DV. Although the frame of gender was the primary frame used by service providers, they additionally considered intersecting relationships of power, such as those based in age, caste, class, ability, marital status, and LGBTI identity in relation to DV. Where they discussed women's use of DV (such as cases of violence from mothers-in-law to their daughters-in-law), they generally did not accept that this was simply a matter of "women on women violence" but contextualized these cases within broader patriarchal constraints place on women in which mothers-in-law were often dependent on their husbands, and later, their sons for their own economic well-being. Because mother-in-law's authority and long-term well-being was contingent upon maintaining a good relationship with their sons, for example, they might seek, on their own or with other family members, to disrupt relationships between their sons and daughters-in-law or use DV in concert with other male members of the family. Examples of each of these behaviors are discussed below.

Unlike within the international policy documents, service providers additionally gave significant attention in their constructions of DV as actions that denied survivors the benefits and entitlements of family life. These actions included withholding economic and care support, denial of family belonging, withholding support for legal documents, and seeking to make DV survivors leave the home. Thus, in addition to understanding DV within wider patriarchal contexts, service providers constructed it as occurring within a context in which the family plays a central role in the maintenance and promotion of economic, physical, emotional, social, and spiritual well-being. The family is also the primary mechanism in Nepal for obtaining legal standing and rights. In the remainder of this analysis, I discuss these forms of violence, not because service providers believed they are more important than others, but because they are less represented in international constructions of DV and illuminate important contexts in which DV occurs.

Domestic Violence as Denial of the Entitlements of Family Life

In the remainder of this analysis, I discuss three forms of violence that were rarely, if ever, discussed in CEDAW or the BPfA: withholding economic and care support, denial of family belonging, and withholding support for legal documentation. In some instances, the purpose of these forms of DV were described by service providers as ways of exerting control over survivors. However, in other instances, they appeared more akin to abandonment. The most critical form of abandonment, forcing survivors out of the home or family, typically involved many forms of DV, including all three described in this section.

To situate this analysis, it is important to understand common family structures and practices in Nepal. Within some of Nepal's major ethnic groups, the normative family structure is patrilineal and patrilocal. Upon marriage, women leave their *māiti* (family of origin), and become part of their husband's families, often moving into their husband's family home. Among

some ethnic groups and families, this move is seen as a definitive break from their *māiti.* Although within some families there is room for negotiation, and there are holidays (e.g. during *Tihar* and *Teej*) in which women are expected to return to their *māiti,* women who do so repeatedly or for long periods of time may be looked down upon by the wider society or accused of not fulfilling their family obligations. Although there are many families who may go against norms and welcome daughters home, women who divorce may be discouraged from returning to their *māiti* to live, while those who do return may not have social and economic standing in their *māiti* and experience discrimination from the wider society. However, among some Indigenous groups, there was much more acceptance of daughters and sons-in-law retaining a close relationship with her family. According to service providers, in these groups, women who obtained divorces also faced less discrimination and family members supported divorce and remarriage.

Households are often multigenerational, including elders and children. In joint families, which are in decline according to service providers, multiple sons marry, and their families live together. Even when family members live separately from one another, there is a conception of the *ghar* (family home, especially where elder parents live), for which members may carry financial or other responsibilities. It is important to recognize that the amount of unpaid work it takes to sustain many households in Nepal can be quite high compared to middle-class households in the West. Many households do not have access to time-saving technology (such as washing machines), and some may also be involved in subsistence activities, such as gardening or caring for livestock. There are very limited care systems available for older adults, young children, and persons with illness or disabilities. Hospitals also expect that family members will stay with patients (*kurne mānche*), providing them food and other non-medical support. Thus,

extended families are often deeply involved in raising and caring for children. Sons and their wives are generally expected to provide economic and care support to parents as they age and families are the primary care providers for persons facing illness or disability.

Most service providers saw these extended family structures as potentially protective for individuals' well-being. In some cases, family members not using DV stepped in to stop the violence or support survivors. However, extended family structures also meant that DV not only occurred between husbands and wives, but also between other relationships in the family characterized by differences in power. Although extended family households are common, service providers additionally described increasing nuclearization of households as a trend which they largely attributed to migration to escape Nepal's 10-year war, changing economic pressures, and labor migration.

Marriage practices in Nepal are another context in which service providers understood DV. Traditionally, marriages are arranged by older family members between members of the same caste or ethnic group. However, love marriages, in which men and women decided to marry on their own (both with and without family support) also occur. Because a legal marriage certificate is not always obtained, partners may consider themselves to be married without such documents. Polygamy is illegal in Nepal, yet in practice men sometimes engage in more than one committed relationship with women (included a sexual/romantic partnership, providing for her housing and needs) with or without the knowledge of the women or his family. As will be discussed below, this was another context that service providers perceived increased women's vulnerability to DV.

Withholding economic and care support. Service providers described neglect as an important form of DV. Often such neglect was summed up in the phrases like "not caring"

(*wāstā nagarne*, care *nagarne*) or "not looking after" (*naherdine*, *napālne*). Economic neglect included not providing for basic material needs at a level commensurate with the family (or husband's) income, such as money for household expenses, food, clothing, housing, not allowing the use of family property, and not supporting the education of children and young adults. Care neglect included the neglect of survivors' health needs as well as withholding emotional connection. The discussion of neglect as a form of violence is present but limited within CEDAW and the BPfA. BPFA simply lists "neglect" as a form of violence (p 49). CEDAW GR. 19 states: "The abrogation of their family responsibilities by men can be a form of violence, and coercion," (p. 4). GR35 refers to "omissions" (p. 5) in addition to "acts" of violence.

Service providers described how the loss of family financial support put survivors at increased risk of poverty and poor health and hampered their long-term opportunities and life trajectories. For example, one service provider described a case in which he was able to ensure that the husband financially provided for his wife and daughter, including for her education, on an equal basis with his new wife and her children. While participants critiqued gender stereotypical roles that made women economically dependent on men, they argued that survivors had a right to obtain family resources, such as alimony and child support payments, including in cases of separation and divorce. For instance, one service provider celebrated how some women were able to demand that their spouses provide financial support for them and their children after DV, stating:

> जस्तो, मेरो श्रीमानले मलाई कुट्यो भने मैले न्याय पाउनु पर्छ । अनि उसले मलाई छोड्यो भने मैले अंश पाउने अधिकार छ होइन ? अनि त्यसपछि आफ्नो बच्चाहरूलाई पढाउनु पर्छ । त्यो पढाउन पैसा श्रीमानले दिनु पर्छ । अनि मलाई पनि पाल्नु पर्छ । त्यो कुरा एकदम राम्रो लाग्छ होइन ? फेरि उनीहरू self-depend नभएको हुनाले सबै कुरा श्रीमानले दिनु पर्छ भने तापनि हो । तर त्यो फेरि दिनु पर्छ भन्ने कुरा कानूनले नै दिएको छ माग्ने अधिकार त ।
>
> For example, if my husband were to beat me, I should be able to get justice. And if he left me, I have a right to my share of the property, no? And also my children

> need to be educated. My husband should be the one to pay for their education. And he should also provide for me! I think that is very good, no? Again, if women are not self-dependent then husbands should give these things. The right to ask for these things is provided for by the law.

Service providers discussed how larger economic contexts impacted family finances and gender roles related to paid and unpaid work. For instance, in focus group discussions, members stated that there were not jobs available to everyone according to their level of education, that there was a relative lack of paying work opportunities for women in families migrating to the city for work, and that money used to stretch further to support larger joint families than it does today. Thus, it was not only families, but broader employment sectors that determined women's ability to earn money. In this context, the fact that individuals, disproportionately women, relied on higher-earning family members to sustain them economically, and the minimal safety-net provided by the government, meant that withdrawal of material support could drastically impact both immediate and long-term life options, health, and well-being.

It is important to note that the pooling of financial resources, not only between married partners but within the extended family, is not only a question of economic necessity but also an important value for many in Nepal. Even as one service provider described how members of her family defied gender roles in their paid and unpaid labor, she upheld the norm of pooling money within families, stating that Nepalis could not "digest" the idea that individuals should keep their own earnings for themselves. Comparing Nepali culture to her perception of U.S. culture (where she has close relatives living), she stated:

> उता (अमेरिकामा) त अब "मेरो कमाइ त मेरो कमाइ मेरो, अब श्रीमानको कमाइ श्रीमानको, श्रीमतीको कमाइ श्रीमतीको" । यता त त्यस्तो छैन नि । हाम्रो त जोइन्ट हुन्छ, है । त्यो (अमेरिकाको) कल्चर त हामीलाई पच्दैन नि फेरि । अब घरको ऋण तिर्नु छ भने "तिमी मेरो कमाइले तिर्दिन" भन्न सुहाउँछ ? हामीले भन्दैनौ नि यहाँ ।
>
> Over there [in the U.S.] people say, "My earning is my earning, the husband's earning is his, the wife's earning is hers." Here that is not the case! We join [our finances]…We can't digest that culture. If there is a household loan that needs to

be paid, is it acceptable to say, "You can't pay it with my earnings"? We don't say that here!

In addition to withholding economic support, service providers saw withholding of care as part of the constellation of DV. This included care for health needs as well as emotional care. Older adults and young children, women with illnesses or disabilities, and those who were pregnant or in the postpartum period (*sutkeri*)[ix]—were presented as particularly vulnerable to this form of DV. One service provider in a medical setting told several stories of older adults, postpartum women, and children who were abandoned by family members on the roadside or in the hospital. Two described instances in which women who incurred spinal cord injuries that left them paralyzed from the waist down were either abandoned by their husbands' families, forced to neglect their health needs, or pressured to leave the family home. For example, a service provider in a disability rights organization recounted a case in which a woman who was paralyzed due to a spinal-cord injury was left by her husband's family to sleep on the floor without proper care and cleaning. Her niece sought to bring her outside onto the porch so that she could sit in the sun, but the family scolded the niece for this. According to the service provider, the family's intention was to facilitate her death within that room.[x]

Withholding emotional connection was also constructed as a part of the broader constellation of DV and of neglect. One service provider called this "civilized violence," or a form of violence that she perceived to be particularly common in high status families. In one case, a woman who experienced disability due to an injury, and who had only conceived daughters, was told by her husband that he was going to look for another wife. After that he began to stay with another woman in Kathmandu. The service provider did not discuss any instances of physical abuse but described his subsequent behavior in this way:

अब बुढो घरमा कहिले नि आउन्न, आए पनि आयो, वास्तै छैन् । त्यस्तो अवस्था पहिला आउँछन् त बूढा बूढी जुन रिलेशन हुन्छ । अब कुराहरू गर्ने, खाने, बस्ने, त्यस्तोहरू नाइ । अनि ऊ भित्रै भित्रै

आफै दबेर बस्ने, के । त्यस्तो गाह्रो अप्ठयारो त्यस्तो घरेलु हिंसा हो....काठमाण्डौंतिर मज्जाले बस्ने रे ! जस्तो दुइ चार महिना, पाँच छ महिना बस्छ यता उता गर्ने घर गयो । अनि घर गएर जुन श्रीमान श्रीमतीमा हुन्छ त्यस्तो खालको ऊहरू केहि पनि छैन्.....जस्तो अब हुन्छ त, बूढा बूढी भइसकेसि, टाइममा आउने, "के छ ? कस्तो छ ?" यता उता । घरको कुरा, घरको एक तरिकाले कुरा गर्ने अनि बूढीको किचनमा कामसाम भ्याइसकेर कोठामा रुममा बोल्दा ऊ सुतिसक्छ के । अनि फेरि अब बूढी सुतिराखेको बेला बूढा उठेर कहाँ पुगिसक्छ के । त्यस्तो हुन्छ, रे ।

Well, the husband never comes home. Even when he comes, he doesn't care at all. In the beginning, you know, husbands and wives have that kind of relationship. They talk, they eat, they hang out together, these kinds of things. And she keeps all her pain inside of herself, not sharing it with anyone. That kind of very difficult situation is what domestic violence is like…I've been told he lives in Kathmandu comfortably for long periods of time! For example two, four, months, five, six months he stays there. And when he comes home, there is nothing of the kind of relationship that exists between husband and wife…For example, you know, after becoming husband and wife, coming home on time, asking "How are things going? How are you?" etc.….and she'll go and do household things and after finishing the work and things in the kitchen, she goes to the room to talk to him but he's already sleeping! Then, when she is asleep, he gets up and goes who knows where!? That's what she says it's like.

This and similar statements highlight the norm described by service providers that family members should talk and spend time together to demonstrate, and even increase love ("*māyā baḍcha"),* in their family relationships. *Māyā garnu* (*māyā*=love, *garnu*=to do, or to make in a non-sexual sense) is a common phrase in Nepal. Unlike *māyā lāgyo (lāgyo*=to feel), which is used to denote sympathy for someone else and has also been found to express romantic love (Ahearn, 2012)*, "māyā garnu*" is about demonstrating care through action. Emotional neglect may also be seen as particularly cruel because the family is the center of many women's social and emotional lives, and because married women have left their previous family and social relations to live with their husbands. The fact of a husband's affair or second marriage in the above case compounds neglect by further destabilizing this survivor's secure position within the family.

Denial of family belonging. Service providers described ways in which family members sought to deny survivors' recognition as members of the family as a form of DV. This denial

took many forms including preventing survivors from maintaining relationships with their own children, non-acceptance of daughters-in-law in the case of a love marriage, preventing a woman from traveling to the husband's family home to be recognized by his family and wider community after a love marriage, and family members leveraging gendered double standards to justify forcing daughters-in-law to leave the family home. This form of violence was often used in ways that not only disrupted survivors' relationship to family members, but also to the wider community. None of the forms of violence discussed in this section are included in the BPfA or CEDAW.

Several service providers described patterns in which love marriages made women vulnerable to being denied belonging in the family. On the one hand, service providers described a pattern in which a man led a woman to believe that they were married, but never took steps to make the marriage official, either by legally registering the marriage with the state or by bringing her to his family home so that their marriage could be recognized by the family and wider community. Without recognition by either party, there would be no one to ensure that he later fulfilled his obligations to her or to her children. This was constructed as a form of DV because it meant that women would have left their natal family home (*māiti*) and then faced discrimination either as divorced women or women perceived as promiscuous, without being guaranteed their rights and benefits as a member of their husbands' families.

Other service providers described a pattern in which women in love marriages were brought to their husbands' homes but were not accepted by his family. Two service providers separately described patterns of DV in which in-laws sought to develop conflict between wives and their husbands who were working abroad by telling him that his wife was engaging in a sexual relationship with another man, when this was untrue, in order to get the husband to force

the wife to leave the household. On the one hand, such accusations of infidelity were described by service providers as a form of emotional abuse used to threaten, justify surveillance, or otherwise exert control over women. Yet, this type of accusation was also wielded as justification for denying survivors' a place within the family in the eyes of the wider society. One service provider described family responses when a daughter-in-law was accused of an affair:

> तर सँगसँगै बुहारीले के भन्छ भने, "तपाईको छोराको पनि यस्तो यस्तो क्यारेक्टर छ," भन्दा, त्यति धेरै ऊ राख्दैन यसले । महत्व राख्दैन । अनि त्यो भैइसकेपछि उसलाई दोहोरो, दुइ तीनतिरबाट हिंसा शुरु हुन्छ । एउटा सासू ससुराबाट, एउटा आफ्नो श्रीमानबाट । अनि रिलेटिभहरूले पनि उसलाई हेर्ने दृष्टिकोण राम्रो हुँदैन् । अनि उसले घर छोड्नु पर्ने.....त्यहाँ flashes हरू आयो अनि ऊ यो घरबाट निस्किनु पर्ने हुन्छ ।
>
> But at the same time, the daughter-in-law will say [to her parents-in-law], "Your son also has this kind of character." But when she says this they do not give it that much importance. And after that she gets it from both sides—violence begins from two or three sides. On the one hand from her mother- and father-in-law, on another hand from her own husband. And then other relatives see her in a negative light. And she has to leave the home…The scandal comes out and she has to leave the home.

While service providers spoke against gendered double standards in which wives were more likely to be accused of infidelity by members of the family, some acknowledged just how difficult it was to support survivors who did not conform to dominant standards of sexuality. For instance, one service provider who worked with survivors of sexual and labor trafficking stated:

> तर घरेलु हिंसा मात्रै छुटायो भनेर हामीले त्यसरी हेर्दैनम । सँगसँगै जोडेको, नङ्ग र मासुको जस्तै छ । किनभने घरेलु हिंसा पछि बेचबिखन, बेचबिखनपछि घरेलु हिंसा हुन्छ किनभने "यो बेचिएको महिला हो," भन्नुहुन्छ.....समाजको दृष्टिकोण फरक हुन्छ । त्यसपछि उसलाई हिंसा हुन्छ । समाजदेखि नै हिंसा हुन्छ, घरदेखि नै हिंसा हुन्छ । घरको मान्छेले accept गर्दैन भने समाजले कसरी एक्सेप्ट गर्छ ? राज्यले कसरी accept गर्छ ?
>
> But we don't see domestic violence as easily separated [from human trafficking]. They go together like the nail and the flesh of the finger underneath. Because after there is domestic violence there is human trafficking. After there is human trafficking there is domestic violence, because, they say, "this is a woman who was sold…" The society looks at her differently. Then she experiences violence. Violence from the society, violence from the home. If the family doesn't accept her, how will the society accept her? How will the government accept her?

This quote demonstrates an idea expressed by multiple service providers: that is, the ways in which an individual's prestige within the wider community was tied to the family. Thus, to deny survivors' belonging in the family was often a simultaneous bid to exclude them both from internal family resources and from acceptance in the wider society. According to service providers, women—especially those within high status families— often thought about the social consequences of no longer being in the family: "घर छैन भनेर कसरी भन्ने ? श्रीमान छैन भनेर कसरी भन्ने ?" ("How can I say I have no home? How can I say I have no husband?") Another described how DV survivors themselves feared being judged as "characterless" should they apply for divorce.

In addition to the widely discussed social impacts of being denied family and community belonging, one service provider described a "hidden" impact of this form of violence on women survivors' spiritual well-being. Namely, within some Hindu religious beliefs, family members must perform funeral rituals that will ensure admittance to *swarga*—which she translated as heaven. But for women who have married and thus are no longer part of their natal family (*māiti*), this family is no longer considered eligible to do the funeral rights. Thus, if women are divorced or forced to leave their husbands' families, then there may be no one to perform the funeral ritual. This service provider stated that some survivors who held this belief felt that: "Even I don't get a good life when I am alive, and then after I've died, again I will be in difficulties."

In contrast to the gendered experiences described above that curtailed social support experienced by women outside of marriage, one service provider explained that in Magar and Gurung communities the relationship with the *māiti* is different. Women and their husbands are expected to remain in close contact with her *māiti* and the husbands are expected to support the

family throughout the funeral rites of her parents, which may last days or weeks. Another service provider described how it was considered perfectly acceptable for women in the Gurung community to leave bad relationships and remarry, and how women's own natal families facilitated the process. Despite the negative role that families and communities can play in DV cases, some service providers also expressed a belief that the protective social networks that might have shielded women from DV in the past have degraded over time as individuals and families increasingly moved away from kin and, and as social norms changed to reflect more individualistic attitudes. In the final section, some of the concrete legal problems arising from such changes will be evident.

Withholding support for legal documents. Service providers described cases in which family members kept survivors from obtaining government documents as a particularly damaging part of the constellation of DV. These documents included citizenship cards, marriage certificates, and birth certificates of children, and were needed for activities such as higher education and formal employment, and for claiming children, property, and senior citizen allowances. In cases in which a birth certificate was not made, the citizenship card, necessary for all other documents, almost exclusively required family members who already had a citizenship card (parents, or parents-in-law or husbands for married women) to claim them as a son, daughter, or daughter-in-law. Other documents could only be obtained after citizenship. Marriage certificates and children's birth certificates further required the husband or father to sign on agreeing that the marriage was real or the child was theirs. Although CEDAW and the BPfA, highlight issues of gender discrimination related to legal rights (e.g. to nationality, education, paid employment, and property on an equal basis with men), the discussion of DV does not include the ways family members use legal bureaucratic processes to prevent survivors

from obtaining such rights. According to service providers, this form of violence was used both to control survivors within the family and when abusive family members sought to force survivors to leave the family.

One government service provider described the links between citizenship, the ability to earn money, and family members' desire to maintain women's economic dependence, stating:

> अहिले त जहाँ पनि कुचो लाउँदा पनि नागरिकता चाहियो ! उसको आइडेन्टिटी चाहियो नि त । आइडेन्टिटी नभइकन जागिर पाउदैन । अनि त्यो जागिर भएर दुइ चार पैसा कमाएसि फेरि आफूलाई रेसपेक्ट गर्दैन-त्यो उसको सोंच हुन्छ त । पहिलाको हाम्रो के....कति रिक्वेष्ट गर्छ होइन, नागरिकता, "मलाई केहि नदेऊ, नागरिकता मात्र देऊ," भन्दा पनि ननिकालिदिने के !
>
> These days anywhere [you go]—even just to sweep floors—you need a citizenship card! She needs her identity card. You can't get a job without it. And then if she gets a job and earns a little bit of money, he will no longer get respect—this is his old way of thinking. She might request her citizenship card many times, no? "Don't give me anything else, just my citizenship card." But he still won't help her get it!

Widows and women who became disabled after marriage were seen to be at particular risk of being blamed for the death of their husband and forced out of the family home without their property rights intact. This scenario reflects the ways in which family members can be directly responsible for this form of DV. One interviewee stated:

> अब जस्तो, महिलाहरू बच्चा जन्मियो जन्मिएपछि श्रीमान बित्नु भयो अनि आफ्नो नागरिकता बनेको छैन् अनि बच्चाको जन्म दर्ता बनेको छैन् । अनि त्यसपछि घरको मान्छेहरूले चाहिँ जसरी हुन्छ त्यो महिलालाई घरबाट बाहिर गर्दिन खोज्ने र अनि त्यसको लागि चाहिँ नराम्रो शब्दहरू बोल्ने, कतिपय अवस्थामा हातपात गर्ने, अनि "घरबाट निस्केर जा" भन्ने, सम्पत्ति नदिने । त्यस्तो कुराहरू एकदम धेरै छ ।
>
> For example, a woman gives birth to a child, and after the child is born the husband dies, and the citizenship card was not made, and the baby's birth certificate was not made, and the family will try to do anything to get her to leave the home. And to accomplish that they will curse at her, in a lot of cases they will beat her, and they will tell her, "Get out of the home," not giving her property. These kinds of things happen a lot.

On the one hand, some families believe that widows brought bad luck to the family and were responsible for the premature deaths of their husbands. At the same time, some families may also want to keep the daughter-in-law's share of the property for themselves (Sabri et al., 2016).

Other service providers described how this form of DV began with promises to always care for wives. One government provider said that some men would promise to take care of their wives saying, " तिमीलाई किन विवाह दर्ता चाहियो ? त्यो कागज ठूलो कि म ठूलो ?" (Why do you need a marriage certificate?... Which is more important, that piece of paper or me?") In this way the withholding of documents sometimes appeared as a test of women's love or trust in their husbands. Later, if the relationship became worse, he would use her lack of documents to control or abandon her, asking "के प्रमाण छ ?" ("What evidence do you have?").

In some cases, even when husbands or family members had sought to prevent women from obtaining legal documents, members of the broader community vouched for her membership in the family to facilitate legal documentation. For example, one service provider compared this process within urban vs. rural areas, stating:

> बरु रुरलमा त गाउँमा गएर, गाउँको मान्छेहरूलाई राखेर-कोहि मान्छे सहयोग गर्ने भने-गाउँको मान्छेहरूलाई राखेर छलफल गरेर, "यो फलानोको छोरी हो कि होइन ? फलानोको बुहारी हो कि होइन ? यले बिगारेको हो कि होइन," भनेर टोलको मान्छेहरूसँग छलफल गराइदिने मान्छे भयो भने, गाउँको मान्छे साँचो बोल्छ, चिनेको पनि हुन्छ, अनि अलिकति, "फलानो को हो, यले दुःख पायो" भनेर बुझ्छ ।
>
> Instead, if you go to rural villages, you can gather people of the village together—if there is someone to help—you can gather them together to talk. If you ask, "Is this so-and-so's daughter or not? Is this so-and-so's daughter-in-law or not? Is she married or not?" and if you have someone from the neighborhood to facilitate the conversation, then the people of the village will speak truthfully, they know [the people involved], and then they are a bit [more likely to say], "She's a member of so-and-so's family, she has been suffering." In this way they understand.

However, there were cases in which there were no neighbors to vouch for women, such as when husbands prevented their wives from coming to the family home to be recognized by

family members or the wider society (see Denial of Family Belonging), or when husbands and wives migrated to the city and lived among people who did not know them well. Also, in some cases, even when the community knew that a survivor was a member of the family, government officials followed bureaucratic procedures and asked the same family members who used DV for more evidence of a survivors' legal standing; when families did not accept the woman she was blocked from obtaining these documents. In the case of a woman who came out to her parents as lesbian, family members and police conspired to take away her education certificates and citizenship card. She was only able to have these returned with the support of a lawyer.

In cases in which women filed cases with the police or with the courts (such as in cases of divorce), social concerns related to a woman's sexuality were directly linked to the outcomes of these cases. One service provider stated in English, "If our family has proof that I have had a sexual relationship with any man, from today I will be kicked out from my husband's family…From the house, from the property, from everything. Whatever I contributed to my family doesn't matter." This demonstrated that accusations of infidelity were not only emotional abuse, nor only a way to isolate women from the wider society, but also had material consequences in court systems that impacted women's long-term economic security. A police officer who discussed the withholding of support for documents, stated that this should be part of the legal definition of DV in Nepal and that the government should change the structure of citizenship laws that made it possible for family members to prevent women's access to rights.

Members of the LGBTQ+ community have even less access to rights to marriage and citizenship according to their genders. In Nepal, individuals identifying as third gender (*tesro*=third, *liṅgī*=sex or gender), an identity category that carries a diverse range of gender non-conforming attributes, can legally obtain citizenship cards and passports listing their gender as

"Other" (Knight, Flores, & Nezhad, 2015). However, one service provider described how local requirements, such as local officials requiring a doctor's exam to confirm gender identity, meant that the policy was rarely implemented in practice. Additionally, although in 2007 the Supreme Court ruled that the government of Nepal must create laws to protect LGBTQ+ rights, a stance echoed by the new constitution in 2015, gay marriage is not recognized by the government of Nepal (Knight, Flores, & Nezhad, 2015), and this issue can have major consequences in relation to DV. One service provider in a non-heterosexual relationship stated:

> हामी बसेको तीन वर्ष भयो.....न मैले मेरो नामको नागरिकता उसलाई दिन सक्याछु. न विवाह दर्ता गर्न सक्याछु। भोलि बिहान "के छ र प्रूफ तिमीहरू यसरी बस्नु भयो ?"...अब हामीले सँगै बसिञ्जेल कति सम्पत्ति कमाउँछौं, भोलि बिहान मैले छाड्दिए भने, उसलाई छाड्दिए भने, उसलाई मेरो नाममा मात्रै राख्यो भने उसको खोइ त लाइफ ? ...उसले मलाई छोडेर गयो भने। त्यहि भएर हामीले पहल गरिराखेछम।
>
> We have lived together for three years…But I can't give her citizenship in my name, nor can we obtain a marriage certificate. In the morning [others might come and ask us], "What proof do you have of your relationship?"…So whatever wealth we earn while living together, if I left her tomorrow and everything were only in my name, her life would be ruined, no?...Or if she left me. That's why we are advocating [on these issues].

Discussion

This study sought to examine how constructions of DV discussed by service providers in Pokhara, Nepal compared to those found in major international women's rights policy documents, and what the differences in these constructions revealed about the contexts that service providers perceived to be important to understanding DV. Service providers did not advocate for a behavioral approach to understanding DV, in which events could be understood the same way regardless of context. Instead, they contextualized DV both within the context of systems of oppression, especially patriarchal oppression, *and* in the context of the central role of family for the pursuit of well-being across economic, social, and political dimensions. Both service providers and international policy documents contextualized DV within patriarchy and

agreed on constructions of DV that centered the exercise of control. However, with limited exceptions in relation to neglect, international policy documents were silent about the ways in which abusive spouses and family members sought to deny survivors the rights and entitlements accorded through the family.

Service providers saw the withholding of economic and care support, including abandonment or eviction from the family home, as forms of DV. In Nepal, qualitative studies examining the experiences of widows have found that they may face loss of emotional and material support from family members, social exclusion and abuse from the family and wider community, including attempts to force them from the home (Houston et al, Sabri et al). While some widows did choose to leave their husbands' homes, others claimed the right to stay. In some cases, this decision was made in defiance of families so that survivors would not lose their rights to property (Sabri et al., 2016). Qualitative studies in other parts of South Asia have revealed that threats of divorce, desertion, and removal from —or preventing from entering—the marital home have all similarly been constructed as part of the constellation of DV behaviors (Critelli, 2012; Hussain & Khan, 2008; Mitra, 2013; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005). Analyses of coercive control and economic abuse in many parts of the world, including within the West, have found that not providing money for household expenses and basic needs, and eviction from the home, are all dimensions of economically abusive relationships (Postmus, Hoge, Breckenridge, Sharp-Jeffs, & Chung, 2020).

Neglect of the health and emotional care needs, especially for children, older adults, and persons with illness or disabilities, have also been identified as part of constellations of abuse in many parts of the world, including in the West (Stark, 2007). Often this work is siloed within different service systems and organizations. Yet service providers described some of the specific

ways that gender intersected with age, ability, and illness that were often quite distinct from men's experiences. Additionally, they extended their concerns to include emotional neglect of women who were not disabled or ill. This construction appeared to recognize the distress that withholding emotional care could cause women, who may not only experience loneliness in the present, but also fear their potential loss of a place, and long-term health and economic well-being, that they rely on the family to provide. Through this construction, service providers upheld the norm that everyone should not only be involved in caregiving, but also should be able to receive care.

Norms related to gender and reproductive roles, such as women conceiving sons and expectations of sexual fidelity, were leveraged to deny survivors belonging within families. The denial of family belonging, which relied heavily on victim blaming, was considered harmful because it not only left women without the support of family, but also threatened their ability to gain support from relatives and the wider society. In Nepal, kinship and social networks play an important role in providing for care for those who need it, for pooling money for large investments, and informal social security in the case of future illness, divorce, or other economic setbacks (Kunreuther, 2009; Rankin, 2004). Such networks have been found to operate, at least in part, through "prestige economies," in which good standing in the society is a form of symbolic social capital that can provide economic security and social support that individuals and households can call upon when needed (Liechty, 1996; Rankin, 2004). Although service providers emphasized the heavy influence of prestige concerns among women in high-status families, and gender norms related to prestige appeared to be less stringent among some local Indigenous groups, concerns about social status have also been found to operate among middle

and working class groups in Kathmandu (Grossman-Thompson, 2016, Leichty, 1996) as well as educated Dalit women (Guinée, 2014).

Despite the specificities of kinship networks and prestige economies in Nepal, leveraging gender norms and double standards related to women's roles and sexual fidelity have been documented as part of the constellation of abusive behaviors in other parts of the world. For example, Critelli (2012) found that women seeking shelter in Pakistan reported constant accusations of infidelity among the violence behaviors they experienced. In the U.S. context, Stark (2007) described the ways in which men used women's stereotypical roles as homemakers, as well as accusations of infidelity, as part of the technologies used to control their female partners.

Finally, this study found that abusive spouses and family members used laws and bureaucratic practices that favored men, to deny DV survivors their citizenship and legal rights. This form of violence constrained survivors' life opportunities in severe ways, preventing their access to higher education and employment, rights to property, alimony, or child support, and their rights to be the primary guardians to their own children. While specific legal systems differ between countries, scholarship has similarly documented the ways in which abusive partners have sought to manipulate legal systems in their favor. By coercing women to perform illegal activities, those seeking control over their partners have succeeded in getting the government to view their partners as criminals, rather than as DV victims, within the eyes of legal systems (Lindhorst & Edleson, 2012; Stark, 2007). Scholarship elsewhere has also revealed that those who fall outside of normative standards of gender and womanhood, may not only experience discrimination and violence from society, but also be dispossessed of the array of rights and

protections from violence that are supposed to be accorded to them by the state (Alexander, 1997; Richie, 2012).

Finally, service providers expressed that DV was not merely a holdover from the past, but that it has also been exacerbated by recent trends. Like countries around the world, Nepal has engaged in trade liberalization and the scaling back of the role of government through practices promoted by international financial institutions (Rankin, 2004). At the same time, both international and external labor migration have become a primary mechanism through which families have sought to improve their economic standing, and increasing migration has led to the nuclearization of families and changing relationships and responsibilities within families and communities. This trend has intersected with gender roles and violence in complex and differentiated ways in Nepal (Adhikari & Hobley, 2015; Maharjan, 2015; Rankin, 2004; Zharkevich, 2019).

Feminist economists have long argued that, even though the distribution of the benefits and burdens of being a member of the household have systematically favored men, in many contexts women have more to lose from the break-up of the family than men (Kabeer, 1994/2003). Economically, women's disproportionate involvement in unpaid care work, and the exclusion of women from higher paying jobs, have prevented their equal participation in education and the formal employment sector and made them more vulnerable to poverty (Esquivel, 2014; Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald, 2014). The issue of unpaid care work intersects with economic status, as poor households provide more unpaid care work than wealthier households (Esquivel, 2014). At the same time, the retrenchment of government services and provisions have left women, especially those are poor and who experience discrimination, in increasingly precarious economic situations in the event of separation or divorce, in both low-

and high-income countries (Kabeer, 2015; Richie, 2012). Increasing economic shocks have been found to result in increased domestic violence as well as non-disabled men's abandonment of family members (Kabeer, 2015).

Given that denial of entitlements and rights accorded through family life have been documented all over the world, the limited attention to these forms of DV within international policy documents is notable. Sometimes such differences are explained through allusions to the particularities of DV and culture in Nepal or South Asia. Yet, the presence of patriarchy, the central role of the family in economic life, the leveraging of gendered double standards and victim blaming to control women, and the ambivalent role of the state to ensure survivors' freedom from DV, are not unique to Nepal, nor to low-income countries. A better explanation for this difference in constructions of DV might be that the family as central to well-being conflicts with mainstream DV policies and practices in which the primary way to stop DV is to encourage women to leave relationships and become economically independent. The idea that abandonment or eviction from the home (with the intention to abandon) is a form of abuse, exposes the limitations of this mainstream framework. In such a context, encouraging DV survivors to leave the relationship without ensuring, at the very least, that their economic needs and rights are met, and at best, that their wider support networks recognize survivors' claims, can collude with the wishes of those families seeking to abandon them.

This study found that service providers advocated for gender equality while challenging framings in which equality is understood as achieved only through increasing independence and individualism. This is not to say that service providers ignored DV or prioritized traditional family togetherness over survivors' security and rights to live without violence. They often supported survivors to leave abusive relationships and facilitated new networks of affiliation

outside of the family. It *is* to recognize that poverty and social isolation are also constraints on autonomy and well-being, and that in staying, survivors may be seeking to survive in a very literal sense. Policy and practice should therefore address the complex economic, health, social, and political realities in which women and LGBTQ+ persons negotiate their survival, multiple social relations, and life trajectories.

Limitations

A shortcoming of the snowball sampling strategy is the likelihood of recruiting participants with similar perspectives (Emmel, 2013). While I sought to maximize variation in the sample, it is likely that service providers referred me to acquaintances who shared a similar commitment to women's human rights analysis and practice. Other institutions such as medical facilities and local police offices whose work intersects with DV but who may not have taken it up widely as a human rights issue are underrepresented in this sample. This study was in one geographic area, so perspectives in other parts of Nepal may differ. However, the ways that service providers sought to understand DV through both a women's human rights lens and a lens understanding the central role of family, likely has applications for how the construction of DV is negotiated between international policy and local practice in other parts of Nepal.

Although diverse perspectives were sought, this study followed the lead of service providers who used intersectional analyses, but clearly centered patterns and concerns related to patriarchy as it impacts women (as a general category) in their analysis of DV. This study suggests that there are important differences in experiences of DV and social exclusion among specific marginalized groups in Nepal, such as among sex workers, domestic workers, single (including widowed) women, Dalits, economically excluded groups, LGBTQ+ groups, older adults, Indigenous, and other non-dominant religious and ethnic groups, which warrant further exploration.

Conclusion

This analysis revealed that service providers in Pokhara, Nepal conceptualized DV within both the context of patriarchy and within the context of the centrality of the family for individual well-being, and for legal standing in the country. As this analysis was about the construction of the DV, several illustrative examples of DV were discussed. However, it is important to recall that the conceptualization of social problems is never merely a reflection on people's perspective of what is, but also of what should be. The finding that DV is considered to be not only about behaviors that harm, but also the withdrawal of support is therefore also a reflection of the norms of care, respect, interdependence, mutual understanding and support held by service providers and practiced in many families.

PAPER THREE: "AT LEAST SOMEONE HAS MY BACK": FAMILY STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN NEPAL

Despite the increasing visibility of domestic violence (DV) in international and national legal agendas (UN Women, 2018; United Nations, 2019; Weldon & Htun, 2013), the success of formal service approaches to addressing DV have been hampered in several ways. These include limited funding and lack of accessible services (Yoshihama, 2001), emphasis on screening for and addressing physical violence over other forms (Donnelly & Holt, 2020; Stark, 2007), tendencies towards depoliticizing and individualizing DV as a problem (Donnelly & Holt, 2020; Sweet, 2019), long legal processes (Kodikara, 2018), and the minimization of violence, heterosexism, and racism within institutions that are intended to support families and address domestic violence (Crenshaw, 1991; Naughton, O'Donnell, Greenwood, & Muldoon, 2015; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005; Richie, 2012). In low-income countries, the limited availability of affordable services has also precluded their use by those experiencing DV (Wood, Glass, & Decker, 2021). At the same time, global forces such as retrenchment of the role of the state, climate change, and conflict have led to increasingly precarious economic situations in which many of the world's people—especially women—live, thereby making them more vulnerable to DV (Brody, et al., 2015:19; Kabeer, 2015; Richie, 2012).

Given the limitations of formal service systems, it is important to reconsider the broad repertoire of possibilities available when informal social support networks, particularly family supports, are involved in addressing DV (Kim, 2021). Based in qualitative interviews and focus group discussions with NGO service providers working in Pokhara, Nepal and surrounding rural areas, the present study examined family involvement to address domestic violence. The study sought answers to the following research questions:

1. What kinds of supports do domestic violence survivors seek from family members?

2. How do family members support survivors and address domestic violence?

To situate this study, I next review literature on family supports for addressing DV, provide some background on the study site and justification for examining family strategies to address DV. I then discuss postcolonial theory as a framework for understanding service provider narratives and discuss my own positioning in relation to this study.

The Role of Families to Address Domestic Violence

Research literature on help-seeking for domestic violence has generally found that informal support networks (including friends, family, and coworkers) are the first groups to which those who have experienced violence disclose their experiences and/or seek support. Most victims of IPV disclose their experiences to at least one informal support (Sylaska & Edwards, 2013) In low-income countries formal support systems, particularly police and legal systems, have been widely perceived to be ineffective to address DV (Wood, Glass, & Decker, 2021), and a study of developing countries found that 63.10% sought support from family members, in comparison to only 3.24% who sought support from formal institutions (Goodson & Hayes, 2021). Across diverse countries and contexts, the types of supports provided by informal support networks include emotional support, advice, providing a place to stay, food, childcare, and connecting survivors to formal services (Sylaska & Edwards, 2013; Wood, Glass, & Decker, 2021).

Studies in South Asia have consistently found that seeking support from family members, especially from women's natal family members, and at times from married women's in-laws, have been the primary strategies used by women to address intimate partner violence (Decker, et al., 2013; Deuba, Mainali, Alvesson, & Karki, 2016; Khan, 2015; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005; Paul, 2016; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008).

Some of the major reasons that survivors first sought support for family members were concern about loss of family status should others come to know about the violence, as well as perceptions that informal community mechanisms and formal institutions either cost too much money or were biased towards men and family togetherness over survivor well-being (Decker, et al., 2013; Khan, 2015; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). In both rural and urban households, women's natal families often offered a temporary place for women to stay (Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). Another strategy used by family members, sometimes including in-laws or women's own relatives, was to approach husbands using violence to ask or tell them to stop using violence (Khan, 2015; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). However, the use and effectiveness of family strategies was perceived to be hindered by concerns about the economic burden to women's own impoverished natal families, women's concerns about being able to keep and provide for their children, and the limited economic options available to them outside of marriage (Khan, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). While most of the studies in South Asia have been conducted in relatively poor rural and urban areas, the importance of economic status for seeking support to address DV was revealed through one study examining the socio-economic determinants of help-seeking. This study found that women who had had higher education and their own economic resources in the form of employment and property ownership were more likely to seek support from family members and other informal sources of support (Paul, 2016).

Addressing Domestic Violence in Nepal

As in many countries, attention to the issue of DV in Nepal has increased tremendously in recent decades. Women's organizations and activist networks, as well as insurgents in Nepal's

10 year civil war, have advocated for increased local and national attention to issues of gender discrimination and gender-based violence (Advocacy Forum and ICTJ, 2010; Forum for Woman, Law and Development (FWLD) and HRTMCC, CEDAW Committee, 2018; Lohani-Chase, 2014; Maskay, 2021; Tamang, 2009). The government of Nepal has developed laws against marital rape and domestic violence, declared violence against women to be a human rights issue, and expressed its commitments to pro-actively addressing DV (Colombini M. , et al., 2016; Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act, 2066, 2009; Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers, 2009; Sahavagi, DidiBahini, and Feminist Dalit Organization, 2015).

Research on domestic violence in Nepal has also accelerated in the last two decades. Drawing on a nationally representative sample, Nepal's Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), currently estimates that 26% of ever married women have experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence (Ministry of Health, Nepal; New ERA; and ICF, 2017). While a study of physical violence in smaller localized studies found similar rates of physical violence (25.3%) against women ages 15-24 from their husband (Lamichhane, Puri, Tamang, & Dulal, 2011), rates of sexual coercion of young women by their husbands in such studies have estimates ranging from 46.2% (Lamichhane, Puri, Tamang, & Dulal, 2011) to 58% (Adhikari & Tamang, 2010). Other forms of DV identified in Nepal have been economic abuse in the form of withholding property, over work, or deprivation of basic needs or income, surveillance, social isolation and control over women's mobility (Houston, et al., 2016; Ministry of Health, Nepal; New ERA; and ICF, 2017; Pun, et al., 2016; Saathi, 1997). As elsewhere, DV has been compounded by discrimination and harassment in the broader society for socially excluded groups including widows, LGBTQ+ people, women with disabilities, and sex-working women (Crea, 2012; Houston, et al., 2016; Sabri, et al., 2016; Willey-Sthapit, In process b).

Quantitative research on DV in Nepal has tended to focus on violence from an intimate partner. However, among major ethnic groups, the normative household structure in Nepal is the extended family, wherein men stay in their parents' homes and wives move into these homes and join these families upon marriage (Pun, et al., 2016). Although "love marriage" (in which couples marry with or without the blessing of their families) happens in Nepal, arranged marriage is common and thus couples may enter marriage with varying degrees of acquaintance beforehand (Ahearn L. M., 2004; Willey-Sthapit, In process b). Given the extended family model, DV can be used by any number of family members, including from male or female in-laws, or from multiple people at the same time (Houston, et al., 2016; Pun, et al., 2016; Sabri, et al., 2016; Willey-Sthapit, In process b). This study centers domestic violence, rather than intimate partner violence, because the term better reflects the extended family structure of many Nepali households. Service providers used the term *gharelu hiṅsā* (*ghar*=home/household, *hiṅsā* =violence), and this term, along with the English translation "domestic violence," is used by the government in the English and Nepali versions of the Domestic Violence Act (Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act, 2066, 2009; Gharelu Hiṅsā (Kasūr Ra Sajay) Ain, 2066, 2009).

This study builds off previous findings that, in addition to the forms of violence listed above, service providers were concerned about forms of DV that took place when family members withheld the rights and entitlements afforded through the family (Willey-Sthapit, In process b). Studies in Nepal have identified the withholding material support and care, pressuring or forcing survivors to leave their husbands' homes, and threatening survivors with divorce as domestic violence behaviors (Houston, et al., 2016; Ministry of Health, Nepal; New ERA; and ICF, 2017; Pun, et al., 2016; Sabri, et al., 2016; Willey-Sthapit, In process b).

Additionally, service providers have identified withholding support for legal documentation needed for women to secure their legal rights as a form of DV (Willey-Sthapit, In process b). This is important because, in Nepal, the possession of a citizenship card is necessary for obtaining good employment, owning property, and pursuing higher education (Richardson, Laurie, Poudel, & Townsend, 2016). Legal documents such as citizenship, marriage certificates, or birth certificates are needed for women to attain rights to their children, alimony, child support, and property in the event of a husband's abandonment or if they pursue divorce. However, individuals must obtain legal documents with the support of their families, and for married women this means asking their husbands and in-laws to supply the evidence needed to get these legal documents, posing a major challenge in DV cases (Dhamala, 2019; Willey-Sthapit, In process b). Given the centrality of family for long-term economic and social well-being, and for obtaining legal rights, if such concerns are not addressed, separation or divorce could risk women's long-term survival and life opportunities (Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008; Willey-Sthapit, In process b). A sole focus on leaving could in fact collude with the wishes of those family members who seek to abandon or evict survivors from the home without offering rights to property, alimony, or child support (Willey-Sthapit, In process b).

Despite recent policies to address gender-based and domestic violence, legal and health services related to DV have yet to reach and support many victims and survivors who experience violence (Crea, 2012; Hawkes, et al., 2013; OPMCM, 2012; Rishal, et al., 2016; Sabri, et al., 2016). In this context, family members who do not use violence have been identified as primary source of support for those experiencing DV (Deuba, Mainali, Alvesson, & Karki, 2016; Ministry of Health, Nepal; New ERA; and ICF, 2017; Pun, et al., 2016). However, these studies have limited, if any, discussion about the forms such support takes.

Postcolonial Translation and Researcher Positionality

This study draws on a postcolonial theoretical perspective to make sense of NGO service providers' discussions of family strategies to address DV, research interactions, and the interpretations made. I theorize that service providers are situated between diverse worlds and worldviews, including those forwarded by diverse community members, Nepali organizations, and international policy and donor organizations, and that such situatedness between worlds, can lead to the forging of critical knowledges which can neither be neatly integrated under dominant understands of social problems and solutions nor dismissed as cultural difference (Anzaldúa, 1987/2012; Bhabha, 1994). Through diverse practice experiences at the nexus of these different worlds, service providers create meaning and frameworks to understand social issues, such as DV and how it can be addressed (Chakraborty, Daruwalla, Jayaraman, & Pantvaidya, 2017). Furthermore, practitioners use language and communication strategies to enroll others into their projects—such as the project of addressing DV (Mosse & Lewis, 2006). Following the work of Bhabha (1994), I refer to these processes of negotiating similarities and differences, commensurabilities and incommensurabilities, between frames of reference as postcolonial translation. Furthermore, I believe that an important task in this work of translation is to communicate in ways that not only recognize shared analyses and commitments, but that also have the capacity to challenge dominant frameworks.

A postcolonial perspective further asserts that no one can stand outside the research process to view it objectively. Service providers translate their knowledge for me, the researcher, in ways that are consistent with how they perceive me. As the researcher, I must also reflect on how who I am influences the research process and interpretations that I am likely to make. Therefore, prior to discussing the methods, I will share a little about my background and commitments, and how I see these connecting to this research.

I am both a white American daughter and a Nepali *buhārī* (daughter-in-law), by virtue of marriage into a Nepali/Newari[xi] family. Kinship terms are frequently used in Nepal, both within and outside of families, and this is the most common way in which I am introduced by colleagues within professional settings in Nepal. Prior to conducting this study, I lived in my husband's family home and worked with social service organizations in Nepal for three and a half years. I had previously become concerned about DV while working as a direct practitioner in the U.S. and later with foreign workers (mostly from Europe, the U.S. and Australia) in Nepal, as there were many cases in which DV was disclosed in the course of this work. While working with local organizations in Pokhara, I became interested in community-based approaches to address DV because these approaches counteracted the social isolation that was so salient and concerning for those who disclosed violence to me during direct practice.

My status as a *buhārī*, time spent in Nepali, and my ability to speak Nepali well (although I do not claim fluency), appear to position me somewhere between insider and outsider status. However, drawing on a postcolonial perspective, I have given attention to what my upbringing as a white woman in the West and my current affiliations with a U.S.-based research institution mean for the interpretations that I am likely to make. Eurocentric worldviews have, so to speak, been the water in which I have been swimming. Living in Nepal and being part of a Nepali family, and especially speaking Nepali language—which unlocks different ways of describing and interacting with the world, have helped me to see (or feel) this water at least some of the time. Still, according to postcolonial theory, no one can stand outside of the matrices of knowledge and power and no one can take a value neutral stance (Willey-Sthapit, In process a). My proximity to, and rearing within, colonial ways of thinking, has meant that a significant part of my work has been learning to articulate a critique of colonial worldviews, without resorting to

a priori assumptions about cultural differences, and while recognizing injustices anywhere. A commitment that guided this study included seeking offering perspectives on family life in Nepal in relation to DV, as well as the many ways in which Nepalis themselves address DV which are not available in the literature. In the discussion, I will return to considering some of the ways my positioning, as well as that of service providers, might limit our interpretations of DV survivor experiences, as well as what our interpretations offer to the current international knowledge base about DV.

Methods

This research was part of a larger study about how DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal negotiated between international policy and knowledge generated through local practice. Field research for this project was carried out in Pokhara across two summers (2015, 2018). The second largest city in Nepal, Pokhara and surrounding areas have long been a site of international development programming (Shrestha, 1995). Some of the communities in which service providers work have seen many and varied social programs over the years, while others were deliberately selected by organizations because they did not have such programming. Pokhara's economy is primarily supported by the service sector, including hospitality and tourism, remittances from abroad, and agriculture (Pariyar & Lovett, 2016). Pokhara includes families who have migrated from rural areas during Nepal's 10-year conflict (1996-2006), in the wake of disasters, and in search of livelihood opportunities (Choe & Pradhan, 2010; Pariyar & Lovett, 2016). Although Pokhara has among the lowest levels of poverty in Nepal, settlements established by families who do not own land have grown (Choe & Pradhan, 2010). The major caste and ethnic groups living in Pokhara are Brahmin and Chhetri (non-Indigenous high-caste groups), Gurung and Magar (Indigenous groups), and Dalit (low-caste groups).[xii] Although caste-

based discrimination is illegal in Nepal, discrimination and inequities in wealth and political participation based on caste persist (Pariyar & Lovett, 2016).

Sampling strategy and recruitment. A local NGO partner aided in the design, budgeting, and implementation of the research. Procedures for each round of data collection were approved by the University of Washington IRB and the Nepal Health Research Council (NHRC). The data used for this analysis comprised interviews and focus groups with representatives from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who worked on issues of domestic violence. I chose to speak with service providers rather than with community members or survivors directly because I feared that asking about their experiences of DV could put them at risk, which would be increased given my outsider identities. Shelter services in Pokhara were extremely limited at the time of this research, and thus only housed persons with the most severe experiences of DV which has impacted the mental health and daily functioning for many, and which might hamper their ability to give free informed consent. In research settings convenient to community members, it might be difficult to guarantee confidentiality. Furthermore, from my time in the social service sector in Pokhara, I was aware that many people do not quickly talk about family problems, and I did not feel that my language skills would be sufficient to pick up on verbal or non-verbal cues related to disclosures of violence, or to respond appropriately to such disclosures. As being able to refer for services is an important task should individuals disclose violence (World Health Organization, 2016), I felt it was important to first learn more about the services available in the area through research with service providers. From my experiences, I did believe that service providers had perspectives on DV and strategies to address, based in their practice experiences, that have thus far not been represented in the literature.

A snowball sampling strategy was used to recruit interviewees (Emmel, 2013). Local collaborators provided me with an initial list of potential research participants, and interviewees each added recommendations for others. From this growing pool, research participants were selected through maximum variation sampling, seeking representatives of organizations that were diverse in terms of their size, geographic reach, and primary target groups (Emmel, 2013). Recruitment was carried out through phone calls, in which the date and place of the interview was determined according to interviewee's preferences. Follow-up emails were sent which contained informed consent forms approved by the University of Washington (UW) IRB (study #49804) and the NHRC.

Focus groups were carried out at the office of the partner organization. Participants were recruited through phone calls and hand-delivered invitation letters to organizations which included a copy of the informed consent form and information about time and place of the discussion. Although this portion of the study was deemed exempt from review by the UW IRB, all recruitment and study tools were approved by the NHRC. Completed informed consent forms were collected prior to the beginning of the interview or focus groups and any questions about the study were answered at that time. The meeting place was wheelchair accessible, and disability accommodations were planned for and made as needed. Both interview and focus group participants were provided thank you letters and a financial token of appreciation that was commensurate with local practices. Focus group participants were additionally provided tea and a snack cooked in-house after the completion of the discussion.

The final sample included 9 interviewees, 22 upper management focus group participants (divided across 3 focus groups), and 36 field staff focus group participants (divided across 4 focus groups. Characteristics of this sample are outlined in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Sample Characteristics.

	Interview Participants (9)	Upper Management Focus Group Participants (22)	Field staff Focus Group Participants (36)
Gender[1]	8 women 1 third gender	13 women 9 men	35 women 1 man
Education Level[2]	Plus 2 - MA (median=BA)	Plus 2 - MA (median=BA/MA)	Less than SLC - MA (median=Plus 2)
No. Years Addressing DV	4-20 years (mean = 11)	2-22 years (mean = 11)	1-22 years (mean=6)
Urban/Rural Working Area/Both	Both=9	Rural=6 Both=15 missing=1	Urban=2 Rural=15 Both=19

[1] As of 2007, *tesro liṅgī* or "third gender" became a legally recognized category in Nepal, alongside male and female (Bochenek & Knight, 2012).
[2] SLC=School Leaving Certificate, received after passing 10th grade exam, Plus 2 = equivalent to 12th grade, BA=Bachelors degree, MA= Masters degree or above

The organizations represented in this sample served diverse constituents including women, children, Dalit women, people with disabilities, survivors of labor and/or sexual human trafficking, single women, persons with drug or alcohol addiction, poor and excluded groups, disaster survivors, and LGBTQ+ people. Several organizations were run by, and sought to employ people with, these identities.

Data collection. All recruitment and data collection tools were translated into Nepali by a research assistant and the translation was checked by the author alongside a second person fluent in Nepali and English languages to determine that the intended meaning was preserved. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted by the author in Nepali with the support of research assistants who bridged gaps that arose related to language or culture. Interviews were conducted using interview guides that included questions about strategies used by survivors, family members, the wider community, and organizations to address DV, and the contexts that supported those strategies (see Appendix A). Focus group discussions with upper management

representatives explored positive and negative changes over time, at local, national, and international levels that have impacted DV work, perceived similarities and differences in donor, organization, and community priorities related to DV practice, how service providers negotiated these differences, and a question that asked service providers to imagine that it is 10 years into the future and asks what happened to bring about a reduction in DV (see Appendix B). Focus group discussions with field staff explored cases in which family and community members became involved in addressing DV and the conditions that made their involvement possible. I also asked field staff to imagine that it is 10 years into the future and asks what happened to bring about a reduction in DV, and the barriers that they saw to addressing DV both within and outside of Nepal (see Appendix C).

Questions included:

- तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको केशमा घरेलु हिंसा अनुभव गरेका व्यक्तिहरुले आफुले भोगेको हिंसा संबोधन गर्न.....गरे । तपाईंले देखेअनुसार उनिहरुले हिंसालाई अरु कस्तो रणनिति प्रयोग गरेर सम्बोधन गरे ? (In the cases that you described, the survivors attempted to address the violence they experienced by _____. What are some of the other strategies you've seen that have been used by them [those who have experienced domestic violence] to address violence?)
- तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको घटनामा परिवारका सदस्यहरुले आफूले भोगेको हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्न ..... गरे। तपाईंले देखेअनुसार परिवारका सदस्यहरुले हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न अरु कस्तो रणनिति प्रयोग गरे? (In the cases that you described, the family members attempted to address the violence they experienced by _____. What are some of the other strategies you've seen that have been used by family members to address violence?)
- विगतमा परिवार र समुदायले घरेलु हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्ने विषयमा के सकारात्मक तथा नकारात्मक परिवर्तन भएको ? (What significant events have changed how families and communities address domestic violence?)
- तपाईंले अघि उल्लेख गर्नु भएका घटनाहरू भन्दा अगाडि परिवार र समुदायले कसरी पारिवारिक हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गरेका थिए ? (How did families and communities address domestic violence before the events you mentioned?)
- सेवा प्रदायकको रुपमा तपाईंको कामको दौरानमा तपाई वा अर्को सेवा प्रदायकले परिवार वा समुदायका सदस्यहरूलाई हिंसाको अनुभव गर्ने व्यक्तिलाई सहयोग गर्न प्रेरित गरेको कुनै एउटा

घटना सम्झन सक्नुहुन्छ ? के भएको थियो ? (In your work as a service provider, can you remember a time when you or another service provider convinced family or community members to help someone who experienced violence? What happened?)

- के कुराले गर्दा परिवार अथवा समुदायले सहयोग गर्ने निधो गरे ? (What made family or community members decide to help?)

Data analysis. Data analysis was carried out using standard practices in the analysis of qualitative data, such as multiple readings, coding, categorizing the data, and the use of memos and diagrams to find patterns within the data (Saldaña, 2021). First, Nepali transcripts were read multiple times to familiarize myself with the text. In the first round of coding, passages were marked that discussed strategies to address DV, contexts that either enabled or constrained the use or effectiveness of these strategies, and the outcomes sought. Strategies were labeled using process codes, with gerunds ending in 'ing,' as these reflect action in the data (Saldaña, 2021). Next, the codes used to capture strategies were listed. Through second cycle coding, I recategorized strategies to reveal a more meaningful interpretive array, grouping strategies by their similarities and goals (Saldaña, 2021). Analytic memos were used to summarize resulting categories, what was included within them, the conditions in which strategies were used and perceived to be useful, and the outcomes sought (Saldaña, 2021). Finally, I returned to the coded excerpts, still embedded within the transcripts, to check and refine my understanding of the contexts and sought outcomes of the strategies used.

Research quality and integrity. Throughout the research process, I used several techniques to enhance trustworthiness and to reflect on how my perspectives influenced the research. In each phase of the study, I consulted with collaborators in Pokhara, as well as scholars working in the region, and/or in the fields of domestic violence, gender, and development. I used fieldnotes and memos to keep track of observations, operational decisions,

and emerging analyses, and to reflect on how my own positioning, theoretical framework, and commitments impacted the research and writing processes (Birks & Mills, 2011). Theorizing that service providers would also be translating their work for me, based in how they constructed my identity, I also marked fieldnotes and transcripts for these constructions, to consider during analysis the ways service providers' constructions of me might have influenced our conversations. Iterations of this manuscript were shared with Nepali scholars who are familiar with the region, language, and issues of gender-based violence. I also consulted with multiple Nepali-speaking individuals, including my own long-time Nepali teacher, about assertions made in the manuscript the connotations of words in Nepali language. These consultations helped me to consider how to clarify and make explicit understandings that were implicit within the interviews, such as knowledge about family life in Nepal or the connotations of words in Nepali language.

Results

According to service providers, the ability to effectively address DV hinged on the social support that survivors garnered, especially from family members. By definition, survivors experienced DV from members of their own families, where violence from husbands and in-laws (to wives and daughters-in-law) were the most common stories told and responses to husbands and in-laws figured prominently within the discussions of strategies. Despite the violence experienced in the household, for some survivors, living within an extended family household offered important opportunities for intervention with members of the same household. When such support was unavailable or insufficient to stop violence and create a more tenable living situation for survivors, the natal families of survivors and, in some cases, the husband's extended family networks were engaged. Support from family members was essential, not just to help survivors to live without DV, but to do so in such a way that they could continue to enjoy the

long-term security, rights, and opportunities that were afforded through the life of the family. In the following sections, I describe how survivors sought support from family members, the ways that family members confronted those using DV, and instrumental support offered from family members to survivors.

Seeking support from family members

Within extended family households, if one or more people used violence, there were many cases described in which others witnessed the violence and served as supports to survivors. Service providers described a common pattern of seeking support that began within the households in which survivors lived, extending to the non-cohabitating family network if more support was needed, followed by community networks, and, usually as a last resort, formal services. As one service provider stated:

> डोमेस्टिक भायोलेन्स भनेको मेरो विचारमा परिवारमा जसले जसलाई गरेको हुन सक्छ। कोहि सर्पोटिभ हुन सक्छ। त्यो सर्पोटिङ्ग पाएपछि त्यो उनीहरूको मेन स्ट्रयाटेजी हो भन्ने लाग्छ मलाई्।
>
> When talking about domestic violence, in my opinion, in families there may be someone using domestic violence but there is someone else who plays a supportive role. I feel that finding that support is their [survivors'] main strategy.

Such support seeking began with having someone to listen to survivors, and to show them love and care, even when they did not openly discuss the violence. One service provider stated that finding such support could help survivors to feel, "मेरो लागि कोहि न कोहि त छ नि !" ("At least there is someone [here] for me!") and stated that this feeling could help those experiencing DV to continue to move forward with less despair.

Service providers observed that at the time of marriage and the woman's move into her husband's familial home, women had the initial task of building supportive relationships with their husbands' families. In many cases they earned credibility in the household and garnered support from their in-laws by demonstrating their trustworthiness as well as respect and care for

their in-laws. At other times, they worked and contributed to the family economically, or contributed by being level-headed and providing good advice to family members. The development of such relationships made it possible for married women to ask for help should they experience violence from their husbands. In cases in which married women experienced violence from in-laws, they could seek support from their husbands. Besides the immediacy of support sought within the household, where possible, using this strategy before seeking support outside of the household enabled survivors to demonstrate that they were concerned with maintaining the status of the family in the eyes of the wider society.

Sometimes, survivors directly asked their husbands or in-laws for help to procure legal documents. For instance, according to a service provider, one woman who separated from her husband's family after becoming physically disabled and experiencing severe neglect from her husband's family, said to him: "ठीक छ अब तपाई मलाई यसरी टर्चर गर्नुभन्दा मलाई कानूनी रुपमा उ.....गरिदेऊ । पहिला विबा दर्ता गरिदिनुहोस् । अनि त्यसपछि मलाई डिर्भोस दिनुहोस् ।" ("Okay. Instead of abusing me in this way, [help me] through the legal channels. First, make the marriage certificate, then give me a divorce.") In some cases, in which survivors and their spouses had a love marriage which was either not known about or accepted by his family, survivors travelled long distances in search of their husbands' relatives. For example, one woman who separated from her husband after repeated physical abuse traveled to his family home a long distance away to meet them (his parents had not known about her) and ask them to help her with the marriage certificate and birth certificates for her children. As described by service providers, such efforts were more likely to be successful when more powerful persons (including family members, community members, and service providers) demonstrated their support for survivors or put pressure on family members to implement women's legal rights. Obtaining such documents was

necessary to pursue divorce and gain rights to custody of children, property, alimony, and child support.

In some cases, support from the husband's family was not available or not sufficient to stop DV, or both the husband and other family members were united in their violence towards the woman. In such cases, married women sought support from their natal family, or *māiti*. Service providers noted that members of the *māiti* would attempt to help the woman, but that if they were relatively less powerful (in terms of education, economic status, caste etc.), then it could be difficult for them to intervene. When available, members of the *māiti* provided emotional support, encouragement, advice, and instrumental support such as providing a temporary or permanent place to stay, some economic security, and help to care for children. However, among some major cultural groups, marriage was seen to be a process through which women left their *māiti* and became a member of their husbands' household. If a woman could not succeed in the husband's home and returned home, both she and her family might be the subject of gossip and loss of status in the community. As such, the provision of shelter by the *māiti*, if offered, was often only temporary. Despite these concerns, there were many cases described in which the *māiti* did invite their daughters home to stay.

Engaging/Confronting those using DV

Service providers emphasized that, even within the household in which survivors experienced abuse, there were often other family members who supported them. Such support included listening to them and telling survivors that they were not to blame. When violence was perceived to be low-risk, mutual, or the result of a misunderstanding, family members might mediate between parties. For example, one service provider stated:

> मिल्यो भन्नाले अब कोहि झगडा भएको हुन्छ । केस गर्नु नपर्ने त कुरा नबुझेर पनि झगडा गर्ने हुन्छ नि त । होइन ? त्यो मात्रै मिलाउने मिल्नेसम्म मिलाएर पनि आउँछ । डिर्भोसको कुरा पो

> लास्टै भयो । डिर्भोसको कुरा हो, होइन ? सासू बुहारी नमिलेको घरमा श्रीमान श्रीमती मिलेछ भने त डिर्भोस होइन नि । व्यवहार मिलाउने मात्र हो भने ।
>
> Working it out means, for some there is fighting. There is not the need to file a case. People also fight because they misunderstand one another, no? All that is needed is to work it out, as far as working it out is possible, and cases can be resolved by working it out. When talking about divorce, divorce is only the last option, no? For example, in the household, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law don't get along, but the husband and wife are getting along, then there won't be divorce. If it is just a matter of adjusting behavior.

The goal of working it out was to hear multiple sides and mediate between them, to increase understanding between parties, and come up with solutions. For instance, one service provider described a case in which family members sought to get their son to consider what his part in the problem might be, saying, "किन यस्तो गरेको त ? तँबाट केहि गल्तीहरू होला, तिमीहरू दुवै जना बसेर छलफल गरम । हामी सबै जना बसेर छलफल गरम । के गरम ?" ("Why did you do this? There might be some mistake from your side. Let's sit down and talk with both of you. Let's all sit together and talk. What should we do?")

In other cases, family members directly told those using violence to stop. The Nepali term *samjhāunu* was often used to describe this strategy. Literally this word is usually translated as "to remind" but in practice it has a stronger connotation than in English. In this context, it means admonishing, reminding someone of what they already know to be right, or the ways in which their actions have breached social norms. When a person is very upset, *samjhāunu* can also be a process of providing them perspective that can help them gain control over their emotions.

Within a single household, if one person used DV, others might remind them to stop. Some service providers described how women in the family might speak on behalf of other women. One stated: "जस्तो नन्दहरू, आफ्नो सासूहरूले सर्पोट गरेको पाएको छ । त्यहीं कोहि कोहि केटा

मान्छेहरू टोटली विरुद्ध हुन्छ ।" ("For example, one can find little sisters-in-law, [her] own mother-in-law supporting [the daughter-in-law]. Some are totally against the men.")

The most serious forms of dv described were often those used by husbands themselves. In such cases, his own parents could be powerful allies. For example, one service provider recounted, "In many good families, they try to stop to the person who is doing the abuse to their wife." She continued:

> मेरो एक जना साथी हुनुहुन्छ । उहाँको आफ्नो फेमिलीले बुहारीको पक्षमा बोल्नु हुन्छ । They say, "बुहारी is ठीक । You are bad. So you stop the violence." अनि एउटा त्यो कतिपय फेमिलीले त्यो गर्नुहुन्छ...धेरै फेमिलीहरूमा केटाहरूले आफ्नो बाबाले आमाले भनेको कुरा अन्डरस्ट्याण्ड गर्नुहुन्छ । अनि त्यसपछि त्यो स्टप हुन्छ ।...अनि फेमिलीले सर्पोट गरिदियो भने त्यो धेरै राम्रो हुन्छ ।
>
> I have a friend whose family speaks on behalf of the daughter-in-law. They say, "[Our] daughter-in-law is okay. You are bad. So you stop the violence." And that is one, in so many families this is done…In many families, men understand and do the things their fathers and mothers tell them, and then the violence is stopped…And if the family provides support, then that is very good.

According to this service provider, in cases in which men respect their parents, such support can result in stopping domestic violence. However, even when the violence did not stop this support could mitigate its negative impacts on survivors' sense of self by helping her to feel that she was not to blame. She continued in English, saying:

> And if there is still abuse at least the woman feels, "Oh someone is there to love me, to protect me. My mother-in-law, my father-in-law, they are respecting me. They are helping me. So only my husband is bad and so I am in right position." At least she doesn't blame herself… "My family is okay. Only my husband is bad, and so I am in good position."

In a separate case in which the parents-in-law did not live in the same household, and where the husband excessively drank alcohol, physically assaulted his wife, and accused her of infidelity, his parents telling him to stop was insufficient. After this did not work, his parents resorted to what this service provider perceived to be an older strategy, and one that had particularly been practiced in rural areas. They gathered a large group of their relatives and other

members of the village together, including uncles, aunts, and others in their community, and spoke on behalf of their daughter-in-law, saying,

> उनीहरूको यस्तो रहेछ । हामीलाई धेरै लामो समयदेखि थाहा थिएन् । अहिले अब...थाहा पाएपछि हामीले यस्तो यस्तो कुराहरूमा ख्याल गर्यौं...बुझ्दै जाँदाखेरि बुहारीको भन्दा पनि छोराकै गल्ति धेरै र बुहारीलाई अप्ठ्यारो अन्याय भएको हामीले पायौं...त्यसकारण अब के गर्न मिल्छ ?
>
> It has been revealed that this is happening between them. We did not know for a long time. Now…we have been paying close attention…As we have sought to understand this, it is not our daughter-in-law so much as our son who is very much at fault and we have seen, we have found, that she is in difficulties and [experiencing] injustice…So, what can be done about this?

According to this service provider, after this man's relatives and members of the community spoke with him, admonished him, and sought to help him understand, the daily violence stopped. It appeared that it was not just their actions that made the change, but their relationship as family members that he looked up to, as well as the realization that his own status in the family and community had been harmed by his behaviors, that made the intervention effective. Also, regardless of whether his behavior changed, by speaking on behalf of their daughter-in-law, the parents took away the power of their son's accusations of infidelity to harm her in the eyes of the extended family and wider community.

Instrumental Support to Survivors

Many cases that service providers came to know about were those in which immediate family members did not, or could not, effectively address DV by confronting those who used it. For some survivors, such as those who were highly educated, who had an income, or whose own natal family was powerful in relation to her husband's, service providers noted that it was relatively easy to address violence, to obtain a divorce and move on with life. However, in cases in which survivors did not have enough income to separate from those using violence, support from either the *māiti* or the husband's family was perceived to be very important to provide

immediate physical safety and longer-term security. Service providers described the importance of having such support even to begin to address DV. One service provider stated:

> उसको...साथी भाइ, छिमेकी अथवा माइती कसैले सर्पोट गर्‌यो भने पनि " मेरो पछाडि त केहि सर्पोट छ है" भन्यो भने पनि उसलाई अलिकति स्ट्रङ्ग भन्न सजिलो हुने ।
>
> If she is able to get support from a friend, brother, neighbor, or her *māiti* (natal home), she will feel that, "At least someone has my back," and it is easier for her to be strong.

Sometimes, family members shielded survivors from violence by facilitating their temporary or permanent separation from those using violence. In cases of violence from in-laws, husbands separated their households from those of their parents. In cases of violence from a husband, some in-laws facilitated temporary separation by sending their son abroad for work. Members of the *māiti* often provided a temporary or permanent place for survivors to stay. In one case in which the husband would not support the creation of a marriage certificate, a survivors' father-in-law informally provided property to his daughter-in-law to support her to pursue higher education and start a life separate from the family. Informal separation enabled families to bypass the lengthy processes of getting legal documents and going through the court system. In some cases, it could enable families, especially women, to avoid the social stigma of divorce. However, informal separation did not necessarily guarantee a survivors' legal rights in the long term.

At times family members provided the evidence needed for survivors to obtain legal documents including citizenship cards, marriage certificates, and birth certificates of their children. On the one hand, by documenting survivors' legal rights to citizenship (and thus the right to employment and pursue higher education) as well as their connections to the family, such documents could increase survivors standing within their husbands' families. On the other hand, possessing such documents increased the options available to survivors, including divorce with

rights to child custody, alimony, child support, and property intact. In a case described by one service provider, parents-in-law who had never met their daughter-in-law nevertheless took responsibility for their son's marriage and his use of violence, helping her to create a marriage certificate for her and birth certificates for her children. In another case, a young married woman's husband died while she was pregnant. She had no citizenship card, and no marriage certificate. Because of social stigma against young, widowed women, she was at first compelled to return to her *māiti.* However, her mother-in-law later relented. After learning about her daughter-in-law's rights from others in the community, she created a citizenship card for her and publicly promised to provide her daughter-in-law and grandson a share of the property equal to that which was due to her own sons.

Although divorce was often stigmatized, there were several cases described in which families, including in-laws, supported survivors to obtain a divorce. In such cases, court processes themselves were long, shelter services were extremely limited, and staying with family members who used violence was not a safe option. Therefore, having family members, usually from the *māiti*, who provided a place for survivors and their children to stay—as well as food to eat—was crucial in such cases. In one case, a family who had initially discouraged their daughter from pursuing divorce, nevertheless cared for her children so that she could pursue employment abroad after divorce. In addition to this, there were cases in which in-laws themselves encouraged women to divorce from their husbands, saying "मेरो छोरा बिग्रयो । मेरो भाइ एकदम बिग्रयो । अब तिम्रो लाइफ यो मान्छेसँग जाँदैन तिमी यल्लाई डिर्भोस देऊ ।" ("My son has gone bad. My brother has gone very bad. You cannot move ahead in life with this person. Divorce him.") In this context, "*bigriyo*," which I translated as "gone bad," does not mean that he is morally bankrupt or that he must always be this way, but instead has the connotation that he has developed bad

habits. Thus, the family could continue to try to support their son even as they enabled their daughter-in-law to divorce him.

Norms related to marriage and divorce were perceived to be more flexible among some of the local Indigenous groups. One service provider described how among Gurungs and Tamang groups (two Indigenous groups in Nepal), divorce was not so heavily stigmatized for women, and that relatives would more easily encourage divorce and remarriage in cases such as DV. According to her, they would say:

> कता कता हुन्छ नि, "फलानो यस्तो भयो" भन्ने बित्तिकै अब "खत्तम भयो ल अब सिद्धियो" अर्को बिहा गर्न हुन्न भन्ने हुन्न के । खोजेर अथवा रेडि बनाइसकेको हुन्छ । थाहै हुन्न केटीलाई ! थाहै हुन्न !
>
> In some places, as soon as someone says, "This thing happened to so-and-so," [the relatives will say] "It's broken. Now it's finished." No one says you can't get married again! They'll go on and start looking for and preparing the new suitor. The woman doesn't even know! She doesn't know!

The service provider laughed as she said this. The point is not that the family is trying to force the woman experiencing violence into another marriage. What is being conveyed here is that women's relatives are sometimes very proactive in their support—even before a woman is aware of it. The service provider is drawing a contrast between the relative ease with which women can not only divorce, but also remarry, within these groups in contrast to other groups in Nepal. Of course, in cases of violence, it should be noted that service providers provided some examples of non-Indigenous families who supported their daughters' remarriage as well.

To say that survivors' families used a variety of strategies to support survivors is not to say that these strategies were always successful—hence the need for so many strategies. Service providers emphasized that the use and success of family strategies was dependent on the concerns of survivors and attitudes of family members, including their evaluation of the severity of the violence, their resources, their concerns about social status, their attitudes about domestic

violence and gendered roles in the family, the quality of relationships between family members, their attitudes about marriage and divorce, and the pressures they experienced from other family members, neighbors, and the wider community. When one strategy was not successful to stop violence, others were tried. It should be noted that there were also instances in which survivors were hesitant to seek help and/or families did not offer it. In such cases, outside sources of informal community support (especially from community groups such as Mother's Groups and Self-Help groups) and formal supports were also sought.

Beyond the variety of strategies that family members used to support survivors, such offers of support, especially when provided by the husband's family, could enable domestic violence survivors to maintain a positive connection to wider kinship networks and the community. According to service providers, when family members blamed survivors for the violence they experienced, others in the community were more likely to accept this explanation and not intervene. Conversely, when relatively powerful family members demonstrated their support for survivors, or spoke on their behalf, they helped to clarify to the wider family and community that the person experiencing violence was not to blame for the violence or the break-up of the family. This connection in turn offered its own form of security as, when such connections to kin and community were strong, survivors could call upon these extended networks for support in the future.

Discussion

This study examined the kinds of support that DV survivors sought from family members, as well as the strategies used by family members to address DV in Pokhara, Nepal and surrounding rural areas. According to service providers, separation and divorce at times presented long-term risks to survivors' well-being and life opportunities. Thus, they believed

that, in many cases, these actions were not seen as the preferable or first option that survivors wanted to pursue. According to service providers, in some cases, family responses, including providing emotional support and directly engaging or confronting those using violence, enabled survivors to experience improved conditions while remaining in the family. In other cases, family members supported separation and divorce. The involvement of family members was often crucial to mitigate the economic and social risks of divorce, as well as to ensure the success of legal efforts to attain rights to children, alimony, child support, and property in legal cases.

The strategies outlined in this paper, including survivors seeking shelter in their natal homes and family members asking, or telling, those using violence to stop their behavior, have been found in other studies about help-seeking and family support in South Asia (Khan, 2015; Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). Whereas these strategies sometimes met with success according to service providers in this study, previous studies have generally found that such efforts met with limited success. For example, women returning to their natal families was usually seen to be only a temporary solution which, in some cases, could backfire if, for example, the husband took new wife (Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). When the natal family confronted those using violence, this often resulted in no real changes, and sometimes increased violence from family members (Khan, 2015; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). While engaging and confronting those using DV was a strategy that entailed risk, and service providers recounted that there were times in which this strategy, alone, was not effective in stopping violence, they also described cases in which this intervention made it possible for survivors could live without violence, without separation and divorce. A few service providers described this as an older approach, echoing the assertions of other researchers on gender-based violence in Nepal that

strong Nepali family supports have long played a protective role to support those experiencing DV (Deuba & Rana, 2001).

There are a several possible reasons for these different findings about the role of family support to address DV in South Asia, despite similarities in family structure and marriage practices. First, in contrast to this study which asked about service providers' knowledge about domestic violence across differences in socio-economic status, most previous studies were carried out in resource poor settings (Decker, et al., 2013; Khan, 2015; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008). Since these studies found that a lack of economic options for survivors outside of their husbands' families was a major barrier to addressing DV (Decker, et al., 2013; Khan, 2015; Paul, 2016; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008), this is likely a major reason that violence could not be adequately addressed in these settings. Second, in research conducted in community settings, given concerns about sharing family problems to outside the family, those survivors who were relatively satisfied with the outcome of family support might decline to discuss the violence they had experienced. One study was carried out among survivors already involved in counseling and shelter services (Panchanadeswaran & Koverola, 2005). Given this sample, it is not surprising that family support alone could not sufficiently address DV.

Both service providers' interpretations of DV survivors' experiences, and my interpretations of these, come from our positionings between worlds and should be interpreted considering these positionings. While many service providers drew on a wealth of practice experiences, and they described how they sought to respect the wishes of survivors in the provision of services, the decision to talk with providers instead of survivors limited this study in some important ways that may also explain differences from previous study findings. First, had I

spoken with survivors directly they might have expressed a different evaluation of whether or not they found the strategies used, or case outcomes, to be satisfactory. Second, although in some instances, service providers described cases with which they were personally acquainted, many of which had never reached a formal service setting, in other cases, some stressed that the volume of need compared to the time service providers had the resources to offer at times barred them from offering the ongoing in-person monitoring they would have liked. Given findings in other studies that the resolution of DV was often only temporary (Khan, 2015; Paul, 2016; Ragavan, Iyengar, & Wurtz, 2015; Schuler, Bates, & Islam, 2008), the limited time that service providers sometimes had with survivors might have precluded some knowledge about repeated violence.

I theorized that service providers not only interpreted their interactions with survivors and families but did so with a specific audience in mind—that is, me, the researcher. The relatively positive picture painted by service providers in relation to other literature on family support for DV in South Asia, could be due to things that service providers declined to share with me because of my outsider identities or a desire to present their work in a positive light. The findings should be interpreted considering these possibilities. My outsider identities were present in the interviews. For example, in several interviews, service providers made requests related to my current or future research, as well as for me to be involved in the development of projects to address DV in Nepal. It is likely that explanations were offered in language I would understand and that comparisons (such as between Nepal and the U.S.) were drawn to help me to make sense of service providers' experiences and perspectives. However, it is difficult to make conclusions about the effects of my outsider status in interviews, as participants also often evoked my insider identities, including my experiences as a woman, as a *buhārī*, and as a

practitioner and colleague in Pokhara. Such constructions of my identity showed up when service providers suggested that some of their descriptions of family life were things I already understood because of these experiences. It is also important to note that even though I did not specifically ask about unsuccessful cases, service providers shared such cases, including those in which they were currently involved.

For this study, I also theorized my own role as postcolonial translator. My outside identities, and my imperfect Nepali, have likely meant that there were nuances in service providers' words that were lost to me and thus limited the interpretations I could make. On the other hand, my positioning as a person involved in a U.S.-based academic institution, to speak to and trouble the privileging of dominant international frameworks, such as those that largely frame DV as only happening between intimate partners. By asking service providers about strategies, I have sought to highlight knowledge that DV service providers have acquired through practice which had not been represented in literature on DV in Nepal. In my attempts to elucidate contexts or to dive into the meanings of words like *samjhāunu*, I have come to realize that each such explanation only opens up a tiny window into a different way of perceiving and interacting in the world. Thus, there is much that I could not capture in these pages. Readers should keep my positioning and commitments in mind, as well as your own, when making sense of these findings.

Limitations

An important limitation of this study is that I did not speak with survivors directly. Although I made this decision to avoid potential harm to participants, especially considering my outsider identities, postcolonial and other critical scholars have long argued that that those who experience oppression have knowledge to share about their experiences that tend to be

obfuscated when observed from positions of relative privilege (Moya, 1997). Given that survivors have the most at stake in how practitioners and policy makers address DV, it remains very important to hear their stories of DV and efforts to address it. Second, though I sought to speak with service providers representing diverse organizations—and was largely successful in this goal, the views of service providers coalesced around issues of DV against women in general. Thus, although intersecting experiences based in LGBTQ+ identities, single womanhood, disabilities, low-caste status, poverty, and involvement in sex work were shared by participants, this study was not able to understand such experiences in depth.

Conclusion

This study found that service providers perceived families to be the first source of support that survivors sought, and that family members used a wide array of strategies to address DV, including confronting those using violence and providing emotional and instrumental support to survivors. Service providers perceived that when family members acted as supports for survivors, these actions could lead to improved situations for survivors, including the improved sense of well-being that comes from survivors' knowledge that they are not to blame and that there are those who will support them, situations in which violence was stopped even though survivors stayed in the same household with those who had harmed them, and situations in which survivors were able to leave with better economic, social, and legal supports in place than would have been possible without family or other outside support. Thus, although DV happens within the family, this research suggests that supportive family members remain an extremely important resource for survivors in Pokhara and surrounding areas, as well as for those in similar contexts in which family is a central player in individuals' economic and social well-being. Therefore,

where possible and when desired by survivors, supportive family members should be engaged and assisted to address DV.

CONCLUSION

"We are looking for the good world through the *ānkhi jhyāl*."

-Focus group discussion participant

This dissertation explored issues of global epistemic justice through the case of Nepali DV service provision in Pokhara, Nepal. Given uneven terrains of global knowledge and power existing across Nepali and international development organizations, the first question this dissertation explored was how knowledge grounded in local practice could meaningfully inform international understandings of DV, which in turn impact international policy. Second, this dissertation asked what the knowledge of Nepali DV practitioners could elucidate about DV and strategies to address it. In paper one, I drew on postcolonial theory to illuminate a theory of knowledge and power. I then proposed three postcolonial analytic strategies for conducting research that has the capacity to inform dominant frameworks. The analytic strategies I proposed were reflexivity, critical discourse analysis, and postcolonial translation. In papers two and three, I applied these strategies to two empirical analyses of data generated with DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal. I argue that this research not only elucidates contextually and culturally responsive DV practice in Nepal, but also challenges dominant international assumptions about what it means to address DV. Below, I briefly summarize the substantive findings of the papers two and three. This is followed by reflections on the analytic strategies I used in the dissertation, and the analyses that were made possible and those which were constrained by these strategies, my own positioning, relationships, and commitments, and decisions made in the research process. I then discuss future directions for research suggested by this dissertation.

Empirical Findings

This dissertation found that, like international policy documents, service providers understood DV as a pattern of behaviors that made sense within an analysis of patriarchy. However, unlike these documents, service providers additionally constructed violence behaviors as including those which denied survivors the entitlements and rights accorded to them through the family. Such behaviors included withholding material and care support, denying survivors' belonging within the family, seeking to force survivors to leave the home, and blocking them from obtaining the legal documents needed to secure citizenship status and the rights accorded to them (e.g. rights to property, employment, education, custody of their children) by the state. Thus, in addition to constructing DV within the context of patriarchy, service providers also understood DV behaviors within the context of the centrality of family for economic and social well-being, as well as for legal standing in Nepal.

Although, by definition, it was family members who used DV against survivors, according to service providers, the central role of family also offered important opportunities for intervention, including providing emotional and instrumental support to survivors and confronting those using violence. Although such actions did not guarantee a satisfactory outcome, they could lead to improved situations for survivors, including the improved sense of well-being that comes from survivors' knowledge that they are not to blame and that there are family members who support them, situations in which violence was stopped even though survivors stayed in the same household with those who had harmed them, and situations in which survivors were able to leave with better economic, social, and legal supports in place than would have been possible without family or other outside support.

The empirical findings of this dissertation offer understandings of DV in Nepal and strategies to address it which are contextually and culturally grounded in the practice experiences

of service providers. They illuminate the central role of the family as the primary means through which individuals in Nepal, especially women, are connected to the wider society, economic resources, and their legal rights. This centrality of the family underlies the great harms to survivors' well-being and their life options caused by DV, as well as the great potential of family to respond to DV and safeguard survivors' well-being in both the short and long-term. Although there were aspects of family life and political practices that were particular to Nepal, by considering the similarities in constructions of DV and the contexts in which DV occurs across settings, and by illuminating the actions Nepali family members take to address violence, I argue that this research holds a mirror up to the limitations of, and assumptions embedded within, international development knowledge and policy. I now return to reflection on the analytic strategies that were used to make this assertion.

Reflections on Postcolonial Analytic Strategies

Concerned as this dissertation was with the interface between practitioners and dominant international knowledge and policy, and my own positioning as an outsider with relative proximity to colonial centers of knowledge and power, much attention in this dissertation was given to how I might cultivate capacities to hear and communicate ways of understanding the world that challenged colonizing worldviews. As described in paper one, the authority vested in colonial knowledge has long been maintained by either subsuming diverse ways of understanding the world under dominant cultural rubrics and/or dismissing differences as Other. Often this happens without the conscious efforts of the actors involved, as we are all—to greater or lesser degrees—caught within nets of knowledge and power. Each of the postcolonial analytic strategies described in paper one has supported the interpretations recounted in this dissertation.

Below, I take the opportunity to reflect on some of the interpretations my approach to this research has enabled and constrained.

Reflexivity

Reflexive analysis has played a crucial role in this dissertation. I have reflected on my own positioning, the relationships developed with participants and their views of me, and how each of these aspects may have impacted research findings. For example, one facet of postcolonial reflexivity is that it explores identities and positionalities through anti-essentialist lens. This means giving attention to the co-constructed nature of identities and relationships, which may lead different identities (or identities projected by collaborators) to become salient at different points in the research process (Carranza, 2018). I expected that within research interactions my outside identities would be salient. Indeed, these identities—such as that of the researcher or a potential future donor—were present. However, examination of fieldnotes and transcripts revealed that service providers additionally evoked my identities as a woman, a wife, a *buhari* (and sometimes more specifically as a Newari *buhari*), and as a colleague in Pokhara, thus complicating my outsider status.

In addition to considering identities, I have drawn on the work of Nagar and Geiger (2014) to argue that postcolonial reflexivity should include reflection on institution and geopolitical entanglements of those engaged in research as well as the commitments of researchers. As an outsider I wanted to focus on negotiations of knowledge at the interface between Nepali service providers and international organizations, and to center this dissertation on what outsiders could learn from DV service providers in Pokhara, Nepal. Furthermore, because of the relationships that I had developed while living and working in Pokhara, I embarked on this project with trust that service providers had knowledge to offer about DV and strategies to address it which was not found in international representations of these issues. There

is an important body of literature that examines the ways in which NGO proliferation, NGO uptake of social activism, and the impact of funding structures and practices on service provision which this dissertation has not addressed (Bernal & Grewal, 2014; INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2007). While such processes of NGO-ization are very relevant to questions of epistemic justice across development organizations, I found, similar to previous scholarship on this issue (Bernal & Grewal, 2014; Chowdhury, 2011), that service providers and organizations, their relationships with donors, and their involvement in social movements were very diverse and not easily encapsulated by any one pattern described in the NGO-ization literature. Also, Chowdhury (2011) has cautioned that critiques of these processes within developing countries are more likely to harm smaller local NGOs than the national or international NGOs that have disproportionate power to structure donor relationships. I designed this project with the intention to recognize and potentially support the work of service organizations addressing DV in Nepal. Thus, while I do intend, in the future, to examine the diverse ways that donor priorities impact service provision, my interest in maintaining and being accountable to relationships with DV service providers in Pokhara is one of the commitments which should be considered when interpreting this dissertation.

Discursive Comparison

Although the analytic strategy of discursive comparison is not foregrounded in the findings of the dissertation, it was a bedrock both in the design of interviews and focus groups and the interpretation of constructions of DV found in paper two. Because I theorized that service providers would seek to translate for me, an outsider, using language and discourses that they perceived were familiar to me, I deliberately asked questions and probed responses that could yield information about understandings that might lie outside of the more familiar international discourses of human rights and gender equality. For example, I asked service

providers to compare between the priorities of the organization and those of donors. At other times such comparisons arose organically within the interviews, such as when service providers drew comparisons between Nepal and the U.S. While analyzing the data, I paid close attention to these comparisons as these provided insight into the figured worlds of service providers (Gee, 2014). As will be described below, it was through elaboration on these differences in discourse that I was able reflect on the degree to which they represented incommensurabilities, which are critical to the task of postcolonial translation.

Although I undertook discursive comparison deliberately for the analysis described in paper two, I have come to realize that any qualitative research seeking to understand participants' perspectives offers opportunities to compare discourses because we are always comparing our findings to those bodies of knowledge that already exist. Thus, I found through writing this paper that I was not comparing two sets of discursive data, but at least three: 1) service providers' perspectives, 2) the international women's rights policy documents, and 3) behavioral approaches to understanding DV. These different discourses, and the different audiences that endorse them have important implications for the final analytic strategy used in this dissertation: postcolonial translation.

Postcolonial Translation

For the sake of this study, I proposed that postcolonial translation refers to the process of considering social phenomena through multiple cultural lenses and communicating resulting knowledge in ways that may include shared understandings, but that also disrupt the authority of dominant frameworks. In some ways, I believe this strategy was successful. For example, through the analysis I conducted for paper two, I found that there were both important similarities and differences in constructions of DV forwarded by policy documents and service providers. One possible explanation for this difference was that service providers' constructions

of DV were merely the result of the particularities of the local context. Indeed, there were specific patterns in social life and state practices relating to legal documentation that may not apply in many parts of the world. However, the withholding of economic resources, the use of gender stereotypes to control DV survivors, and the ways in which those using violence leveraged state institutions against survivors have all been documented across diverse contexts, including within in wealthy countries (Lindhorst & Edleson, 2012; Postmus, Hoge, Breckenridge, Sharp-Jeffs, & Chung, 2020; Stark, 2007). Also, worldwide women are disproportionately dependent on the family for their economic standing (Kabeer, 1994/2003). For these reasons, I have argued that a more plausible explanation for the differences in constructions of DV can be explained by the postcolonial concept of incommensurability, in which the cultural perspectives embedded in international policy documents prized individuality and assumed that women can relatively easily become economically and socially independent. This analysis is consistent with critiques long forwarded by transnational feminists (Chowdhury, 2009; Falcón, 2016; Mohanty, 1991), who have further pointed out that such assumptions embedded within the dominant international feminist frameworks have legitimized the power wielded by relatively privileged (especially white and wealthier) constituencies through downplaying the role played by social relations of class, race, or other systems of oppression in the persistence of DV.

By asking about strategies used to address DV in Nepal, paper three sought to employ postcolonial translation in a different way. Here again, I found myself seeking to translate for two bodies of literature in my discussions of the strategies outlined by service providers: 1) academic literature on family supports for intimate partner violence, which was the primary frame within the paper, and 2) development literature, which was the focal point of this

dissertation as a whole. On the one hand, framing DV through the lens that I did which incorporated a view of extended family life, and not trying to force service providers' narratives into the framework of intimate partner violence, held a mirror up to the cultural assumptions of a normative nuclear family structure, which framed literature on help-seeking. On the other hand, examining the strategies used by survivors and families to address DV, I sought to disrupt a development narrative that constructs Nepal and other low-income countries through a culturally essentialist deficit lens (Willey-Sthapit, 2018).

In both papers two and three, the discovery that there was not one, but multiple potential audiences for this dissertation complicated the work of challenging colonizing discourses. Upon consideration, this multiplicity is consistent with the perspective that colonization and neocolonization support overarching structures global privilege and oppression through means that are diffuse and place-, or in this case, discipline-specific (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997). This meant that any attempt to disrupt dominant discourse was an intervention in only one of the many capillaries, to use Foucault's (1980) term, through which colonial knowledge can operate.

In addition to the limitations of postcolonial translation wrought by the sheer number of potential audiences, I found postcolonial translation is limited in its ability to enable readers to comprehend rich worldviews and the ways of being in the world that are made possible through them. Ang (1997) asserted that commensurabilities in discourse enable conversation while incommensurabilities, accompanied by shared commitments, propel us to go on communicating. In service to communication, the papers that make up this dissertation conformed to many of the conventions and assumptions that I either shared with intended audiences or that I constructed these audiences as holding. Thus, I have found that my efforts at postcolonial translation only

took the form of small interventions; that is, opening tiny windows onto ways of understanding and interacting with the world that might spur readers to further reflection.

The realization that my efforts at postcolonial translation were limited to opening small windows onto worldviews outside of dominant perspectives was largely the result of the surprising joys of translating Nepali into English, accompanied by the impossibility of this task. When I undertook to translate quotes that I selected to illustrate research findings, I quickly became entranced with the quest for English turns of phrase (and punctuation) that not only represented the literal meaning of the words used, but also the feelings conveyed by service providers through their use of language. For example, I was delighted to rediscover the emphasis provided by the monosyllabic suffixes and words (like "ai" "ke" and "ta") which I had come to take for granted as a long-time Nepali speaker. Yet, I was only able to expand on a few key words and phrases in this manuscript, such as *māiti*, *māyā garnu*, and *samjhāunu*. The creative effort to translate the connotations of these words, the cultural comparisons and musings sparked through conversations with Nepali speakers about their meanings, and the ability of a single word to begin to express the rich worldviews underlying it, demonstrated for me both the power of language, and the impossibility of translating the whole, even were I able to apprehend it.

As discussed in paper one, postcolonial translation need not entail communication with centers of colonial knowledge and power. The next task that I intend to take on for this project is to present these findings back to service providers in Pokhara and, if it remains of interest, to plan with them steps for the dissemination of this research in ways that could support their work. When sharing my research with service providers, rather than positioning myself as an expert bringing knowledge back to Nepal, I wish to share findings, seek comments and feedback (which will inform future iterations of these manuscripts), and reflect on what the research has

illuminated for me as a white researcher from the U.S. I hope that these interactions will spark deeper reflexive dialogue about the strengths and limitations of various approaches to DV.

Limitations

When considering the substantive findings in relation to this dissertation, it is important to note that this study describes service providers' interpretations of survivors' experiences. As has been discussed throughout the dissertation, service providers occupy places in-between survivors and the policies in international organizations. I have argued that this borderlands positioning offers opportunities for the practice-based insights of service providers to shed light dominant international understandings of DV. However, it is important to understand the experiences of survivors themselves; they may interpret their circumstances differently than service providers and they have the most at stake in how practitioners and policy makers address DV. Additionally, although stories of how intersecting experiences of privilege and oppression impacted survivors' experiences were sought and told, when gathered together, service provider narratives and this dissertation have largely centered the experiences of women in general. Thus, there is much more to be understood about the ways in which class and other intersecting experiences of oppression impact DV and strategies to address it in Nepal.

Future Directions for Research

When juxtaposing the findings of the second and third papers of this dissertation, it is clear that family members can do great harm, as well as great good in the lives of survivors. Also, especially within relatively large extended families, one person might use violence and others might help. However, there were cases discussed by service providers in which family support, if offered at all, was insufficient to improve the conditions in which DV survivors lived. For this reason, it is important to explore the ways in which social affiliations outside of normative family life can also support the well-being and opportunities available to survivors.

Other studies have found that community groups that are formed that emphasize solidarity or self-help, such groups can improve women's standing within their families and communities (Brody, et al., 2015:19; Kabeer, 2012) Therefore, future research should assess the roles that are taken up by community members, including community groups, to address women's empowerment or other concerns, and to examine whether and how such strategies impact DV. In addition to this, service provider stories suggested that intersecting systems of oppression impacted the experiences of DV and opportunities available to address it for marginalized women (such as those who are single/widowed, sex workers or trafficking survivors, disabled, Dalit, or poor) and members of the LGBTQ+ community. Future explorations should examine in more depth how DV experiences for specific marginalized groups intersect with discrimination and violence from the wider society, and the extent to which these groups perceive current Nepali and international women's human rights practice to address their concerns.

In this dissertation, I have argued that knowledge about DV in Nepal has been deeply influenced by the assumptions and frameworks of wealthy (mostly Western) countries. These frameworks have impeded knowledge about the resources and strategies that are used to address it in Nepal. Future research can take further steps to hold up a mirror to Western countries and international institutions concerned with development and human rights. For example, formulations of social issues forwarded by international institutions have tended to neglect the impacts of international contexts and trends in their analyses of violence against women (Fulu & Miedama, 2015). Given service providers' discussions of the impacts of changing economic contexts, increasing migration, and other transnational trends on family life, future research should examine the positive and negative impacts of such changes on family life in Nepal. Finally, there is an important body of research that examines the ways in which funding

structures of donors and NGOs impact both the functioning of organizations as well as the types of activism that NGOs enable or constrain (Bernal & Grewal, 2014; Chowdhury, 2011; INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2007). Thus, future research should examine how donor practices and priorities structure work on DV within and across NGOs, as well as how service providers negotiate between donor, organization, and community concerns when seeking to address DV.

Final Remarks

Economist Naila Kabeer recently asked, "Is it possible for women to recognize and deal with injustices embedded in the social relationships that define their identities and give meaning to their lives without at the same time negating or undermining these relationships?" (Kabeer, 2012, p. 223). This question was echoed in the stories, concerns, and strategies that DV service providers shared with me. Listening to interviews and analyzing research interactions, I have become convinced that many service providers—especially those who identified as women and third gender—were deeply connected to ideas of respect and equality expressed in the human rights lens. Service providers also expressed frustrations between the promise of human rights and its reality, and they sought to operationalize women's rights in ways that were consistent their understanding of the central roles that family and wider social relationships play in maintaining individuals' well-being and improving life opportunities for survivors across multiple dimensions. This process underscores the idea of negotiation, in which service providers in the development borderlands neither reject nor blindly adopt international understandings of DV. Instead, ideas may be taken up, rejected, elaborated upon, challenged, and changed in the process. Such translations offer rich opportunities for examining assumptions embedded within knowledge.

I will close this dissertation with a metaphor provided by one service provider that I found encapsulated the postcolonial assertation that all knowledge is partial. At the end of a focus group she remarked, “We are looking for the good world through the *ānkhi jhyāl*,” where *ānkhi jhyāl* refers to an intricately carved lattice window found in Newari architecture. When she and others in the group were asked to elaborate on this metaphor, they explained that it means that we can never see the full picture at once and that any work that we do is just a small part of the larger work that is to be done to address DV.

ENDNOTES

[i] I use standardized Latin transliteration as outlined by Turner (1931/1966), accepting the nasal *ā* sound which, due to keyboard limitations I have written as *ān.*

[ii] I say "society" rather than "my parents" because they were also raised in a racist and patriarchal colonial world and have sought to address it in their own ways. They inculcated my own curiosity about the world and different ways of knowing from a young age and are co-travelers with me on the journey to find better ways of thinking and being than the colonial frameworks we have inherited.

[iii] While some scholars use the term "postcolonial" to discuss an era after colonization in particular settings, I do not use it in this way.

[iv] Tuck and Yang's (2007) analysis discusses what they see to be distinct and sovereign about decolonization, including critique of the ways in which settlers seek to produce their own innocence by, among other things, bringing decolonization under the umbrella of other civil and human rights projects. They also discuss the limitations of postcolonial theory, which they view as largely developed outside of settler colonial contexts, to address settler colonialism.

[v] Although research was largely undertaken before this general recommendation, it provides some of the updated understandings of GBV forwarded in CEDAW. I felt it was important to include to account for possible changes in international constructions of DV over time.

[vi] Kopila Nepal

[vii] As of 2007, *tesro liṅgī* or "Third gender" became a legally recognized category in Nepal, alongside male and female (Bochenek & Knight, 2012).

[viii] Newars are considered an Indigenous (*Janati*) group in Nepal. Relative to other *Janajati* groups, Newars have experienced relatively higher socio-economic status and political participation in Nepal (Subba et al, 2014) . However, it is important to note that this experience is likely not the same across all Newars as they have also historically adopted a caste system among Newars.(pariyar and Lovett)

[ix] *Sutkeri* was presented by service providers as a crucial protected time in which an extended period of rest should be offered to mothers and family members, either from the *maiti* or husband's household, should step in to do household work and preparation of nutritious foods to support both mother and baby. In some households, frequent massages are provided to mother and baby during this time.

[x] This survivor was later able to enroll in a higher education institution live independently.

[xi] Newars are considered an Indigenous (*Janati*) group in Nepal. Relative to other *Janajati* groups, Newars have experienced relatively higher socio-economic status and political participation in Nepal (Subba, Pyakuryal, Bastola, Raut, & Karki, 2014). However, it is important to note that this experience is likely not the same across all Newars as they have also historically adopted a caste system within this ethnic group (Pariyar & Lovett, 2016).

[xii] The government of Nepal uses a mixture of ethnic, caste, and religious categories in the census and national surveys to understand the situations of different groups in Nepal (Pariyar & Lovett, 2016).

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

नमुना अन्तर्वार्ता मार्गदर्शक

भुकम्प गएको प्रसंग/सन्दर्भमा : पूर्व अन्तर्वार्ता प्रश्न

भूकम्पले तपाईको संस्थाको कामलाई असर पुऱ्याएको छ कि छैन ? यदि छ भने कस्तो असर पुऱ्याएको छ ? यसले

तपाईले काम गर्ने /सेवा गर्ने समुदायलाई कस्तो असर गऱ्यो ?

१) हिंसाको अर्थ

- के तपाईं मलाई सेवा प्रदायक रुपमा आफ्नो कार्यको दौरान सहयोग गर्नुभएको कुनै साधारण किसिमको घरेलु हिंसाको केशको वारेमा बताउन सक्नुहुन्छ?

- कुनै पनि केश हिंसाको हो कि होइन भनेर कसरी थाहा पाउनुहुन्छ ?

- यो केशमा तपाईले भन्नुभयो कि.....(मुख्य कुराको सारांश गर्नुहोस्) के त्यहां तपाइले माथि उल्लेख गर्नुभएको तरिकाको हिंसामा नपरेका तर तपाईको विचारमा अहिले पनि हिंसा भोगिरहेका मानिसहरु छन्?

- के तपाईंको संस्थाको कार्यक्षेत्र बाहिर पनि घरेलु हिंसाको केशहरु छन् ? यदि छ भने तपाईं मलाई एउटा उदाहरण दिन सक्नुहुन्छ?

- के तपाईंले मलाई तपाईंको कार्यदौरान चरम हिंसा भएको कुनै केशको बारेमा सुनाउन सक्नुहुन्छ?
-
- **तपाईंको समुदायमा आदर्श जोडि भनेर कस्तो जोडि वा कस्तो पारिवारिक सम्बन्ध भनेर चिनिन्छ? यदि यस्तो कोहि छ भने उदाहरण दिनुहोस् ।**

अब म तपाईंलाइ घरेलु हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्ने निम्न व्यक्ति वा समुहको रणनितिबारे सोध्छु ।

१) घरेलु हिंसा अनुभव गरेका व्यक्तिहरु

२) परिवारका सदस्यहरु

३) समुदायका अरु सदस्यहरु

४) विभिन्न संघसंस्था र वकालतकर्ताको समूहहरु

२) सन्दर्भ र रणनिति

- तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको केशमा घरेलु हिंसा अनुभव गरेका व्यक्तिहरुले आफुले भोगेको हिंसा संबोधन गर्न.....गरे ।
  तपाईंले देखेअनुसार उनिहरुले हिंसालाई अरु कस्तो रणनिति प्रयोग गरेर सम्बोधन गरे ?

    - यो रणनिति सफल बनाउन के के कुराले सहयोग गऱ्यो ?
    - अरुलाई यो गर्नबाट के ले रोकेको छ ?
    - तपाईंले देखेअनुसार घरेलु हिंसा अनुभव गरेका व्यक्तिहरुले घरेलु हिंसाको सामना गर्न कस्तो खालको रणनिति अपनाए?
    - तपाईंले उनिहरुमा कुन कुन सबल पक्षहरु देख्नुभयो जसले गर्दा उहांहरुले आफूले भोगेको हिंसाको सामना वा सम्बोधन गर्न सजिलो भयो ?

- तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको घटनामा परिवारका सदस्यहरुले आफूले भोगेको हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्न ..... गरे। तपाईंले देखेअनुसार परिवारका सदस्यहरुले हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न अरु कस्तो रणनिति प्रयोग गरे?

    - यो रणनिति सफल बनाउन के के कुराले सहयोग गऱ्यो ?
    - अरुलाई यो गर्नबाट के ले रोकेको छ ?
    - तपाईंले पोखरा र आसपासका क्षेत्रका परिवारका सबल पक्षहरु के के देख्नुभयो जसले हिंसा रहित पारिवारिक सम्बन्ध बनाउन सहयोग पुऱ्यायो ?

- तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको घटनामा समुदायका मानिसहरुले परिवारमा हुने हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न .....गरे ।
- तपाईंले देखे अनुसार समुदायका मानिसहरुले हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न अरु कस्तो रणनिति प्रयोग गरे?
    - यो रणनिति सफल बनाउन के के कुराले सहयोग गऱ्यो ?
    - अरुलाई यो गर्नबाट के ले रोकेको छ ?
    - तपाईंले पोखरा र आसपासका बिभिन्न समुदायका सबल पक्षहरु के के देख्नुभयो, जसले हिंसा रहित पारिवारिक सम्बन्धहरुलाई सहयोग गर्दछ।
    - तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएको केशमा बिभिन्न संघ संस्थाहरु र वकालत कर्ताहरुले हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न..... गरे।

- संघ संस्थाहरु र वकालत कर्ताहरुले हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न अरु कस्तो रणनिति प्रयोग गरे?
- हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्ने क्रममा तपाईं वा तपाईंको संस्थाले कस्ता खालका चुनौतिहरुको सामना गर्नु पर्छ ?
- तपाईंको वा तपाईंको संस्थाको सवल पक्षहरु के के छन्, जसले तपाईंलाई घरेलु हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्न सहयोग गर्दछ ।

३) दातृ संस्थाको र स्थानियस्तरको प्राथमिकता

- के तपाईंले घरेलु हिंसा सम्बन्धि तपाईको र दातृसंस्थाविचको धारणा र प्राथमिकतामा कुनै फरक पाउनुभयो ?
- के यो फरकले तपाईको काममा कुनै असर पुऱ्याएको छ ?

४) भविश्यको दिशा

- यदि तपाईंले यो समाजमा रहेको घरेलु हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न जे पनि गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ भने तपाईं के गर्नुहुन्छ ?

५) समापन (सबै अन्तर्वाताको लागि)

- के तपाईंसंग यस बिषय सम्बन्धि मलाई बताउन चाहनुभएको अरु कुनै कुराहरु छन्?

मेरो लागि प्रश्न

- यस अनुसन्धानको बिषयमा तपाईसंग अरु कुनै जिज्ञासाहरु छन् ?

पुन भेट

- के म तपाईलाई यो अनुसन्धानको पुन भेटको लागि भविष्यमा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्छु ?
- यदि यस अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धि केहि कुराहरु सोध्नु छ भने कृपया मलाई सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस् ।

सहभागिताको लागि धन्यवाद

६) समयसगं भएका परिवर्तनहरु (यदि समय रह्नयो भने)

- समग्रमा भन्नुपर्दा के तपाईंलाइ तपाईंको जिवनकालमा घरेलु हिंसा बढेको या कम भएको छ जस्तो लाग्छ ?तपाईंको अभिभावकको जिवनकालमा पनि घरेलु हिंसा बढेको या कम भएको थियो?
- (यदि बढेको भए) के कुराले बढाउन मद्दत गऱ्यो ? के त्यहां अरु कुनै कुराहरु थिए, जसले यो बढावालाइ कम गर्न मद्दत पुऱ्याएको थियो ?
- (यदि घटेको भए) के कुराले घटाउन मद्दत गऱ्यो ? के यो समयमा अरु कुनै परिवर्तनले हिंसा बढाउन सहयोग गरेको थियो ?
- के त्यहां मानिसहरुलाई प्रभाव पारेर परिवारमा हिंसा निम्त्याउन सक्ने खालको कुनै ऐतिहासिक घटना घटेको थियो ?

Interview Guide

Pre-interview questions: Context of the earthquake

- How has the earthquake affected the work of your organization? The communities you serve?

1) Meanings of violence

- **Can you tell me about a typical case of domestic violence that you handle in the course of your work as a service provider?**
- **How do you decide whether a case involves violence?**
- You mentioned that in this case _____ (summarize some of the major points). Are there people who do not have any _____ (attributes mentioned above) but who you think are still experiencing domestic violence?
- **Outside of who your agency serves, are their other cases of domestic violence? Can you provide an example of somebody who wouldn't get services here, but who you still think is experiencing violence?**
- Can you tell me about a case that you have worked with that you consider to be extreme?
- **In this community, what do you think is the ideal couple or family relationship? Can you give an example of a relationship with these qualities?**

Script: Now I will ask about the strategies employed to address domestic violence by four different groups: 1) survivors, 2) family members, 3) other persons in the community, and 4) various organizations and advocacy groups.

2) Contexts and Strategies

- In the cases that you described, the survivors attempted to address the violence they experienced by _____. **What are some of the other strategies you've seen that have been used by survivors to address violence?**
    - What made these strategies possible?
    - What stops others from doing that?

    - **What strategies for coping or addressing violence have you seen survivors employ?**
    - **What strengths have you seen in survivors that have helped them to address violence in their relationships?**
- In the cases that you described, the family members attempted to address the violence they experienced by _____. **What are some of the other strategies you've seen that have been used by family members to address violence?**
    - What made these strategies possible?
    - What stops others from doing that?
    - **What strengths have you seen in the families in and around Pokhara that support, or have potential to support, non-violent family relationships?**
- In the cases that you described, other members of the community attempted to address violence in families by _____. **What are some of the other strategies you've seen that have been used by community members to address violence?**
    - What made these strategies possible?
    - What stops others from doing that?
    - **What strengths have you seen in the various communities in and around Pokhara that support, or have potential to support, relationships that are not violent?**
- In the cases that you described, various organizations and advocacy groups attempted to address violence in families by _____. **What are some of the other strategies you've seen that have been used by organizations and advocacy groups to address violence?**
    - What made these strategies possible?
    - What stops others from doing that?

3) Donor and local priorities

- **Have you noticed any differences in your perspectives and priorities when it comes to domestic violence and those of donor organizations?**
- **How have these differences affected your work?**

4) Future Directions

- **If you could do anything to address domestic violence in this community, what would you do?**

5) Closing (ask in each interview)

- Is there anything else that you would like to share with me, related to this topic?

Questions for me:

- Do you have any other questions for me about this research process?

Follow-up:

- May I contact you in the future with any follow-up related to this research?
- Please contact me if you have any questions or concerns related to this research.

Thank you.

Only if there is time, before 3) Future Directions section:

6) Changes over time **(only if there is enough time)**

- On the whole, do you think that violence in families has increased or decreased in your lifetime? What about in your parents' lifetime?
- (If increased....) What do you think has contributed to this increase? Have there been other changes over time that might be mitigating this increase?
- (if decreased....) What do you think has contributed to this decrease? Have there been other changes over time that might at the same time be pushing for increased violence?
- Have there been any historical events that you think have significantly impacted persons' experiences of violence in families?

APPENDIX B: UPPER MANAGEMENT FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

फोकस समुह र अन्तर्वर्ता प्रस्नहरुः माथिलो व्यवस्थपन

Focus Group Questions: Upper Management

खन्द १ परिचय Part 1. Introductions

१ घरेलु हिंसाको कुन विषयले तपाईलाई यहा आउन प्रेरित गर्यो ?

What about domestic violence made you interested to come here?

खन्द २ परिवर्तनहरु Part 2. Changes over time

२) विगतमा परिवार र समुदायले घरेलु हिंसा सम्बोधन गर्ने विषयमा के सकारात्मक तथा नकारत्मक परिवर्तन भयेको छ?

२ क) पोखरा भित्र र वरिपरि

२ ख) नेपाल भित्र

२ ग) अन्तरास्त्रिय स्तरमा

प्रश्न २ को उत्तर समय रेखामा लेखुहोस्

What significant events have changed how families and communities address domestic violence? In and around Pokhara, in Nepal, and internationally? *Write the participant responses on a time line.*

३ क) (समय रेखा छलफल) के तपाइँ यस समय रेखामा परिवार र समुदायहरूले घरेलु हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गर्न अपनाउने गरेका विभिन्न तरिकाहरूमा परिवर्तन भयेको महसुस गर्नुहुन्छ ? यदि महसुस गर्नुहुन्छ भने यी परिवर्तनहरूलाई विभिन्न चरणहरूमा वर्गीकरण गर्नुहोस्?

३ ख) तपाईं यी चरणहरूको के के नाम दिनुहुन्छ?

In the timeline, do you think there are distinct stages that mark significant differences in how families and communities address domestic violence? What would you name these stages?

४ क) तपाईंले उल्लेख गर्नुभएका घटनाहरू अघि, परिवार र समुदायले कसरी पारिवारिक हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गरेका थिए?

४ ख) तपाईं यस समय रेखा भन्दा अघि आएको चरणको के नाम दिनुहुन्छ?

How did families and communities address domestic violence before the events you mentioned? Can you also name the stages that came before the timeline?

५ क) समय रेखाले तपाईलाई घरेलु हिंसा र त्यसलाई कम गर्ने प्रयासको बारेमा के बताउँछ ?

५ ख) यदि यस इतिहासको बारेमा एउटा फिल्म बनाइयो भने, फिल्मको नाम के हुनेछ?

What does the time line tell you about domestic violence and the efforts to reduce it? If a film was made on this history, what would be the name of this film?

खण्ड ३ संस्था तथा दाताका प्राथमिकताहरु Part 3. Organization and donor priorities

६ क) घरेलु हिंसामा तपाईको संस्थाको कामको लागि मुख्य प्राथमिकताहरू के हो?

६ ख) तपाईंको विचारमा, घरेलू हिंसाको सन्दर्भमा दाताहरूको मुख्य प्राथमिकताहरू के हो?

६ ग) तपाईंको विचारमा, यी मध्ये कुन प्राथमिकताहरू एक-अर्कासँग मिल्दो छन्?

६ घ) तपाईंको विचारमा, यी मध्ये कुन प्राथमिकताहरू एक-अर्कासँग कम मिल्दो छन्?

What are the main priorities of your organization's work on domestic violence? In your view, what are the donors' main priorities in their work on domestic violence? In your view, which of these priorities are compatible with each other? Which are incompatible with each other?

खण्ड ४ समुदाय र दाताका मूल्य र रणनीतिहरू Part 4. Community and donor values and strategies

७) एक समयको बारेमा सोच्नुहोस जब सामुदाय र दाताहरूले घरेलु हिंसा समाधान गर्न के कुरा महत्त्वपूर्ण पर्छ भन्ने बारेमा फरक विचार राखेका थिए।

७ क) तपाईले कस्तो भिन्नता देख्नुभयो?

७ ख) तपाईको वा तपाईंको संस्थाको प्रतिक्रिया के थियो?

Think of a time when community and donor had different views of what is important to address domestic violence. What differences did you notice? What was your organization's response in this situation?

खण्ड ५ भविष्य Part 5. Future

८) कल्पना गर्नुहोस कि १० वर्षको अवधिमा हामी धेरै कम घरेलु हिंसा देख्छौ

८ क) यसतो भविष्यको लागि, अहिले के हुनु सबै भन्दा महत्त्वपूर्ण छ?

८ ख) यस समयमा, परिवार र समुदायले कस्तो फरक तरिकाले घरेलु हिंसालाई सम्बोधन गरे?

८ ग) तपाईले यस भविष्यको चरणलाई के नाम दिनुहुन्छ?

Imagine that 10 years into the future domestic violence has been reduced. For this future, what important thing must have happened now? During the period, what different tactics did families and communities use to address domestic violence? What would you name this imagined future?

खण्ड ६ ठूलो विचार Part 6 Big idea (This was included in the guide but never asked due to lack of time)

९ क) यदि तपाईं दसगुना बधि साहसी हुनुभयो भने, तपाईले घरेलु हिंसालाई कम गर्न के ठूलो विचारको प्रस्ताव गर्नुहुन्छ?

९ ख) तपाईंको पहिलो कदम के हुनेछ?

९ ग) (अरुको विचारहरू मूल्याङ्कन गर्नुहोस्) यो विचार सफल हुने संभावना कस्तो छ ? कृपया १ देखि ५ को मापनमा स्कोर गर्नुहोस्

१ = निश्चित छैन कि यो विचार सफल हुनेछ

५ = हामीले यो विचार तुरुन्तै कार्यान्वयन गर्नुपर्छ

If you were 10 times bolder, what big idea would you propose to address domestic violence? What would be your first step? (ranking ideas of other participants) Do you think this idea is going to succeed? Rank on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 = not sure the idea will be successful, 5 = we should implement this idea immediately.

खण्ड ७ पुनरावलोकन **Part 7 Feedback**

१० क) आजको हाम्रो काममा केहि नयाँ वा रोचक थियो?

१० ख) तपाइँ कुनै प्रस्ताव वा सुझाव दिन चाहानुहुन्छ?

१० ग) तपाइँसँग थप प्रश्नहरू छन्?

Was there anything new or interesting about our work today? Any feedback/suggestions you would like to provide? Any further questions?

APPENDIX C: FIELD STAFF FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Focus Group and Interview Questions: Field staff

खन्द १ परिचय Part 1. Introductions

१ क) घरेलु हिंसाको कुन विषयले तपाईलाई यहा आउन प्रेरित गर्यो ?

१ ख) यो विषय तपाईको लागि कसरी महत्त्वपूर्ण हुन गयो?

1) What about domestic violence made you interested to come here?

2) How did this topic become important to you?

खन्द २ समुदायको रणनीति र स्रोतहरू Part 2. Community strategies and resources

२) सेवा प्रदायकको रूपमा तपाईंको कामको दौडानमा तपाईं वा अर्को सेवा प्रदायकले परिवार वा समुदायका सदस्यहरूलाई हिंसाको अनुभव गर्ने व्यक्तिलाई सहयोग गर्न प्रेरित गारेको कुन्नै एक घटना सम्झन सक्नुहुन्छ?

२ क) के भएको थियो ?

२ ख) तपाइँले वा सेवा प्रदायकहरूले यो कसरी गर्नुभयो ?

२ ग) के कुरा ले गर्दा परिवार अथवा समुदायले सहयोग गर्ने निधो गरे ?

२ घ) कस्ता परिस्थितिहरूले मद्दत गर्न सम्भव बनायो ?

२ ङ) आरु क कस्तो अवास्थाहरुमा यसले यति राम्रो काम गर्दैन थियो होला ?

In your work as a service provider, can you remember a time when you or another service provider convinced family or community members to help someone who experienced violence? What had happened? How did you/service providers do it? What made family or community members decide to help? What conditions made it possible to help? IN what other cases would this not have worked as well?

खण्ड ३ भविष्यको कल्पना गर्दै (यदि समय छ भने) Part 3. Imagining the future (if time permits)

३) कल्पना गर्नुहोस कि १० वर्षको अवधिमा हामी धेरै कम घरेलु हिंसा देख्छौ

३ क) यसतो भविष्यको लागि, अहिले के हुनु सबै भन्दा महत्त्वपूर्ण छ?

३ ख) यसको लागि समुदायमा सबै भन्दा ठुलो बाधा के हो जस्तो लाग्छ ?

३ ग) नेपाल भित्र सबै भन्दा ठुलो बाधा के हो ?

३ घ) नेपाल बाहिरबाट सबै भन्दा ठुलो बाधा के हो ?

Imagine that 10 years into the future domestic violence has been reduced. For this future, what important thing must have happened now? What is the biggest barrier to this happening in the community in which you work? What is the biggest barrier in Nepal? What is the biggest barrier outside of Nepal?

खण्ड ४ ठूलो विचार Part 4 Big idea (This Question was not asked due to limited time)

४ क) यदि तपाईं दसगुना बधि साहसी हुनुभयो भने, तपाईले घरेलु हिंसालाई कम गर्न के ठूलो विचारको प्रस्ताव गर्नुहुन्छ?

४ ख) तपाईंको पहिलो कदम के हुनेछ?

४ ग) (अरुको विचारहरू मूल्याङ्कन गर्नुहोस्) यो विचार सफल हुने संभावना कस्तो छ ? कृपया १ देखि ५ को मापन स्कोर गर्नुहोस्

१ = निश्चित छैन कि यो विचार सफल हुनेछ

५ = हामीले यो विचार तुरुन्तै कार्यान्वयन गर्नुपर्छ

If you were 10 times bolder, what big idea would you propose to address domestic violence? What would be your first step? (ranking ideas of other participants) Do you think this idea is going to succeed? Rank on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 = not sure the idea will be successful, 5 = we should implement this idea immediately.

खण्ड ५ पुनरावलोकन Part 5 Feedback

५ क) आजको हाम्रो काममा केहि नयाँ वा रोचक थियो?

५ ख) तपाइँ कुनै प्रस्ताव वा सुझाव दिन चाहानुहुन्छ?

५ ग) तपाइँसँग थप प्रश्नहरू छन्?

Was there anything new or interesting about our work today? Any feedback/suggestions you would like to provide? Any further questions?

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EDUCATION

PhD, Social Welfare	**University of Washington**	08/2021
Graduate Certificate in Feminist Studies		06/2020
Graduate Certificate in South Asia Studies		08/2021
MSSW, MFT certification	**University of Louisville**	05/2008
BA, Anthropology	**College of Wooster**	05/2005

AWARDS, HONORS, GRANTS, & FELLOWSHIPS

Outstanding Teaching Evaluations, Fall 2020 — 2020
Memorandum recognizing instructors with highest student evaluations

Boeing International Fellowship, University of Washington Graduate School — 05/2018 – 08/2018

TL1 Multidisciplinary Predoctoral Clinical Research Traineeship, — 09/2015 – 06/2017
National Institute of Health/Institute for Translational Health Science Clinical Translational Science Award

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Fellowship, — 06/2015 – 09/2015
U.S. Department of Education

GO Health Fellowship, Department of Global Health, University of Washington — 06/2015 – 09/2015

Kent School Critical Thinking Award, University of Louisville — 05/2008

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

How Service Providers Negotiate International Knowledge and Knowledge Acquired through Community Practice to Address Domestic Violence — 07/2015 – present
Sole Investigator (Dissertation): Interviews, focus groups, qualitative analysis (discourse analysis and thematic analysis)

Gender Equitable Consciousness and Behaviors Project — 06/2020 – present
Team member: Survey development, quantitative/latent class analysis, critical review of measures, writing

The Construction of Culture in International Development: An Analysis of Research Publications on Domestic Violence in Nepal — 03/2016 – 06/2019
Sole Investigator (General Exam): Critical discourse Analysis of two decades of international development organization texts

Use of Research Evidence within Domestic Violence Serving Organizations — 10/2016 – 6/2018
Research Assistant/Team Member: Conducting Interviews, preparing manuscripts

Understanding the Acquisition, Interpretation, and Use of Research Evidence in Policy and Practice 09/2014 – 06/2015
Research Assistant: Data analysis

PUBLICATIONS

Casey, E., Lindhorst, T., **Willey-Sthapit, C.** & Toews, B. (Accepted). How research evidence is defined, acquired, and shared across systems that address intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women.*

Hoxmeier, J. C., Carlson, J., Casey, E. A., & **Willey-Sthapit, C.** (Accepted). Men's participation in anti-violence activism: Frequency and relationships with demographic characteristics & history of sexual harassment perpetration. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research.*

Jen, S., Harrop, E., Galambos, C., Mitchell, B., **Willey-Sthapit, C.,** Barber, C., Storer, H. Kim, J., Gonzalez Benson, O., Zhou, Y. (Accepted). Discursive constructions during COVID-19: Calling for the critical analysis of discourse in social work in and beyond the pandemic. *Journal of the Society for Social Work Research.*

Casey, E., Lindhorst, T. & **Willey-Sthapit, C.** (2021). Assessing the evidence: How the credibility and utility of research is evaluated in systems that address intimate partner violence. *Journal of Family Violence,* 36: 259-270.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Storer, H., Jen, S., & Gonzalez Benson, O. (2020). Discursive decisions: Signposts to guide the use of critical discourse analysis in social work. *Qualitative Social Work.* https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325020979050

Willey-Sthapit, C., Valdovinos, M. G., Teyra, C., & Borja, S. (2018). Addressing global social relationships in transnational social work research processes and institutions. *European Journal of Social Work, 22*(5), p. 819-830.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (2015). News and Views: Gendered impacts of the earthquake and responses in Nepal. *Feminist Studies, 41*(3), p. 682-688.

PUBLICATIONS IN PROCESS

Storer, H., Mitchell, B., & **Willey-Sthapit, C.** (Under Review). Healthy at home? Constructions of safety in newspapers' reporting of domestic violence during the corona virus pandemic.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Lindhorst, T., & Kemp, S. (In Process). Entrenched, Unrelenting, Unsettled: Essentializing Culture in International Development Research about Domestic Violence in Nepal.

Lindhorst, T., Lohr, M. J., & **Willey-Sthapit, C.** (In Process). A longitudinal exploration of the experience of intimate partner violence among adolescent mothers.

PRESENTATIONS

Willey-Sthapit, C., Lindhorst, T., & Kemp, S. (January, 2021). *Entrenched, Unrelenting, Unsettled: Essentializing Discourses of Culture in International Development Research about Domestic Violence in Nepal.* Oral presentation as part of the symposium entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis: Analyzing Subjectivity across Themes

of Race, Culture, and Migration" organized with Gonzalez Benson, O., Kim, J. and Jen, S. (Discussant) for the Society for Social Work Research, on-line Conference.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Casey, E., & Lindhorst, T. (January, 2021). *Assessing the Evidence: How Systems that Address Intimate Partner Violence Evaluate the Credibility and Utility of Research Findings.* Oral presentation for the Society for Social Work Research, on-line Conference.

Storer, H., Gonzalez Benson, O., **Willey-Sthapit, C.**, & Jen, S. (January, 2021). *Critical Analysis of Pandemic Discourses to Reimagine a Socially Just Society: Ageism, Domestic Violence, and Migrant Labor in the Context of Coronavirus.* Roundtable discussion for the Society for Social Work Research, on-line Conference.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (November, 2020). *Beyond Inclusion: Postcolonial Translation as Methodology to Understand Domestic Violence Intervention in Nepal.* Presentation for the Council for Social Work Education, on-line conference.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (June, 2020). *A Postcolonial Lens on Development Knowledge and Practice: Researching Domestic Violence Intervention in Pokhara, Nepal.* Presentation for the International Federation of Social Workers, on-line conference.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Jen, S., Storer, H., & Gonzalez Benson, O. (January, 2020). *Using Critical Discourse Analysis in Social Work Research*. Roundtable conducted at the Society for Social Work and Research Conference, Washington, DC.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (October, 2019). *Discourses of Culture in Development Research Publications about Domestic Violence in Nepal.* Presentation for the Council for Social Work Education, Denver, Colorado.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Valdovinos, M. G., Teyra, C., & Borja, S. (April, 2019). *'Transnational' as analytic lens*. Presentation for the Transnational Social Work Preconference ahead of the European Conference for Social Work Research, Leuven, Belgium.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Storer, H., Jen, S. & Gonzalez Benson, O. (January, 2019). *Employing Critical Discourse Analysis Methods to Advance Social Work Research and Practice*. Workshop conducted at the Society for Social Work and Research Conference, San Francisco, CA.

Harrop, E., **Willey-Sthapit, C.**, Aby, M., & Lindhorst, T. (January, 2019). *Leveraging the Reflexive Self in Research: Reflections on Cultivating a Self-Reflexive Practice*. Roundtable at the Society for Social Work and Research Conference, San Francisco, CA.

Lindhorst, T., Casey, E. & **Willey-Sthapit, C.** (January, 2019). *Use of Research Evidence in Domestic Violence Serving Organizations*. Presentation for the Society for Social Work and Research Conference, San Francisco, CA.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (July, 2018). *The Construction of Culture in Development Research Publications on Domestic Violence in Nepal.* Presentation for the Annual Kathmandu Conference on Nepal and the Himalayas, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Harrop, E., Ercin, H., & Lindhorst, T. (January, 2018). *Beyond Coding: Alternative Hermeneutics for Qualitative Data Analysis*. Workshop conducted at the Society for Social Work and Research Conference, Washington, D.C.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Teyra, C., Valdovinos, M. G., & Borja, S. (January, 2018). *Researching the Transnational: Theoretical and Methodological Insights for Social Work*. Roundtable at the Society for Social Work and Research Conference, Washington, D.C.

Willey-Sthapit, C., Teyra, C., Valdovinos, M. G., & Borja, S. (April, 2017). *Critical Issues in Transnational Social Work Research*. Workshop conducted at the European Conference for Social Work Research, University of Aalborg, Denmark.

Piedalue, A., Rishi, S., **Willey-Sthapit, C.**, & Zyscowskil, K. (April, 2016). *Doing Research in South Asia*. Panelists for an interdisciplinary roundtable discussion hosted by the South Asia Center, University of Washington.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (February, 2016). *Exploring Meaning, Contexts, and Strategies to Address Domestic Violence in Pokhara, Nepal*. Presentation for the Association of Nepal and Himalayan Studies Annual Conference, Austin, TX.

Borja, S., Rodriguez-Jenkins, J., Fernandez, A. & **Willey-Sthapit, C.** (2015, October). *Meeting halfway: Doctoral student and faculty mentoring relationships*. Paper presented at the Council for Social Work Education, Denver, Colorado.

Misra, A., Piedalu, A., Zhou, S., Utne, K., **Willey-Sthapit, C.** & Saung, J. (2015, April). *India's Daughter?: Responses to gendered violence in public spaces in India, Turkey, and China*. Interdisciplinary conversation hosted by the Gender, Women, & Sexuality Studies Department at the University of Washington.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Micro/Meso Social Work Practice 1: Individuals, Sole Instructor, University of Washington (On-line instruction)	09/2020 – 12/2020
Social Welfare Research and Evaluation, Sole Instructor, University of Washington (On-line instruction)	04/2020 – 06/2020
Social Work Assessment (BASW), Part-time Instructor, Eastern Washington University (In-person instruction)	09/2019 – 12/2019
Evidence-Based Practices in Social Welfare (BASW), Sole Instructor, University of Washington (In-persons Instruction)	01/2019 – 03/2019
Intellectual and Historical Foundations of Professional Social Work Practice (MSW), Teaching Assistant, University of Washington	09/2015 – 12/2015
Interpersonal Violence and Trauma (MSW), Teaching Practicum, University of Washington	01/2015 – 03/2015
Building Competencies for Intergroup Dialogue Facilitation/Facilitating Intergroup Dialogue (BASW), Teaching Assistant/Co-facilitator, University of Washington	01/2014 – 06/2014
Introduction to Social Work (BASW), Teaching Assistant, University of Washington	09/2013 – 12/2013

6 Month Course in Psychosocial Counseling in Nepal (2 rounds), Facilitator. 01/2012 – 06/2013
Planned and taught course, provided counseling supervision, trained future facilitators

INVITED UNIVERSITY LECTURES

Willey-Sthapit, C. (September, 2019). *Introduction to Community-based Participatory Research and Qualitative Research*. Two successive guest presentations for a bachelor's level a research methods course at Lewis-Clarke State College.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (February, 2019). *Strategies to Address Domestic Violence in Pokhara, Nepal and Surrounding Rural Areas*. Guest presentation for master's level course titled Global Perspectives in Social Work and Development, University of Washington.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (October, 2018). *Reflexive Research: Methods and Reflections on Outsider/Insider Status*. Guest presentation for doctoral level advanced qualitative methods course at the University of Washington.

Willey-Sthapit, C. & Jones, T. (April, 2016). *Interviews and focus groups*. Guest presentation for master's level research methods course at the University of Washington.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (February, 2016 and 2015). *Qualitative Research: Questions and Methods*. Guest lecture for master's level research methods course at the University of Washington.

Willey-Sthapit, C. (January, 2016). *Meaning, Contexts, and Strategies to Address Domestic Violence in Pokhara, Nepal*. Presentation as part of the Nepal Studies Initiative Winter 2016 Lecture Series, University of Washington.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Consultant 11/2010 – 08/2013
Kopila Nepal (Pokhara, Nepal)
Planning, coordination, and training of 6-month course in psychosocial counseling, research and evaluation of programs, trainings on research and counseling skills for service providers, and grant writing for an organization that uses community-based strategies to address the human rights and mental health of marginalized women and children.

Couples Counselor and Trainer 04/2010 – 07/2010
Transcultural Psychosocial Organization, Nepal (Kathmandu, Nepal)
Family therapy to expatriates living in Nepal, training and supervision of psychosocial counselors.

Resident in Marriage and Family Therapy 03/2009 – 01/2010
Caring Couples, Happy Lives (McLean, VA)
Couples therapy and premarital counseling within a private practice

Community Outreach Coordinator 06/2007 – 05/2009
University of Louisville (Louisville, KY)
Survey development for research on Latino immigrant health, training community workers (*promotoras*) in research ethics.

Receptionist and Casework Assistant 06/2008 – 08/2008
Kentucky Refugee Ministries (Louisville, KY)
Nepali and Spanish interpretation, assisted in preparation for and resettlement of first Bhutanese refugee families in Louisville, KY

MSSW Internships

Archdiocese Family Ministries (Louisville, KY) 05/2007 – 04/2008
Office and in-home therapy with individuals, couples, and families; therapeutic groups for elementary school children and residents of an assisted living facility

Centro Latino (Shelbyville, KY) 08/2006 – 05/2007
Coordinating services for Hispanic/Latino diabetes patients, a woman's ESL group, pre-school children and expecting parents, individual and family therapy.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies

Council for Social Work Education

Society for Social Work and Research

UNIVERSITY & PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

PLOS ONE, Ad-hoc Manuscript Reviewer	2020
PhD Social Justice Committee	2015 – 2017
Nepal Student Association	2015 – 2017
Anti-racism and White Allyship Group, Adviser	2016 – 2017
Diversity Committee	2016 – 2017
Doctoral Program Mentoring Committee	2014 – 2016
Women's Health, Ad-hoc Manuscript Co-Reviewer (with T. Lindhorst)	2015