

**Men, Masculinities and Emotion: Understanding the
Connections between Men's Perpetration of Intimate
Partner Violence, Alcohol Use and Sexual Behaviour
in Dharavi, Mumbai**

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Philosophy**



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Declaration by candidate

I, Benjamin Davis, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Benjamin Davis', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Date: 19th October 2011

Abstract

Background

An increasing men's studies movement attempts to understand how different masculine norms affect men's health and behaviour and how behaviours such as alcohol use and violence act as ways of coping both with the pressure to fulfil masculine norms and with emotional distress. However, the vast majority of this work has been in western contexts. This study sought to extend this fairly western-centric work by examining the relationships between gender norms, emotional distress and men's alcohol use, perpetration of intimate partner violence (IPV) and sexual behaviour in a low-income area of Mumbai, India.

Methods

Secondary quantitative data (n=2,381) from a survey of men in three low-income districts in Mumbai were analysed in order to identify psychosocial factors associated with men's perpetration of IPV, alcohol use and extramarital sex. A period of fieldwork was undertaken in Dharavi, Mumbai in 2009-10 which included in-depth interviews with 29 married men, aged 21-52.

Results

Quantitative analyses found evidence for associations between men's ability to fulfil masculine norms and perpetration of IPV as well as psychological distress. Qualitative interviews highlighted the range of norms men were exposed to, defended and contested. Many men struggled to fulfil dominant notions of masculinity. In addition, many men had poor emotional and social support, frequently dealing with distress on their own. Men reported using behaviour such as alcohol use, violence and extramarital sex as ways of dealing with difficult emotions, social isolation, as well as a range of difficulties in their marital relationships.

Conclusion

Norms around masculinity and the effects these have upon men emotionally are important in understanding men's involvement in these behaviours in this context. Understanding men as gendered as well as emotional beings is important in engaging with a wide variety of men in order to bring about lasting social as well as behavioural change.

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Abbreviations, definitions and Hindi words and phrases

<i>Asli mard</i>	A 'real' or particularly 'masculine' man
<i>AYUSH</i>	Ayurveda, Yoga & Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy – non-allopathic practitioners.
<i>Bewada</i>	Drunkard
<i>Bhadwe</i>	Pimp
<i>Bhaiya</i>	A sub-caste usually from north India
<i>Bhabhi</i>	Sister-in-law
<i>CBO</i>	Community based organisation
<i>Charas</i>	Hashish
<i>Chawl</i>	A building made up of several small separate dwellings
<i>CI</i>	Confidence interval (95% unless otherwise state)
<i>Desi daru</i>	Locally brewed alcohol
<i>Dhat</i>	Semen
<i>FGD</i>	Focus Group Discussion
<i>Garmi</i>	Lit. 'heat' and 'heat-related' complaints
<i>Gauna</i>	The bringing of a new bride to the new family home
<i>Gita</i>	Hindu holy book
<i>Gupt rog</i>	'Illness of private parts' – sexual health complaints
<i>Gutkha</i>	A form of chewed tobacco popular in India
<i>Hatbhatti</i>	A local distillery
<i>Hijra</i>	Eunuch
<i>IPV</i>	Intimate partner violence
<i>Kamjori</i>	Weakness
<i>LSHTM</i>	The London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine
<i>Mard</i>	'Masculine' man
<i>Mardangi</i>	Masculinity
<i>Namard</i>	Unmanly man
<i>NGO</i>	Non-governmental organisation
<i>OR</i>	Odds Ratio
<i>RISHTA</i>	Research and Intervention in Sexual Health: Theory to Action, also meaning relation or relationship in Hindi
<i>Sabha</i>	Meeting
<i>SNEHA</i>	Society for Nutrition and Health Action, also meaning 'affection'
<i>Tadi Madi</i>	Locally brewed alcohol, made from palm sap

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In the context of a low-income country such as India that has a heavy burden of infectious disease, as well as a growing prevalence of chronic health problems such as obesity and diabetes, focusing upon men's experience of gender norms and emotional experiences may seem obscure, irrelevant or even a poor use of available resources. This thesis sets out to demonstrate why understanding men as gendered and emotional beings is important, both from a public health perspective, as well as in progressing the human rights of women as well as men. The argument has long been made that understanding structural determinants of health and protecting and advancing human rights is an important part of improving public health outcomes (Farmer, 2005; Mann, 1999). However, programmes to address public health problems still frequently focus on specific diseases or behaviours, thinking narrowly about social contexts around these, rather than understanding structural determinants and processes further upstream. This research focuses upon three behaviours: male perpetration of intimate partner violence (IPV), alcohol use and sexual behaviour. The focus on a nexus of three behaviours rather than just one highlights the interrelated nature of these behaviours and the centrality of masculine ideologies and men's experience of emotion in understanding all three. As a consequence it argues for a greater understanding of masculine norms and the emotional impact they have upon men, and the impact of these structures and practices on health and well-being.

Intimate partner violence, broadly defined as violence perpetrated by an intimate partner or ex-partner including physical, sexual or emotional abuse, is increasingly being recognised as a global public health issue, prevalent and problematic in low, middle and high income settings (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006). A substantial literature has documented the multiple health consequences of physical, sexual and emotional abuse as well as the effect this has on public health systems (J. C. Campbell, 2002; J. C. Campbell & Lewandowski, 1997). Although physical trauma is

perhaps the most visible sign of abuse, many women presenting to health-care systems do not present with such trauma and many of the physical effects of IPV are much longer lasting than acute injuries (Coker, Smith, Bethea, King, & McKeown, 2000; Dearwater et al., 1998). The injuries, fear and stress associated with abuse often leads to long term physical health problems for victims, such as chronic pain and gastrointestinal symptoms. Other physical health effects include gynaecological problems and poor sexual health, including higher rates of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV (Leserman, Li, Drossman, & Hu, 1998; Maman, Campbell, Sweat, & Gielen, 2000; Wu, El-Bassel, Witte, Gilbert, & Chang, 2003). Intimate partner violence has a lasting impact upon the mental health of victims, including greater rates of depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder and drug and alcohol abuse (Golding, 1999; Varma, Chandra, Thomas, & Carey, 2007). In addition to the impact upon victims, another significant public health issue is the greater healthcare utilisation and costs for women who are victims of IPV, including greater numbers of prescriptions and more frequent admission to hospital (Rivara et al., 2007; Ulrich et al., 2003).

In the Indian context, intimate partner violence is recognised as being particularly prevalent. Figures from the IMAGES multi-country study published in 2011 report that 37% of men interviewed in India reported ever perpetrating intimate partner violence, the second highest figure out of all the countries studied (Barker et al., 2011). Other studies interviewing women in a range of sites in India have found similar estimates of around 40% of women ever having experienced intimate partner violence within their marital relationship (Kumar, Jeyaseelan, Suresh, Ahuja, & India SAFE Steering Committee, 2005).

More aligned with traditional public health approaches, alcohol consumption has also been implicated in a range of health outcomes, from cancer to cardiovascular disease, liver cirrhosis, as well as intentional and unintentional injuries (Room, Babor, & Rehm, 2005). In 2004, an estimated 4.6% of the global burden of disease and injury was attributable to alcohol. When split by gender, this rose to 7.6% for men (Rehm et al., 2009). In India, a recent National Household Survey of Drug Use found only 21% of adult males had used alcohol in the past year (Ray, Mondal, Gupta, Chatterjee, & Bajaj, 2004). However, alcohol consumption varies widely from

state to state. Mumbai is the capital city of Maharashtra state, which is considered a particularly high alcohol use state (Ray, et al., 2004). In addition, while rates of alcohol use are low at a population level, among those who drink, patterns of alcohol consumption are particularly hazardous, with estimates that around 50% of all drinkers in India satisfy criteria for hazardous drinking, consuming more than five standard drinks on a typical occasion (Benegal, 2005). In addition this pattern of drinking often involves the solitary consumption of spirits with the aim of drinking to intoxication (Gaunekar, Patel, Jacob, Vankar, & Mohan, 2004; Mohan, Chopra, Ray, & Sethi, 2001). Such a pattern of alcohol consumption has significant public health implications. Studies from Karnataka, a state in south west India, have shown that alcohol-related problems account for over a fifth of hospital admissions and that the direct and indirect costs attributable to people with alcohol dependence alone was more than three times the profits from alcohol taxation and several times more than the annual health budget of the state (Benegal, Velayudhan, & Jain, 2000; Sri, Raguram, & Srivastava, 1997). In addition, much of the alcohol consumed in India is home or locally-brewed, often illicitly and so not subject to tax. Therefore the ability of government to control drinking through increased taxation or controls on licenses, which has shown to be effective in other settings, has only a limited impact on alcohol use in the Indian context (Benegal, 2005; Room, et al., 2005).

Thirdly, sexual behaviour, particularly sex with multiple concurrent partners combined with inconsistent condom use is associated with a range of genitourinary morbidity, including STIs and cancer of the cervix as well as being a primary driver of the HIV epidemic (Castellsagué, 2008; Holmes, Levine, & Weaver, 2004; Watts & May, 1992). In the Indian context, community based studies have found high estimates of STIs among heterosexual married men and there has been a concern about married men acting as a 'bridge population' transmitting HIV contracted from extramarital partners to their wives (Chandrasekaran et al., 2006; Schensul et al., 2007). However, worries about STIs and HIV in the general population in India have decreased, with focus increasingly directed on particular groups deemed to be at higher risk, in particular: commercial sex workers, clients of sex workers, men having sex with men and intravenous drug users (Haacker, 2009; Wilson & Claeson, 2009). While married heterosexual men are not currently considered a high risk group for HIV in the Indian context, some studies have sought to classify some

heterosexual married men within various 'risk groups' such as men who drink alcohol and men who are the clients of sex workers (Go et al., 2007; Madhivanan et al., 2005; Sivaram et al., 2008).

As already highlighted, in contrast to the majority of studies which focus on just one of these behaviours, this study specifically looks at the three behaviours together. Findings from many different contexts consistently show that use of alcohol, perpetration of intimate partner violence and certain sexual behaviours, particularly unprotected sex with multiple concurrent partners, are strongly associated with each other. In the Indian context, alcohol use among men has been shown to be associated with riskier sexual behaviour (such as unprotected sex with non-regular partners; lower rates of condom use when visiting female sex workers) and the perpetration of intimate partner violence (Bangdiwala, Taylor, & Shankar, 2010; Sivaram, et al., 2008). Additionally, in a nationally representative household-based sample in Bangladesh, men who reported perpetrating intimate partner violence were more likely to have had extramarital sex compared with non-abusive husbands (Silverman, Decker, Kapur, Gupta, & Raj, 2007). In South Africa, more severe intimate partner violence was associated with higher levels of risky sexual behaviour (Dunkle et al., 2006). These behavioural findings are supported by infection rates. Studies from India show men's alcohol use and perpetration of intimate partner violence are both associated with higher risk of contracting STIs and HIV (Decker et al., 2009; Madhivanan, et al., 2005), and a study from Bangladesh found that victims of intimate partner violence have a higher risk of HIV infection than non-victims (Silverman, et al., 2007).

However, in addition to these three behaviours being statistically associated with each other, another important association exists: all three are strongly associated with being male. In a wide variety of settings, men are more likely to drink alcohol, be the perpetrators of intimate partner violence and engage in more risky sexual behaviour than women (Courtenay, 2000a, 2003; Courtenay, McCreary, & Merighi, 2002; Hasin, Stinson, Ogburn, & Grant, 2007; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Instead of adopting a narrow focus on just one of these behaviours, this study looks at a nexus of behaviours and in particular why it is that some men are more likely to be involved

in all three. In focusing on a group of behaviours, it highlights what connects them all, and therefore the importance of particular social structures.

1.2 Aim and objectives

Aim:

To understand how a range of structural factors, including gender norms, impact upon men's experience and expression of emotion and how these factors relate to men's perpetration of violence, use of alcohol and sexual behaviour in two low income areas of Mumbai, India.

Objectives:

- Review existing approaches to understanding these behaviours, both in Western contexts and the context of India.
- Examine secondary quantitative data for statistical evidence of associations between masculine norms, emotional distress and men's use of violence, alcohol and sexual behaviour.
- Explore the range of different gender ideologies and beliefs, particularly around masculinity, prevalent among adult men in a specific low-income area of Mumbai.
- Describe the impact different masculine ideologies and norms have upon men's lives, and in particular their experience and expression of emotion.
- Explore how men's use of violence, alcohol and sex relates to men's experiences of gender norms and emotion.
- Discuss the importance of extending an understanding of men as gendered and emotional beings to the Indian context and the implications of such an approach for interventions which seek to change men's behaviour, particularly men's perpetration of violence, use of alcohol and involvement in risky sexual behaviour.

1.3 Outline of thesis

The next chapter, chapter two, examines the existing literature around IPV, alcohol use and sexual behaviour and discusses the different approaches to these behaviours in academic research as well as interventions. In particular it highlights differences between increasingly nuanced academic discourses around masculinities, in contrast to the reliance upon more epidemiological approaches, informed by a strong focus on HIV, in interventions on the ground in India.

Chapter three describes the research methods used in the study, which utilised both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The quantitative component was based upon secondary data analysis of a survey conducted in 2003 in a three low-income areas in east Mumbai. Qualitative data generation consisted of a period of fieldwork in Dharavi, a different area of Mumbai, using individual in-depth interviews with twenty-nine men, supplemented by several focus group discussions.

The first results chapter (chapter four) presents findings from the quantitative analyses. These analyses examined the statistical evidence for the importance of a variety of factors to do with masculine norms and psychological health which emerged as significant from both the literature review and qualitative fieldwork.

The findings of the qualitative research are presented in chapters five, six and seven. Chapter five presents findings from discussions about gender norms, outlining the great range of gender ideologies men reported as well as their own different beliefs about gender roles and changing norms. Chapter six explores how several particularly prevalent masculine norms impact upon men emotionally. Chapter seven then relates the findings of the two previous chapters to men's use of violence, alcohol and sex; examining the experiences both of men involved in one or all of these behaviours as well as those who had no history of any. The experiences of 'positive deviants' as well as those who had undergone a process of change, particularly from violence to non-violence are discussed to highlight what brought about or sustained men's lack of involvement in these behaviours.

Chapter eight concludes by discussing the strengths, limitations and challenges of the study before discussing how the results of this research fit into wider theoretical debates. The thesis ends with an outline of the implications of the research, providing specific recommendations for interventions aiming to influence or change men's perpetration of violence, alcohol use or sexual behaviour.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the academic literature, exploring the different approaches utilised by research on the three behaviours which form the focus of this thesis: men's perpetration of intimate partner violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour, particularly unprotected sex or sex with multiple concurrent partners. The review points to four broad approaches in the literature, outlining the differences and tensions between biological determinist, epidemiological, structural and emotional understandings of behaviour. Recognising that much of the theoretical work on these behaviours draws upon studies based in the West, the review then turns to focus explicitly on work in the Indian context. In concluding, the chapter highlights the differences between the flourishing academic research on masculinities, particularly in Western settings and the epidemiological approaches prevalent in interventions and studies on the ground in India, highlighting current gaps in research and existing interventions.

2.2 Research and intervention on male perpetration of intimate partner violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour: existing approaches and disciplinary tensions

Alcohol use and abuse, intimate partner violence and sexual behaviour have been the subject of several different approaches in both research and interventions. Although these approaches vary enormously, a key difference is between approaches which take the individual as the unit of focus and those which look at social, structural and political processes and their effects on behaviour. These differences are partly the result of disciplinary differences and boundaries, with more biomedical science approaches leading to more individualistic understandings of behaviour and disease in contrast to social science approaches which have led to a greater understanding of the social and political contexts which shape and constrain behaviour.

Any typology of such approaches risks falling into over-simplification, particularly as many studies often draw upon elements of different disciplines and approaches. However, most studies can be understood as being more informed by one approach than another and delineating the differences between them provides some conceptual clarity. Here five main approaches are outlined. Biological essentialist approaches look to biological differences between men and women as the root cause of differences in behaviour between men and women. Epidemiological approaches focus on individual behaviour and risk factors for disease, drawing strongly on biomedical understandings of disease, and as a result are particularly oriented towards particular health outcomes such as HIV infection. A major challenge to such biomedical understandings of disease and behaviour has come from feminist scholarship and activism. Feminist approaches have placed the emphasis on social and political structures and practices, particularly gender relations and inequalities, which constrain and shape behaviour. A fourth approach, typified by the work of Connell and his notion of 'hegemonic masculinity' has drawn upon the insights of feminist scholarship, extending it to the study of masculinities but staying focused upon how certain notions of masculinity enable the continued domination of men over women. Finally, a fifth approach has broadened the focus of inquiry to position men's behaviour not only within an understanding of power relations and patriarchy, but also within an understanding of the negative and harmful psychological and emotional effects certain masculine norms have on men.

Significant conflicts exist between these approaches, partly as a result of the different disciplines they have emerged from. A key conflict exists between biomedical and social approaches. Biomedical or epidemiological approaches have been criticised for attempting to medicalise social problems, treating the health effects of social ills rather than bringing about social change to address underlying social inequalities (Rosenfeld & Faircloth, 2006). On the other hand, some epidemiologists claim focusing on social change provides a distraction from implementing epidemiologically sound interventions (Pisani, 2008). Another conflict exists between feminists and pro-feminists, where some feminists see the work of men's studies and pro-feminists as a challenge to feminism (Gardiner, 2002). However, many increasingly see the importance of drawing upon multi-disciplinary

approaches, utilising biomedical science as well as the insights of social and structural analyses (Merson, JO'Malley, Serwadda, & Apisuk, 2008; Piot, Bartos, Larson, Zewdie, & Mane, 2008). Similarly, many feminists are welcoming the increasing amount of work critically examining men and masculinities (Gardiner, 2002, p. 9). However, the balance between these disciplines and approaches remains a difficult one and the focus of research and intervention is often driven by political motivations. As such, HIV remains a major focus of funding and while feminism has been able to raise the importance of gender inequality as an issue in its own right, increasingly campaigns for human rights and gender equality are utilising the power of a public health discourse to gain funding and attention to ongoing battles against inequality (Farmer, 2005).

2.2.1 Biological determinism

Theories of biological difference between men and women's behaviour are pervasive and not just in the popular press. Studies which are based upon biological determinism seek the explanation for men's increased likelihood to be involved in certain behaviours, particularly violent or aggressive behaviours, in biological differences between men and women. Particular foci have been differences in levels of testosterone and differences between male and female brains. Testosterone has been examined as a cause of aggression, violence, and behaviour intended to dominate (Dabbs & Morris, 1990; Mazur & Booth, 1998). However, most reviewers now conclude that the bulk of the evidence does not support an association between testosterone and aggression and particularly not one that is causal (Hines, 2004). Other associations have been more enduring. Baron-Cohen's 'extreme male brain' theory of autism characterises men as being good at understanding systems and women as being better at empathising. Baron-Cohen places emphasis on biological determinism and the role of prenatal testosterone in determining the differences in men and women's ability while recognising the role cultural determinism plays in accentuating these differences (Baron-Cohen, 2002, 2004). Others however, recognise that male and female brains are different but challenge the importance of pre-natal biology in determining these differences. Given that the brain is known to be extremely plastic right up to adulthood, a counter argument is that brain structure develops in response to social stimuli (Hines, 2004).

An extension of biological determinism has been the *gender role identity model* of masculinity which asserts that males have an intrinsic psychological nature that is deformed by modern culture which seeks to feminise men, resulting in a constant struggle for men to assert and maintain their masculinity. Joseph Pleck (1995) notes that while this essentialist view of men has almost been totally abandoned in academic research in psychology and sociology, it continues to gain traction in popular culture through two main streams. First, the 'mythopoetic' men's movement, which has been successful particularly in the United States, asserts that males do not have the chance to become 'fully masculine' men in current societies because of their lack of contact with other men and inadequate separation of men from their mothers (Bly, 1990). A second trend has emerged from a neoconservative perspective, which argues that the parenting of children is not a 'natural' activity for men. By making men do an 'unnatural' activity, feminism violates men's essential gendered nature, leading to manifold negative consequences. In these accounts it is the 'desexing' of men rather than dysfunctional definitions of masculinity which lead to problematic behaviour in men. Both of these movements claim that the strain men experience living in modern societies can be alleviated by allowing men to get in touch with their masculinity through more contact with other older men and through the rejection of 'feminine' behaviours, which do not allow men to express their essential masculine psychological nature (Pleck, 1995).

2.2.2 Epidemiology, biomedicine and the individual

Epidemiological approaches can be characterised as being concerned with risk of disease, examining the factors which increase an individual's risk leading to the development of categories which delineate 'at risk groups'. Such approaches primarily utilise biomedical knowledge in understanding disease as the result of biomedical processes such as exposure to pathogens or harmful substances and consequently developing interventions which involve the dissemination of biomedical knowledge or technology to protect individuals from disease. Epidemiological approaches are therefore primarily concerned with patterns of disease and physical health outcomes (Kippax & Race, 2003). Epidemiological approaches have been particularly prevalent in understanding the HIV epidemic. As

understanding of the epidemic through biomedical research has evolved, the promotion of condom use, decreasing viral load through antiviral treatment, circumcision and microbicides are just some of the biomedical technologies which have been promoted as ways of stopping the spread of the virus, attempting to make certain behaviours 'safer', reducing the potential for physical harm and improving health outcomes.

However, epidemiological approaches have not been restricted to the development and promotion of biomedical technology; epidemiology has also highlighted associations between behaviours and between behaviours and health outcomes. For example, the role of smoking and alcohol use in men's shorter life expectancy has been important in challenging notions that these gender differences are due solely to biological differences (McCartney, Mahmood, Leyland, Batty, & Hunt, 2011). Within an epidemiological framework, such behaviours are considered risk factors, which need to be controlled and reduced. Armed with this knowledge, health education programmes aim to change people's behaviour through the dissemination of information or knowledge about the dangers of particular kinds of behaviour. Such approaches, typified by the health belief model or theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour, are often based upon beliefs that individuals make rational decisions about their behaviour based upon knowledge and beliefs about the health implications of their behaviour. Such approaches have been particularly prevalent in HIV education campaigns, which aim to tell people that AIDS is deadly and that using condoms will decrease individual's chances of being infected with HIV (C. Campbell, 1997). Another example are studies demonstrating links between alcohol consumption and 'risky' sexual behaviour, resulting in increased risk of HIV infection, as the article 'Alcohol, Helping Young Adults to Have Unprotected Sex with Casual Partners' (Kiene, Barta, Tennen, & Armeli, 2009) makes clear. These kinds of findings are often used to target health education campaigns more effectively, such as targeting HIV and condom use campaigns at those who drink alcohol in bars, or other alternatives which reduce individual exposure such as increasing the cost and decreasing the availability of alcohol (Room, et al., 2005). However, restricting alcohol availability and increasing its cost through taxation is politically unpopular (Room, et al., 2005) and in addition, knowledge is a relatively poor predictor of behaviour with studies showing that even individuals with high

levels of knowledge about HIV are involved in high-risk behaviour (Helweg-Larsen & Collins, 1997; Jadack, Hyde, & Keller, 1995).

Consequently, while these approaches have been incredibly useful as starting points in understanding the role of certain behaviours in health outcomes, they have come under sustained criticism for lacking an adequate understanding of the psychosocial nature of behaviour. Such 'models' of behaviour can be seen to be overly individualistic, over estimating individual agency and underestimating the importance of factors beyond the realm of the individual (C. Campbell, 1997; C. Campbell & Williams, 1996; Imrie, Elford, Kippax, & Hart, 2007; Kippax & Race, 2003).

2.2.3 Structural approaches and the feminist movement

In contrast to the predominantly individual-level behavioural interventions outlined in the previous section, which have dominated HIV prevention interventions over the past two and a half decades, an alternative discourse has emerged stressing the importance of what have been termed 'structural' determinants of behaviour and health. In 2000 the journal *AIDS* defined structural factors as the 'physical, social, cultural, organisational, community, economic, legal or policy aspects of the environment that impede or facilitate persons' efforts to avoid HIV infection' (Sumartojo, 2000). These 'structural factors' which have particularly been recognised as important in shaping and constraining individual behaviour in relation to HIV, draw strongly upon analyses of power and inequality. This approach has been perhaps most critically led by feminist movements, particularly with regards to understanding sexual behaviour. Feminist scholarship challenged the notion that behaviour was wholly determined by biological sex and led to much greater depth in understanding the way individual behaviour is shaped and restrained by social and cultural norms, long before HIV was of concern.

Feminist scholarship is firmly grounded in an analysis of power and inequality in gender relations, and draws strongly on a discourse of human rights rather than public health. However, increasingly the two discourses have drawn upon each other, recognising the importance of rights and inequalities on health with many

advocating for campaigners to utilise a public health discourse to bring attention to inequalities (Farmer, 2005). These two discourses of human rights and health have intersected particularly strongly in relation to intimate partner violence. Increasingly the argument has been made that gender inequalities lead women to be more vulnerable to HIV, for example women who are victims of intimate partner violence and their ability to insist on condom use (Rivers & Aggleton, 1999). Additionally, intimate partner violence has gained recognition as a public health issue in its own right, even in low HIV prevalence contexts, as outlined in section 1.1.

One feminist approach towards the three behaviours of this study (men's alcohol use, perpetration of IPV and sexual behaviour), would be to understand how these behaviours generate and maintain a structure of patriarchy, that is, a society which maintains male privilege and men's dominance over women. In relation to intimate partner violence, the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, declares that violence against women is:

a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women (UN General Assembly, 1993).

In placing the understanding firmly within the context of the collective power men have over women in society, whether or not individual men are violent or not, this approach challenges the idea of the 'aberrant male' hypothesis, the idea that there are some men who abuse women but that these men are a distinct minority and the majority of men have nothing to do with it (Brooks & Silverstein, 1995). The importance of patriarchy has not only been applied to physical violence, but also sexual violence, which has been seen as an outgrowth of men's socialisation and the desire of men to maintain control over women (Donat & Demilio, 1992). Similarly, the norms around consensual sex, such as the double standards of norms and expectations governing female sexuality can be seen as a way in which societies control women and maintain male power. Miller (1986) has argued that membership in a group that has power over others generates personality characteristics that are associated with the use and abuse of power. Similarly,

membership in a group that has no power, and therefore is dependent for its survival on the dominant group, generates a contrasting set of personality characteristics. She makes the point that as a result women have developed empathy and emotional sensitivity because their survival has required that they be sensitive to men's needs and emotions. Conversely, men have developed a sense of entitlement and a tendency to oppress others because they have had the power to do so (Miller, 1986).

Interventions based upon this understanding of gender inequality therefore often seek to empower women and challenge men's sense of entitlement to power. Common examples are microfinance initiatives which have been popular in South Asia, and batterer programmes with men who have perpetrated intimate partner violence. However, microfinance has had mixed success. While it certainly has provided women with means to earn a living and provided solidarity between women through the formation of women's groups, such programmes have not shown consistent effects in reducing intimate partner violence, with some studies showing that women involved often experience more violence (Goetz & Gupta, 1994; S.R. Schuler, Hashemi, & Badal, 1998; S. R. Schuler, Hashemi, Riley, & Akhter, 1996). Batterer programmes can be effective in challenging men's assumptions about their entitlement to power and getting men to stop their use of violence, although the content in such programmes obviously varies a great deal from programme to programme (Hearn, 1998). Many of those involved in such programmes have moved towards the importance of prevention, working with men and boys who have not committed violence as well as working towards larger social change.

Although the analysis of gender inequality has been powerful, tensions have existed both in feminist scholarship and activism, between the power of understanding women as a homogenous subordinated group and the intersections between gender, race, class, religion, sexuality and in the context of India, caste, to name but a few (Davis, 2010; Gangoli, 2007). This has led to more complex and nuanced analyses of the ways in which inequality manifests itself and the importance of these intersections between gender and other factors in forming structures of dominance and subordination.

Connell (2005) takes up this challenge of understanding the intersections between gender and other aspects of identity, in particular class and race. Drawing upon the conceptual cornerstone of feminism, the notion of patriarchy, Connell addresses the question of how patriarchy is both maintained and legitimized. For Connell the answer lies in his notion of hegemonic masculinity, which Connell (2005) defines as:

[T]he configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (p. 77).

Very much aligned with feminist scholarship, Connell emphasises that gender is both socially constructed and relational. Masculinity and femininity are therefore not something fixed or static but historical, contextual and often contested; existing only in relation to each other, as a social demarcation. However, the crucial insight of Connell's work is in highlighting the multiple and highly contextual nature of masculine identities emphasising the plural rather than unitary nature of 'men' and drawing particularly on the intersections between gender, race and class. Masculinities therefore not only exist in relation to femininities but also in relation to other masculinities. Connell's work argues that at any given time and place, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally exalted and that this particular masculine identity is dominant due to its differentiation both from femininity and other masculine identities. Connell argues therefore that although men are complicit with hegemonic masculinity, deriving from it the benefits of patriarchy, most men can never personally embody it. Rather, they support it, are regulated by it and use it to judge other men's conduct. Hegemonic masculinity therefore represents an aspirational and largely unreachable set of social norms and ideals, rather than a way of being for the majority of men. As a result, Connell's analysis reveals the power relations and inequalities between men, while maintaining the importance of their collective role as oppressors of women.

Connell outlines a hierarchy of gender relations, where hegemonic masculinity is the most dominant and beneath that, the positions of men who are unable to embody hegemonic masculinity and how their position and practices relate to hegemonic

masculinity, through relations of complicity, subordination or marginalisation (Connell, 2005, pp. 76-81). Men who are complicit may not embody every aspect of hegemonic masculinity, they may not be 'frontline soldiers' or football heroes, however, they still gain a great deal from patriarchy. A second relation is that of subordination, inhabited by men who are excluded from the realm of 'legitimate' masculinity, such as homosexual men. Finally, Connell outlines the notion of marginalisation. In contrast to subordination which is 'internal to the gender order', marginalisation represents the intersection of gender with other social structures such as race and class and the relations between masculinities in dominant and subordinated classes or ethnic groups.

Gerschick and Miller (1997) outline a 'three Rs' framework, the dominant patterns men who are unable to fulfil a certain construction of masculinity, due to physical disability after accident or illness, use to cope with their situation. The three Rs are: the *reformulation* of hegemonic masculinity to bring it more aligned with what they can achieve, for example through emphasising toughness, control or independence; *reliance*, reflected through the redoubling of efforts to achieve hegemonic masculinity and *rejection*, characterised by the renunciation of hegemonic masculinity, either through the creation of their own principles and practices of masculinity or rejecting the importance of masculinity in their lives. In many ways these responses, the three Rs, correspond as strategies different men adopt in response to their relation to hegemonic masculinity as Connell outlines: marginalisation, complicity and subordination. Certainly the ideas of behaviour aimed at attempting to achieve a certain masculine ideal, the reformulation of masculinity and the rejection of masculine norms have been influential in studies attempting to understand behaviours more commonly associated with men or what Brooks and Silverstein (1995) term, the 'dark side of masculinity'.

A key implication of the argument put forward by Connell is the fact that gender is socially constructed. As Kimmel writes, 'men are not born; they are made' (Kimmel & Messner, 2007, p. xxi). As a consequence of both gender and patriarchy being socially constructed, an individual's masculinity has to be continually proved, as does male dominance and supremacy, particularly in response to a challenge to authority (Hearn, 1998). Alcohol use, perpetration of intimate partner violence and

sexual behaviour can all be seen within these frames of either 'proving' masculinity or reinforcing male dominance. Men can variously be seen to drink in order to 'be a man', use violence as a way of asserting male dominance in response to challenges to authority within the family sphere and get involved in risky behaviour such as unprotected sex both because 'real men have sex' and also to demonstrate a 'masculine' lack of concern for risk or health.

Connell's approach to understanding the experience of men within this framework of social structures has come under several criticisms. Firstly, given its widespread use in a variety of literatures, Connell's original concept of hegemonic masculinity has inevitably been mutated, often becoming more 'a range of popular ideologies of what constitute ideal or actual characteristics of "being a man"' (Collier, 1998, cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Therefore, hegemonic masculinity has come to be associated with the notion of an essentialised negative masculinity based upon characteristics of men as unemotional, independent, non-nurturing, aggressive and dispassionate, which was not the central concept behind Connell's original work.

A second criticism draws on the tensions between structure and agency, a key issue for sociologists, in arguing that Connell's approach presents social structures as overly deterministic. This criticism has been articulated in different ways, with several authors challenging the lack of focus on subjective experiences of masculinities in Connell's approach. Wetherell and Edley (1999) argue for the value of discursive approaches in understanding the ways in which men shift their identities and draw on multiple and inconsistent discourses of masculinity depending upon their context, sometimes utilising complicit and other times resistant discourses rather than appropriating one static masculine identity. At the centre of Wetherell and Edley's critique is a belief in the importance of the performative nature of masculine identity. However, while Connell accepts the insights which discursive perspectives can bring, he argues the importance of recognizing the non-discursive and unreflective dimensions of gender, such as wage labour, violence, sexuality, domestic labour and child care. The possibilities of practice are, he maintains, constrained massively by embodiment, institutional histories, economic forces and personal and family relationships (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Building upon the lack of subjectivity in Connell's work, another criticism has been its neglect of men's experiences of emotion. Connell believes that the answer to gender inequality is to maintain a focus on power and social justice:

Social struggle must result from inequalities on such a scale. It follows that the politics of masculinity cannot concern only questions of personal life and identity. It must also concern questions of social justice (Connell, 2005, p. 82).

Connell frames the discussion of men's personal experiences as therapeutic and while acknowledging that masculinities have a negative effect on men's emotions, he sees this as a side point:

Any strategy for the maintenance of power is likely to involve a dehumanizing of other groups and a corresponding withering of empathy and emotional relatedness within the self. Without treating privileged men as objects of pity, we should recognize that hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily translate into a satisfying experience of life (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 852).

Seidler (1998) argues that the 'disdain for experience which is a mark of much poststructuralist theory' (p. 201), leaves us caught in a trap of thinking of masculinities only in terms of relationships of power and dominance, making it difficult to bring about change and move beyond power and inequality:

Although the move towards a theory of masculinities has been helpful in revealing both their diversity and the relationships of power that separate them, it has made it difficult to open up the tensions between men and masculinities. Again, too often these structured masculinities determine men's emotional lives and relationships. In its own way this makes it difficult for men to change; too often we end up trapped into thinking of masculinities as relationships of power and dominance. We need different ways of thinking about the relation between the institutional and the personal; we want an analysis that is able to illuminate the importance of the emotional lives of

men, as part of a more general theoretical shift able to validate emotions and feelings as sources of knowledge (Seidler, 1998, p. 209).

Seidler argues that in dismissing a fuller exploration of men's emotional lives, Connell loses one of the most significant insights of feminist scholarship, that 'the personal is political' (Hanisch, 1969). He suggests that this neglect of men's experience of emotion perhaps lies in a 'political moralism' which decrees that a focus on men's experience of emotion is a form of 'self-indulgence' when men collectively are responsible for so much suffering (pp. 201-202). The difficulties of 'focusing on men' have been an issue for profeminists from the beginning of the movement. For many, such as Michael Kimmel, the answer lies in retaining a focus on men's collective power over women, seeing profeminist work as 'the Gentleman's Auxiliary of Feminism' (Kimmel, 1998, p. 67). He writes that the task of profeminists is 'to make feminism comprehensible to men, not as a loss of power, which has thus far failed to trickle down to most individual men anyway, but as a challenge to that false sense of entitlement to that power in the first place' (p. 67). For Kimmel and Connell, the analysis of men's collective power over women must remain central to any discourse around men and masculinities.

Seidler argues that the sole focus on power relations which sidelines men's experiences of emotion, reinforces a dichotomy of men as rational, women as emotional (Seidler, 1998). In addition, the approach of Kimmel and Connell does not present a particularly effective way to bring about change. The idea that challenging men's entitlement to power is going to change relationships between men and women is hard to see as working outside a core of profeminist men or the profeminist academic discourse. Drawing on Seidler's comments, how can understanding men as emotional beings bring about equality? This is the focus of the next section of this chapter, which describes an increasing body of work that takes an empathetic position in relation to men's experiences; recognising the importance of thinking about men as emotional beings and the possibilities which working on men's emotionality and intimate relationships could have for gender relations as well as health and wellbeing.

2.2.4 Masculinities, emotion and behaviour

An early theoretical attempt to outline the emotional and psychological consequences of masculine norms by Joseph Pleck (1981) through his *gender role strain paradigm* has been highly influential in the field of men's studies. In the 1980s Pleck proposed the gender role *strain* model in the hope that this would replace the gender role *identity* model of masculinity (discussed in section 2.2.1), which had dominated American social science since the 1930s (Pleck, 1995). The gender role identity model held that males have an intrinsic psychological nature, which is static and unvarying being based upon an innate, biological masculinity and that this nature is deformed by modern culture and its key institutions resulting in a constant struggle for men to assert and maintain their masculinity. In contrast, Pleck's gender role strain paradigm asserts the importance of gender socialisation and the socially constructed nature of masculinities. He emphasises the plural nature of masculine ideologies which vary both in their nature and in the degree to which they are endorsed both by different individuals and subgroups, citing as an example the differences in masculine ideologies between profeminists and men in the American military.

Given this range of masculine ideologies, Pleck argues that there is a particular constellation of standards and expectations that both individually and collectively have various negative consequences for men emotionally and psychologically. In particular, he focuses upon notions of masculine ideology which are often termed 'traditional' or 'conservative' which dictate common dimensions including achievement, emotional control, antifemininity and homophobia (p. 20). Although he focuses on these as particularly harmful dimensions of a particular masculine ideology, Pleck stresses that these ideas emerge from a particular context of culture and time and that they are relational and therefore subject to contestation and change.

Pleck's (1995) gender role strain paradigm is based upon the following ten propositions:

1. *Gender roles are operationally defined by gender role stereotypes and norms*
2. *Gender role norms are contradictory and inconsistent*
3. *The proportion of individuals who violate gender role norms is high*
4. *Violating gender role norms leads to social condemnation*
5. *Violating gender role norms leads to negative psychological consequences*
6. *Actual or imagined violation of gender role norms leads individuals to over-conform to them*
7. *Violating gender role norms has more severe consequences for males than females*
8. *Certain characteristics prescribed by gender role norms are psychologically dysfunctional*
9. *Each gender experiences gender role strain in its paid work and family roles*
10. *Historical change causes gender role strain (p. 12)*

From these ten propositions, Pleck explains three broader ideas about how experiences of gender socialization and exposure to cultural standards for masculinity have potentially negative psychological and emotional effects on individual men. The first idea, termed gender role discrepancy is that a significant proportion of males fail to fulfil male role expectations, with the resulting discrepancy between these expectations and individual males' characteristics leading to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences. A second idea, gender role trauma, describes the process of gender role socialisation leading to the fulfilment of male role expectations as traumatic, with long-term negative side effects. The third idea, gender role dysfunction, is that even if men manage to achieve or fulfil male role expectations, these can have negative consequences because many of the characteristics viewed as desirable or acceptable in men have inherent negative side effects, either for males themselves or others (p. 12).

Drawing upon these ideas, the importance of fear and shame in shaping behaviour has been discussed widely in the men's studies literature. Given the socially constructed nature of masculine identity and consequently the need to continually

demonstrate and prove one's masculinity, there is the continual threat of failing to fulfil or live up to a certain notion of masculinity. Kimmel writes:

'[T]his... is the great secret of American manhood: We are afraid of other men... Homophobia is the fear that other men will unmask us, emasculate us, reveal to us and the world that we do not measure up, that we are not real men. We are afraid to let other men see that fear. Fear makes us ashamed, because the recognition of fear in ourselves is proof to ourselves that we are not as manly as we pretend' (Kimmel, 1997, p. 233).

This fear leads many men to adopt strategies to avoid this experience of shame, *'distancing themselves from the feminine and all associations with it, including mothers, the world of feelings, nurturing, intimacy and vulnerability'* (Capraro, 2007, p. 185), as well as finding instrumental ways of dealing with feelings of shame.

A key conclusion from much of this work is that men ignore, or repress emotion, not expressing it for fear of being labelled 'weak' or unmanly. There is some further evidence for this in the empirical literature. Studies looking at differences in the expression of emotion between men and women have found that men tend to express internally focused emotions such as fear and sadness less than women and in addition are more likely to report feeling less free in the expression of emotions than women (Lee & Owens, 2002; Lupton, 1998). Levant (1995) identifies 'alexithymia' (the inability to identify and describe one's feelings in words) as very common among adult men and proclaims it as one of the most far-reaching consequences of male gender role socialisation. However, studies have shown this does not hold true for all emotions. Some findings suggest that men are more willing to express emotions which relate to power and which are more likely to be perceived as demonstrating control, such as anger and jealousy (Timmers, Fischer, & Manstead, 1998). A key point from a public health perspective is the importance of emotional expression on health, with many studies demonstrating that the expression of emotion has a positive effect on emotional well-being, physical health and immune functions (Smyth, 1998).

Kennedy-Moore and Watson's (1999) process model of emotional expression and non-expression represents a useful way of thinking about emotional expression. Their model outlines five steps between emotional experience and emotional expression and while their model is not explicitly applied to the experience of men, Wong and Rochlen (2005) have extended it to considering why men may express emotion less than women. The five steps are:

Step 1: Pre-reflective reaction. A situation stimulates a primary affective state, and accompanying physiological arousal, both of which are preconscious and automatic. Men may differ in the strength of their emotional reactions to the same stressors.

Step 2: Awareness of affective response. Individuals differ in their awareness of step one. Some may be highly tuned in to their thoughts, feelings and emotions and the effects of these on the body. However, Wong and Rochlen (2005) suggest that because some men are motivated to repress their negative and vulnerable emotions, they become unaware of what they feel, convincing themselves that they are not experiencing feelings and therefore do not express them.

Step 3: Labelling and interpretation of response. In becoming aware of an affective state, individuals attempt to label and interpret the emotion, such as I'm feeling angry or upset. While some men may be aware of feeling something, such as distress, they may find it more difficult to identify and describe what they feel.

Step 4: Evaluation of response as acceptable. Once the feeling or emotion is identified, it is evaluated as to its acceptability. For some men, certain emotions are deemed unacceptable such as feeling afraid.

Step 5: Perceived social context for expression. Finally, while feelings can be seen as acceptable a particular social context may inhibit the expression of the emotion, for example, not expressing feelings to other men or only to close family members. [Adapted from (Wong & Rochlen, 2005)]

This model is helpful in thinking about the different stages at which emotional expression can be disrupted, inhibited or prevented. While the immediate social context (step five) is important, men's socialisation into other stages of the process such as becoming aware of emotional states, including physiological responses, and evaluation of emotions as unacceptable are also important.

However, it is important to recognise that men often gain from not being emotionally expressive. By not expressing stress, anxiety or distress, men are able to maintain a sense of power, authority and being in control. In addition, Kennedy-Moore and Watson (1999) stress that it's not the case that venting emotions is always helpful or healthy. In fact inexpressiveness can be seen as a strength to be used to help men deal with problems, remaining calm and problem-focused in times of crisis. However, being able to be aware, label and interpret emotions as well as accept them and express them in some form does have important effects on health. Wong and Rochlen (2005) suggest that expression and awareness of emotion may not necessarily have to be developed through verbal expression but recognise men may find using diaries or charts easier ways of expressing and exploring emotions, particularly at an initial stage.

Understanding the way gender norms affect men's experience and expression of emotion has been considered important in relation to the three behaviours which are the subject of this study: men's perpetration of intimate partner violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour. Several studies have examined these behaviours within the context of men's experiences of emotions such as fear and shame and the interaction with masculine norms which encourage both the repression of emotional experience and suppression of emotional expression.

Men's consumption of alcohol can be seen simply as a way of fulfilling a particular masculine gender role, drinking because men are supposed to drink. However, other authors have explored it as a form of self-medication. McClelland (1972) claims that drinking alcohol, particularly heavy drinking, provides feelings of personalised empowerment and so for men who feel powerless, drinking alcohol compensates for their perceived lack of social power. Krugman (1995) argues that

drinking alcohol helps diminish feelings of shame and 'softens self-criticism' which arise often as a result of male gender role conflict. Additionally, alcohol use can facilitate interpersonal connections and disclosure of feelings to others, helping remove the emotional isolation many men experience in their lives (Capraro, 2007; Krugman, 1995). Alcohol use is therefore a complex behaviour, simultaneously helping men fulfil a masculine gender norm that 'real men drink', while addressing feelings of inadequacy at not meeting certain masculine standards and helping men overcome the difficulties of masculine norms around emotion by aiding the expression of emotion.

In relation to men's perpetration of intimate partner violence, all studies draw on social norms of male dominance. However, rather than leaving it just as a way in which men enforce their dominance and the subordination of women, some studies have attempted to understand more of the emotional content involved in such violence, while still placing it firmly within the context of gender inequality. A particular focus is how strong norms around emotional control and lack of emotional expression combine with beliefs about male dominance and female weakness in men's use of violence against their partners. Levant (1995) describes how males and females are socialized to view aggression in different ways, with males seeing it instrumentally, as a way of establishing control. He also argues that anger is one of the few emotions males are encouraged to express and so other emotions which are socially proscribed such as hurt, disappointment, fear, shame and vulnerability get funnelled into anger. Levant describes the 'rubber band syndrome', which he argues is present in men who lack sensitivity to their emotional states who as a result do not recognize mild anger such as irritation or annoyance, only detecting it when they are very angry, with angry outbursts, instead of dealing with early feelings of irritation. Krugman (1995) comments on men's emotional dependence on others, usually women and how this dependence has the potential to both secure and enrage some men. When a female partner challenges a man or children compete for her attention, some men experience profound shame over their need and fragility, given prevalent masculine norms around emotional control and independence. The need to re-establish control both over the partner and the man's emotions, leads to the use of violence, providing 'psychological distance.' Dealing

with the guilt over having been aggressive Krugman argues, is more tolerable than dealing with feelings of shame.

Some studies discuss men's sexual behaviour, particularly sex with multiple concurrent partners and unprotected sex as attempts to fulfil specific masculine norms particularly around being sexually active and taking risks (Courtenay, 2000b; Levine & Kimmel, 1998). However, other studies have gone beyond this fulfilling masculine norms argument, to explore how sexual behaviour relates to men's desire for intimacy, both sexual and emotional, and the way in which sex is both a way of expressing some emotions and a way of dealing with others. Campbell's (1997) study of migrant workers on mines in South Africa provides such an example. She describes the complex nature of men's sexual risk taking behaviour, showing how many different factors are important. Two explanations which are relevant here are the way in which sexual behaviour provides an opportunity for the assertion of masculine identity, compensating for the loss of traditional markers such as participation in homestead and family life but in addition how men's desire for 'flesh-to-flesh' contact relates to men's experiences of loneliness and lack of intimate social relationships. Campbell draws upon men's reports of being far from their families and unable to form emotionally intimate relationships with other male workers. In this context, Campbell argues, sex, particularly unprotected sex, with commercial sex workers, provides an opportunity for intimacy and also escapism from the stresses and danger of everyday life through the experience of sexual pleasure. Campbell relates her findings to Prieur's (1990) work on reasons for continued practice of unsafe sex among gay men in Norway. Prieur discusses gay men's unprotected sex as being related to some men's desire for intimacy and emotional connectedness with others and showed that men who lacked a social network and supportive environment were more likely to be involved in more risky sexual behaviour.

The approaches outlined in this section, which particularly examine men's experience of emotion in relation to behaviours, have been criticised for lacking a proper understanding of gender relations and ignoring issues of power. Pleck's paradigm in particular has been subject to criticism particularly from Kimmel and Connell who claim that role theory clings on to a static, ahistorical version of

masculinity (Connell, 2005, pp. 26-27; Kimmel & Messner, 2007, p. xx). Additionally, they claim that it is fundamentally reactive because it ignores issues of power in gender relations and assumes a false equivalence between the experiences of men and women, claiming that men suffer role strain in the same way as women. Similarly, Hearn (1998) argues against attempts to explain behaviour outside the context of men's collective power over women in society.

Pleck (1995) responds to many of these criticisms in his update to gender role strain theory claiming that Kimmel and Connell fail to appreciate the difference between gender role *identity* theory and his gender role *strain* paradigm. He argues that the work of Kimmel and Connell, who he terms the 'social constructionists' and gender role strain theory *are* theoretically compatible. Pleck responds to a specific criticism that the differences in masculine ideology in different sub-groups are underestimated by Pleck's paradigm by arguing that these differences should and are receiving more attention but that *'the constructionist theorists make this the end point of their discussion rather than a starting point about the extent of these differences and commonalities'* (p. 25). In addition, Pleck makes a further criticism, similar to that made by Seider (1998):

*Besides stating that across all cultures and all time men have power in relation to women, constructionist descriptions of the **substance** of masculinity ... seem oddly content-free and empty, even sterile. In their effort to not mischaracterize any particular issue as affecting **all** men, these writings give little acknowledgment of specific issues that affect **any** men (Pleck, 1995, p. 25, emphasis in the original).*

Different approaches bring different insights and perhaps Pleck, Kimmel and Connell are all right in saying that other approaches lack the insight of their particular approach. However, rather than one versus the other, in common with Pleck's view, each of these theoretical perspectives perhaps adds further insight rather than negating the value of another. Hearn (1998) acknowledges the growth of interest in theoretical approaches that *'interrelate, and even transcend, divisions between individual, group, structuralist and poststructuralist perspectives'*(p. 34). Majors' (2001) study of African-American men in late twentieth century America is a

good example of an approach which intertwines an analysis of power and inequality in relation to a certain group of men, with an understanding of the effects of these inequalities on individual men's self-esteem and psychological state and how both of these relate to behaviour.

Majors (2001) criticises earlier approaches which believed that social problems in African-American families were attributable to the absence of men and the dependence on women as heads of household, ignoring political and economic realities and in so doing, sidestepping the societal issues of racism, oppression and injustice. He comments that many black males have accepted the definitions, standards and norms of dominant social definitions of masculinity, which he defines as being the breadwinner, having strength, and dominating women, while preventing African-American males from achieving many aspects of this masculinity by restricting their access to education, jobs and institutional power. Because of the frustrations resulting from a lack of opportunities in society, many black males have become obsessed with proving manliness to themselves and to others, particularly in the interpersonal sphere, where they have some control.

Majors' concept of 'cool pose' describes '*a ritualized form of masculinity that entails behaviours, scripts, physical posturing, impression management and carefully crafted performances that deliver a single, critical message: pride, strength and control*' (Majors & Mancini Billson, 1992, p. 4). Cool pose as a social practice is embodied through '*handshakes, walking, eye work, body stance and facial expressions*' (Lazur & Majors, 1995, pp. 341, 342). Lazur and Majors conceive this embodiment of masculinity as a way of counteracting stress and adapting to environmental circumstances, '*cool pose expresses bitterness, anger and distrust towards the dominant culture and preserves an African-American man's sense of dignity, pride and respect*' (p. 342). The concept of 'cool pose' therefore draws upon Pleck's notion of discrepancy not as something constant but rather given the dynamic nature of gender identity, men and boys adapt either to avoid such strains or find ways of coping with them.

However, the development of an alternative or 'resistant' masculine identity, through the embodiment of cool pose, comes at a cost. A key part of Majors' thesis is the

way in which cool pose behaviours impede men's attempts to develop open, expressive emotional relationships, hindering emotional intimacy, achieving a performance of masculinity but at the cost of intimacy. Lazur and Majors (1995) argue that the lack of emotional expression combined with the pressure to prove one's masculinity lead to emotions bursting through expressions of assault, accident or homicide, or being buried in alcoholism or substance use, which are particularly positioned as masculine. Additionally, the confusion of identity among many young African-American men leads them to seek 'identity refuge' in a gang, which promotes a masculine cultural display, which often has a whole series of costs.

Majors does outline several ways in which African-American men can embody or achieve 'cool pose', displaying a *'potent personal style from the pulpit, in entertainment, and in athletic competition'* (Majors, 2001, p. 211) but he claims the focus on cool pose and athletics among black males is self-defeating because it comes at the expense of educational achievement, which is essential to dominant forms of masculine power, in particular the intellectual, political and corporate worlds. While Majors' work ties many themes, structures and practices together, recognising the many ways in which African-American men seek to redefine an alternative masculine identity, his work runs the risk of creating a typology of masculinity which is overly deterministic. His work with Lazur examining other 'ethnocultural' variations of male gender role, illustrates this, outlining a typology of African-American, Latino, American-Indian and Asian-American men and masculinities and their experiences and expression of gender role strain (Lazur & Majors, 1995).

Majors' study can be criticised for its assumption that firstly African-American men accept a particular form of hegemonic masculinity and that they adopt a particular, harmful, alternative identity in response. However, another significant direction in men's studies research is the degree to which men take on conservative masculine norms. Barker's (2005) work on so called 'positive deviants' in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, highlights how some men are able to reject 'traditional' masculine norms, embracing more gender equitable behaviour. Barker found that such men were able to do so because of the creation of an alternative identity which revolved around a skill, competency or connection to a social institution that countered the pressure to

adhere to traditional masculine norms in addition to the importance of having a family background that provided nurturing role models. Such positive alternative masculine identities are important in challenging a discourse of masculinity being in crisis and in countering the notion that masculinities are always harmful both to men and those around them.

2.3 Research on men in the Indian context

The majority of the research reviewed so far has been based upon studies in the West. This next section examines research upon men and men's behaviour in the Indian context, where men have been the subjects of research primarily from three different perspectives: historical and colonial masculinities and sexuality; contemporary masculinities and men as part of STI and HIV prevention research.

2.3.1 Historical approaches

A significant body of historical literature has examined men, masculinities and sexualities in the Indian context, with somewhat of a reifying, often orientalist lens. There have been two explicit foci of this work, firstly, an examination of masculinity and sexuality under colonial rule and secondly, what has been termed *dhat* or semen-loss anxiety. The first literature examines how domination and subordination under colonial rule both influenced and was actively practised through ideas about race, sexuality, sex and gender. However, Chopra, Osella & Osella (2004) comment that while research this area has shown important relations between power and gender in the historical context, it has led to a somewhat simplified view that '*Asians under empire were felt to be, and felt themselves to be, unmanly and effeminate*' (p. 3). A second body of literature, examining semen-loss anxiety, has been criticised for its orientalist approach, categorising it variously as a 'neurosis of the orient' and more recently, a 'culture-bound syndrome' (Jadhav, 2004; Malhotra & Wig, 1975). Osella & Osella (2006) comment on how a whole series of pathologies have been attributed to South Asian men, lumped together into one complex of male sexual anxiety indicative of pathological psychic conflict, informed by both social-structural, cultural and psychoanalytic analyses. It is increasingly recognised that rather than

being a 'culture-bound syndrome', such complaints are neither exotic nor rare, often spanning different cultures (Sumathipala, Siribaddana, & Bhugra, 2004). It has been suggested that perhaps *dhat* complaints represent a culturally specific idiom of distress. Additionally, interest in *dhat* has received somewhat of a resurgence of interest in the context of STI and HIV prevention, which will be discussed later on.

2.3.2 Contemporary men and masculinities

In contrast to this historical, often orientalist scholarly work on South Asia, a new literature has emerged examining contemporary men and masculinities, particularly focusing upon male subjectivities within the context of globalisation and social change. A key author in this new literature, Srivastava (2004) has been particularly vocal in challenging previous work which he claims has sought to find core values and concerns, reifying an 'Indian' (usually Hindu) masculinity or sexuality. Srivastava challenges '*a certain kind of scholarly work on India [which] has become so over-determined by history research that there is a tendency to render the present as almost a direct and unmediated consequence of the past*' (p. 16). In particular, he directs his criticism at the focus on religion and the assumption that the ideas of Gandhi or Hindu mythology are both accessible and salient to the majority of people living in contemporary India:

The 'majority' do not any longer, have much time for Gandhi nor do they seek to emulate or desire... the archetypal 'virtuous' women of Hindu mythology ... their energies are taken up with the daily task of theorising culture as a process influenced by contexts such as the marginalisation of old knowledges (such as Ayurveda), the tensions of urban life for the poor, the desire to be part of an emerging commodity culture, and the proliferation of new tastes, styles and fashions of contemporary non-Western modernity. To assume that Gandhi, Draupadi and Savitri continue to reside with any degree of consistency in the dwelling of the Indian social psyche is to simply revert to a model of society where public ideologies and narrowly textual analyses usurp the complexities of practice (pp. 389-390).

This new literature on men and masculinities is very much focused on the examination of contemporary men's experiences and subjectivities, particularly placing them within a changing social context, particularly through the processes of globalisation and ever increasing exposure to media and commodity cultures. While the emphasis is very much upon changing social and cultural contexts, Osella & Osella (2006) outline three broad socio-cultural ideals around gender and sexuality which they believe cross-cut region and community in India. First, the practice of arranging marriages between young people who are strangers to each other; second, the emphasis and value placed upon male earning and the disapproval or ambivalence about female earning and third, the importance of generating children (p. 1).

The Osellas stress in particular, the production of a *'new hegemonic family form at whose heart (and head!) stands the man of substance – the man with financial resources, earning power, a network of dependents and crucially, a wife and children'* (pp. 2-3). Srivastava (2001, 2004) similarly concurs that the ever increasing focus on a man's ability to provide and the need for men to prove their 'masculine competence' through the consumption of commodities represents a new, evolving and ever increasing challenge for men. In contrast to the Osellas work in rural Kerala, Srivastava (2004) looks at the experiences of low-income migrant men living in Mumbai. His work outlines the challenges to these men's masculine identities, being on the margins of a wave of globalisation and economic liberalisation, unable to participate in consumption practises which form an important part of identity in increasingly globalised urban environments. Srivastava looks at the way men's use of sex clinics and certain types of pornography magazines in Delhi and Mumbai provide an entry point into commodity culture, which allows low-income migrant men to participate in certain aspects of modern life and so recover a sense of masculine identity.

Steve Derné's (1995) study of family life in Banaras (now Varanasi) in the mid-1980s, draws upon similar ideas of changing attitudes towards family life. First and foremost, Derné's study examines male dominance, arguing that the focus on control and restriction of women is driven by men's understanding of their interests as men, not only enjoying having a wife who looks after their every need but also

their position of authority within the family. Derné claims that the men he interviewed realized these advantages, purposely acting to maintain them and their position within the family. Derné's understanding draws strongly upon an analysis of power relations and patriarchy, considering male behaviour as being primarily about actively enforcing patriarchy.

However, Derné goes on to discuss the tensions between the norms associated with the social group, and individual desires. He claims the traditional structure of extended families, where a man lives with his wife and parents, are based upon four strands of Hindu men's social expectations: joint-family life, arranged marriages, restrictions on women and limiting contact between husband and wife. He goes on to outline four typologies, 'true believers', 'cowed conformers', 'innovative mimetists' and 'unapologetic rebels' based upon men's attitudes towards these social expectations (pp. 105-119). This typology represents the range of attitudes men have to these social expectations and the degree to which men manage to act on their individual desires, which are often seen as coming into conflict with social pressures. Derné discusses the importance of two particular emotions: social fear in regulating behaviour, forcing submission to social norms and pressures and love and intimacy between husband and wife, which he claims is seen as a dangerous emotion, directed as it is to one individual rather than many, particularly the family as a whole. Derné claims that while the social group is of primary importance, men have 'second languages' which recognise individual desires. Derné points out that a third of the men he interviewed became close to their wives, rejecting the norm that husband-wife relations should be limited. His study shows not only the ability of women to subvert and resist masculine domination but also the variety of subject positions which are negotiated. Men do not always act according to normative gender expectations, or if they do, sometimes maintain a façade of fulfilling social expectations while acting differently in private.

The changing nature of marital relationships in India is also discussed by Parry (2004) in his comparison of an illiterate father and his highly educated daughter and their differing views of marriage. Parry outlines the father, Somvaru's view of marriage as being about pragmatism, the bearing and raising of children and the management of the household economy. In contrast, his daughter is more

emotionally engaged, with far more emotional investment in the relationship than her father had in his. Parry is struck by Somvaru's emotional detachment, not dwelling or reflecting upon his emotions in relation to family relationships. Parry remarks that rather than him not feeling emotional affect in relation to his marital history, Somvaru's detachment comes down to a fundamentally different view of what marriage is for.

Osella & Osella (2006) pick up upon Parry's work, arguing strongly against the view that the rejection of previous structures of kinship and the movement towards the idea of the marital couple as an emotional and intimate unit represents a progressive and liberatory development. They challenge the argument Giddens (1999) makes, which Parry endorses, that love leads to equality, arguing that women in such 'love' marriages have less freedom to manoeuvre and bargain their position in the household as well as less chance to divorce. The Osellas argue that arranged marriages have 'escape clauses', as well as enabling a certain amount of female autonomy, such as extended visits to natal kin. They also make the point that the joint-family system gives support to women; whereas those having love marriages often lose the support of their families. Such globalised, contemporary forms of marriage are not only harmful to women the Osellas maintain but also have negative effects on men. While men gain the position of 'head of the family' in a neo-patriarchal hegemonic family, they lose a wider web of possible relationships with other men. They also make a greater claim about the impact this has in changing the nature of masculine identities:

'Along with this goes an imagined stability and consistency to gendered personhood, which can only (in the face of fragmented reality) provoke greater anxiety about performance and intensify competition between menfolk' (p. 208).

The Osellas' argument draws particularly upon Percot's (2006) ethnography of female Malayali nurses (nurses from Kerala) who talked of their desire to separate from the obligations and ties to family, dreaming of living as a nuclear family and having intimacy with their husbands. However, Osella and Osella point out that the reality tends to be very different from this imagined freedom, consisting instead of

suffocation and isolation, lack of support and hard work. The Osellas argue that for Malayali males the nuclear family model brings enormous pressure to demonstrate masculinity, but that men are often unable to assert their provider status, turning instead to the church or the use of their wives as a way of forging their masculinity:

Rather than cosy companionate love and a democratic relationship, women may find that 'modern' family life results in menfolks' aggressive assertions of power within the nuclear family and a greater antagonism between the sexes. Men and women alike may find themselves circumscribed and required to make demanding performances of gender and heteronormativity (Osella & Osella, 2006, p. 208).

The Osellas make a strong case that the new global, marital ideal of a nuclear family and emotionally intimate relationships do not automatically guarantee equality and in fact can provide for poorer relationships and less freedom. However, their critique seems to make the assumption that love marriages, by their very nature, lead to fewer freedoms for women and particularly fewer 'escape clauses' than traditional 'arranged' marriages. However, as divorce rates in western countries have shown the relation between one and the other is not absolute. While their point about the 'shutting down' of alternative avenues of emotional and sexual contact as friends, in-laws and cousins seems well founded, they appear to romanticise traditional kinship structures, ignoring the large amount of abuse which happens to women in such structures. Given women's increasing emancipation and the fact that it is often *women* who are expressing their desire for a different kind of marital relationship, the challenge is surely not how individuals can be encouraged to return to traditional, 'transactional' marriages but rather how young men and women who want greater emotional connectedness with their partner can fulfil that desire, forming relationships which are free from violence and coercion and based upon equality and mutual-respect. Rather than loving, intimate relationships themselves being dangerous or impossible to achieve, a significant problem surely is a couple's ability to communicate with each other about their emotional and sexual needs and desires. The process of achieving emotional intimacy is not a given in a love marriage. It requires a large amount of skill and work as Sandhya (2009) observes. 'Love' marriages, or even arranged marriages where love and emotional intimacy

are desired do not fail because of their inherent failure as a model for human relationships, but because of the difficulties both men and women face in achieving and maintaining emotional intimacy.

The literature discussed here does explore the importance of masculinities, changing social contexts and norms and the importance of these in the formation of identities in the Indian context. This body of research will be returned to in more detail in the discussion. The next section discusses the significant body of work which has been undertaken looking at men's alcohol use and sexual behaviour within the Indian context, particularly from the perspective of HIV prevention.

2.3.3 STI and HIV prevention

A third area where men have been a significant focus of both research and intervention has been in relation to sexual health and HIV risk. In contrast to other academic work on men and masculinities in India outlined in the previous two sections, much of the work on sexual health and HIV has not just been about observation and academic research but active intervention. A major research and intervention study in three communities in east Mumbai known as the RISHTA project (Research and Intervention in Sexual Health: Theory to Action), examined the relationship between a group of sexual health complaints known as *gupt rog* or 'illness of the secret area' in Hindi and sexual risk behaviour, in order to prevent and treat STIs and HIV (RISHTA, 2007).

Gupt rog refers to three clusters of symptoms referred to as *kamjori*, *dhat*, and *garmi*. *Kamjori* meaning 'weakness' in Hindi refers to sexual as well as physical and mental weakness and is often manifest in the form of erection problems, premature ejaculation, physical problems, loss of sexual desire, darkness around the eyes and giddiness. Many men and Ayurvedic practitioners consider poor food, excessive masturbation and intercourse with sex workers to be causes of *kamjori* (R. K. Verma, Sharma, Singh, Rangaiyan, & Pelto, 2003). Secondly, *dhat syndrome* has become a term associated with concerns about semen loss, semen quality and quantity. As well as relating to semen colloquially, *dhat* also means metal or something precious and semen is often referred to as money (R. K. Verma, et al.,

2003). Semen is also known as '*virya*', a Sanskrit word meaning bravery, valour, strength, power, or that which generates power and greatness. As such, seminal fluid is considered an elixir of life; its preservation guaranteeing health, longevity and strength. Many men present to health care providers worried about excessive semen loss or weak or thin semen due to extramarital or pre-marital sex and masturbation or involuntarily, through *swapnadosh* (nocturnal emission), or while defecating or urinating. Additionally, men often complain of somatic symptoms, hypochondriasis, fatigue, physical weakness, anxiety, loss of appetite, guilt and sometimes impotence or premature ejaculation (Mumford, 1996). The third group, *garmi* or 'heat', describes symptoms such as burning urination, itching, sores and pus discharge (R. K. Verma, et al., 2003). *Garmi* symptoms are often considered a consequence of too much 'heat' in the body, as a result of oral and anal sex, sex with sex workers, multiple partners and spicy food (R. Verma, Rangaiyan, Singh, Sharma, & Pelto, 2001). *Kamjori* and *dhat* complaints are highly interrelated. The weakness associated with *kamjori* is often understood, both from a lay perspective and by AYUSH (Ayurveda, Yoga & Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy) or non-allopathic providers, as being a consequence of semen loss (*dhat* complaints). In contrast, *garmi* complaints are more comparable to common STI symptoms.

RISHTA found that *gupt rog* complaints were highly significant among young men in the three low-income communities they studied in Mumbai. In the RISHTA survey, over 53% (1272) of married men reported at least one of these problems (Schensul, Mekki-Berrada, Nastasi, Saggurti, & Verma, 2006). In addition, a large number of men had sought help for these complaints: almost half (49.8%, 634) of men who reported sexual health problems sought some kind of treatment. Adult men typically underutilize public health care, in part because so few services are provided for them. However, they actually represent the largest component of the patients of private (non-allopathic or AYUSH) providers (Schensul, et al., 2006).

While much of the literature around *dhat* complaints has been of a psychiatric nature, the RISHTA research and intervention did not place a focus upon conceptions of such complaints as being related to mental health and well-being. Instead, RISHTA focused upon their findings that *gupt rog* complaints were

associated with several behaviours. Specifically, gender-based violence was found to be associated with *dhat* and *kamjori* complaints; extramarital sex with a female was associated with *kamjori*, and payment for sex was associated with all *gupt rog* symptoms (Schensul, et al., 2007). The project realised *gupt rog* complaints were effective markers for men involved in risky sexual behaviours and used men's presentation with such symptoms at community-based service points as an opportunity to engage with men on sexual health and HIV prevention education as well as treatment (Schensul, et al., 2007).

However, the association between *gupt rog* and sexual behaviour is complex. An obvious explanation for the association would be that men who engage in risk behaviours are more likely to contract STIs and therefore present with sexual health complaints more often. However, the associations with risk behaviours were only found with *kamjori* and *dhat* complaints and not with *garmi* complaints, which are more comparable to STI symptoms. In addition, no association was found between any *gupt rog* complaint and laboratory confirmed acute or lifetime STIs; only gender-based violence and sexual risk behaviours were found to be related to *gupt rog* (Schensul, et al., 2007). An alternative explanation seems necessary.

Gupt rog complaints appear to have a significant psychological basis. *Dhat* syndrome has been described as an 'idiom of distress' (Nichter, 1981; Sumathipala, et al., 2004), a 'culturally determined symptom of depression' (Mumford, 1996) and is recognised by many allopathic practitioners as a psychosomatic complaint (Patel & Sumathipala, 2006). Bhatia & Malik's (1991) study of 144 men in New Delhi with psychosexual disorders, (comprising 65% *dhat*, 20% *kamjori* or impotence) found significant comorbidity of these disorders with depression (39%) and anxiety (21%). The study also found that the best response was seen in those treated with anxiolytic and antidepressant medication, where 58.3% and 50% respectively reported that their condition had improved, in comparison to 34.4% and 16.7% who did so respectively with placebo or counselling. These findings combined with the sheer number of men seeking out help and the amount spent on doing so, demonstrates a significant level of psychological distress represented by *gupt rog* complaints.

Another area focused upon in the literature has been examining the association between alcohol use and HIV risk behaviours among men, particularly in Chennai and Mumbai (Sivaram et al., 2005; Sivaram et al., 2007; Sivaram, Latkin, Solomon, & Celentano, 2006; Sivaram, et al., 2008; Sivaram et al., 2004). Findings that men who drink alcohol in bars are more likely to have sex with sex workers and to not use condoms has led to calls for interventions more focused on this 'risk group'. Understandings in much of this literature are limited to how men's use of alcohol directly before sex leads to more aggressive sex and lower rates of condom use. In a similar way to the RISHTA study, much of this work is informed by an epidemiological approach, focused solely on STI and HIV risk. Consequently, the research is about defining risk groups and targeting them with interventions, particularly interventions focused on knowledge about sexual health and HIV in combination with condom distribution, rather than utilising more in depth understandings of masculinities and the effects of masculine norms upon men's lives to understand a wider nexus of behaviours and other aspects of health and well-being.

2.4 Summary

This review has shown the diversity of approaches taken towards men's alcohol use, perpetration of violence and sexual behaviour. While there is a strong movement in academic research towards placing these three behaviours within wider social structures, particularly gender relations and a move towards exploring the subjectivities of men as gendered beings; epidemiological approaches remain highly influential in the world of public health interventions and studies associated with them.

A strong literature exists clearly demonstrating how these three behaviours relate to different aspects of gender norms, both in terms of maintaining male dominance and patriarchal power and also the impact many masculine norms have on men emotionally. However, the majority of this work has been in Western contexts and while an emerging literature on men and masculinities in South Asia is examining the complexities of male subjectivities, it is very much confined to academic

discourse and research, often neglecting the implications of such findings for behaviour and health outcomes.

A significant number of public health interventions involve men in relation to these three behaviours in India. While some are gender blind, seeing male sex as another risk factor for pathology such as HIV infection and alcohol use, others are more gender aware, but have been particularly focused around intimate partner violence. As a consequence, they have often had a strong focus on men's ideas about power and attitudes towards women and female empowerment rather than examining men's emotional lives and helping men become more emotionally literate and expressive.

There is therefore a lack of research examining men not only as gendered beings but also as emotional beings in the Indian context and the significance and impact this may have both on men's involvement with certain behaviours and public health outcomes more widely.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of the study, which included both quantitative and qualitative methods. This chapter describes the methods used, the reasons for choosing these methods and the issues raised in implementing the methodologies. Primary qualitative data generation formed the bulk of the PhD research and all of the fieldwork was of a qualitative nature, including individual interviews, focus group discussions and the recording of observations made in the community over the period of the research through the writing of field notes. Quantitative analysis was also carried out on secondary data from a survey conducted with men in east Mumbai in 2003. The data were used to explore the statistical evidence for associations between men's use of violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour and factors which emerged as important both from the literature and findings from the qualitative fieldwork.

Table 3.1: Summary of research

Dates	Methodology	Primary or Secondary?	Sample Size	Location	Affiliation
2003	Quantitative	Secondary analysis	2381	East Mumbai	RISHTA
2009 - 2010	Qualitative	Primary data generation	29 individual interviews 2 focus groups	Dharavi, central Mumbai	SNEHA

Although the methods and results presented in the thesis present the research as a linear process, it was very much an iterative one. Initial exploration of concepts in the quantitative data set occurred before the qualitative fieldwork. The quantitative analysis was then returned to and adapted on completion of the qualitative work, based upon new understandings and deeper insights into the social context. The

findings presented in chapter four represent the analyses undertaken after the qualitative research phase had been completed.

3.2 Study areas

The research was based upon data from two different areas of Mumbai, collected at two different time periods. The quantitative data were collected in 2003 and the qualitative data generation took place between 2009 and 2010. Although there are significant differences between the two areas which will be discussed in more detail, an overarching theme of great importance is the scale and pace of economic and social change in Mumbai, particularly since economic liberalisation began in 1991. Economic liberalisation brought about vast changes in Indian society with the opening up of Indian markets to foreign companies and goods. The Indian economy is increasingly becoming driven by the financial and services sector with a movement away from manufacturing industries, particularly in cities like Mumbai, where these mills and factories were previously a huge source of low-skilled employment. A whole series of complex processes by which many Indian cities have become exposed to the forces of globalisation have also brought about vast social change (Derné, 2008; Srivastava, 2001).

Areas like Dharavi, the setting of the qualitative component of this study provide excellent examples of the scale and pace of such economic and social change. In the 1970s Dharavi was a swampy area, with a few huts. Increasing migration to Mumbai from states such as Uttar Pradesh has put ever more pressure upon housing and land. What was once considered a dangerous neighbourhood has become increasingly a centre of industrial activity and a desirable location in which to live, given its central location in the city.

Very much a part of processes of social change are the many organisations working in areas such as Dharavi. A great number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) exist, working on a whole range of issues from sanitation and contesting imposed development plans to a significant amount of activity by women's organisations such as SNEHA and other

NGOs working on the rights of women as well as sexual and reproductive health. The Centre for Vulnerable Women and Children at SNEHA has been working since the year 2000, running not only a range of services for women who are the victims of violence but also campaigning and running events in the community, working with community leaders to bring about an awareness of intimate partner violence and raise the position of women through a variety of means such as the promotion of female employment and access to legal resources.

It is on this background of change that this research was conducted. However, in addition there are some specific differences between the geographical areas where the two different sets of data were generated.

The quantitative analysis was based on data from three low-income communities in the east of Mumbai. These areas had a population estimate at the time the survey was done in 2003 of approximately 700,000. The areas have a large number of migrants from rural areas all over India but the samples shows a high proportion of Muslims living in these areas, with the majority (54.3%) being Muslim in comparison to 42% Hindu. In comparison Dharavi is estimated to be majority Hindu and although Muslims and Hindus lived side by side, after the 1993 riots, Muslims became increasingly ghettoised, often moving to what were considered safer areas because of their majority Muslim presence such as neighbourhoods to the east of the city, where the quantitative study was carried out (Robinson, 2005).

The qualitative fieldwork was conducted in various communities within Dharavi, an area covering about 535 acres (216 hectares) in the centre of Mumbai with an estimated population of anywhere between 500,000 to 1 million inhabitants. Because of the informal nature of much of the housing, exact estimates have been difficult to determine and the area has grown hugely over the past ten years. In contrast to the origin of the quantitative data from areas in east Mumbai, Dharavi has a very diverse population, with migrants coming from all over India, with a lot of migrants in particular from Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as well as Maharashtra itself. People from different communities, both in terms of place of origin, religion and caste, often live side by side.



Figure 3.1: A typical side street where qualitative in-depth interviews were carried out

3.3 Quantitative component

3.3.1 Objectives of the quantitative analysis

The quantitative component of the study sought to examine the statistical evidence for associations between a range of independent variables and the three behavioural outcomes: men's alcohol use, perpetration of intimate partner violence and extramarital sex and factors which emerged from the literature review and which were refined during the qualitative fieldwork. In particular the analyses aimed to examine the role of four domains: the gender division of labour, men's ability to fulfil masculine norms, men's reports of psychological distress and their ability to share their problems with their wife, in addition to several socio-demographic factors.

3.3.2 Source of data

The analysis was conducted using secondary data from a baseline survey conducted as part of a men's health project in a low-income area in east Mumbai. The project known as 'RISHTA' (Research and Intervention on Sexual Health: Theory to Action and meaning 'relationship' in Hindi) was a collaboration between the Population Council, the International Institute for Population Sciences in Mumbai and the University of Connecticut School of Medicine, USA; funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (USA) and the UK Department for International Development (DfID). The study and intervention which followed sought to use men's sexual health concerns as a way of preventing STIs and HIV among the general population. In particular it focused on the high prevalence of *kamjori* (weakness-related) and *dhat* (semen-related) complaints among men in the community, as explained in chapter two. Drawing upon this, different health providers including both allopathic and non-allopathic were trained to talk through such problems with men, focusing particularly on the delivery of information around condom use and STI and HIV prevention.

The survey was carried out from June to September 2003, with 2,408 married men aged between 21 and 40. All lanes or 'plots' in a specific community in east Mumbai were identified. Lanes and plots were then randomly selected for household

sampling and individual households within chosen areas then selected through systematic random sampling. If a household contained more than one eligible man then one man was randomly selected for interview from the household. The surveys were conducted in Mumbaiia Hindi in face-to-face interviews with male staff and were carried out in the household or in nearby areas if more privacy was needed. 8% of the men contacted by study staff refused to participate.

The data were received after forming an agreement with one of the Principal Investigators on the project, Prof. Steve Schensul at the University of Connecticut. The data had been previously cleaned and were ready for analysis.

3.4 Operationalising dependent variables

The analyses sought to examine three behaviours as outcomes: perpetration of intimate partner violence, regular alcohol use and extramarital sex. Psychological distress was also explored as an additional outcome variable, in order to provide evidence for it as a construct. These dependent variables were operationalised as follows, with details in square brackets indicating the coding of each variable:

- 1) Perpetration of intimate partner violence. Three variables were created:
 - i. Violent arguments with wife in the past 6 months [No/Yes]
 - Based upon responses to the question: "Did you have violent arguments with your wife anytime in the past six months?"
 - This was taken to include verbal abuse such as shouting, yelling or screaming as well as physical abuse.
 - ii. Any physical violence against wife in the past 6 months [No/Yes]
 - Included having slapped, punched, kicked or used a weapon
 - iii. Physical abuse in the last argument had with wife [No/Yes]
 - Included having slapped, punched, kicked or used a weapon
- 2) Alcohol use: [Daily or weekly / less than weekly or never]
 - Daily or weekly use of any of the following in the past month:
 - Beer
 - English daru (foreign liquor)
 - Desi daru (Indian liquor)
 - Tadi Madi/Neera (locally or home brewed liquor).
- 3) Any extramarital sex in the past 12 months [No/Yes]
- 4) Reported psychological distress [No/Yes]
 - This was a composite variable derived from a series of items asking about satisfaction and happiness with life. Further details of this composite variable are provided in chapter four.

3.4.1 Selecting and operationalising independent variables

Sixteen independent variables were selected for inclusion in the analyses. The sixteen variables are conceptualised as belonging to six different categories.

1) Socio-demographic variables

Seven socio-demographic variables were included as potential confounders based upon prior knowledge. For example whether men live with their wife or not is likely to affect levels of extramarital sex and abuse. However, many of these variables were also interesting in themselves as determinants, adding to the overall understanding of behaviour in the population.

2) Gender division of labour

The questionnaire contained several items related to gender egalitarian beliefs and behaviours. However, it was difficult to ascertain the validity of some of these items in relation to gender equality. Examples were men's responses to items such as 'I do not allow my wife to walk in the community without a burkha/dupatta' and 'I do not allow my wife to interfere in my decisions'. Based upon the qualitative results, it appeared that two behaviours in particular were good indicators of gender equality: men's involvement in cooking, which was mentioned by many men as perhaps the most significant representation of gender egalitarian beliefs, and whether men's wives worked for money or not.

3) Fulfilling masculine norms

From the qualitative research, men discussed the importance of fulfilling two masculine norms in particular, being able to fulfil the economic needs of their family and to satisfy their wife sexually. While most men reported that having a male child was not of importance to them, other studies, particularly in more rural areas show the importance of having a male child to many men's ideas of masculinity. This term was therefore included to examine the evidence for this. The large majority of men responded 'very true of me' to these three items (over 70%). The variables were recoded as binary variables as it was considered conceptually important simply to compare those who differed from this majority. In addition, the small numbers in the 'not at all true of me' category made it difficult to achieve statistical significance.

4) Sexual health complaints

Sexual health complaints are listed separately from ability to fulfil masculine norms and reported psychological distress in the categories of exposure variables. However, they are considered important in both areas. Sexual weakness complaints relate to sexual dysfunction which relates strongly to ability to perform sexually, an important masculine norm. However, as discussed in chapter two, evidence suggests both sets of sexual health complaints are important expressions of psychological distress. While important, these two variables are complex, and are based upon the results of factor analysis, the results of which are provided in chapter four.

5) Psychological distress

Although sexual health complaints were considered to relate strongly to psychological distress based upon findings from the literature review, another measure of distress was created based upon answers to statements about happiness and satisfaction with life. Further details of this variable and why it was labelled 'psychological distress' rather than happiness can be found in chapter four.

6) Sharing problems with wife

Sharing problems with wife was considered an important factor in men's behaviour. This variable was taken directly from answers to the question 'Do you talk to your wife about your problems?' in the questionnaire without any transformation.

3.4.2 Use of factor analysis

Factor analysis was used to explore two domains, reported psychological distress and sexual health complaints. These domains were based upon questions in the survey which consisted of many items and scales which had not been externally validated, being based upon previous qualitative findings of the RISHTA research. Factor analysis was undertaken on two groups of items to reduce the number of items and to provide evidence for latent variables. In all analyses, the maximum likelihood factor method and orthogonal varimax rotation were used. The number of factors considered as important in forming a new latent variable was decided upon

examination of the eigenvalues, the resulting screeplot as well as being guided by conceptual meaning.

3.4.3 Statistical analyses

After the operationalising of concepts into variables, initial descriptive analyses were undertaken to look at the population sampled for the study and the distribution of socio-demographic variables, behaviours and other variables of interest in the sample, particularly checking for missing data. This was followed by univariate analysis consisting of crude regression analyses to examine associations between all independent variables and the dependent behaviour variables. Following from this, multivariable logistic regression analyses were conducted looking at the effect of independent variables adjusted for other factors.

3.4.4 Creating multivariable models

The aim of the analyses was not to produce a predictive or diagnostic model, where parsimony would be a key objective. Instead, the aim in this study was to use logistic regression to examine the effects of a set of selected predictors while adjusting for confounders, all of which were considered to be conceptually important before statistical tests were conducted. Therefore independent variables theorized or shown in prior research to be associated with the outcome were left in the model even if not statistically significant because of their importance in accounting for associations between variables, even if not statistically significant in themselves. The model was therefore built upon theoretical conceptualisation rather than relying on the results of statistical tests alone, as is the case in an automated stepwise regression. All variables of interest and potential confounders were entered and kept in the model.

However, within this approach it was important to avoid over-fitting and the opportunity for type I errors. A rule of thumb is that the ratio of men with the outcome over the number of independent variables should be at least ten (Peduzzi, Concato, Kemper, Holford, & Feinstein, 1996). For example, taking the outcome extramarital

sex in the past 12 months, 290 men reported the outcome, therefore a maximum of 29 variables ($290/10=29$) could be used in the analysis.

3.4.5 Interaction

Interaction terms were added to the logistic regression models for variables which, based upon conceptual knowledge might possibly interact, as well as for all statistically significant variables in the model. Logistic regression models were constructed with and without an interaction term and a Wald test undertaken on the respective likelihood ratios to see if inclusion of the interaction term improved the fit of the model. The interaction term was then included in the model if the Wald test gave a probability of $p < 0.05$. After interaction terms were identified, all terms were placed in the model and tables were created showing stratum-specific odds ratios. These are presented in tables separate from those showing the results of the main crude and adjusted variable effects. The tables with the main effects are based upon models without interaction terms as this made the different effects easier to understand. With sometimes several interactions occurring in one model, putting all of these with all the other variables in one table would have made interpreting the results too complex.

3.5 Qualitative component

3.5.1 Institutional affiliations & finding suitable research assistants

There was a strong need to form links with local groups and institutions in order for the qualitative phase of the study to be a success. The research involved formal links with three main groups: the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS); the Centre for Vulnerable Women & Children (CVWC) part of the Society for Nutrition, Education and Health Actions (SNEHA) at Sion Hospital, Dharavi; and the Humsafar Trust.

For the duration of the fieldwork I was affiliated with the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai. This affiliation facilitated my obtaining a research visa as well

as gaining local ethical approval for the study. In addition, Prof. Shalini Bharat who is based at TISS provided advice on finding a research assistant, forming collaborations with NGOs and guidance when the fieldwork was at an early stage.

On arrival in Mumbai, I made contact with a research team who had been involved with the RISHTA study, data from which were used for the quantitative secondary data analysis. A senior member of this research team suggested a Masters student who they thought might be suitable as a research assistant. However, the group had already been carrying out research with men in the community and presented me with several barriers to my being in the community, suggesting that I used research assistants to do all the work, staying out of the field myself. I felt the community might have been exhausted by previous research projects and that my research would be influenced by previous and ongoing research in the community. I therefore branched out to see what other organisations were doing in Mumbai, meeting several NGOs and academics. One of these meetings was with Dr Nayreen Daruwalla, director of the Centre for Vulnerable Women & Children (CVWC) at the Society for Nutrition, Education and Health Action or 'SNEHA', a word meaning affection in Hindi. SNEHA had existing links with UCL's Centre for International Health and Development. Dr Daruwalla's enthusiasm for the project, her warmth, generosity and overall approach to the study meant CVWC felt very much the right place for the research to happen. With the help of Dr David Osrin, a research fellow from UCL who had lived in Mumbai and worked with SNEHA for many years, an agreement was drawn up to formalise the collaboration between myself and CVWC (see appendix B).

The second key challenge was finding a suitable research assistant. Finding a male research assistant who had a good knowledge of English, Hindi and Marathi as well as the ability to conduct interviews on sensitive issues was a real challenge. CVWC suggested one of their workers but he had very little English and so with only my basic Hindi to converse in, this was not a viable option. In parallel I had contacted another organisation, the Humsafar Trust, an NGO working on the health and rights of sexual minorities in Mumbai, with a view to volunteering with them during my stay in Mumbai. I met a member of their research team, Murgesh Sivasubramanian who expressed his interest in being my assistant. Murgesh had a wealth of experience

working in all aspects of sexual health work in different communities, including experience interviewing married men about their sexual behaviour. He also had excellent communication skills, spoke English, Hindi, Marathi and Tamil fluently and I felt he would be able to conduct interviews with heterosexual men in the community on sensitive issues successfully. I formed another agreement with the Humsafar Trust for Murgesh to work with me in the evenings several times a week in addition to his job at the Trust.

While Murgesh was the right person to conduct the interviews he was unable to complete all the transcription and translation work because of his full time job at the Humsafar Trust. Although I had originally wanted an assistant who would do both the interviews and the translation, it was not possible to find a male who was able to do this, although there were many women who would have fulfilled this role. I thought having a male assistant was very important for the success of the interviews, given the context and so looked for another assistant to complete the translation work. CVWC suggested someone they had used for another project who did an excellent job. I contracted her to do the work, but after translating half an interview, she felt unable to carry on. For her as a single woman, she felt the work was inappropriate for her. In particular, that older women ('aunties') living in her building would ask her what work she was doing and that she would not want to lie but that they would talk and challenge her if she told them she was doing it upon sexual health. She reported previously doing interviews and translation with women talking about their experiences of health care, which she felt was an 'appropriate' subject for her to be working on.

A second translator was eventually found on the recommendation of my primary assistant, who had experience of translating interviews which contained references to sex and violence. She lived in Pune, a town some distance from Mumbai. My interaction with her was all by phone and email. However, there were problems again when this translator went on holiday for an extended period without giving me notice. After trying another translation service, it quickly became clear that the quality was not of a high enough standard and so I had interviews retranslated when the previous translator returned from holiday.

3.5.2 Sampling and recruitment of participants

The focus of the study was building theory and so the study utilised theoretical sampling in selecting participants. This involved thinking of initial categories of men to talk to, for example married men, aged 20 to 40 years old, who were currently living with their wife. These initial criteria were based upon findings from previous RISHTA studies showing that such men were most likely to be perpetrators of intimate partner violence and to be having extramarital sex. However, after each interview, analysis of the data produced new emerging categories or ideas which challenged the initial categories used. Therefore after a series of initial interviews it became clear that talking to men over the age of 40 was important, comparing their experiences to those of younger men. Other new categories emerged, such as men who were migrants and living in the factories where they worked, as well as men who struggled to express their emotions verbally to others.

In following these emerging lines of inquiry, the aim was not to reach a certain number of interviews but rather come to a point where the value of new data through interviewing more participants becomes marginal. This point is often termed 'saturation' but some grounded theorists challenge the ability of researchers to know that they have reached this point, until analysis has been completed. Dey (1999) claims that instead, most researchers reach a point of 'theoretical sufficiency' rather than saturation.

The initial aim was to work in one particular area of Dharavi, conducting focus group discussions with men in 'natural groups' followed up by in-depth individual interviews. Natural group interviews aim to interview a group of five to eight participants who already know each other, potentially from many different settings, from friends, neighbours or work colleagues. This seemed the best way of making contact with men, introducing ourselves and the project and facilitating a sense of trust with us as researchers before following up with individual interviews. As a result, we spent some time with my primary assistant and two assistants from CVWC on trips to one particular community, making contacts with men at chai stalls and local shop owners amongst others. The assistants from CVWC arranged for my research assistant and me to meet several men who knew each other in the

community but every time we went, these men appeared not to be around or there were insufficient numbers for us to conduct a focus group. After several weeks of such visits and with only a few focus groups completed, another strategy was necessary.

At the same time, I attended various CVWC events in Dharavi, including one white ribbon day event in December 2009. There I met several men and one in particular who was keen to strike up a conversation and who invited me to go for chai with his friends. I agreed, even though my assistant was not with me. With my basic Hindi we were able to have a conversation and I asked him if he would mind if I interviewed him another day, which he agreed to. This was our first interviewee, Shyam. This strategy of meeting men in the community was not feasible for the whole study but it provided a start.

Parallel to this, my assistant got in touch with the many contacts he had in the area, through his work with various NGOs. One of his contacts lived in a different area of Dharavi to where we had been working and was very efficient in finding two groups of men for us to interview. Some of the men knew each other but it was not a 'natural group'. We conducted two focus group discussions, which were successful with men wanting to meet again, or asking what we would talk about next time. In addition, one man approached us to say there was a lot more he wanted to discuss with us in private. He became our second interviewee, Dinesh.

Although we managed to find some participants through these community routes, we wanted to work with staff at CVWC and so we discussed the problems of finding participants with staff at CVWC and thought about a new strategy which focused on the centre's strengths, in particular their work with female victims of IPV and their partners. We therefore asked CVWC to refer to us men who were perpetrators of IPV which was a much more successful strategy. We interviewed ten of these men, who ranged from men who had been recently violent to men who had had contact with CVWC some time ago and were no longer violent.

After approximately ten interviews we felt we were starting to reach saturation with these men and that it was time to interview men who had no history of violence or

who had more experience of extramarital sex and alcohol use and also those who had not had contact with the organisation. Some of the male workers at CVWC arranged for us to interview men they knew in the community who fitted the profiles of men we wished to interview.

Parallel to this, we contacted several other NGOs and contacts of my research assistant who were working in Dharavi with predominantly heterosexual men on sexual health. We found one worker in particular who worked for a local sexual health NGO and was responsive to our approach, expressing a lot of interest in the project. She was transgender (*hijra*) and had extensive contact with men in the community and was able to find participants from her large network of contacts in the local area. She became a secondary assistant, who I paid and was involved in discussions with us about sampling and potential groups of men we had not talked to. We completed a recorded interview with her to find out more about her work in the community and to know how she found the men we were interviewing. Through her we were able to contact a wide range of men in the community, in particular men who were having or had had extramarital sex both with commercial sex workers and with women in the community as well as men who had histories of sexual health complaints, all from many different backgrounds. She is identified as “SHO worker” in appendix A.

A key part of the theoretical sampling was frequent communication between this secondary research assistant, my primary assistant and me, after every interview. We discussed how the interview went, key issues and themes which emerged from it and reflected on who we felt we needed to interview next. A key reflection which emerged was the attraction to interviewing participants who were talkative and happy to communicate but the need to speak to men who were not so communicative, who had problems with alcohol and found discussing emotions difficult.

It is important to reflect upon the way participants were found and selected and the impact this had upon the data and the conclusions drawn from it. Although participants were recruited through a variety of sources, the study relied upon a handful of sources to find participants. The significant overlap in discussions

between men who were recruited via SNEHA or by various community sources allowed for a comparison of the influence the method of recruitment had upon the data. Men recruited through the CVWC at SNEHA may have had expectations that they were coming to talk about their violence and in addition many of these men will have been exposed to various SNEHA interventions. As a result they may have felt a social pressure to reflect upon their marital relationship and history of violence in a certain way. It is conceivable that these men may have over-emphasised their egalitarian views, given the context of interviewing at SNEHA. It did seem to be the case that in interviews with men at SNEHA, very few men talked about the more extreme forms of violence, with the majority talking instead about 'fights', 'slapping' or 'hitting'. Some of these men may have been much more violent towards their wives but did not talk about this in so much detail. However, in interviews in the community with men who had had no contact with SNEHA, similarly no men talked in depth about extremes of violence. These interviews in the community, recruited through a variety of sources, including contacts of various outreach workers were important in providing a contrast to the interviews at SNEHA. These participants had little idea about what we wanted to talk about when they came for interviews and the informed consent sheet was very broad, not mentioning violence or sex. In addition, interviews always started with very open questions such as 'Can you tell us something about yourself?' The use of multiple methods and sources for recruiting participants was an important part of ensuring rigour through the selection of a diverse range of men. A final point of consideration was our ability to talk to men who currently had severe alcohol abuse problems or who did not wish to share their experiences. We made an active effort to reach such men and we were relatively successful, interviewing several men for whom discussing and expressing their thoughts and feelings about different aspects of their lives was extremely difficult.

In summary, participants were recruited through a variety of sources, including referral by SNEHA staff, and the use of staff from two other NGOs working in the community who helped find and select participants. The method of recruitment for each participant is recorded along with other details for each of the individual in-depth interview participants in a table as appendix A.



Figure 3.2: Individual interview being carried out in the community. From left to right: myself, research participant and primary research assistant, Murgesh

3.5.3 Research methods

In total twenty-nine in-depth individual interviews and two focus group discussions (FGDs) were completed. An interview with my second assistant from a local sexual health NGO was also undertaken to record his views on the research process and conceptualisation of the research. Additional informal group discussions were conducted at the beginning of the research process. The focus groups each consisted of a group of four to six men. As with all individual interview participants, we aimed for them all to be married, living in the community and aged 20-40. However, sometimes participants were a little older, up to the age of 55.

FGDs were conceptualised as necessary in examining different norms within communities, to observe how men interacted when part of a group rather than individually and to introduce us to participants, establishing trust between researchers and participants before proceeding to in-depth individual interviews. However, although the FGDs we completed were successful it very quickly became clear that the individual in-depth discussions were much more fruitful in generating the type of data required for the study and that men were happy to talk to us without the 'warm up' of an FGD. Additionally, it was extremely difficult to organise five men to meet at a particular time. With limited resources a decision was made early on to focus on individual interviews rather than continue with the FGDs. However, the FGDs were useful in discussing norms and this became more apparent during the writing up process. Although recording the details of how men interacted in groups was not a particular focus of the study, findings from the two FGDs which were recorded, supplemented the findings from individual interviews. In retrospect it would have been good to have persisted with the FGDs and recorded five, which might have added further richness to the data.

For both FGDs and individual interviews a semi-structured interview schedule was used. The interviewer was trained in the importance of asking open ended questions to allow the participant to draw out meanings and experiences which they felt were important, rather than being wholly determined by the researcher's pre-existing views. All interviews started with a very open question, such as 'Can you start by telling us something about yourself?' Some men responded to this line of

questioning very well and felt happy talking openly about a range of personal topics. In contrast other men did not know how to respond, often responding with a question, wanting a more closed line of questioning. In these situations the interviewer often began asking some factual questions about their life, such as about their education, family, work or origin. The interview schedule prompted the interviewer to ask about specific areas of interest which some men may not have addressed in response to open questions. However conversation did not have to stick to the order on the schedule as long as all topics were covered by the end of the interview.

Interview guides were developed for both FGDs and individual interviews. These were developed and refined over the course of the interviews as new questions emerged from earlier data. A sample interview guide is presented in appendix C. The interview guides broadly covered the following topics:

- Background, including current living situation, family structure, education, work, religion, age, place of birth
- Gender roles
- Relationships with other family members
- Relationship with wife: background to the relationship, arranged or love marriage, how long married, quality of relationship
- Arguments and violence with wife
- Extramarital sex
- Friendship & support
- Access to health services
- Experience of CVWC/SNEHA (where relevant)
- Final open question & reflection on interview experience

It became obvious from early interviews that there were important areas omitted from the initial interview schedule. New themes were added such as relationships with other family members and friendship and support, while others such as access to health services were felt to be less important.

The majority of interviews started with a member of CVWC staff or my second assistant introducing the participant to my primary assistant and myself. I always introduced myself, including where I was from and some basic information about myself and the study in Hindi. After this, my assistant took over and while I was present for all interviews, I left him to conduct the interviews, without interruption from me, unless essential. Interviews took place mostly in Hindi, with one in Marathi. We decided not to use simultaneous translation as it would have adversely affected the quality of the data, by breaking the flow of the interview and taken a considerable amount of time, leaving less time for the participant to tell us their story. In addition, we felt it would break the trust between research and participant as the participants would not understand any conversations between my assistant and me. I was able to follow the thread of conversation in some of the interviews. At the end, my assistant would ask me if I had anything I wanted to ask or discuss before we ended the interview.

Individual interviews took place in several different locations. These were fairly evenly split between a room within the CVWC and two private residences in the area. One early interview took place in a private part of a public park. There were several discussions about the use of the CVWC as a location for interviews. Staff at the CVWC felt that the centre was the best location, rather than intruding on people's personal space because of the stigma of men being visited by CVWC workers. But the centre did not offer complete privacy. Interviews were conducted in a small partitioned space which although separate from the rest of a large room, was without a door, open at the ceiling to the rest of the room and surrounded by glass onto the rest of the room. Often other meetings would take place just externally to the room which were sometimes distracting. We noticed men looking over to women in other spaces through the glass window before mentioning particularly private things. Additionally, some men chose to wait for us outside the centre, not wanting to come in to the main waiting space inside the centre. The centre was predominantly a female space, with many female staff and often female clients waiting in one large, open space. Although CVWC was very much aware of this and was making several efforts to address the needs of men, it was apparent both through body language and in interviews that CVWC was not a place where some men felt entirely comfortable. Interviews which happened in private residences

in the community worked very well. We were able to ensure complete privacy and confidentiality in these locations, one of which we rented from a contact in the community for a couple of hours each time. These private residences worked well as they were separate from CVWC, often separate from the area the participant lived in, and the three of us, my assistant, the participant and me sat on the floor, which was a leveller, creating a sense of equality between participants and researchers, in comparison to the more formal office chairs and table at CVWC.

In addition to focus group discussions and individual interviews, I kept a journal which recorded a wide range of thoughts and reflections. These included details of meetings and discussions with my assistant, reflections on individual interviews, including observations such as appearance, body language, mood and tone of interviews and impressions of the interviewee as well as memos about themes emerging from the interviews and problems arising from the research process. The comments contributed to the analysis of the study data. Observations and comments were discussed frequently with my assistant to explore their validity further. In addition to the interviews I spent time in different areas of Dharavi, both with SNEHA at functions such as a white ribbon day event as well as less formal time in the community, speaking with different men we met, drinking chai and making conversation with as many people as would talk to us. I also spent time in Kampathipura, perhaps the most notorious 'red-light' district of Mumbai, speaking informally with members of several NGOs working there, and observing men's interactions with commercial sex workers from a distance and the interactions between men coming to the area together. In total I lived in Mumbai for ten months, staying in an area separate from the area where the research took place. The outsider dynamic which both my research assistant and I had, both of us not being from Dharavi, appeared to be beneficial rather than a hindrance in interviews, with many men feeling able to express difficulties and emotions openly.

3.5.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was granted both by the UCL Research Ethics Committee and the Dean of Research and Development at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in

Mumbai. In addition the study was discussed extensively with staff members at CVWC and SNEHA and both assistants as to potential ethical considerations.

Written informed consent was obtained from each participant in the study. Each participant had the contents of an informed consent information sheet thoroughly explained to them and given a copy of the consent form to keep if they wished. Consent forms were available in Hindi and Marathi. Sample informed consent forms are included in appendix D. Several participants had further questions about what would happen to the data before they agreed to consent. One participant did not wish to be recorded initially but after further discussion about his concerns he felt happy for recording to go ahead.

Confidentiality was important given the sensitive nature of the research questions. As discussed in the previous section, the location was important in ensuring confidentiality. All interviews were recorded digitally with the files being stored securely in a password protected file. Each participant was assigned a unique number and files were sent digitally via password protected file transfer sites to translators who only had access to the participant's id number, although participants often said their name during interviews, which was unavoidable. After translation, each participant was assigned an alias which was used as their name for the purposes of writing up the research. Care was taken in ensuring that any quotes used in writing up the research and presenting research for dissemination were anonymised to ensure individual participants could not be identified.

CVWC requested that we did not pay participants for their interviews as they felt it would discourage men attending the centre in future without financial incentive. However, other NGOs and community based organisations communicated that they thought outside researchers should compensate participants for involvement in studies at a rate of Rs.100 (approximately £1.40) per interview. This was thought appropriate for interviews outside the context of CVWC. Participants were not told of the compensation before the interview and were offered it at the end. One participant refused to take the money on the principle that he had benefited from the interview and was grateful for the time we gave to listen to him.

Several points of ethical concern arose during the fieldwork. The first was the relationship between participants and me. For the first interview in particular, I had met the participant at a community event and he was keen to befriend me. I felt the interaction was problematic as I was interested in him as a research participant rather than as a friend. I discussed this with several people in Mumbai. It became clear that it was important to make my intentions clear at the beginning of meeting a potential participant but also that men in the community had power over their interactions with me and if they did not wish to be interviewed they could refuse or end the interaction. This problem was limited to early interviews as later interviews involved more formal recruitment through research assistants and so the interaction was very clearly demarcated. A second area of ethical concern was men's anxiety and emotional distress during interviews. While some men expressed enjoying and benefitting from interviews, other men were evidently very anxious and one man appeared to be in distress during the interview. This anxiety and distress was evident in body language such as frequent movement, shaking hands or reluctance to respond to questions. In these cases, I stopped the interview, to ask my assistant to remind him that there was no pressure to answer questions he felt uncomfortable with and to check the participant was ok. In conversations with both my assistants after these interviews, it seemed one participant in particular found recalling his infidelity distressing and filled him with feelings of guilt. We made sure the second assistant who was not present in the interview sat with him over a cup of tea after the interview to check he was ok and talk through issues which had arisen from the interview. A third ethical issue occurred when a participant reported having had unprotected extramarital sex with multiple partners and that he had never had an HIV test. My assistant and I thought it was important that we explained to him how HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases were transmitted, signposting him to further information and services where he could get tested. We were fortunate that both my main and secondary assistants had extensive knowledge of HIV and sexual health as well as of local services available. We discussed the issues involved until the participant felt all his questions had been answered.

Of key importance to the study's ethical nature was the value the research had to the community. A concern expressed by CVWC and SNEHA was that the work should not involve an extraction of data from the community for the purposes of a

PhD in London but that it should be collaborative and build upon the work of NGOs in the community. This was reflected in the agreement signed between CVWC and myself (see appendix B). These concerns have been addressed by disseminating the results of the study back to CVWC and SNEHA and other groups in India, including ICRW and academics at TISS, through seminars held in Mumbai and Delhi in August 2011. In addition, work from the thesis has been presented at a men's health conference at BRAC university in Dhaka, Bangladesh in August 2010, the MBPhD open day at UCL in January 2011, the LSHTM poster day in March 2011 and the American Men's Studies Association annual conference in March 2011. In addition to these dissemination activities, a Wellcome Trust Master's Training Fellowship in Public Health and Tropical Medicine was secured for my primary assistant to complete a Masters at LSHTM followed by 18 months of fully funded research back in Mumbai. In this way, the interaction between me, a researcher from London and various communities in Mumbai has not only the potential of benefit to the communities through the research findings but also through building research capacity and the funding secured for future research.

3.5.5 Qualitative data management

Interviews were digitally recorded on a hand-held device and then downloaded onto a computer. They were then sent to a translator for translation direct from the Hindi or Marathi audio to written English. Although a transcript of the Hindi would have been useful and preferable for direct comparison, budget restraints meant this simply was not possible. In addition, as I did not analyse the interviews in Hindi, a certain amount of this transcription would have remained unused. As discussed previously, my primary assistant was unable to undertake the translation himself as would have been most preferable. Instead, an external translator was used, who translated all recordings. While certain nuances of the interaction and meaning are inevitably lost through the process of translation, there was still a concern about the quality of translation. Transcripts were regularly checked by my primary assistant for accuracy and the translator was given clear instructions as to the high quality of translation required. There were problems with translation when other translators were used and so several interviews were re-translated from scratch to ensure accuracy. In addition, the translator was asked to keep in specific words which

related to cultural concepts with no direct English equivalent. For example, *mardangi*, *mard*, *gud*, which are explored further in the results chapters.

3.5.6 Qualitative data analysis

The study aimed to utilise several elements considered key to a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss, 1987):

- Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis
- Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses
- Using the constant comparative method, which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analyses
- Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis
- Memo-writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories and identify gaps
- Sampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness

Key to this was the use of an inductive approach, searching for themes emerging from the data rather than testing pre-existing theories. While these core elements of a grounded theory approach were followed, there were several problems in applying this method. A major barrier was the use of a translator, which meant there was a significant delay between interviews and a translation ready for analysis. Although there was frequent discussion with both assistants after interviews for emerging themes and ideas, detailed analysis of the interviews often could not start for several weeks after the interviews had taken place. With the time constraints on the study, sometimes interviews had to progress without analysis having taken place. In addition, while familiarisation with data, through the reading of transcripts and the writing of memos on emerging themes occurred as interviews went along, it was not possible to complete line-by-line, intensive analysis of interviews, as interviews progressed.

Analysis consisted of three main stages: analysis during fieldwork, intensive within-case analysis and cross-case analysis. Analysis during fieldwork consisted of reading through transcripts, becoming familiar with the data and noting down any thoughts or ideas which emerged from these initial readings. Translations were then re-read several times to facilitate familiarisation with the data and each case. Following these first readings of the data, emerging ideas were discussed with my assistant and supervisors as well as those at SNEHA and if appropriate, themes were introduced into the interview schedule for future interviews.

Analysis then entered a more intensive within-case analysis phase, where data was imported into NVivo software and line-by-line coding was carried out on the first five individual interviews. This coding was guided by Charmaz's 'code for coding' (Charmaz, 2006):

- Remain open
- Stay close to the data
- Keep your codes simple and precise
- Construct short codes
- Preserve actions
- Compare data with data
- Move quickly through the data

This intensive coding aimed to develop codes which had both good fit and relevance to the data, trying to draw on participants' meanings and actions rather than using alien academic language to describe the phenomena of interest. However, this form of coding was incredibly intensive and took a lot of time to complete. After a few interviews, codes were grouped to form larger categories and some codes were merged, where they related to a very similar concept. Interviews were then analysed for the codes and categories which had emerged from these early interviews and how the data added to or contrasted with existing data in these categories. However, the codes and categories remained fluid throughout the process, with codes and categories being continually collapsed or added to and in addition, at several points, analysis returned to a more intensive line-by-line approach to see

whether new ideas and concepts emerged. After coding each interview a summary of each participant was created, noting key concepts and ideas which emerged from the analysis. In addition the writing of memos explored the emerging categories and themes and their relationship to each other in a free, unstructured way.

While this approach and particularly the software used advanced the development of codes and categories, I felt it was not so useful for the comparison of cases. After coding of all translations was complete, I constructed thematic analysis matrices to compare participants on different themes. These matrices started to become too in-depth and too complex for facilitating comparisons and so a simplified matrix which compared participants on one page of A4, based upon key demographics, behaviours and characteristics which emerged as important from the analysis (see appendix A). Finally, another problem with the focus on developing codes and categories was the erosion of the individual participant's narratives from each interview. In order to return to the way different participants narrated their experience and the within case contradictions and complexities I returned to examining the translations as complete narratives, making comments and memos on each case as a whole.

The final part of the analytic process was writing up the analysis and data into coherent, structured results chapters. The process of writing involved a significant amount of returning to the data and individual cases to check and develop further comparisons between cases. The process of writing results chapters brought further clarity to the themes which emerged from the analysis. It is particularly interesting to reflect how the themes written up in the results chapters differ from the interview schedule used for early interviews. The focus of these chapters on themes not always explicitly asked about in early interviews, reflects the inductive approach used in the data generation process.

3.5.7 Ensuring rigour in the qualitative research

The rigour of the qualitative research was important in providing accounts and generating theory which represented the complex reality well, not being based upon existing biases or ideas from previous research. The rigour of the research, which

could also be conceptualised as validity, credibility or coherence was ensured through a variety of methods both in carrying out the interviews as well as during analysis.

Firstly, during the selection of participants, an effort was made to think of as many different categories of men to interview and then based upon previous interviews, chose men who we felt might contrast with men we had already interviewed. This use of 'deviant sampling' sought out differences and challenges to emerging ideas and theories, in order to make sure we were not interviewing a small sub group of men but getting individuals who differed from each other. In addition, during in-depth analysis, an effort was made to include all data and not just draw on the experiences of a few individuals. This 'comprehensive data treatment', ensured that the results were not just anecdotal but represented the generation of theory from a wide range of cases, including cases which differed from other men we spoke to, or challenged initial ideas.

Secondly, all interviews were recorded and translated. While some qualitative research relies on a research assistant making notes and drawing upon themes from these notes, this study ensured a rigorous approach through recording and analysing a direct translation of interviews. These translations were checked several times and initial interviews were translated multiple times until a good translator was found.

Thirdly, the use of assistants was crucial. My primary assistant checked the translations and commented when a translation was of poor quality. In addition, I was lucky in getting funding for my primary assistant to come to London to undertake a Masters, while I wrote up. This meant I regularly met with him to discuss any issues which came up when I was analysing interviews, including meanings and interpretations of terms, phrases or larger sections of the interviews.

Finally, I discussed emerging ideas both with my assistants in Mumbai, as well as with several supervisors, staff at SNEHA and others at meetings and conferences at many points during the research process.

3.5.8 Personal reflections on the process and position of researcher

The process of doing research in a country and social context very different to the one I was brought up in was incredibly informative and I learnt a huge amount from the constant process of learning and reflections upon errors I possibly made during my research. Although I had spent time working and travelling in low-income contexts previously which brought up some similar issues, the process of doing research for a PhD brought many anxieties and difficulties to the forefront.

A key aspect of the learning process has been negotiating and building research relationships and collaborations with many different partners, from academic institutions, individual academics and researchers as well as NGOs, CBOs and the individuals who work for them. While some of these have been happy, easy relationships, others have been much more difficult. Although some amount of the success of these relationships is down to personal interaction, the difficulty of others is often due to the difficulties of an outside researcher coming in and other people feeling threatened by that process.

Being an outsider has impacted on the research both in terms of the research questions themselves as well as the data which was generated. Although I felt my position as an outsider had to be negotiated with other people involved in the research process, I rarely felt that it had impacted negatively on the interviews themselves. My use of a research assistant who was local to Mumbai but not from the study area, as well as allowing him to conduct all the interviews without interruption were important to the success of the interviews. I felt our combined 'outsider' status, particularly in terms of the community being studied, often aided individual men's disclosure in interviews. Although there were surely times where men felt unable to do so in the short period we spent with them. As a young, white man I was very visible when walking around the area or going to community events which often generated a lot of interest particularly from young men who wanted to say hello or talk to me. In the beginning I used this interest to my advantage to find a first participant to interview but I felt very uneasy about this, as I reflected in the ethics section above.

However, my presence primarily as a student doing research for a PhD did sometimes produce difficulties, particularly in my relationship with the NGO SNEHA. From SNEHA's perspective once the idea of a research project had been raised, they wanted the results of the research turned around quickly, which is not particularly compatible with a PhD project. As a result the director of the centre I was involved with, commissioned a piece of research about 6 months into my project, getting a qualitative researcher to do five focus group interviews with men in the community to spur on their work with men. I think she felt frustrated with the slow pace of the in depth interviews and wanted something now, rather than in a year's time. She asked for my input on this newly commissioned research which I happily gave, trying to steer it towards being more focused on a few specific questions of community engagement. However, the young researcher from a qualitative research agency who had been hired had different ideas about what she wanted to do, and she pressed ahead with her original agenda, which did not meet the needs of the NGO. This process taught me quite a lot about interacting with NGOs and non-academic research on the ground and the difficulties in trying to improve its quality and raise methodological problems. While it was possible for me to suggest improvements, these were not taken on board and the project provided a superficial exploration of some issues in the community. While this experience made me aware of the interactions between academics and NGO workers, it also highlighted the importance that the results of in-depth research are not just published in journals in high-income countries but are made relevant and accessible to those working in the NGO sector.

3.6 Integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches

The study combined qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the role of gender norms and emotional states in men's involvement in perpetrating intimate partner violence, regular alcohol use and extramarital sex.

The use of qualitative methodologies enabled an explorative approach to the subject, giving space for the formation of new ideas to emerge from the research process, rather than being constrained by an existing framework. In addition, men's

accounts as given in in-depth interviews were not considered as representing objective, externally verifiable truths, but rather as narratives, situated within particular social contexts, challenging more realist approaches to qualitative work.

Quantitative data were utilised to examine evidence for associations at the population level, results which qualitative approaches cannot provide. The quantitative data therefore provided evidence which supported the qualitative findings but also deepened the understanding of the factors of interest and behaviours at the population level, particularly in relation to different socio-demographic variables. However, just as the generation and analysis of qualitative data involved placing men's accounts firmly within a social context, the same was true for the survey data, which was also subject to numerous biases, including recall and reporting bias as well as difficulties over the construct and content validity of questions and items included in the questionnaire.

Although these methodologies are often considered to come from very different epistemological perspectives, making very different assumptions about data and the nature of phenomena, when used sensitively, they can combine to produce a rich and useful synthesis.

This chapter has explained the methodological approaches used in the study, as well as some of the difficulties involved in implementing them. The next section of the thesis contains the results of the study, beginning with the findings from the quantitative components of the study before moving onto three chapters which present findings from the qualitative research phase.

Chapter 4: Statistical Evidence for the Importance of Gender Norms and Psychological Distress in Men's Perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence, Alcohol Use and Extramarital Sex

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Chapter 5: Men's Beliefs about Gender Norms and Roles

5.1 Introduction

This first qualitative results chapter presents men's beliefs about gender norms and roles, examining the differences as well as similarities between men's accounts of male and female roles. Although there were considerable differences between men's understandings and beliefs about gender, four themes emerged as key to men's beliefs about masculine norms, which form the basis of this chapter. The first theme was men's beliefs about men's power and authority particularly in relation to their wives; secondly, men's beliefs about the gender division of labour between husbands and wives; thirdly, the importance of being sexually virile, fulfilling one's wife sexually and having children and fourthly, the importance of containing the expression of emotion and distress, not communicating emotion to others and the use of alcohol as a way of coping with difficult emotions. Within each of these four themes there was significant variation between individuals, from men with very conservative, inequitable beliefs, to those who attacked gender inequitable views and defended much more equitable beliefs. There was considerable discussion in the focus groups over the process of change that many men felt gender norms were undergoing. In both individual and group discussions men discussed reasons for norms changing in society and in addition, several men in individual interviews spoke of their own motivations to change their beliefs and behaviours. Men's experiences of change and their motivations to change are discussed in the fifth and final section of the chapter.

5.2 Men as powerful and having authority

The majority of discussions about men's experiences or expectations of power were in the context of talking about the relationships between men and women within the household rather than wider society. In fact there were no discussions about the power men had over women collectively in society, even in interviews with the more gender equitable men. However, within this narrower context of men's expectations

of power and authority within the family there was a great amount of discussion and real diversity in beliefs about the power relations between a husband and wife. About half of the sample of men interviewed individually expressed conservative, inequitable beliefs which emphasised the differences between male and female roles. The other half expressed some more gender equitable beliefs with a few who appeared to be real advocates for equality between men and women.

Some men expressed explicitly their beliefs in their power and authority, particularly over their wives and the basis of this power in gender difference and defined roles as husband and wife. Such expressions of power were most powerful when talking about intimate partner violence and the marital sexual relationship. Sridhar provides an example when he responds to a question asking for his reflections on his use of violence against his wife:

She's a wife; she will come back to me. Even if we fight or anything, she will come back to me. I didn't feel anything. She is my wife. I can do anything. She's a wife and should be treated like a wife. I won't tolerate it if she goes too far with me. She can't go ahead of me. There is a way of talking. She cannot go too far in that. You have to honour your husband and keep your honour as a wife. [Sridhar, 25 yrs, 9]

Sridhar frames his violence within the context of his belief in the power and authority a husband has over his wife. His ability to 'do anything' contrasts with her powerlessness in 'not going too far'. He attempts to use this discourse of powerful husband/submissive wife to justify his use of violence and treatment of her.

Similar assumptions about the power of husbands over their wives underlay some men's accounts of sex within their marital relationship. Imtiaz provides an example:

I: I have made a rule that I have to do it twice or thrice a week but not continuously.

M [Murgesh – research assistant]: So every week it happens three times?

I: Yes... There is no specific day. Mostly I do it on Thursday, Sunday or Monday or Tuesday or Saturday, there is no specific time. [Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

The way Imtiaz talks about sex between him and his wife communicates a strong power dynamic within the relationship, making a clear 'rule' about how often he has to have sex, or perhaps more accurately, his wife, has to satisfy him sexually. This entitlement to sex was in its strongest form when men spoke of sex explicitly against their partner's will.

M: Has it ever happened that you asked for it and she said no?

S1: No. But if she is reluctant then I force her.

M: How do you feel when you force her?

S1: I like it. [Sameer, 26 yrs, 26]

Similarly, another man Sudhakar expresses the power he has over his wife sexually:

S2: Whether she has the mood or not, I do it. Since the beginning.

[Sudhakar, 30 yrs, 23]

However, these strong articulations of power and dominance were not common among the majority of men interviewed. In contrast, several men expressed their opposition to patriarchal norms, stressing the importance of gender equality. Ismail describes men who have inequitable beliefs about male and female roles and his opposition to such beliefs:

They feel that I am higher than her, she is nothing in front of me, I brought her here, I am a husband and she is my wife, I always have to suppress her and not let her move ahead of me, she should not open her mouth and what I say she should do, a puppet. That I have purchased something and that thing should listen to us. All this is wrong. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

While Ismail criticises traditional patriarchal power, other men talked explicitly about seeing women as equals:

Some people think that life should be male dominated, or what a man does is correct and what a woman does is not correct. But I think that is wrong.

Because both of them have to go ahead together. If they have married, then both of them have to live with oneness... One should not think any woman or any girl is any less than him. We should always consider her at par with us because we too have come from where she has come. [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

A third man Ashok talks about equality in relation to intimate partner violence:

A: A wife cannot beat her husband and a husband also cannot beat his wife... no one can beat anyone. It is a responsibility. Because women and men have equal rights. They have the same rights. A wife gives respect to her man because she thinks, if she raises her hand then other women will say something, the village people will say something.

M: What will the villagers say?

A: That this woman beats her husband, she does this and that, etc. So women think before doing anything. But men do not understand why they beat their wives. They also should not beat. If your wife gives you respect, you too should give her respect. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Ashok draws on a language of rights and respect for the individual in condemning violence between men and women. He also describes women as thinking before being violent because of the social consequences if they were to use violence, implicitly contrasting this with men where perhaps the social norms and sanctions of perpetrating IPV are not so strong. His comment about men not understanding why they beat their wives perhaps implies a lack of self-awareness or reflection among men who are violent.

Following from these narratives of equality between men and women, in several interviews men's narratives portrayed women as being in positions of power. A key example was men who emphasised the importance of a husband's ability to keep his wife happy through fulfilment of her needs, as Dinesh explains:

If you have three things with you, then your woman will stay with you otherwise not. The first thing is money. If you have money, I mean, not that you have to be a millionaire, but if you are unable to provide her things, you

are keeping her hungry, then she will not stay with you. Secondly if you do not have respect in your society, you are millionaire but people are abusing you or you are doing wrong things, then also your wife will not stay with you. And the third thing is if you are not able to do sex with her properly. So even if you give her everything but physical satisfaction, then she will leave you.
[Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

Dinesh describes three things (money, respect and sexual satisfaction) which he considers important in keeping his wife happy and also as being essential aspects of masculinity. In contrast to men who sought to control their wife's sexuality because of fears about contact with other men, for example through ensuring they wore conservative clothing or limiting their ability to work outside the house, more equitable men drew on the importance of fulfilling their wife's needs rather than controlling their wife's desires. The way Dinesh stresses the importance of fulfilling his wife's needs is based on an insecurity, which he repeats elsewhere in the interview that his wife might leave him. It also draws on a sense that Dinesh is heavily reliant on his wife, perhaps more so than his wife is on him, which is explored further in chapter six in the context of discussions around the importance of the marital relationship as the only space where many men feel able to share emotions and distress.

These differing beliefs about power relations within the marital relationship happen not only within a context of differing and continually changing ideas about gender norms and roles within communities and societies which will be discussed further later in this chapter but also within a context of power relations within the extended family. Many men reported the importance of the hierarchy of power between their parents, themselves and their wives. The majority of men we spoke to, particularly those who had fathers who were still alive, expressed the importance of submitting to the authority of their parents, as Imtiaz explains:

First thing I want to tell you is that I had decided in my mind that whatever problems may come, even if I have to leave my wife and kids, I will accept it. But leaving my mother and father? It is impossible. Because in our Koran, Allah has given a message, also in the Geeta and Bible.... mother is such a

thing, if she utters her blessings, everybody will climb the ladder of success in his life. And if she gives her curses, your life is wasted, while you are alive and also after your death. So I do not want that I leave my mother and father. Whatever may happen, my wife may leave me but I can't leave my parents. I am very clear in my mind. [Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

Imtiaz draws on religion to explain social norms around the importance of being subservient to one's parents and in particular the power of a mother over family happiness. Other men spoke of the power of their father in determining any move towards more progressive gender norms:

M: If your wife tells you that she wants to go for a job tomorrow, will you allow her?

R: Well, she has never said so. But if she says, then I will think on it.

M: What will you think?

R: I will first ask the head of the family. If my father says, "Yes, send her", then I will not say anything on that. Otherwise I do not decide anything alone... It is better to take the opinion or decision of the head of the family. He has seen the world more than us. So I am sure that he will not give any wrong suggestion. Whatever suggestion he will give, will definitely be correct. That's why I always ask him before. [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

While Rakesh suggests he might be open to allowing his wife to go out to work, he places power over the decision firmly with his father.

Men talked also of the expectation of their wife's subservience to their family, including both their parents and any siblings, as Kamresh describes:

Now my mother has started taking rest and my sisters also. When there is a new daughter-in-law in the house, it is her effort to see that the other members of the family do take rest. That's why. So presently she is doing those things. Right from washing the clothes to cooking the food for everybody, all the work is done by her. [Kamresh, 27 yrs, 17]

This hierarchy within extended families became a source of stress for many men as they made the move to more 'urban' or 'modern' lifestyles and married wives who desired autonomy and freedom from the power of their mother-in-law, which is discussed further in chapter six.

The relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law was particularly important and while in many cases men talked about the power of their mother over their wife and the arguments between the two, in some cases men's beliefs about their right to power and authority over their wife and their use of violence to maintain this were challenged by their own mother, as Rahul describes:

I beat her [his wife] a lot. Then she left me. Later my mother went and brought her back, and warned me. My mother told me that if I don't live peacefully with my wife, then I won't be able to see her. She said, she will take care of my wife, but I won't see her. My mother said she can definitely take care of her daughter-in-law. Later I compromised. Then I decided not to trouble or fight with her, so I did not do it... My wife gets along with my mother very well. There are no fights between them... If I am angry with my wife, my mother will get angry with me. She still runs behind me with a wooden stick in her hand. So I run away from there. It happens. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

However, this relationship between Rahul's mother and wife was unusual and happened partly because his wife lived in the village with his mother while he lived in the city and so they formed a stronger bond than perhaps if he was living with them both. This section has outlined some of the different beliefs and positions in relation to power relations within the family. In addition to men's beliefs about their power as men, or perhaps more importantly as husbands, it has also placed the husband-wife dynamic within the wider power relations of the extended family. While many men spoke of the power of their parents over how a couple lived their lives or the abusive nature of the relationship between their mother and wife, other men demonstrated how the mother-in-law could also protect women from violence, standing up to an abusive husband.

While some men did talk explicitly about power relations within the domestic context, a lot more discussion in interviews centred upon the roles expected of husbands and wives and the division of labour within (and outside) the household. These discussions also tell us a lot about men's views of gender and form a second topic of major discussion.

5.3 The division of labour

The division of labour between husbands and wives was a key part of almost all discussions about gender norms and roles. There was considerable variation in the sample with some men reporting the importance of the role of husbands as sole providers and the confinement of women to the domestic sphere, while others felt men should be more involved in helping their wives with tasks at home and expressed the desire for their wife to be educated and go out to work. The majority of men however, were extremely reluctant to let their wife work outside the home.

5.3.1 Traditional ideas about male and female roles

Some men outlined their beliefs that men and women's work were very much separate, often drawing on a notion that they complemented each other but such views were often very rigid. The majority of men answered to questions about male and female roles in a way similar to Harish, who outlines a division of labour based upon discreet spheres of work for men and women:

H: I think, whatever things are needed in the house such as a TV, fridge etc., a man should bring them...

M: And what is the role of a wife?

H: A woman should understand that she also does a job. She is a housewife. And it is her job to cook food, send children to school, bring them from school, to pay attention to their studies, take to and bring them from the classes. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Harish outlines a man's role as provider and a woman's role as housewife. Key to these gender roles was the notion of them being complementary, having an element of exchange. This was most explicitly expressed by Javed, a man in a long-term relationship with his partner who is a *hijra*:

J: We two live in our house like a man and woman... I work and bring the money. Whatever I earn, I give to him. So he gets the grocery, cooks the food, washes the clothes, and keeps me happy sexually. He gives what a man wants.

M: You mean, sex?

J: Sex. Now we are living together, and if I want to do sex, I can. [Javed, 32 yrs, 22]

Javed's explanation of why their relationship is like that of a man and wife centres around his role as provider and his partner giving him 'what a man wants' in return.

The majority of men we spoke to emphasised the importance of men's role as providers. In doing so many men expressed that fulfilling this role validates their claims to masculinity and legitimises power both inside and outside the family. Rahul provides an example of such a narrative:

For a man, the most important thing is money. If there is money, everything is fine. I mean, your family members don't go to anybody else. Because if I don't have money, then I will come to you saying that I do not have money and please lend me some money. There should be no shortage of money in the house. If people in the house get everything, then probably they will think that this person is doing right. Nobody will tell a man that this is wrong. Because whatever he is doing, he is doing it after he fulfils the needs of his house. So in my opinion, it is his duty to work more and earn more and keep everybody in the house happy, so that everybody's need is fulfilled. This is his role. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

In a similar way to other men, in explaining why fulfilling this role is so important, Rahul's uses of notions of duty and righteousness which are linked with social

judgements on his ability to exert authority, control and power. For Rahul, righteousness is ensured by providing money for the family, which acts as a defence from challenges to his power from either inside or outside the family. If he doesn't provide financially for the family, there is an anxiety his wife and family will ask others for money, reflecting poorly on him and decreasing his status both in the home and in the eye's of others. This was echoed by another man Sohail, who talks of his defence against complaints put to him by SNEHA, after his wife complained to them of abuse and neglect:

If there is a shortage of food in the house, then she has the right to complain. I have a salary of about 15000 to 16000 rupees. Food, school everything is done from that. So they cannot talk on this matter. And there is no shortage of anything, rather there are two or three of many things. And there is everything for eating. As I earn well, I provide good food to the children also.
[Sohail, 42 yrs, 13]

Sohail's defence rests of the fact that he provides everything that is needed materially in the house. In a similar way to Rahul, Sohail feels that he cannot be challenged because he fulfils this main responsibility.

In addition to these descriptions of a husband's power and authority through his role as financial provider, some men's descriptions of female roles centred around subservience to them or the family unit as Ashok explains:

I made my wife understand the first day. I said, "See, whether you ask me for the food or not, I have a mother, I have a father. They have given birth to me, they have brought me up. You have to first ask my father and mother for eating food. Cooking food for them, keeping them happy, washing clothes etc. Who else, I have a brother. He is studying in the school. So I told her about it. I made him study, whatever is there, and you only have to take care of it. You only have to do it. No one else is there. Wife is also like a mother, for the brother in law... We three or four are now a family, and you have to manage it." My wife definitely does this all. First she will make food, then

she will massage my mother, then she will feed everyone with food. Then we sit and eat together, me and my wife. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

For Ashok, his wife's role is not just about cooking and washing clothes for the immediate family. Over and above this, Ashok explains the importance of her subservient role in the family, being a carer, massaging his mother and looking after her brother-in-law. Additionally, Ashok emphasises the fact that she is obliged and it is her duty to fulfil this role alone: *'you only have to do it... you have to manage it.'*

This excerpt from Ashok is surprising given that in other parts of the interview he makes statements which make him one of the most gender equitable participants. While Ashok's non-violence and lack of alcohol use or extramarital sex mark him out as a 'positive deviant', the discrepancy between different statements provide evidence of the less than clear cut nature of a transition to egalitarian beliefs. It also emphasises that violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour relate to much more than simply beliefs about the division of labour.

Although Ashok demonstrates slightly contradictory, evolving beliefs, he does still talk about the importance of a man helping his wife out with work at home. In contrast, a feature of men who strongly defended inequitable beliefs was their belief in the rigidity of these roles and norms. Some men appeared to find it difficult to think about the possibility of another way of doing things. In particular, some men felt allowing their wives to work out of the home was impossible and equally could not fathom the idea of a man being involved in non-paid domestic work. Here, Rajveer responds to a question about what his response would be if his wife wants to go out for work:

M: Is it possible that you wash the clothes and do all work at home and your wife goes for work?

R: Sending my wife for work is out of the question, sir. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

This rigidity was also manifest when Harish thought about a hypothetical situation when a woman might work outside the house:

M: If your wife went for work, who would do the housework, or who would cook the food?

H: She only would have to cook. My wife would cook.

M: So she would go for work and she would cook also.

H: It is a wife's job, so she only would have to cook. A man cannot cook, can he? [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

This expectation that any double burden would fall solely upon wives was common among men with conservative views. Men such as Harish often drew on the importance of their wife's work in the domestic sphere. In addition to cooking, he talks about childcare:

If both of us go, there would be no attention to the children's studies. We will have to leave our children with somebody else. There will be mistakes made in bringing them up. Their upbringing will be somewhat hampered. Therefore I feel that it is good that she can take care of children because she is not going out to work. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Harish doesn't think of the possibility that he could help out with the children's upbringing while his wife works and so Harish thinks the consequence of the double burden his wife would have to fulfil would result in her being less able to fulfil her traditional role. Some men reported allowing their wife to work as long as her work in the house didn't suffer or once the children had grown up and needed less attention.

5.3.2 A more equal division of labour

In contrast to the men above who see men and women's roles as very separate and fixed, several men described a much more equal division of labour within their family. This involved both men being more involved in the home and women going out to work.

A man who provided a key example of this was Sachin, who tells us about his cooking abilities:

S: I can cook everything. Tea, food... Only Roti I can't make. I can prepare Roti, but I cannot make the dough. All other things I can do.

M: From where did you learn this?

S: I learned it from my mother.

M: Why was it necessary for you to learn?

S: Because I liked it since my childhood. Whenever my mother was working at home, I used to share her work. If my mother cleaned the utensils, I helped her in rinsing them. If my brother bought any vegetables, I asked her whether I could cut it, or how to cut it. So it was my habit. I liked it. I liked that I learnt something. If my wife had any problem, then I can also cook the food for the house. It is better than eating outside or bringing Chinese food. I too can cook pulses and rice at home. It has an advantage. If she goes to her parent's house, then what can I do? Will I order it from outside? I will need to eat that time also. That's why I learnt it. I like cooking. [Sachin, 29yrs, 19]

Sachin demonstrates his ability to share what is usually considered a female role, although perhaps only if there is a problem with her fulfilling that duty. However, his enjoyment of cooking and involvement as a child in learning from his mother is quite unusual in this context. Sachin also talks about his views of his wife being more educated than him:

S: She is studied up to 12th standard. One year more than me. I like that she is studied 1 standard more than me.

M: Why?

S: I like it. Also when I am not at home sometimes, she can teach the children. And whenever she would like to go for work, and I am at home, I too can teach children. That's why I like that she is studied 1 standard more than me. [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

Sachin's wife has worked before the birth of their child and here he expresses his wife's freedom to go back to work when she wants to. Sachin wasn't the exception. Other men also talked of a more equal division of labour in their households. Pratamesh talks about the sharing of roles in his family:

M: Do you do the house work like taking care of children...

P: Yes I do. I fill the water, I cook food also. Sometimes she yearns to eat food cooked by me. She says, today you cook.

M: So you do those works also.

P: Yes. Filling water, washing clothes, cooking food, getting the kids ready to go to school in the morning.

M: Has your wife told you that she wants to work or wants a job?

P: Yes, I told her to do a job, but she is not educated, neither I am educated... So I told her to do tailoring work. So now she is learning tailoring from the last 6 months. And she said I want to do this so I said okay learn it. [Pratamesh, 30 yrs, 8]

Pratamesh encourages his wife to increase her education, learning a new skill so that she can earn money in addition to him.

This section has outlined a range of beliefs men had about the division of labour within households and male and female roles. While some men spoke of their involvement in more gender equitable activities such as cooking and helping in the home, very few were happy for their wives to work, particularly in regards to working outside the home. Although some men were quite rigid in their understanding of difference between men and women others were more open to sharing roles, but still women's work outside the house remained a difficult issue for many men, striking at the very heart of masculine identity: the ability to provide adequately for one's family.

5.4 Having sex, producing children

The importance of a man's ability to satisfy his wife sexually and produce children was a third theme which emerged from men's discussions of masculinity. Interestingly, the majority of men reported that being able to perform sexually and satisfy their wife's sexual needs was more important than producing children, with

many men being quite happy to delay having children, most commonly in order to improve their financial position.

A common theme in discussions about masculinity was the strength of women's sexual desire. Here Ismail talks about his anxiety that he fulfils his wife's sexual desire:

Every man should maintain 'mardanagi' [manliness/masculinity] in him so that his wife never thinks about other man. Because it is being said that every women has 70% more sex than a man so every man to satisfy his wife, should remain 15 to 20 minutes during intercourse. I have read this in studies, that the man finishes fast but woman comes slowly. And man who finishes after his wife is finished, then he is a real man. A wife then feels happy that her man satisfies her. It is said that if the wife does not have food it's okay but if she has sex she is satisfied, her brain will work better. She will be more happy. But when the husband can't do well, then the tension is created and wife thinks that her husband is not able to do it properly, and the wife gets interested in someone else or goes to someone else. So since the time I have grown up, I had only one thought in my mind that I should not become impotent or I should not do anything where I will have to face this thing that my wife has gone to someone else. I had this fear and I didn't want to become 'namard' [unmanly] and my wife goes to someone else. That's why I take care of my body and did things like taking my medicine on time and being ready in one month's time. It is now five years since my marriage but even now whenever I have sex with my wife, before sleeping I ask her if she is satisfied because I have this fear and a woman will never tell that she wants more. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail reports a belief that women are satisfied sexually more slowly than men and in addition that a woman's need for sex is stronger than her need for food. Drawing on these beliefs Ismail talks about his knowledge of female sexuality and emphasises the significant amount of anxiety he feels over this and his fear of becoming a 'namard', one who can't satisfy his wife and the very antithesis of a 'mard', a masculine man. He tells us elsewhere of his previous experience of

'*kamjori*' or weakness including premature ejaculation and impotence. In the above quote he tells us of the importance of taking medicine for these problems to ensure his health.

Other men spoke of it as one of the most important aspects of masculinity:

Because it is my only job every day. If one has to keep his wife happy, there has to be a physical relation at least once a day. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

Rajveer considers it his most important daily job. Another man, Javed places equal importance on fulfilling one's partner sexually and providing financially:

His duty is to earn money and give it to his wife, to keep physical relation with her so as to satisfy all her desires. [Javed, 32 yrs, 22]

Only one man, Dinesh, talked about the importance of having children in relation to masculinity:

If I am with my wife and if I am not able to satisfy her, or not able to do sex, or cannot give child to her, then she won't consider me a mard [real man]. There are some people like gud [effeminate or homosexual man] who cannot produce a child and still they get married because people do not know about it. Or they adopt a child from friends and then ask them to establish a relationship. They also tell their wives to make relation with somebody. Thus they can hide it. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

For Dinesh it seems that having a child is a public demonstration of a man's virility and ability to have sex with his wife. Apart from this, very few men talked about producing children in relation to masculinity. The focus instead was more on providing for any children and fulfilling your wife's sexual needs. Many men reported not wanting to have children for several years after marriage because of the financial pressure it would place them under:

M: Do you have children?

S: No. Not yet.

M: Why?

S: How can we? It is so early. It is going to be two years of our marriage this June.

M: Nobody asks you in the village?

S: They may ask. But I don't want a child so early... One can wait for two, three or even five years. One of my brothers, who is elder to me, got children after seven years. [Satish, 28 yrs, 3]

Although men talked of pressure particularly from families in rural areas to have sons, many men such as Imtiaz were happy having girls and felt no pressure to have more children in order to have a son:

Although everybody in my family is insisting that I should have one more child. They wish I should try so that I get a son. Actually for me, a boy or girl, there is no difference. God is the one who gives, whether he gives boy or girl, it is in his hands. We cannot ask anybody... In our family no one has a girl, all have boys. Therefore in our family the girls are more pampered. They are given more attention, they get everything more than they want. [Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

This statement could be considered rather surprising given that Imtiaz is one of the more conservative men we interviewed. However, Imtiaz doesn't have a son and so while he may actually feel it is important for him to have a son, this narrative of submitting to God's will and the benefits of having a daughter may represent a way in which he protects himself from social pressure to have a son as well as providing an emotional reliance against such constant questions. In a similar way to the contradictory statements by Ashok, Imtiaz's apparent happiness with not having a son shows the complex nature of beliefs relating to gender norms. Rather than a set of inequitable norms being replaced wholly by beliefs in equitable ones, the way individuals construct and develop their beliefs often show a subtle blending of different norms, with the adoption, rejection and reformulation of a variety of norms in a way which lends meaning to them and their situation.

Another contrasting view was given by Ashok who talked about the focus being on sexual pleasure rather than the creation of children:

People don't do it [have sex] for giving birth to the child. They do it for their own happiness and joy. In that happiness, a pregnancy happens. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Although men reported being under pressure to have children and particularly male children from their relatives, the vast majority reported having children as a secondary concern. Instead, all men reported being able to fulfil their wife's sexual needs as of primary importance.

5.5 Not expressing emotion to others and the use of alcohol

Many men spoke of the strong social norms which they felt prohibited the expression of distress or emotion to others, particularly in the context of male friendships. As a result, several men commented upon their lack of strong male friendships after marriage, although men differed in the extent to which they felt able to express their feelings to their wives. These social norms were demonstrated in one focus group discussion where men discussed men's experience of emotions:

M: I have heard that "men have no pain". What do think about that?

R: 100% right. Men have no pain.

M: If he doesn't have pain then, ...

R: They don't feel pain, it means, if somebody is beating you, you don't feel the pain.

R: But if you have lost your son, won't you cry?

R: It is natural. It is bound to happen. So that is also a pain. That time only a man will cry.

M: So because of tension, don't you cry?

R: No. If one cries because of tension, then he is a weak-hearted guy. You call him weak-hearted, if there is a lot of tension and he starts crying in front of his wife and children.

R: Many people do suicide because of tension.

R: There is the thing about Manhood. People say he is weak. [FGD 1]

In this discussion the initial understanding of 'pain' (and its denial) was pain manifest physically, such as in a fight. When the notion of emotional pain was introduced, its presence was acknowledged but its expression was disparaged. The respondents identified the expression of distress as representing a challenge to a man's sense of masculinity and as a result the risk of being labelled weak.

In addition to norms about the expression of emotion in front of wives, many men spoke about the limited conversation between male friends, or in fact of having very few friends at all. Some men made the distinction between life before and after marriage:

H: Friends will not talk about personal things with each other.

M: Why?

H: Actually there is no discussion on these subjects. Why should I talk about personal things to another person? There is no question of talking about personal things.

M: You said, you had friends in school with whom you used to discuss.

H: That time all were single... Now I don't spend much time with friends...

Since I got married, I don't go. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Another man, Rajveer, talks about not being able to talk to other men openly in Mumbai:

R: See, this is Bombay. If you are my real brother, then I can talk to you openly. But in Bombay, nobody has faith in others. There is no thing called faith in Bombay.

M: For this reason, you don't tell anybody?

R: I mean.. you know, no question about telling, but why tell others the stories at our house. Whatever stories at home, we have to sort them out at our home only. It is better.

M: And do your friends tell you stories from their house?

R: No friend tells me anything. They too have their own work. Like I was sitting beside them and got a call, I got up and came here to talk to you. Now if they ask, what has happened, I will say, nothing, just like that. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

Rajveer talks about the lack of sharing of problems between men, restricting talk about problems to the confines of the family. Imtiaz makes a similar point:

If I want to share my feelings to somebody in my friend circle, then they make fun of me. I mean, they will laugh at me behind my back. That he is like this and like that. So usually I keep my things to myself. [Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

In addition, many men spoke of their limited contact with their fathers. Anand told us of his relationship with his parents:

My father used to be always under influence of liquor and kept things to himself. If I wanted something I always went to my mother and asked her. I was very close to my mother. My mother used to love me a lot, whenever I wanted clothes etc, or... I used to share things with my mother only. I was not so close to my father. There was a modest relation with him. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand talks of the poor emotional interaction with his father and perhaps the lack of a strong male role model. In a similar way to many other men, Anand's father had problems with alcohol which many men commented upon. Several men commented on learning from both their father and other men in their village about the use of alcohol as a way of relaxation:

My father used to drink. In my village the liquor is made at Hatbhatti (local liquor distillery), when I used to go around in the evening, I used to see the people who used to go to Hatbhatti. I used to think how it must be feeling after drinking the liquor? Many people enjoy drinking it. They eat some snack with that. I thought I also should taste a little bit. So I drank a little. I felt

somewhat giddy. I felt good, I could sleep nicely. After a few days, I got two or three friends, and I could eat nicely and sleep nicely after drinking, so I started drinking it. Now I have to drink sometimes because of tension. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

In addition, Anand's account mentions three main aspects of many men's alcohol use: its use in relieving tension, aiding sleep, making friends and being with other men.

Others spoke of friends encouraging alcohol use as a way of coping with difficult emotions:

I was in such a depression; I thought I would go mad. I had one friend ... he asked me what happened. I told him I am very troubled, then he said okay you come with me, we will have some enjoyment, so when I met my college friends, I remembered my college times and we decided to drink, so we all sat and started drinking beer that day, removing all the things from my mind, shouting abuse about my mother and wife to my friends. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail describes his friend showing him drinking alcohol as a way of removing stress and things which are troubling him from his mind and also enabling him to communicate his anger and frustration at his mother and wife, through shouting abuse about them, when he feels unable to communicate this frustration to them personally.

However, in contrast to these norms around limiting the communication of emotion to others and the use of alcohol, other men talked about other learnt norms. Some of these new norms came from organisations such as SNEHA while others were from religious groups and leaders. Ismail talks about the importance of communication with his wife and learning to listen to each other:

So they told us about small, small things, about how a married life should be run, how is the relationship between husband and wife that both persons should listen to each other. ... You have to explain to each other but with love. Not with bad words and fights. Because every human being is hungry

for love, they also explained that you should become a human being first. You understand your wife, don't shout at her or beat her or drink, make her understand with love and if she is not able to understand then come to us, we will help her understand. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Here Ismail is talking about his experience of coming to the CVWC at SNEHA and the things he learnt from his counselling sessions there. Another man, Pratamesh also talks about CVWC and what he learnt from a member of staff there:

Madam told me that drinking alcohol is not good for your health or for the house. If it's not good for health means it's not good for the family also. I used to start drinking from 11.30 or 12 till 3 ... now that has all stopped... Now we have what is called a "sabha" at home for us. They make us sit for half an hour, along with the children, they ask children also to sit and we talk, do the children have any problem, did the teacher in the school shout or did anyone shout at you, or is anyone giving you trouble, then you tell me, even my wife I ask her did anyone fight with you or did anyone speak anything, tell me about the whole day. In the same way I tell them my things... Everyday. For 15 to 20 minutes or whenever we are free, we sit. [Pratamesh, 30 yrs, 8]

Pratamesh reports being told about the dangers of drinking alcohol both to his personal health and also to the health of his family from a staff member at CVWC. The concept of a "sabha" or meeting seems to work well for Pratamesh and his family, providing a structured opportunity to speak to each other about problems and emotions. Pratamesh also reports having the support of a local temple who support him in helping him to stop drinking and spend more time with his family.

Other men spoke out against alcohol use. Both of the following examples come from men with some exposure to and involvement with programmes SNEHA runs in the community. Firstly Ashok commented upon the financial waste of drinking alcohol:

It will make you dizzy... if a man falls down then what is the use? That ten rupees which you saved or I saved, if I give it to my wife then how happy she

will be? When she is happy then I will also be happy. This is good. Men should live like this. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Shyam talked about men's alcohol use in reference to masculine norms:

S: I know that people drink alcohol and go home. First he will go timid like a cat, and when he is drunken, he becomes a tiger, and then he beats his wife. So all this is wrong. It is not like being 'mard' (a real man).

M: So 'mard' people do not drink?

S: No. But they should not do that too much. See, if one drinks, he should drink to a limit. It all depends upon the person. But whether you drink less or more, you should behave properly after that at home. [Shyam, 23 yrs, 1]

Shyam challenges the idea that drinking and being violent towards your wife demonstrates strength or is the sign of a 'real' man.

Strong norms exist around men's acknowledgement and expression of emotion and the communication of feelings or distress to others and in particular to other men. For many men the marital relationship is the only safe space for expressing themselves and sharing problems or emotions. Some men reflected at the end of interviews not only the relief and sense of a weight being lifted having talked to us openly (explored more fully in the next chapter) but also how the experience of sharing things with friends had changed after getting married as Sudhakar explains:

It is not a script which I have read and come here. This is my life in Mumbai. It is life in Mumbai which I am living here. I've told you because I think I used to talk like this only when I used to be with friends before marriage. [Sudhakar, 30 yrs, 23]

This change from growing up surrounded by male friends and the transfer to married life and the loss of emotional intimacy with other men seemed to be a common experience among the men we interviewed.

This section has outlined what might be seen as expected norms, around not sharing or communicating emotion or distress to others and anxiety men had that doing so would leave them liable to being labelled as weak, a challenge to their masculine identity. It also has explored norms around the use of alcohol as a way of coping with emotion or 'tension'. However, in contrast to these norms, some men spoke of other norms which challenged these ideas of emotional constraint and alcohol use as integral to masculine identity. Such men spoke of being exposed to norms which told of the importance of spending time with family talking over problems or the waste and destruction which alcohol can bring upon men and their families.

The first part of this chapter has looked at a range of norms which men expressed they were exposed to as well as both defended and challenged. The next part of the chapter turns to explore men's justifications for enforcing conservative norms or their decision to adopt more egalitarian norms in their own lives.

5.6 Men's justifications for enforcing inequitable gender norms

For men with conservative views, three reasons emerged as providing justification for enforcing inequitable gender norms, particularly norms related to the control of wives and men's role as primary financial providers in the family. One justification was made by placing such views within a history of tradition. A second justification was the threat allowing one's wife to work would leave men vulnerable to, particularly as a result of gender policing from their wider family or community. A third justification drew upon constructions of women as vulnerable, particularly to the sexual advances of other men and fears about giving greater freedom to women.

The first justification involved some men drawing on narratives about the strong roots such gender norms have in tradition, whether based upon religious identity, notions of a regional culture such as 'Maharashtrian', or family history. Ismail drew on a notion of being part of a Muslim community, to explain why he previously refused to allow his wife to go out to work:

The reason was that in Muslim communities, ladies are not allowed to go out for a job. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

In a similar way, Dheeraj draws on the notion of culture to explain a gendered division of labour:

Actually it is our culture. In our culture, the women should do all the work at home. And a man should go out and earn money and bring it to the home. Because even my father had gone out, he was in Bombay, he too worked here, but my mother was in the village. This is our custom which is going on since beginning. A woman does the work at home. [Dheeraj, 24 yrs, 25]

While Dheeraj places these ideas as being located in unchanging custom, 'going on since the beginning', he also draws upon his experiences of gender roles growing up in his family.

In contrast to these explanations, there were many men who had experiences which countered the notion that such practices are fixed and based on a long history of tradition. In particular, a significant number had mothers who had worked for a long time, often bringing up the family because their fathers were too ill to work, had problems with alcohol abuse or had died. Rajveer's mother worked to provide for him and his siblings after his father died:

My mother still works in a mill for me... She is working from the time my father had expired.... She does the work of cleaning glass, white glass, coloured glass. Actually we all could study because of that work. We had no other support. I still tell my mother that now my salary is good, so don't work. But mother says, if she doesn't go to work, her body becomes lazy. She's old and old people think that if they are working, it is good. They think if they sit at home, then they will fall sick. That's why my mother still works for me. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

However, in spite of such a clear role model of a working woman, Rajveer doesn't allow his wife to work. Instead of invoking family history he draws upon a second

narrative, that of the threat of gender policing and the fear that him and his wife would be ridiculed by his family and community back in the village, although within this narrative he does still draw on a notion of traditional culture:

Sending my wife for work is now out of the question, sir. For Maharashtrians, when a wife goes for work, the village people will laugh at him. My village near Aurangabad is very far. It is 450 Km. I may tell my wife that my mother will look after children, and you go for work. I will send her. But then those village people. Suppose you are my brother, you will come to know. You will come to meet me. You will see that Rajesh has gone for work, mother is taking care of children, and then you will ask her, "Aunty, where is Bhabhi (sister-in-law)?" She will say that she has gone for work. You will think, Rajesh also has gone for work, Bhabhi also has gone for work. Then he will tell the whole story in the village that Rajesh goes for work and his wife also goes for work and the children are taken care of by his mother. Then people in my family will say, 'he has no capability to maintain his mother and wife. What is the need of her going for work? If she is bored at home, he should take them to Bombay or Juhu, or show them a movie, or take them to Bhagvan Siddhivinayak temple, but why does he send her for work?' Then I will get a return call asking, 'why are you sending your wife for work?' [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

A key part of Rajveer's fear of ridicule is an anxiety around his masculinity and a view that if his wife went out for work, it would reflect badly on him, being challenged by others as to his ability to fulfil his role as provider. Another man, Sohail reflects more on his pride and self-esteem and how allowing his wife to work would challenge this:

We people don't send wife for work. When we are earning, there is no need to go for work. I earn 30000 to 35000. It is quite enough. We go out, eat and are happy. Whatever you consume, it is more than enough in a month. Then what is the need to work? There are poor people who have to work... Those who have, they don't work. And those who do not have, those poor have to go for work. But mostly women don't work. Those, whose financial condition

is not good, do work. ...And people think that it is not right to send your wife to somebody's house for work, eat from her earnings, so most of us don't send them to work. But there are many who are in a bad shape, have to go out for work, or they do some work at home. For example, people who are drunkards, they do not earn and sit at home and eat the earning of their wives. If we have to eat from even a paisa from wife's earning, we don't feel good. [Sohail, 42 yrs, 13]

Sohail's account focuses more on the idea that men whose wives work, live off their wife's earnings rather than providing for them. He draws on ideas of alcoholic husbands and poverty to negate the idea of allowing his wife to work. In a similar way, Ashok defends the importance of him being the provider for his household:

I have this in me that I have to earn. I should keep her happy. I earn and keep her happy. Then it is good. If any lady is earning, she is doing work, she will do work and come home and she will not be happy. Why she will not be happy? She will not have love in her. She will say, I have come from work, it is like this, it is like that. When I earn myself, then she will realize this that my man has come from work. She will give water, she will give food, she will be relaxed, whatever is there, she will love me. I know about this, that is why a man should earn first. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Ashok outlines the power relations between a husband and wife as based upon a contract of the man working and a wife serving him, giving water and food. Ashok actually appears to be one of the more gender equitable men in other parts of his interview but in common with the vast majority of men we interviewed, he felt a strong duty to be the main provider for his family. For him, his ability to provide for his family without the need for his wife to earn is important to his status both within and outside the family.

While the above explanations rely on a public performance of masculinity, the third reason men gave was a fear of the consequences of allowing women greater freedom and in particular, anxiety about their wife's sexuality and the potential for infidelity, as Ismail expresses:

It is in society that men don't want their wives to go out because the environment out is bad, it is bad because there are so many rowdy boys or bad men who will tease the wife and pass comments and sometimes they do some bad things with them and sometimes they even pick them in the car and rape them. So every man is afraid of all that. And other things happen like people's houses don't have a good atmosphere, the wife goes out to work and someone offers her and they are friends like how it happens in the movie 'Rab Ne Bana Di Jodi' [A Match Made by God]. So after some contacts, sometimes the wife likes that person better than her husband. The wife does not want to leave her husband but when she is in such an environment she starts liking that person more than her husband, he comes as a friend in her life but she never comes to know when he becomes her boyfriend. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail responds to the challenge of his wife's sexuality by exerting control, not allowing her to work outside the house.

5.7 Understanding the process of change

In both individual interviews and focus group discussions, men showed an awareness of gender norms undergoing a process of change. This section looks at men's discussions around changing societal norms, the degree to which men thought norms were changing and why and then moves to individual men who reported experiences of personal changes and the different motivations they reported for wanting to change their beliefs about gender roles and also sometimes their behaviour.

5.7.1 Changing societal norms

Understandings of society undergoing a process of change came up as a key theme in one FGD in particular. While the men in the group agreed that society was undergoing change, they disagreed over the reasons for this change and

particularly, the degree to which norms were changing as a result of more progressive ideas about gender or as other men argued as a result of changing economic conditions which made it a necessity.

In illustrating changing societal norms, one man talked about changes in the notion of *mardangi*, meaning manliness or masculinity:

M: What is mardangi (masculinity) and who is considered a 'Mard' (a real man)? What is the definition of 'Mard'?

R: Earlier they behaved like animals, they used think that if I abuse you then, I am a great mard. If I can overpower you in front of other people, then I am a great mard. This is not actually mardangi, it never was and never will be. In bygone days, the men were uneducated, they used to drink alcohol and used to consider themselves as tigers. So they used to think that they are mard. This is also not mardanagi. Today people are more cultured and responsible. So they understand that if today I overpower the other, tomorrow somebody else will overpower me. So these things are improved in this direction.

M: So in today's time, what is mardanagi?

R: Today, the mardanagi or Manhood of a man is his Money. If a man is earning good money, if he is running his family properly, then he thinks himself to be a mard, otherwise he is dying because of tension. [FGD 2]

In this excerpt, the respondent denounces a notion of *mardangi* based upon demonstrating power over others and alcohol use. In contrast, he centres a 'new' *mardangi* on a man's earning power and income. Rather than a focus upon gender equality, the respondent's 'modern' notion of masculinity emphasises further the importance of men's earning power over other aspects of masculinity.

In a similar way, another respondent in the focus group describes the changes in norms around female roles and the ability of women to work outside the home:

M: In Dharavi, do the husbands send their wives for work outside?

R: They do.

R: Earlier, for example, men from UP, never sent their wives outside. They asked her to do anything but only in the house. All men from UP never sent their wives outside. They used to say, I will do whatsoever, but you should not go outside the house. Outside means, not for work. Otherwise she could go out, but not for work. But now, even if it is five thousand, he says, OK get it, so that their lives can be improved. [FGD 2]

Some of the respondents in this group are from Uttar Pradesh and this respondent uses the stereotype of men from UP having more conservative views to exemplify the extent of the changes happening.

However, there was considerable discussion over the reasons why gender norms were changing. Men highlighted the role of inflation, the media such as TV and newspapers and the increased power of women and the police to prosecute men as key drivers of change. However, a key argument in the FGD was the degree to which men agreed with these changes. Some men felt men were forced into letting their wives work because of economic necessity rather than through any desire to be more gender equitable.

One side of the argument centred on the importance of the changing economy and high inflation which made it impossible for men alone to provide financially for the family:

M: Why did they not send before?

R1: Earlier the inflation was not so much.

R2: Earlier even in three to four thousand, one used to run the family.

R1: Today even in seven or eight thousand it is not sufficient for the family to run. [FGD 2]

However, one man counter-argued that it was not just inflation which led to the change in women going out to work but that the thinking of society as a whole has changed on the issue:

It [inflation] was not the only reason. The other reason was also their thinking. They felt belittled to be fed by the income of their wives. They used to think, what will other people in society think about him. Now the thinking of the society has changed. If someone's wife earns for the family then it is not bad. Earlier people used think that if a wife earns and feeds the family then the man is not man enough. It was earlier an opinion of the society as a whole. But slowly this viewpoint of the society has changed. So when there was no option but to earn more to help the family, some people started and then a few more joined. So slowly all are helping their families by doing some kind of work. Even the ladies from UP, they earn by sitting outside, I mean selling vegetables etc. So the thinking of the society has changed. This inflation has made this society to change its thinking. [FGD 2]

While he makes the argument that economic problems meant some men felt forced to send their wives to work, he argues that now it is more than that, that the attitudes and norms in the society have changed so that people feel more comfortable allowing their wives to work regardless of the problems of inflation. This viewpoint was backed up with discussion about the role of TV and media in changing norms:

Earlier people thought that women should be at home, should serve and cook food for us and should take care of children. Today due to education and what is being shown on the TV, the thinking of people has been changed quite a lot. [FGD 2]

However these viewpoints were contested by another man in the group, who claimed that there hadn't been a change in attitudes:

R1: I feel the thinking of the society has not changed. It is the helplessness of men that has made them change.

R2: You can say, the helplessness has forced a man to change is thinking.

R1: Nobody wants his wife, or sister or mother to go out for work. It is our helplessness that is making us to do that. [FGD 2]

R2 believes the economic conditions have prompted a change in attitudes while R3 believes men still would rather not send their wives out to work.

One man in an in-depth interview expanded upon the role of the media in exposing men to different norms:

I have read in the newspapers, I have seen on TV, and also listen to what other people talk. It is always at the back of mind. One should not think any woman or any girl is any less than him. We should always consider her at par with us. Because we too have come from where she has come. Isn't it?
[Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

Another man in one of the FGDs attributed women's increased power and willingness to complain about their husbands to the police, to their increasing education and exposure to media:

M: Is it then right to say that in Dharavi, nobody beats his wife?

R: They not only don't beat, but they have fear. Because today's women have a lot of education, knowledge and because of TV etc. their upbringing is different. So men fear that if they beat, God knows what will happen to them.

M: What will happen? What will they do?

R: They will make a complaint. They will go to police. Earlier you could beat her as you wish, but she never will go to police. [FGD 2]

These discussions about changes in society demonstrate men challenging and disputing a narrative about changing roles and norms and in particular whether men play an active part in facilitating these changes or whether they are disempowered bystanders of change. The next section looks at individual men's reported reasons for changing their beliefs about gender norms and roles in light of these differing and contested narratives about social change.

5.7.2 Men's motivation to change

While men in focus group discussions talked mainly about changing norms in society and communities, some men in individual interviews spoke of their personal experiences of change. For some this centred upon motivations to change future behaviour while for others it was about having already managed such transformations. Here the discussion centres upon men's motivation to change their beliefs and behaviours, rather than what enabled men to carry out such changes to behaviour, which is analysed instead in chapter seven.

There were three common motivations men gave for either changing their own beliefs and behaviours, or wanting to do so. Firstly, some men simply aspired to be gender equitable after being exposed to new norms, attracted to the ideas as part of a 'modern', often urban identity. Others reflected more specifically on their role as fathers, wanting to be different to the distant, often alcoholic father they had known. Finally, there were other men who were in a period of crisis, usually as a result of a breakdown in their marriage, who realised they had to change their behaviour in order to save their relationship.

The first narrative was that of men who aspired to be more gender equitable. Ashok and Shyam both provide examples of men who want to be 'good men', either feeling themselves to be positive role models of masculinity, in the case of Ashok or looking up to role models, as in Shyam's case. Both men had exposure to programmes run by CVWC and used them as blueprints for how they wished to be in their relationships with their wives.

Ashok was perhaps the most gender equitable man we spoke to and at 52 was also the oldest. The relationship with his wife appeared to be founded upon equality, respect and love and he came across both in his demeanour with us and in his interview as one of the most contented and relaxed men we interacted with. Ashok reported never being violent or abusive towards his wife, as well as no experiences of extramarital sex or heavy alcohol use. He began his interview by telling us of his exposure to programmes run by CVWC in the community and how positive he feels about them:

I like it when SNEHA arranges a program. I really like it very much. Because it makes a person change his mind who otherwise may not change. When we see these programs, we feel so good that even people who are less intelligent, open up their mind. In this way this program is good for everyone, my wife, my kids. I have a young daughter of eight years. So she too went to the program, and when she saw it, she said, "Dad I like this program very much". Because they tell us how a person should live, how one should make progress, how one should live in a family, in what way we should speak to others... If a wife says two things then we should listen to her. Be patient. She also should be patient if you say something. If we do not listen to each other, then our lives will not go forward. Therefore one has to be patient. People should know how to behave lovingly and nicely, so that life continues in a good way. Otherwise the give and take is only of material things... My wife tells me, look, we feel so good when these people talk. Good things happen over here. She is not wrong. By listening to the talks here, she is wiser now... My daughter who is eight, she made me understand, "See Father, this is what they have given us, now one time you make the food and the other time mother will make." [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Ashok spoke for quite some time about the programmes CVWC runs in the local area, which often consist of street plays and speeches on days like white ribbon day (International Day for the Eradication of Violence Against Women). These interventions usually focus on changing norms around gender roles and the acceptability of intimate partner violence. They often challenge men to change, moving away from violence, allowing their wife freedom and helping in the house. Ashok aspires to be more gender equitable because of his move towards increasingly progressive views about gender roles.

In a similar but slightly contrasting way, Shyam spoke about looking up to a particular man he knew, who provided a positive role model for him:

M: From where did you learn to help others and live with love?

S: The person about whom I am going to tell you, is a God in person. He has a private class. He gets 10th and 12th class students to study. My wife has completed her 10th and 12th from there only. When I went there, I did not like my wife sitting amongst those boys. But when I talked to that person, all the misunderstandings that I had, I removed those from my heart. I learned from him, he helps everybody. He feeds small children. He is a kind of social worker. I felt good after talking to him. I talked to him and then I took a decision in my heart that I want to be somebody like him. [Shyam, 23 yrs, 1]

A second narrative men drew on was men's role as fathers. Many men reflected on their father's use of alcohol and violence, with some telling stories of their father's death due to alcohol. Sudhakar provides an example:

In my childhood, my father used to drink a lot. There used to be fights always, but I never interfered between them. ... Earlier I thought, my father used to come home drunk, and my mother used to feel bad. She felt, he drinks and does not give attention to the household. But the one who drinks alcohol, he will drink. Because now I drink, I've drunk since the age of 22. I did not drink between the age of 18 to 22. I drink now and I have a habit. So I think, when I cannot leave drinking, my father was drinking for so many years, how could he leave? But that time I thought what my mother said was right. ... Afterwards my mother used to just sit outside the house. And my father used to be normal again when the effect of the alcohol had reduced. It was only for about one or two hours. He used to sleep after drinking and then the problem was solved. And after getting up, a new life was started, until the next night. [Sudhakar, 30 yrs, 23]

Sudhakar reflects on his father's behaviour, thinking about how he thought it was wrong and compares this to his own behaviour. Although he reports feeling somewhat powerless to change his behaviour, he goes on to discuss how thinking about his role as a father to his own children provides a motivation for him to change:

M: Who is your role model in life? How would you like to become?

S: I wish that my family members are fine, my wife is happy with me, my child is happy with me. Because I believe that when my father used to drink, I was not happy. Then I used to go out. Likewise, my children should not get troubled because of me. Whether it is a boy or girl, they shouldn't have problems, because later they should not blame their father. I am telling in this interview that my father used to drink. In the same way, later if somebody interviews him/her, then he/she should not say that my father was like that. [Sudhakar, 30 yrs, 23]

Rahul tells a similar story:

I recently started changing. I understand that if I go home drunk then there will be effect on my child also. Because they will say that I go home drunk. Once my younger son said to me like that. He called me 'Bewada' [a drunkard]. Then I felt very bad. ... My son was going on the road, and just teased me, 'He is 'Bewada' and drinks liquor'. Then I felt so bad. I thought that later he will not respect me. Later he can beat me also. He will not listen to me. He is calling me Bewada now, he is calling me more and more. And later on he will not like me at all. So I am thinking that I should take care, and I am changing. I have reduced my drinking a lot. Now I drink only once a month or once in two months. Sometimes when I feel that I am not able to control, and I feel like drinking, then it happens. But I am now thinking of changing myself completely. For the reason that it should not affect my child, and he doesn't become like me. So I am thinking of leaving all these things gradually. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

A third narrative was that of men in crisis. There were several men who spoke of feeling compelled to change their beliefs and behaviours because they had reached a point of desperation, often as a result of the breakdown in their marital relationship. One man, Ismail told us of the deterioration of his relationship to the point where his wife had lived separately from him for a year:

I am working for a medical company where my minimum payment is Rs.5000 and my family is quite big. Because of my salary I was unable to afford all

the expenses. There were problems between my mother and wife because my wife didn't want all my salary going to my mother... She said, "Give some money to your mother and some money to me." My mother used to say that it's important to look after the house first, so due to this I could not balance both things, and there were a lot of misunderstandings and fights took place and consequently it reached to the level of divorce. Then my wife and I lived separately for 2 years... Then I came to know about an organisation which can patch things up between us. I came to know from someone, that there is a trust called 'Sneha'. So I came to Sneha and told them my problem. We sat down and spoke over the problem. They asked us what the problem is and gave us a solution. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail has problems fulfilling his role as provider, unable to cope with both his wife and mother's financial demands upon him. He was the only man we spoke to who had himself approached SNEHA for help with his relationship. All other men had gone after their wife had complained to the organisation. He talks about the way SNEHA challenged his beliefs about negative norms in the community around women going out to work:

M: When your wife wanted to have a career and you told her not to work, why didn't you allow her?

I: I did not allow her because after marriage she should pay attention to the household and my mother, so she can fulfil her family responsibilities. Also Muslims don't send their wives for jobs otherwise people say that her husband is not able to take care of her. This is a common problem for Muslims that the husband cannot take care of the family and eats from the wife's salary. But when Sneha told us that it's not like this, others won't do anything for you; you have to do something for yourselves. Then I told her to go for a job... It is difficult to manage in 5000-6000 rupees in a city like Mumbai. Therefore my wife does a job and we are able to manage somehow. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail feels forced to send his wife out to work in order to help meet the household expenses. Ismail and his wife therefore represent a couple that have undergone

change in behaviour as a result of financial necessity rather than as part of a choice to adopt more progressive beliefs about gender but which nonetheless has led them to a position of greater gender equality. In addition, Ismail tells us of the importance of both him and his wife being held accountable by SNEHA to the changes they had agreed upon:

People only say all these things but here they did the paper work which I liked and because there is a pressure, that if I make a mistake then I have the pressure that the organisation can ask me about it. If my wife creates a problem then she has the pressure that she is answerable to the organisation. So when we became one again we both were cautious that we should not do anything that will bring us again before them. So now one year is over, we are together. And I thank God that there has been no problem till now, everything is going fine. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Men therefore highlighted a range of reasons which motivated them to think about more equitable norms and behaviours. For some men, their motivation centred upon aspiration and identification with a certain way of progressive way of living. However, other men did not fit this 'aspirational' mould, instead talking of their relationship to their children, or the breakdown in their relationship. All three of these orientations towards change and particularly the last two are very much connected to men's emotional lives. Men's reflection on their role as fathers or the state of their marital relationships had emotional impacts upon men and a series of emotional states, such as shame, isolation and loneliness seem important in informing men's thinking in regards to change.

5.8 Discussion

This chapter has outlined four key themes which emerged as important in men's discussions of gender norms and roles. These were power and authority, the gendered division of labour, sexuality and emotion. Similar ideas about key arenas in which masculinity is performed or demonstrated have been outlined before, perhaps most notably by Brannon (1976) who summarised masculine norms in

America with his four phrases: 'No sissy stuff!'; 'Be a Big Wheel'; 'Be a sturdy oak'; and 'Give 'em Hell'. Brannon's four phrases demonstrate the relational nature of gender, outlining the way such masculine norms relate to an 'anti-femininity'. In a similar way, this chapter has outlined four areas which are important in masculine norms for men in a very different social context, that of a slum in contemporary Mumbai. However, Brannon's ideas draw strongly on the notion of a fixed male sex role. In contrast, this chapter has stressed the socially constructed nature of masculine norms, exploring how different men understand and think of masculinity differently and the way in which different norms and ideals are continually being contested, rejected, and reformed as well as often being reinforced.

While this chapter has documented the different ideas different men have about what is and is not 'masculine', the areas of power, division of labour, sexual performance and emotion form four arenas in which different norms and practices were discussed and differentiated from one another. However, these are not four discrete areas, relating to separate arenas of men's lives, but instead are very much intertwined with each other. The first area of discussion, men's understandings of male power and authority is central to the other three areas. Practices such as men's ability to provide financially, sexual performance, fulfilling wives sexual needs and the suppression of emotion are important because of the role they play in maintaining men's positions of power and authority whether within the marital relationship, the family, the community or wider society. Very few men, even among those who claimed to be more gender equitable, were willing to give up their role as primary financial provider in the family. While attitudes and practices varied towards men's involvement in work within the home, all men were resistant to the idea of men not being primary providers. From the interviews presented here it is clear that men's sense of power and authority depends most strongly on their role as provider. In a similar way, the emphasis placed on female sexuality and male sexual performance in fulfilling wives' sexual needs was because of the threat of sexual infidelity and the undermining of a husband's power and authority, which would occur as a consequence. Finally, the expression of certain emotions, such as fear, anxiety, and other forms of distress to others, was framed as important because of the fear of being labelled 'weak', a direct challenge to individual men's power.

A second finding of the chapter is the important role emotions play in maintaining the social norms and practices around gender. While some men referenced history and cultural tradition in justifying such norms, men who claimed to be open to more egalitarian practices were more reflexive, reporting the importance of fear and the potential for social humiliation from members of their extended family and others in the community if they behaved in a way which went against such social norms.

However, in contrast, emotion also played an important part in men's motivations to change, moving away from conservative to more egalitarian and emotionally expressive norms and practices. Firstly, embracing more egalitarian norms led to a sense of empowerment and higher self-esteem for some men, as a result of becoming a model 'new man', or having daughters who excelled in their education. Many of these men had been exposed to community programmes working on female empowerment and while fulfilling the role of provider felt able to embrace the new ideas because they felt fairly secure in their masculinity through their ability to provide. However, for other men very different emotions were involved in thinking about change. Men's memories of distant, abusive and alcohol fathers provided strong memories and comparisons with their own behaviour often brought about a stimulus of change through feelings of shame. Finally, other men faced an emotional crisis after their wife had left them, which forced them to seek a way of changing their behaviour and beliefs in order to repair and regain the relationship they had lost.

Although many men did express beliefs which centred on ideas of men as powerful, women as subservient and expressed the importance of practices which maintained and enforced such inequitable beliefs; there were many signs that beliefs in such norms were not universal and instead were being contested by individual men and women, community groups, as well as through media, such as TV and film. While some men suggested that changes in practices were driven by economic necessity rather than changes in gender ideology, the key issue which men agreed upon was that norms and practices were changing. Whether through community groups or exposure to media such as magazines and soap operas on television, many men's wives represent drivers for change, desiring new commodities such as DVD players, or to wear jeans or to live separately from their husband's parents. While many of

these changing norms represent changing relations between men and women, many also place even greater emphasis on men's ability to provide financially.

The next chapter will examine how particular masculine norms, such as the ever present and increasing pressure on men as financial providers, have negative emotional impacts upon men.

Chapter 6: The Challenges of Being a Man: Gender Norms and Men's Experiences of Emotion and Stress

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter documented the great variety of masculine ideologies which men both defended and contested to various degrees within interviews. Four areas emerged as central to almost all discussions on men and masculinities, even though men differed on their beliefs within each of these areas. This chapter explores the effects of beliefs in four specific masculine norms which state that men should: have power and authority; be the sole financial provider for their family; be sexually virile and fulfil their wife's sexual needs; and should not express or show emotion to others. Although not all men believed in all four of these specific beliefs, these were some of the most prevalent norms associated with masculinity and the role of men in society. While the next chapter documents how such norms relate to certain 'harmful' behaviours, the focus of this chapter is to show that men's attempts to fulfil some norms and many men's inability to fulfil others have profound emotional effects upon men, which are of great importance in understanding behaviour.

6.2 Use of the word 'tension'

In talking about their experiences of emotion and stress, men very often used the word 'tension'. This was not just a word used in English translations but in returning to the original recordings of interviews, it was clear that men used the English word 'tension' in all instances where it was written in English translations. In exploring this further with my research assistant, he commented on the lack of an equivalent word in Hindi or particularly in Bumbaiya Hindi, a pidgin Hindi spoken in and around Mumbai which incorporates words and pronunciations from Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi and English. The use of the word 'tension', particularly as a catch all for a range of different emotions is interesting in itself and although it wasn't followed up as topic for investigation in interviews, it could perhaps reflect the association of 'tension' with a modern way of being and urban existence. While without having

investigated it further it is impossible to draw firm conclusions, it is interesting to note the use of an English word to describe an emotional state which men very much associated with urban living and never used to talk about time spent back in villages they came from.

6.3 Being respected, having power

In discussions with participants, it was clear that men considered being respected and having power a key aspect of masculinity. Additionally, many men outlined the difficulties and stress they experienced when their authority or power was challenged. These challenges appeared to occur in three domains in particular: at work, at home and in public. This section looks at men's reports of stressful situations in these three domains and examines how they relate to particular masculine norms around men as powerful, dominant and having authority.

6.3.1 In the workplace

Several men complained explicitly about the stress of being at work. Many of these complaints centred on being in positions of subservience or being exploited at work. Ramesh told us of his experience in a previous job:

Recently I was working at Subway. I was working well, I had a good salary but they were not increasing my salary. And they paid 6000 or 6500 rupees salary to the new people who had joined the company. We were not respected and already senior. So there was no use working there when we weren't being respected. [Ramesh, 24 yrs, 11]

Ramesh talks of not being respected and quitting his job because of this, even though he had no other employment to go to. Pankaj was another man who quit various jobs because of the difficulties he had in coping with not being respected:

I don't like going to an office... and I don't like somebody bossing me around. He will first keep me on a salary and then he will ask me to bring this and

bring that, or do this thing, or go there... A few days back I worked in a hotel. I worked in housekeeping, sweeping the floor. If I sweep the floor and somebody walks on it, my boss would tell me to mop it once again. I said, you people wait for a few minutes till it is dry. But no. When one person goes, then I should mop it and when the second one goes, again I have to mop it. I got very angry. The hotel manager will say, 'Why are you sitting here? You are just relaxing and not doing the work.' I said, 'Who will work so hard for just 2000-2500 rupees?' [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj expresses the tedious, laborious and subservient nature of the work available to him and the minimal pay he receives in return. Like Ramesh, Pankaj is currently unemployed. Although Pankaj feels a pressure from home to be working, he refuses to do the work which is available to him. Here he expresses this disconnect between the work available and his expectations of what kind of work he should be doing:

I don't work much. There is a pressure from the house that I should do some work. But I am not getting any work which I can do. And the work which I get involves working for 12 to 13 hours. I don't like working for 12 to 13 hours. So I do not work. I want work which is easy for me. I am educated but I am not getting a suitable job given my education. I want a good salary and to work from 9 to 5. I do get work in an office where the work is like cleaning an office, but I don't like that kind of work. I want a good job. [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj expresses a sense of entitlement given his education and background to a certain type of job. He has a firm belief that he should not be expected to do something so demeaning, perhaps reflecting the way Pankaj positions himself or imagines his position in society. Rather than doing work which he feels is beneath him, Pankaj remains unemployed. However, this has consequences for him in terms of not fulfilling his duty as provider to his wife and mother. He relies instead on his brother and friends to help him out financially.

Other men such as Anand, who remained in work, talked of the stress of the workplace and how it affected his life at home:

My boss is somewhat unfriendly. He doesn't listen to me. So there is the tension of my work also sometimes. If something happens in the office, then there is a fight in the house also. If I fight with my wife then she thinks, how come I have done this suddenly. She thinks, I was okay when I left home and how come I am like this in the evening. That too adds to the tension. Sometimes my mood is bad if something happens in the office. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand talks about his relationship with his boss, which was also a big issue for Pankaj. Anand expresses not feeling listened to and a sense of a lack of basic respect from his boss.

In these examples, Anand, Pankaj and Ramesh express their dislike of being in positions of subservience, and the stress they experience when they feel lacking in power, authority or respect. In these descriptions of stress, anxiety and frustration, there is both the harsh reality of work conditions, from low pay to limited job prospects, reflecting larger structural forces; but in addition there are also the interpersonal power relations between employees and their employers which many of the men describe finding difficult. Men's descriptions of their working environments betray the way in which inequalities and power relations are manifest in personal interactions: the boss who is unfriendly, who doesn't listen and perhaps takes a sense of enjoyment from exerting his power over a more junior worker but also many men's sense of entitlement to power and authority which is directly challenged in their working lives. In addition the comments of Anand show how the difficulties of the work place affect men emotionally and how these emotions affect men's behaviour at home in their interactions with their wives.

6.3.2 In the home

A second area where men discussed challenges to their authority was in the home. The previous chapter discussed the roles the majority of men felt their wives should fulfil. However, with a change in norms and roles, for example in women going out to work, or having contact with women's groups who promoted female empowerment,

the home often became a site of contested authority. Some men described their wives' attempts to challenge the family hierarchy and in particular the authority of their mother-in-law. Kamresh hints at this possibility for conflict in his family:

M: How does your wife get along with your family members?

K: Good. Because she behaves well and like a daughter with my mother... Now the relation is good, but we don't know how it will be later. Many times when the marriage is new, they take care of the parents for one or two years. Later when the wife instigates, they get separated.

M: Now you are not thinking about living separately (from your parents)?

K: No. No. Not until now because it is a new marriage. The new daughter-in-law behaves well and in her limits. She has not yet opened up. [Kamresh, 27 yrs, 17]

Kamresh reports that his wife is fulfilling the norms and duties expected of her, staying subservient within the family, but he is well aware of the potential for his wife to 'open up' or behave 'beyond her limits', challenging her subservient position and consequently his position of authority within the family.

Anand provides an example of such a conflict within his family:

Fights were about work at home. My wife works and my mother is at home. My mother wanted that she should work in the house after coming home. If my mother is cooking in the morning to prepare tiffin and washing clothes, then my wife should also cook in the evening. My wife said, 'If I work for the entire week, then if she works one time, what is the big deal?' [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand's wife is struggling with the double burden of paid employment and housework. Anand's mother is obviously unhappy that her daughter-in-law is not fulfilling the role she expects of her in the house. The issue for many men was the feeling of being caught between their mother and wife, with both women challenging them to exercise their authority over the other within the family. Sachin describes his fear of being in such a predicament:

My brother got married and his wife used to fight with my mother. If my wife does the same thing, it will be a problem for me. Whose side would I take? If I tell my mother, she will say that I am taking my wife's side. If I tell my wife, she will say that I am taking my mother's side. I had this tension, whose side shall I take? [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

Another man, Anand described a similar scene of conflict between his mother and wife:

She complained that I beat her and I don't say anything to my mother, I listen only to my mother and when will I listen to her. She said, 'I am also a woman, and you should listen to me also.' I said that she should have talked properly... I was telling her that we are younger and we should listen to the things told by the elders because we cannot match their thinking. Our generation is different and theirs is different. So we will have to do as they say. If we don't like it, what can we do, we will have to do that. If you always reply back to her, then there will always be a fight. It will lead to a big fight and people around will gather. Will you like it? But she replied back to me and to my mother also. When she abused my mother, I slapped her. I said to her, 'it is your fault and it is mother's fault also. But I can't slap my mother because she is my mother. Is it a good thing if a son beats his mother? You are my wife so I can slap you. I can beat you and I can love you also. So I have slapped you. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand's account outlines his ideas of authority within the family but also the differences between generations. Anand appears to acknowledge that his wife's protests are legitimate, 'it is your fault and it is my mother's fault also' but he seems unable to go against his mother's authority. It seems then, that the stress men feel living in a joint family is in part due to the challenges of living in a changing society. With three generations living together, there are often clashes of expectations and norms around different people's roles in the family. While the older generation and in particular men's mothers may expect their daughters-in-law to fulfil a certain role, many young women are challenging this. In this context, men play a key role in

challenging or accepting old and new norms. Some men reject completely their wives' pleas for equality, enforcing rigid gender roles, while others understand their wife's protests. While some men avoid these stressors and conflicts by changing their living situation, living separately from their parents and allowing their wives some autonomy, others are unable to do this because of their financial position, or are simply unwilling to do so. Men's use of violence in these situations is discussed in detail in chapter seven.

6.3.3 In public

In addition to the power struggle between mother, wife and husband in the home, many men expressed how the spilling over of these arguments and struggles into the public sphere caused them extreme embarrassment and anxiety. The difficulty of being challenged by their wife in the home was made much worse for many men when these arguments happened in front of others. A common situation was women challenging their husband's behaviour in front of their friends, as Sondev describes:

Earlier, sometimes when I used to sit and drink with my friends, she used to come there and used to make a scene. My friends thought...I thought what my friends must be thinking about me after going home; they must be thinking what kind of wife I have that she comes right up to me here in the bar. Whenever I sat here, she used to call and come down here. Or, whenever I picked up a bat and went to play a cricket match, then she would come to the garden and shout at me. For such things there used to be fights. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Sondev is very much concerned his friends' opinions of him based on his wife's behaviour, in particular, her boldness. He reflects further on what his friends might be thinking about him:

Now my friends will tell that to their other friends, that my wife comes right up to here and all. They might think that I am weak and not able to control the things at home... They will call me weak. They will say that he is not able to

make his wife understand that she is not supposed to come over here. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Sondev's wife's behaviour brings about strong anxiety about his status amongst his peers. Sondev's thoughts are not over what his friends must be thinking about the quality of his relationship with his wife but rather how the incident reflects upon his masculinity. The incident for Sondev demonstrates a lack of authority, a lack of power, which Sondev finds difficult. Sondev's doesn't reflect on how the incident demonstrates the poor emotional state of his relationship with his wife, the focus is solely on power and weakness. However, Sondev's wife's challenges to his behaviour appear to be effective in that his friends no longer include him in their parties and drinking:

Then when I need those friends they will not come to help. Because he will say, your wife gets angry, that is why I will not come. And this has happened many times... This has happened with all of my friends that my wife has abused them with bad words. She would go to their house and asks them, 'Why do you take him to drink?' Because of my wife, when there is a party, they tell me that I should not drink. They do not call me. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Of interest is how Sondev talks about 'when I need those friends' in the context of his need for their friendship. The example he gives is not them helping him when he's in a serious problem but rather them not inviting him out to drink and the isolation from his friends which results. Sondev goes on to make a clear distinction between how he feels about such challenges from his wife based upon whether they happen in the context of the home, or in front of others:

At home my wife should say 'do not drink', or 'you should not go with them'. It is sensible to talk at home. Then I will also understand. But if you tell when you are with friends then they also feel bad... Whatever she wanted to tell, she should not say it in front of friends or other people. Tell me in private and if I am wrong, I will agree to it that yes, it is wrong, or it is right. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

He explains that he understands his wife's challenges but that they must happen at home and not in front of others. For Sondev, being challenged by your wife in private is one thing, but to be shown up as weak, as 'not a real man', in front of other men is unbearable. Another man, Dinesh makes a similar point. Here he discusses his performance of masculinity in front of friends while at a party:

Suppose there is a drinks party with friends, and my wife calls me and asks me to leave my friends and come home immediately, and I am saying that my wife is calling and bothering me, then that will not make me look good in front of them, that I went as soon as my wife has called. If I want to prove myself to be a 'mard' (real man), then I will ask her to keep quiet and wait till I come home. Maybe after reaching home I have to listen to her and I apologise to her, it is different story. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

Dinesh appears to be fairly sympathetic to his wife's complaints but to avoid shame in front of his friends he feels a pressure to perform, to prove himself a 'mard'.

These accounts all surround women challenging their husband's use of alcohol, but for other men a challenge and cause of significant anxiety was the potential for their wife to have relationships with other men. Imtiaz expressed his anger and anxiety at his wife's relationship with another man in his colony:

R: Eight months back I beat her when she had done a wrong thing. When I called somebody and started talking, she called him and started talking to him with an intention to make a friendship.

M: With your friend?

R: Not with my friend, with a boy who stays here on the first floor. Although he is not a relative, neither do we know him. If he stays in the colony, then it is obvious. Actually he is a son of my friend's cousin, whom I call uncle. He is about 18 to 20 years of age and her age is about 20 something. And if you have a relation with him, what will people say? And if you talk to him at different times, then what can I say? What conclusion can I draw? [Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

As with several other men, the issue for Imtiaz is how his wife's behaviour reflects on him and his masculinity, her infidelity being both a challenge to his ability to fulfil her sexually and to control her behaviour. However, Imtiaz reflects that making an issue of it, through further violence or leaving his wife would only increase his feelings of shame because of other's opinions:

Then I thought if I make an issue of it in the colony, then it is a shame for me only... If you give importance to something then only that thing will grow.
[Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

Imtiaz's feelings about his wife's friendship with this other man revolve around feelings of anger, reflecting upon the shame it brings upon him, knowing that others know about his wife's flirtations. Imtiaz doesn't reflect on the state of his relationship with his wife or why she may be seeking affection or attention elsewhere. His thoughts about how to deal with the problem are based upon how to limit his feelings of shame, particularly through not increasing the awareness of others to it, which would only increase his sense of a challenge to his power, authority and therefore his masculinity.

This section has described the way men find challenges to their sense of power and authority incredibly difficult, whether it occurs in the workplace, at home or in public. For many men, these situations revolve around negotiating the appearance of power and authority particularly in the eyes of others, not being shown up as weak or powerless. It is also notable how the focus on power obscures any reflection on the status of emotional relationships particularly within the marital relationship. While this section has looked at direct challenges to men's sense of entitlement to power and authority, the next section explores men's emotional reactions to challenges to their ability to provide financially, which is a key component of men's power and authority within the home.

6.4 Male role as provider

Many men emphasised the difficulties of earning money and providing financially for their family, frequently reporting these difficulties as their main source of stress or 'tension'. While some men were unemployed, being without regular employment for some time, others were employed but felt they were unable to meet the needs of their family. In contrast to these men, others reported being able to provide adequately for their families and reported experiencing less stress.

In one focus group discussion several men talked about the considerable stress which not being able to provide for one's family places upon men:

R: Earlier, only people older than 60 or rich people used to get heart attacks. Now poor people too have started getting heart attacks. This is because men are neither able to give food to their children, nor able to raise them properly. Because he does not have money to buy milk, what he does is, puts water in the bottle, puts some sugar, pours some milk in it and gives to the child. So he gives milk to the baby, but his heart aches with sorrow. He thinks he is not able to even give milk to his child. So they get mentally disturbed and he gets heart attack... If you see in Sion hospital, so many young people you find who have had heart attacks. Many of them go on the rail tracks and do suicide.

A: In Dharavi?

R: Yes. Those poor guys commit suicide on the railway tracks. [FGD 2]

The respondent talks about the emotion and stress which not being able to provide elicits and the health consequences it has for men, including heart problems and a high number of suicides. The participants also place this within a context of change: before only rich people got heart attacks, now the poor do too. This phrase reflects the changing economic conditions, the ever rising inflation and the increasing pressure these changes are placing upon men financially, but also crucially, the effects of this emotionally on men.

One participant, Ramesh, reported feeling a considerable amount of pressure from both his wife and mother to earn money. He had been unemployed for some time and spoke of the anger he felt at his inability to find employment. In response to the initial open question from my assistant, this is what Ramesh wanted to talk about, of greatest concern to him at that moment:

M: Can you please tell us something about yourself? Anything which you would like to tell.

*R: I want to tell you about my work ... I was searching for work here and there but I did not get any work ... I am looking for a good job, I had tried at many places, I had tried in the municipality and railway but I did not get anything. ... No work today, come tomorrow, not today, but tomorrow, like this they cheated me. Because of this there were fights in the house... I am trying for a good job but I am not getting one. So sometimes I get angry and I come to fighting and beating... that's why it has become a big issue.
[Ramesh, 24 yrs, 11]*

For Ramesh, not being able to get a job is his biggest worry. His inability to find work not only challenges his role of provider but also his sense of power and as a result, rather than just stress, Ramesh reports his anger and use of violence, which will be discussed further in chapter seven. He goes on to comment on the changing nature of the economy in Mumbai, which he feels has made it harder to get stable employment:

My father had a good job in the mill but they removed the workers from the mill giving 3 and 4 lakhs rupees. That was 10 years ago, if it was then, things would not be so bad. [Ramesh, 24 yrs, 11]

Jobs with some security such as working for local government were seen as highly desirable by many of the men, but getting such jobs is extremely difficult, as Sondev explains:

If one has money, then he will get a job. I have tried a lot to get a job as a sweeper in the Municipality. But I could not get it. But if I had money....from

where can I get one lakh rupees? One of my friends has recently got a job, after he has paid one lakh rupees, a year back. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

While Ramesh had problems finding any employment, other men had stable jobs but expressed a general anxiety about their earnings being insufficient to provide for their family:

Earlier I had tension mostly about the money. I think money is what is required most in life. If money is there, then everything is there. And if there is no money, there is nothing. No dog will look for your smell. So I was worried how will I do it, how will I send money to my family, how will I take care of them and how will I maintain myself? That was what I was worried about a lot. I had a lot of tension. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

Rahul works in a factory in Mumbai and sends money back to his wife and family in the village. His account is typical in the emphasis it places upon earning, describing it as 'what is required most in life'. While Rahul talked about past worries about money, other men talked of the current stress they felt under:

As far as my salary is concerned, I currently get 6 to 7 thousand rupees. So I have to manage my house, but I am not able to fulfil properly all the needs for my family... This is the thing which creates tension. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Men outlined specific things they felt they should be able to provide, which included a home for the family to live in, education for their children and their wife's wishes for travel, clothing and food. Some men spoke specifically about the problems they had fulfilling these basic needs. Sridhar told us of his failure to provide his wife with a home in Mumbai, feeling forced to move back to the village to save money:

My wife said, we should live here and I said we should live in the native place. I said, 'We don't have enough to live on here. We fall short of money. So let's go back to native place for a while and then return after some time. We'll return after a year or two or then six months.' That was the issue on which we fought. [Sridhar, 25 yrs, 9]

Other men told how their inability to earn sufficient money meant their family was forced to live in a poor area. Sondev worries about the environment his children are growing up in:

There are people who consume Charas [hashish]. And their children also eat Gutkha [a form of chewing tobacco] in the house, or they lift the leftover Gutkha and eat it. Children here also play gambling. The mohmedians [Muslims] don't utter a word without using abuse. So their children hear that and use the same bad words to other children. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Anand, complained about his inability to rent a flat which meant his family had little privacy:

At the moment I have to do everything with fear. If my wife wears jeans or if we do something... because we live in a Marathi society. In our Marathi culture women are kept under control. So I can't go against that. If my wife wears jeans, people will think negatively and say, 'his wife wears jeans.' But if I live in a flat, people won't say that. Then my wife will get some freedom, and she will feel good and then she will be more attached to me. Because my wife wishes that she lives a life like when she was in college. But it is my helplessness that I have to live with the society around us. I cannot give that much freedom to her. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand reports feeling ashamed by his inability to provide a flat for him and his wife to live in. Anand feels his wife has to conform to what he considers overly conservative norms rather than living freely as she would like both because of the lack of privacy and the people who live in the area around them. Similarly, men commented upon the stress they felt in trying to meet their wife's desires, as Sondev explains:

Sometimes it happens that she wants to visit her native place. I will tell her don't go this month, go in the next month. She will say, 'No. I want to go in this month only'. In the village, she wants to do a devotion to the God. I said

we will do it next year, if not this year we will go in the next year. I should have enough money, isn't it? In 4000 rupees what all can I manage, I have to manage the house and the kids. This is how it happened earlier. So I felt forced to take a loan in order to be able to send her. So for this reason I had beaten her once. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

For Sondev, his wife's challenge to his ability to provide financially is also a challenge to his authority and power within the family and over her. Even though he tells her she cannot go, she insists, which Sondev eventually gives in to, arranging a loan to cover the cost. But he finds his wife's challenge of his original decision difficult, partly because it is a direct challenge to his ability to provide.

Another common complaint was from migrant men who disliked life in the city but felt forced to live in Mumbai because of the need to earn money and provide for the family:

The life in Mumbai is dangerous. I go to work, and travelling by train is very, very difficult. Sometimes I feel that the animals are transported in a better way but people's lives in Mumbai are worse than animals. In the morning and in the evening, even if the vehicle is late by 5 minutes, one must think and should not get in. If there is another vehicle, then it is ok. But if the vehicle is late by 5 minutes, then it is very difficult to get in. And if one gets in, they make you suffocate. It is so difficult there. I feel that the climate in the village is very nice. There is no climate like that here. There is nothing in Mumbai. There is only money in Mumbai... The climate here is good for dying. Nothing else. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Harish sticks with life in the city because he is able to earn a decent living and provide for his family, but he like several other migrant men dreamt of one day earning enough money to return to the village and live comfortably with their family. Even though Harish escapes the stress of not being able to provide financially, he takes on another stress, the 'tension' of living in the city in order to fulfil this role.

In contrast to these men who struggled to fulfil their role as provider, other men we interviewed told us of their contentment with their working lives and their ability to provide financially for their families. Akash is a factory worker and a migrant from Uttar Pradesh. Although Akash's work situation is fairly difficult, working long hours and living and working in the factory, he reports that his stress is kept under control as long as he is earning:

M: When you have a big tension, then what do you do?

A: Where is the big tension? It has never happened to me. If all of us are happy, then there was never a tension.

M: Never?

A: Never.

M: Any shortage of money etc.?

A: No. Money is never short.

M: Why?

A: When everything is there at home, 5 to 10 people are working and earning, 6000 from here, 2000 from there, 1000 from here. Like this, if we get 5000-6000 in a month, then why is there a need for tension? [Akash, 35 yrs, 21]

Similarly, another man Ashok told of his ability to fulfil his family's needs:

With my earning everything is fulfilled... I am earning. I am giving her everything in the house, food, water and clothes. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

He also tells us of having supported his brother and daughter's education:

Because I am working, my brother was in the village, I made him study up to B.A., then I got him married. So he too came to Mumbai... I also pay for my daughter's education here, in the English medium, tuition and everything... So I feel very nice. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Ashok goes on to ask us if we would like to speak with his daughter to see how well she speaks English. His ability to provide for his wife and daughters as well as other

members of his family is a source of great pride. In fact Ashok reports feeling that the pressure to provide for his family is a good thing:

If only the husband works, he will have a tension for earning and his might will increase. He will want to do more and work, and earn more, and fulfil the household expenses. But if his wife works, a man will not be able to do this.
[Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

This section has described the emotional difficulties men experienced when they were unable to provide financially for their wife and family or to meet increasing financial demands. Many men talked about changes in the economy and in society, which led to increased pressure on their financial resources, both including inflation and a changing jobs market, but also their wife's wishes for new commodities and lifestyles such as wearing jeans and living in a private flat, separate from the extended family. A key aspect of men's discussion is the way in which some men experience anger in response to not being able to find adequate employment. While some men spoke of the sorrow and emotional pain which not being able to provide caused men, for others not being able to provide evoked feelings of powerlessness and anger. Finally, other men spoke of their contentment and happiness as long as they were able to bring money into the house and provide financially for their wives and families.

6.5 Sexual performance and having children

Men's ability to perform sexually was a cause of significant anxiety and stress for some men. For some men, there was significant frustration due to the poor sexual relationship within their marriage or embarrassment at performance problems with women outside the marital relationship. The dysfunctional nature of many marital sexual relationships was evidently intimately connected with men's emotional relationships with their wives, which is discussed in the last section of the chapter. Here the focus is on anxiety, shame and frustration in relation to sexual performance and the surprising finding that most men reported not feeling such negative emotions in relation to not having male children.

Both men who had love marriages and those who had arranged marriages spoke of the problems of the lack of physical intimacy in their relationships. Anand who had a love marriage expressed his frustration with his sexual relationship with his wife:

Sometimes there is sexual tension also. Like when there is a child in the house, then I can't do anything. Sometimes I do not get to have sex. So that mood goes. If I have the mood, my wife will say, 'the child is still awake, why do you do that?' It happens like that. I earlier used to kiss her before marriage. But now I cannot do this in the house, because my child is there in front of us. Or there are people around in the chawl, as the door is open. So it becomes a tension sometimes, that I am in the mood and my wife says, 'Not now.' Such things give tension. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand's comments reflect the difficult living conditions many families live in, in the area where we interviewed men. The lack of privacy, both from other family members and others in the community, make achieving sexual intimacy incredibly difficult. However, Anand's comments also hint at his belief that his wife is avoiding having sex, her lack of desire for sexual intimacy with him, which he finds difficult and creates stress and anxiety for him.

Another man, Dinesh told us of his two big anxieties in relation to his sexual relationship with his wife. Dinesh had an arranged marriage. In his community after the marriage the husband has a period of a week or so with his new wife and then there is a period of time, of about a year when husband and wife live separately, known as 'gauna'. Dinesh tried to have sex with his wife in the first few days after marriage but it did not go as he wished. He tells us about his anxieties after that first week together:

The relations with my wife were not as I wished. I got married only for the sexual relationship. But when I did not get it, I was quite angry. I was even ready to leave her. I was thinking I got messed up by getting married. And there was another thought in my mind that when I made first contact with her, there was no blood. Though she was hurt and fainted, there was no

blood. So I used to think whether this girl had a sexual relation with another boy. I was mentally very disturbed. I talked to my friends. And during that year, I was even thinking of leaving her. I used to think that I do not want to keep her. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

Dinesh tells us that his reason for getting married was to settle down and be just with one woman, having had a history of sexual contact with over one hundred women (discussed further in chapter seven). When his wife doesn't have any knowledge of sex and he can't have sex with her he gets very anxious and tries to work out how he can get out of the marriage. But somewhat paradoxically, while he is disappointed by her lack of 'knowledge' about sex, he is also anxious that she may have had previous sexual experience.

In addition to these problems around not being able to have a fulfilled sex life with their wife, other men told us of their experiences of problems with their sexual performance. Rahul had several extra-marital affairs and here tells us of his experience of premature ejaculation with one woman he saw in Dharavi:

R: Sometimes it [semen] gets dropped in a hurry. Then I feel nervous, because if she doesn't get satisfied then she gets angry for that. ...

M: Does she tell you if she doesn't get satisfied?

R: Yes. She does. She says, 'you have finished very fast.' She gets angry. She says, 'I have not completed and you have finished early. Is that enough? Will I remain like this only?' She says like this. It happens sometimes...

M: How do you feel when somebody tells you like this?

R: She says, 'you have finished so early', then I feel bad. But what can I say, when it has happened, it happened. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

The woman challenges Rahul's ability to fulfil her sexually. In this situation Rahul talks about becoming nervous and the sense of shame which he experiences as a result of her anger. It is interesting to note that in comparison to the emotion of anger which men reported in situations where their power and authority was threatened, here Rahul more readily reports shame and anxiety. Rahul eventually

stops seeing this woman and talks of more positive sexual relationships with other women. Other men talked of the pressure to perform coming from their wives. Ismail who has been married for four years talked of his failure to satisfy his wife:

So my wife asked me, 'what happened to you, previously you used to do with me for a long time, now you can do only for 15 seconds, so what is the problem?' Then I told her. 'There is no problem with me. Neither I have become 'namard' [impotent / unmanly] nor have I gone to wrong places. So don't take tension'. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail's reply to his wife's comments talks of the anxiety that he is a 'namard' which can mean both impotent or unmanly, not a 'mard'. Ismail's inability to perform sexually is taken as a direct affront to his masculinity which he defends. Another man Sudhakar also told about his worries about his ability to satisfy his wife:

S: Sometimes about sex also my confidence gets reduced.

M: Why? Why about sex?

S: Because I look at her face and if I feel that she is not happy, then I feel I have not performed well. That time my confidence is low. [Sudhakar, 30 yrs, 23]

In a similar way to Rahul, Sudhakar's emotional response to the situation is one of low self-esteem, depression and shame rather than anger. However, Sudhakar remarks on the emotional effect his failure to fulfil his wife sexually has on him.

While there were several cases of men who reported stress, anxiety and low self-esteem as a result of the poor quality of their sex lives, no men reported stress over not having a son, or not having any children at all. In fact many of the men gave defences for why they had made an active decision to delay having children. Dinesh talks about the decision he and his wife have taken to delay having children:

M: Now you have married, are you not going ahead [having a child]?

D: No. We have a lot of tension and hence we do not wish for a child. I think is it right to have a child? I think this is not the right age for a child and as we

do not want child now, we are taking precautions. Last time when I left her in village after living here for two months, she got pregnant and I had tension about what to do and all. When I came back here, she got advice from a doctor, she got tablets and it was done [she had an abortion]. So we do not want a child now.

M: Why?

D: Because there is not enough money, we are not able to take care of ourselves. We think it is time to enjoy... We can think about it after five or seven years. We also think, what is the need now? My wife even says you may play with me, why do you need a child? So I see a child in her. So we do not feel the need for a child. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

This description by Dinesh of the decision he and his wife have made is quite unusual given the context and the traditional pressure on couples to have children. Not only are they taking precautions not to have a child but his wife has had an abortion. In addition he talks about their current age being the time to enjoy life, making an active decision to leave parenthood to later in their lives.

In summary, this section has demonstrated the strong emotional effect which having a poor sexual relationship with their wife and in particular men's ability to perform sexually and fulfil their wife's sexual desires had upon men. In addition, the emotional affect men described in relation to sexual performance was notable for its difference in comparison to that as a result of challenges to men's power and authority which centred much more on anger. A surprising finding was that many men reported that not having children did not cause them significant emotional distress, preferring instead to enjoy married life without children for a time.

6.6 Not expressing emotion to others

So far, this chapter has examined men's experiences of challenges to their ability to fulfil particular masculine norms, such as beliefs about entitlement to power and authority, their ability to provide economically for their family, or their ability to satisfy their sexual partners and the emotional impact these perceived challenges and

failures have on men. This next section examines the pressures on men to limit the expression of emotion to others and how fulfilling this norm also has profound effects upon men emotionally.

Many men told us of their attempts to contain their emotions and not express distress to others.

When I am in tension, I keep alone and I do not talk to anybody much. I stay alone till there is no tension in my mind. I talk to my family members after the tension goes. I may be with friends but I remain alone. [Dheeraj, 24 yrs, 25]

Dheeraj describes trying to isolate himself from others when he is stressed or experiencing tension, not telling either family members or friends, existing in a state of isolation, even though he may be surrounded by other people.

The majority of men reported having no or very few close male friendships and that where these friendships did exist they were fairly superficial. Sohail was typical in reporting that he restricted his contact with others and that when he did meet other men, conversation didn't go much beyond greetings and talk about work:

I have friends, but I don't indulge much in friendships. I don't meet them often. I restrict it up to a certain level. I don't mix up with them actively. I greet them, talk about the work and go my way. I don't talk too much with anybody. [Sohail, 42 yrs, 13]

Men's willingness to communicate emotions to others was also manifest in our interactions with them in the interview setting. The ability of participants to communicate about difficulties in their lives and emotions they experienced varied enormously. Some men communicated very little, giving mostly one word or short responses to open questions. Rashid provides an example of someone who was quite difficult to interview. This section shows him responding to open questions in a very closed manner:

M: How do you like living here?

R: Here? It is okay living here.

M: Living there and living in Bombay... is there any difference?

R: The life in the village is different and life in Bombay is different.

M: You will have to explain us. Otherwise we will not understand the difference.

R: There is a difference.

M: What is the difference?

R: The difference is in work.

M: What is the difference between Bombay and village?

R: There is lot of difference between Bombay and village. [Rashid, 25 yrs, 27]

Eventually he manages to tell us a difference between Bombay and his village:

M: What is the difference?

R: Here I am alone. There, the whole family is there. These are things...

M: How many close friends do you have here?

R: I had only one friend. He has gone to the village. He has gone because his brother has passed away. It is now 5-6 days. Only he and I go out, nobody else. [Rashid, 25 yrs, 27]

Rashid has no desire to tell us very much and the interview was fairly short. Originally from Lucknow he lives in a factory with other men who have also migrated. He highlights his isolation in Mumbai, particularly from his family.

In contrast there were other men who although they expressed not communicating much with others, relished the opportunity to talk openly in the interview, with many talking about what was important to them and causing them stress and anxiety often for extended periods, without any interruption from the interviewer. Pankaj provides such an example. At the end of the interview we asked how he felt about the experience:

I liked it a lot. I really think that I should sit like this at a place and after getting relaxed, think about myself also. When I was talking, I had a different

feeling. I thought about my childhood and we talked about my entire life, about me not doing any work... It has touched my heart. Now I feel that there is somebody asking about me. I haven't had that feeling for some time. I feel I should go and work. I don't have anyone who will tell me all that. Whatever I get is only from my house but I only go, eat and go out. So that feeling is not there. There is nobody like you who asked me all this. You asked me for your study work but I have never had somebody who asks me that. I don't have a sister and I don't have a father who will keep his hand on my back and tell me that I am going on a wrong path. They only shout and don't say much. [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj has a poor relationship with his wife but this extended passage is typical of the interview with him. He is happy and able to talk about his feelings and reflect on things without much prompting. Pankaj talks not only about the positive emotions after having someone take an interest in his life and his wellbeing but he also identifies his isolation, in particular his lack of emotional support and the absence of an authority figure, such as his father to keep him on track.

Another man, Ismail talked of his enjoyment of the interview:

M: When I asked you questions, how did you feel?

I: I felt nice that I can off-load the burden from my heart which I can't do with anyone, I don't know whether you will keep the recording with your or make someone else listen to it. But I have spoken from my heart and I felt nice about it. Because when a person talks from the heart only the truth comes out. So I liked to tell whatever it was. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail highlights his emotional isolation and the cathartic nature of expressing his feelings to somebody else.

Imtiaz makes a similar comment:

M: Anything else would you like tell us in the context of this interview or do you want to tell us something?

I: No. It is good. You both met me and I felt happy meeting you. Nice to meet you.

M: We are also happy you shared with many details. Some were personal and some were more detailed. I and Ben thank you for all this.

I: I am also thankful to you that I got a chance to express my feelings to somebody. I need to do that and share it. I wanted to share my feelings with somebody. [Imtiaz, 32 yrs, 5]

These three extracts all show men expressing a desire to express emotion to others but feeling unable to do so.

Although most men reported not communicating in any depth with other men, there was more variation in the level of communication with wives. Because of the difficulty of expressing or discussing feelings and emotions with others, the marital relationship became incredibly important for a lot of men, being the only space in which feelings could be expressed without the fear of ridicule. However, in addition to social isolation outside their marital relationship, a significant number of men also reported having very limited communication with their wives, sharing neither emotional nor physical intimacy with them. Some men talked of hiding their emotions and stress from their wives:

S: When I have tension, I keep out of my house. And as far as possible, I try to keep those things out of my mind. I think how to remove it from my mind.

M: What do you do?

S: I only try not to take that thing back to my house. I ensure that this problem or this tension is limited only up to me and that it does not reach my home. I try a lot in this way. [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

In a similar way, newlywed Shyam reported hiding his distress from his wife:

If I am very upset then I go to my mother and father or go alone somewhere and cry. I don't cry in front of my wife. [Shyam, 23 yrs, 1]

While these men spoke about not sharing their tension or distress with their wives, other men talked more about the generally limited communication that existed between them and their wives. Three men in particular, Sondev, Pankaj and Anand, illustrate some of the problems men had with communication in their marital relationships. Sondev tells us of the limited dialogue he has with his wife:

R: In the night I come after ten o' clock. In the morning I go at nine o' clock. That time we talk, about the kids or about the ration etc. I have my tea and breakfast and go for work. Then I come back in the night at ten or eleven o' clock.

M: That means you don't have any dialogue with her?

R: Never... If she wants to go to the village or somewhere, then only a dialogue happens, or I phone and tell her that my friend's marriage is there and we have to go. Otherwise there's not any other talk. [Sondev, 27 yrs, 6]

Similarly, another man Pankaj talks about the lack of communication in his marriage:

I feel she is different and I am different. It is just like a woman staying at my home. I am not that close to her. I don't even look into her eyes. I just ask for a towel, or just ask for her to serve the food. That's all. So there is not much talk with her. She serves the food and I eat it. I eat at home while leaving the house and if I am there in the afternoon, then I just ask her about food. That's the only thing I talk to her about. I don't have any interest in the marriage or in my wife ... She has not talked to me much 'til today. We do not talk to each other as if we are having a fight between us. It is not like I take her out or discuss about our future... There is nothing of that sort. We don't talk like that. [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

For both Sondev and Pankaj, communication is mostly task-oriented, centring on food or in Sondev's case, the needs of his children. Rather than it being the case that Pankaj doesn't want to have emotional intimacy with his wife, he tells us of his desire for real emotional and physical intimacy with a woman but his feeling that achieving that is impossible in his relationship with his wife:

When I was at school, I felt that I should have a girlfriend, I should go for walks with her. When I saw couples sitting on the beach, I also wanted that I too should have somebody to share with me. If the girl was from the city then... Now, if I ask her to give a kiss, she is shy. She is my wife and I have the right. But I find it awkward. When the couple sitting on the beach kiss each other, both give it on their own, so you know that it is mutual. You know both are not hesitant to do it. They are open. So when I see that, I think that if I had a girlfriend from school days, I would have got married for love and that would have been a different thing. With this one, I don't feel anything of that sort. [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj differentiates between a girl from the city, who is the girlfriend of fantasy, and the reality of his wife who is from the village. He describes his dream of a city girl, who he describes as being 'open' and who he could share things with, in contrast with the awkward relationship that he has with his own wife who is shy and doesn't freely show him affection.

Both of these men, Sondev and Pankaj, had arranged marriages with brides chosen by their families. There were specific issues with arranged marriages which these men complained of. Sondev talks about the age of his wife when they first married as a significant problem:

She is younger to me by nine years. At the time of marriage her age was below 16... She was a little childish. She didn't know how to talk to a man or to a father and mother. So that time she was having childhood. Now after the birth of two children, when she reached the age of 20, she has become smarter. Now she understands everything. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

For Pankaj, a major issue was the lack of a common language between him and his wife:

She speaks Kannada [the language of Karnataka]. She doesn't know Hindi or Marathi. She speaks Marathi a little, which I can understand... [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

However, a third man, Anand, had a love marriage. He also talks of the problems of communication in his marriage:

A: She keeps on talking. And if a woman talks continuously, then her husband has to keep quiet. Otherwise there'll be a fight.

M: Then what do you do so that there is no fight?

A: I don't do anything. I just sit quietly, or watch news on the TV with loud noise. But she gets even more irritated. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand goes on to tell us why he restricts expressing his feelings in terms of the unique challenges he faces having had a love marriage:

Because I have done a love-marriage. Because I have taken a challenge in front of all. If my marriage is broken, people will say, 'this guy has got married with such a pride, and now his marriage is broken.' That girl also cannot go back to her house. So I take a back step and keep quiet. If I get angry, I bear it myself. I watch news on the TV or get out of the house. I come back after one or two hours. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand feels that rather than arguing or getting into a fight with his wife, it is better to disengage and ignore his wife's anger because he doesn't want other people to judge that having gone against his family and community's wishes, his marriage has failed.

Other reasons men gave for poor communication with their wives was a lack of experience and confidence in speaking with women:

M: When you were newly married, what kind of dialogue was there between you?

S: We hardly talked. When I was newly married, I felt shy talking to girls. Now too I feel shy. When there are boys then....I have grown up with boys, you know. So talking to ladies.... I do not even talk much with my mother, even with my father. [Sondeev, 37 yrs, 6]

Pankaj makes a similar point:

I don't have much knowledge about talking to girls. We do tease girls but love or couple talk, I don't have much experience of. So what will I talk to her about? [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Both men draw on the gender-segregated nature of their upbringing and a sense that talking to men is different from talking to women. Pankaj hints at the more emotional nature of talk with women in referring to 'love or couple talk.' However, Sondev comments more on his lack of communication with others more generally, reporting not talking to anyone much.

In addition to these general issues around communicating or having emotional intimacy with their wives, men also spoke of the unique challenges talking about their sexual relationship with their wife posed. Some men felt unable to address such issues with their wife. In the previous section Sudhakar talked about his feeling of low confidence when he feels he hasn't performed well or made his wife happy during sex. He tells us why he feels unable to discuss it with his wife:

S: No. I have not asked her till now. Because I think it is wrong to ask about it.

M: Why?

*S: Because here in India, gents will not ask their wife. They know it all. Because it gives a low feeling, or one believes, I do it very well, I am a *Mard*, and how can I ask my wife? I do it always well. And after asking I will myself feel low. I won't ask. [Sudhakar, 30 yrs, 23]*

For Sudhakar he feels talking about it with his wife will only exacerbate his low self-esteem and that a *mard* or 'real man' wouldn't talk about such things with his wife. Another man, Sachin told us of his worries of being accused of going to sex workers if he tried to talk to his wife about exploring different sexual practises:

When I did sex, I did only vaginal intercourse with my wife. Because I did not know how much she knows. I am a boy and my friends share blue films and blue film clips on our mobiles. In the blue film clips, everything is shown. It contains oral sex and anal sex also. We do see all types of sex. But the problem was, I didn't know whether my wife knew about it. If I do that with her, she will think that I go outside for sex. She will be sure that her husband goes out for sex. I never talked to her about it and never expressed my wish that I want like this... I'm afraid what she will think. Sometimes I think I should show her films. But I don't know whether she has seen them or not. If she has studied up to 12th standard, it means she must have some knowledge about it. But she has never told me or expressed her wish that I should do that way. So how can I do it? [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

However it wasn't always masculine norms which prevented communication about sex between husbands and wives. Many men reported attempting to talk about it, but their wife's reticence or absolute refusal to talk about it. Anand tells us of his experience of trying to communicate with his wife about such issues:

A: My wife finds it very dirty.

M: Did you talk to her about it?

A: Yes. I asked her whether she will take it in the mouth. She then warned me that I should not see those dirty films and ask her to do such dirty things. Since then I do not talk to her about it. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

He continues:

Before marriage there was a strong feeling that when I meet her, I will talk to her about all such things. But my wife used to ignore it. She knew that there should be a distance because it may cause pregnancy. So she used to control it. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Although in some marriages communication consisted of little more than the discussion about the availability of food in the household, many men expressed their desire for better communication and intimacy with their wives but found it difficult to

bring about such intimacy. However, rather than difficulties solely being as a result of men's inability to communicate emotionally, norms for both men and women appear to play a powerful role in limiting the communication within marital relationships. Although unique challenges exist in both arranged and love marriages, such as language and age of brides, men's relationships with their wives were seriously impaired by norms surrounding what could and could not be expressed or discussed. These norms were particularly powerful in preventing discussions about sex within the marital relationship.

This section has highlighted many men's social and emotional isolation, with many men having neither close friends with whom they share their emotions with, nor emotionally (or physically) intimate relationships with their wives. Some men found the expression of emotions and feelings to others very difficult which was evident in their interviews with us, while others had no difficulty in expressing emotion when given a safe and supportive space to do so. Men reported many factors which affected the quality of communication within their marital relationship. However, many reported desperately wanting to have emotional intimacy with their wife but felt unable to achieve it. Many men were open to discussing the quality of their relationships and particularly their sexual relationships with their wives but strong social norms often prevented women from being open to these discussions. Social norms around the expression of emotion and feelings have profound effects on men, both in terms of emotional isolation but also in achieving fulfilled, loving relationships with their wives. Physical and emotional intimacy are strongly connected and norms which prevent couples achieving sexual intimacy had profound effects on their emotional relationship, and vice-versa.

6.7 Discussion

This chapter has examined how four particular masculine norms impact upon men emotionally. The foundation of this chapter is the empathetic approach it takes towards the experiences of men and particularly men's experiences in relation to gender norms. Such an approach is rarely taken towards men, often because of the very negative effects certain beliefs, norms and behaviours have on others,

particularly women. However, this chapter doesn't argue that we should feel sorry for men who are unable to fulfil their expectations that they should have power or authority, quite the opposite. It does however argue for the importance of recognising men as emotional beings and that norms around masculinity have emotional consequences for men, which are important in understanding men's attempts to fulfil such norms as well as the negative effects these norms often have in terms of behaviour.

The first several sections of the chapter have shown how men's perceived failures to fulfil certain masculine norms, which some men believe in, have negative emotional consequences for men. Men spoke about the way challenges to their sense of power and authority, their ability to provide financially for the family and the lack of a fulfilled sexual relationship with their wife generate a wide range of negative emotions from anger and stress to anxiety and low self-esteem.

These perceived challenges to men's masculine identities come from many different sources. Some are the result of economic conditions, such as low wages and increasing inflation which makes it more difficult for men to provide economically for the family. Others come from poor working conditions and cramped living spaces. Men's experiences of emotion as described in this chapter are therefore often a combination of certain economic and social conditions combined with belief in certain norms, such as men's role as sole economic provider, which together have emotional sequelae for men.

Many men spoke of the challenges their wives made to their sense of power and authority. Many of these challenges were the result of clashes between old and new norms particularly around the role of men's wives in the family. Men spoke of the challenges their wives made to existing family hierarchies, particularly their subservient position; the power of their mother-in-law and having to live as a joint family. Several changes in social norms and ideals about family life, such as women's increased participation in paid labour, the desire to live as a nuclear family and increasing desires for particular ways of dressing such as wearing jeans as well as for commodities such as DVD players, all presented great challenges for men. While some men gave examples of their wives directly challenging their power and

authority, for example telling them off about their drinking, many of the examples involved challenges to men's ability to provide financially, which often represented just as difficult a challenge to men's authority and sense of power. Changing norms around the role and position of women inside and outside the home, structures of families and increasing desire for certain commodities represent major challenges to many masculine norms and as a result produce a variety of emotional states including stress, anxiety and often anger.

The recognition of these emotional effects is important in understanding certain behaviours, which will be discussed in the next chapter and also the importance men place on striving to fulfil certain norms. By fulfilling masculine norms around power, authority, the role as provider, sex and emotion, men avoid these negative emotional consequences, improving their self-esteem as well as gaining acceptance from other men, gaining social status and respect and as a result often increasing their income and resources.

A second key aspect of the chapter has been to show how norms which proscribe the expression or sharing of emotion with others, often leaves men emotionally isolated, finding it difficult to deal with certain emotional states, many of which are a result of inability to fulfil other masculine norms. The chapter discussed men's use of the word 'tension' as a way of expressing stress, anxiety and possibly shame. Additionally, the interviews themselves documented men's differing abilities to express their emotions verbally. While some men found this experience difficult others showed a great ability to talk about their lives and emotions, remarking on how relieved and grateful they were to talk to somebody openly about what was going on in their lives and how it made them felt. Many men had limited friendships with other men, with hardly any reporting they had close friendships and as a result marital relationships were a key source of emotional support but many men also had poor emotional relationships with their wives which left them socially and pretty much completely emotionally isolated. The chapter has also shown that rather than it being men's total inability or lack of desire to be emotionally intimate with others; social norms both around gender but also sexuality, play a strong role in the ability of men and women to develop supportive, intimate and fulfilling relationships.

In conclusion, this chapter has explored particular gender norms around masculinity, which while not by any means universal or endorsed by all men, are particularly prevalent and cause significant difficulties for men and women. The chapter has sought to extend the analysis to examine men as emotional as well as gendered beings, making a firm link between certain gender norms and men's emotional experiences. While the difficulties and emotional states men experience are complex and involve many different factors including political and economic conditions, gender norms lie at the heart of many of the difficulties some men face, from norms around power and authority, to their role as sole financial provider and the ability to talk about and explore sexuality and emotions.

The next chapter documents why men's experiences of gender norms and emotion are important in relation to alcohol use, intimate partner violence and extramarital sex. It also compares men who are involved in these three behaviours with those who are not, examining the differences between men, both in terms of gender ideology but also their experiences of intimacy, emotion and emotional expression.

Chapter 7: Emotional Behaviour: Men's Use of Violence, Alcohol and Sex

7.1 Introduction

The previous two qualitative results chapters have explored several defining aspects of social norms around masculinity and the emotional impact different gender norms have upon men. A strong theme has been many men's experiences of social isolation, their attempts to deal with emotion alone, and the failure for many men to have their emotional needs met either through their marital relationship or friendships with other men. This final results chapter analyses men's reports of intimate partner violence, violence against other men, alcohol use and extramarital sex, placing them within the context of men's experiences of masculine norms and in particular how such behaviours relate to men's experiences of certain emotions and psychological distress. While many of the men we interviewed were involved in one or several of these behaviours, some men reported no experience of them. The experiences of these men represent important case studies in examining how 'positive deviant' men differ from others we interviewed. In addition, the experiences of those who reported changes in their behaviour, in particular from previous alcohol abuse and perpetration of intimate partner violence are also explored.

7.2 Intimate Partner Violence

Over half of the men we interviewed individually (17 out of 29) reported physically abusing their wife at some point in the past. Although men's reports and discussions about relationships, emotions and use of violence were very much individual narratives, there were several themes which men's accounts had in common, particularly in relation to episodes of violence. Firstly, the majority of men's reports of violence talked of their use of alcohol prior to arguments. Often men's alcohol use was not only a contributing factor to arguments but was also the subject of arguments which led to violence. Secondly, men's narratives of violence often included what men perceived to be a challenge to their power or authority from their wife. These challenges often centred on men's ability to provide financially for the

family or the power and authority of men's parents over men's wives. In many cases these two elements were combined, with women protesting at having to live with their husband's parents, rather than live in a separate house as a nuclear family, a situation which many men were unable to provide financially. Thirdly, while many men recognised their use of violence as a tool of empowerment, enforcing their dominance and restating their power in the marital relationship, some also related their violence to certain emotions, particularly stress, frustration and shame which often led to anger and how these emotions were evoked in response to challenges to their ability to fulfil certain masculine norms. Although some men talked of their anger being 'out of control' in an attempt to distance themselves from violence which they recognised as wrong, others talked about their use of violence as being something quite instrumental, achieving something which was very much within their control.

Many men's narratives combined several of these elements in a complex of unemployment, alcohol use, and perceived challenges from men's partners to their masculine status. Ramesh provides an example. His wife had made a formal complaint about him to SNEHA, where the interview took place. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ramesh is eager to vent his frustration at his lack of employment and the way this makes him feel, but in addition, this quote shows how he relates this to his use of violence:

No work today, come tomorrow, not today, but tomorrow, and then I realised that I was being cheated. So there were fights at home because I don't work ... I am trying for a good job but I am not getting one. So sometimes when I am angry, I come to fighting and beating. [Ramesh, 24 yrs, 11]

Although Ramesh talks of using violence in relation to this frustration, he doesn't make it clear why his anger and frustration over his lack of employment leads to violence towards others, particularly his wife. Later on in the interview, he talks in more detail about the situation directly before episodes of violence:

If I have money in my pocket then I announce that I am going out to drink. That time I don't want any interference from her even if she asks me to drink

at home. If I have told her that I am going out to drink then it means that I am going out to drink. In case she interferes I give her one slap and then leave my place. I am only going out to drink and not getting involved with anyone else. Everybody in my colony knows that there is no limit to my drinking. [Ramesh, 24 yrs, 11]

In addition to his frustration and anger at his problems finding employment, a key trigger for Ramesh seems to be his wife challenging his authority to drink outside the house but also his authority over her and his ability to silence her. While his drinking provides an escape from the pressures of his current situation, as will be discussed later on in this chapter, his violence happens in response to his wife's challenges to his authority. A particular challenge is his wife's attempt to get him to drink at home instead of outside, in part because it is cheaper but perhaps also because of the embarrassment his drinking causes her in the community.

Other men, such as Harish, talked more specifically about their use of violence against their wife in connection to direct challenges to their ability to provide financially for the family:

We both live here. So in the family there are fights due to giving and taking. Or sometimes when I come home drunk, then my wife says, 'why have you come home drunk?' As far as my salary is concerned, I currently get six to seven thousand rupees. So I have to manage my house, but I am not able to fulfil properly all the needs for my family. Therefore my wife shouts at me for my drinking habit. She tells me that she wants a new sari or clothes for the children. And when I spent 100-200 rupees for drinking, she says, it was better if I had brought something for the children to eat. On this point we always have fights. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

In a similar way to Ramesh, the violence happens within a nexus of alcohol use, financial strain and perceived challenges to authority and power. Other examples didn't involve women challenging their husband's alcohol use but still involved challenges to men's ability to provide. This quote which was discussed in the

previous chapter within the context of challenges to male power and authority provides an example of men's use of violence in response to such challenges:

Sometimes it happens that she wants to visit her native place. I will tell her don't go this time, go the next time. She will say, "No. I want to go this time only". In the village, she wants to go to Deev [a festival for a God]. I said we will do it next year, if not this year we will go in the next year. I should have enough money, shouldn't I? In 4000 rupees what can I manage? I have to manage the house and the kids. This is how it happened earlier. So I had to take a loan so I could send her to visit the temple in her native place. And for this reason I had beaten her once. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

In Sondev's account, he feels forced to take a loan because his wife insists so strongly on going but he becomes angry at this. He talks of his violence being related to her insistence against his decision that she shouldn't go. In insisting on going, she challenges not only his control over her but also his ability to provide for her financially.

Key to all of these accounts is the way men use violence as a way of enforcing and re-establishing a power differential between themselves and their wives. Many men talked about their use of violence as quite instrumental, setting out to (temporarily at least) establish their dominance and control, particularly when they had failed to achieve this through fulfilling the key masculine norm of financial provision for the family. Several men outlined the very definite purpose they set out to achieve through the use of violence against their wife:

I: A man thinks that she is not listening to me properly, so after slapping her she will keep quiet. Like some women who scream and keep on talking then the man wants them to stop and if they don't stop then he slaps and the non-sense stops. Then he says, 'Listen to me now!'

M: Why does he want to slap her?

I: He thinks that she will get pain and she will keep quiet... I slapped my wife because I did not want her to talk too much, first hear what I am saying. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail's account is infused with his sense of power, authority and the importance of his voice and views over those of his wife. Ismail's account is particularly clear in the way it portrays Ismail's sense of powerlessness, not being listened to and detailing the way he resorts to violence in order to achieve a sense of power over his wife. Harish provides another example:

M: When did you last beat your wife?

H: Two or three years ago.

M: What did she say then?

H: She said, I loved you so much and I didn't expect that you would beat me. I said, look, If you listen to me, then I won't beat you. But if you are adamant, I will beat you.

M: Why is it so, that your wife should listen to you?

H: Because if I am telling her something, she should agree that what I'm saying is right. But sometimes she doesn't agree. She should understand that I must be having earlier experience in that. So she should understand. If I come home from work, she doesn't give me anything to eat or drink, I don't like it. She should adjust. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Harish talks about his violence as a way of forcing her to accept his authority, his superior view and also his expectation that she will be subservient to him, looking after his needs in providing food and drink, and not challenging what he says. Sondev also talked very explicitly about the way violence is used in such an instrumental way by men:

By beating their wives, they show their wives that they are not weak but they make them live in fear. They beat and hit their wives so that she doesn't open her mouth. They do that because they want to create fear in their wife's mind. Just like a policeman he beats the robber, the robber thinks that if he opens his mouth, he will beat him more. Similarly the wife also lives with fear that if she utters something... So she suppresses her wishes inside her. Even if she wants to speak something against his mother or father, she

cannot speak. She gets scared that if she speaks her husband will beat her. This is what a man tries to prove to his wife. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

He talks about how violence instils a sense of fear and so suppresses a wife within the context of the home. He goes on to make this point more specifically in relation to himself in the context of arguments between his wife and mother:

S: I used to beat her because... my mother drinks and always abuses her. Whenever I came from work, I heard every day only about this. So in anger I used to beat her. When both of them had a quarrel... At least one person should keep quiet when things come to a fight. When the person is drunk and is shouting, let her shout. But she will never keep quiet! She has too much of an ego! After coming from work, it was too much to hear both of them. I mean I used to get tense and very angry.

M: So what did you do when you were in tension?

S: So sometimes I used to raise my hands on her. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Sondev identifies the stress and anger he feels when hearing his mother and wife fight. Sondev acknowledges that his mother is not in the right, describing her in various parts of the interview as an alcoholic who regularly shouts abuse at both him and his wife. Sondev doesn't quite make it clear why he resorts to beating his wife in this situation. His violence is certainly about enforcing his power and his wife's submission to both him and his mother. An important factor which Sondev doesn't mention here is how small the house is, and his wife's desire to have more space and live separately from his mother, a situation which Sondev cannot fulfil financially. However, later on he talks about another specific incident of violence against his wife:

She was making food for the daughter. She kept the hot roti plate on the floor. It should have been kept aside. Our son came running and fell over it. He was burnt badly. For this reason I had beaten her. She should have paid attention that there are kids in the house and they keep running in the house. She made roti and kept there only. The room is small, I agree. The room is very small. It is an 8 by 8 room. It is not her fault but if the room is small what

can be done? But after beating her, I said sorry to her, after one or two hours. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

In this incident, one can imagine the emotion Sondev feels in response to his child being hurt and crying. In the small house, Sondev feels anger and directs it at his wife, blaming her and telling her to pay more attention. However, he recognises that part of the problem is how small the room they live in is and that this is his responsibility. Although the beating seems to give vent to his anger, Sondev expresses his sense of shame, not only realising that his violence was wrong but also at the difficulties they face living in such a small space.

In addition to the interviews with married men, we interviewed Javed, a man in a long term relationship with a transgender partner, referred to as 'she' here. We had interviewed Javed to find out how his views about roles and norms as well as his behaviour differed from men who were married to women. Although Javed's relationship was mostly free of violence, he did describe a few incidents where he had hit his partner previously.

Actually I quarrel with him about food. When I come home, I need food. When I keep you at home like a wife, then it is your duty to cook and serve me the food and do what all is required. If he doesn't do that then I get angry. [Javed, 32 yrs, 22]

These incidents centred upon his partner's failure to fulfil her role as homemaker, not cooking or keeping the house as he wished. Javed expected his partner to fully take on the role of a wife, with the roles equally as defined as for many of the married couples. Javed's partner has a significant amount of power, autonomy and support particularly through her work, which Javed finds difficult, insisting he can provide for her and so there is no need for her to work. Her work and the conflict it creates in terms of her ability to look after him was therefore often a cause of tension in their relationship. Javed reported at times resorting to physical violence as a way of enforcing his power and authority over his partner's choices. In what at first glance appears a very unusual relationship, the roles expected and division of labour between the two remains very similar to that in more traditional marriages.

Other men, spoke of their violence in terms of the strength of feelings involved. One man, Ramesh talked about the differences in his use of violence between his first marriage which was arranged and his second marriage which was to a woman he loved:

M: Did you beat the first wife?

R: No. I never beat her. What is the use of beating? A person will only beat the one whom he loves. If there is something then you will beat, if nothing is there then you won't beat, you won't even touch. [Ramesh, 24 yrs, 11]

Ramesh reports his use of violence within his marriage to a woman he loves and the contrast with his relationship with a woman where he invested very little emotionally. Ramesh's comments perhaps hint towards the distance men were able to put between themselves and their wife's complaints and challenges when they were not emotionally involved in the relationship. In contrast, when the relationship was one men cared about, the challenges to their power and authority and ability to provide from their wife were more salient and represented bigger threats to their masculine identity.

Although some men spoke about the very instrumental way they used violence as a way of suppressing their wife's protests or challenges to their authority, other men spoke about the remorse and feelings of shame they experienced around their use of violence:

M: How do you feel when you beat her? How do you feel within yourself?

N: I am not myself when I beat her. That's why. Because it happens when I have anger. I don't know what I am doing. After that happens, then I feel that I unnecessarily beat her and I did a mistake. Then I feel bad inside. This shouldn't have happened. This is wrong. I shouldn't have been so angry. But I don't know how I get the anger, and what happens to me, I don't know. I don't know why I can't control myself. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

Rahul attempts to distance himself from his use of violence in response to the feelings of shame and remorse he feels about it. Rather than talking as many of the other men did about why he uses violence, he attempts to distance himself from it, through statements such as 'I am not myself when I beat her.' Another man, Ramesh doesn't try to distance himself from the violence but talks about feeling guilty and ashamed of it:

A lot of times I think that I should not hit her and those times I even warn her that she shouldn't pressurise me for anything or speak to me. I don't want to get into all these quarrels with her. When I suspect her, like I used to do in the past I feel very guilty. Sometimes I reflect back and think what is it that I am doing? ... I am very short tempered; I lose control of myself very easily. Even if I am sitting upstairs and my mother keeps cursing me from downstairs I don't sit quietly, instead I vocally abuse her and threaten to hit her as well. That's the kind of temper that I have. Why should one get into all these kinds of quarrel in the first place? I am often compared to my younger brother who is very non-interfering. I always reason out by saying that I cannot take any wrong words against me from anybody unlike him.
[Ramesh, 24yrs, 11]

Ramesh talks about his 'temper' and inability to control or work on his emotions cognitively, instead feeling a need to vent his anger vocally. But his reflections also demonstrate reflexivity as he talks about the effect his violence has on him emotionally and his wish to escape the cycle of arguments and violence which happen particularly between him and his wife.

Intimate partner violence was common among the men we spoke to. The vast majority of men's accounts of violence tell of violence happening within the context of alcohol use combined with challenges to male power and authority within the family, particularly through their ability to provide financially. Some men describe violence as uncontrolled in response to feelings of anger, tension and anxiety but for many of these examples, it seems men are unable to express the purpose of their violence. However, many men were more explicit about using violence as a way of empowerment, reinforcing their authority and dominance over their wife, in response

to a sense of their power being challenged or more fragile than they believed it should be. However, the use of violence as a tool of empowerment was not restricted to violence against wives and the home environment. Men talked of similar experiences and the use of violence in public spaces against other men, which is briefly discussed in the next section.

7.3 Violence against other men

A few men described incidents which involved the use of violence in response to challenges to their power and authority from other men. Sameer provides an example:

Once we all were drunk, it was about midnight or 1 am in the night. My friend started urinating, so one guy, who was a mohmedian [Muslim], came and abused him. He said, 'Is this place a urinal?' etc. So I beat him and then he complained to the police. Then the police came and took us to the police station and the complaint was to be registered. Then I called home, my father came, my father knows people here, so there was a compromise done. Then it was cleared. [Sameer, 26 yrs, 26]

Sameer's account is somewhat typical of many men's accounts of violence against other men in that it involves the use of alcohol, threats to men's authority and masculinity in front of their peers and the direction of abuse towards a man from a minority, in this case a Muslim. Another example is given by Sondev:

M: When was the last time you got into a fight?

R: A fight outside... next to me there was a factory guy who was sitting outside to pass urine, and I was drunk...

M: What had happened?

R: He was squatting and passing urine. I said it won't look good if ladies open the door. The toilet is not very far and won't take more than ten minutes to go, pass urine and come back. Probably he was new here. He was Bhaiya [Bihari]. He used abusive words. So my father gave him a good slap. Then

he pushed my father, so I too started. I was hurt on head, here on the forehead. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Sondev's account is similar to Sameer's, in that it also involves alcohol, a man who Sameer considers inferior to him (a man from the state of Bihar) and a challenge to him and his father's power and authority.

Sameer and Sondev are both men who struggle to provide for their family and their narratives include the use of alcohol and tell of violence used in response to challenges to their masculinity. However, another man, Rajveer provides a contrast to Sameer and Sondev in that he too feels a challenge to his authority but he refrains from using violence. Rajveer is a supervisor in a security firm and is proud of his job and the money and status he feels it gives him. Rajveer describes the abuse his family suffered from a neighbour when they first moved to the area in Dharavi:

After the marriage, I used to go to work. Whenever my wife came out of the house, she saw him [the neighbour] drunk. He used to use abusive and dirty words like Hijade log [eunuchs], Bhadwe log [pimps]. My wife did not understand for a long time. Then my son was born. When my son grew up, he used to play around. Then he used to tell my wife that my son should not come to their side: 'take him in your house, you bastard.' My wife said, 'see Uncle, he is small and goes anywhere, what can I do?' But then he angrily said, 'No, he should not come to our side.' He used to abuse my wife. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

In contrast to Sameer and Sondev, Rajveer doesn't respond with violence but reports going to the police, who punish the neighbour:

Then I got very angry and went straight to the police station. I told the officer what had happened. I also told him that I am living here since 1990 but this guy always makes trouble for us. So they sent two constables... He was made to come down, sit in a taxi and go to the police station. They hit him a lot in the police station. Since then he is keeping away. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

Afterwards the man continues to taunt them, but Rajveer deals with it by telling his wife and mother not to give him any attention:

Now when I am happy in my family, he will talk loudly from his house, or will sing songs loudly. That means he is jealous. I told my wife and my mother that the guy who lives opposite, if he says some nonsense, let him. We have a report in the police station, also one in the head office. If any problem happens to us, we will not go here but directly to the head office in VT. So let him scream as much he wishes. Don't give him any attention. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

Rajveer doesn't feel the need to use violence against his neighbour, feeling empowered enough to go to the police and also by explaining the man's behaviour in terms of jealousy he must feel for Rajveer's happy life.

In contrasting these accounts, it is interesting to note Rajveer's ability to provide financially for his family, being proud of his job and the status he feels it gives him. So much so that he is able to interpret his neighbour's anger partly as jealousy about his success and happy family life. However, for Sameer and Sondev, their ability to fulfil perhaps the most fundamental masculine norm of earning a living and being the family financial provider is in doubt and with it their masculine identity. In contrast with Rajveer, they respond with violence to even minor challenges to their power from other men.

Although there are differences between men's use of violence against women and their use of violence against other men, there are similarities, which perhaps shed some light on intimate partner violence. The similarities which are most striking are the way violence against other men tends to be perpetrated by men who feel some shame in relation to their inability to earn money and fulfil a role as provider in response to challenges to authority and power. Additionally, such incidents of violence are often perpetrated against men who certain men feel are subordinate to them, in the examples given here these represent minority men such as Muslims, or migrant men from a particular area. Violence between men, particularly directed at

religious minorities and migrants demonstrate the way relations of dominance/subordination occur not only between men and women but also between men, and the intersections between masculinities and other aspects of identity, such as religion, caste, regional identity and class.

7.4 Alcohol Use

The use of alcohol as a way of coping with certain emotions and stress and in particular, as a means of relieving 'tension' was discussed by many men interviewed. As well as the relaxing effect of alcohol, often talked about in terms of aiding sleep, men also described a range of benefits which the social aspect of drinking outside the house provided them. These included allowing them an escape from problems at home; giving them time for themselves, separate from work and the demands of family; and providing them with the opportunity to socialise with other men. Many of the men who spoke about their alcohol use as a way of relaxation and coping with emotions also reported the poor quality of their relationships with their wives, examples of which were discussed in the previous chapter.

In common with many of the men we interviewed, Ismail talked about his use of alcohol as a way of coping with the pressures and difficulties his wife and mother present to him at home:

So in all this, all the pressure comes on the husband, he thinks what is the use of going home, let's go to meet friends and drink and enjoy outside. So mostly a person gets this pressure and takes the support of drinking. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail talks about the pressure he feels from his wife's demands at home, the enjoyment of being outside and the 'support' he gets from drinking. Similarly, Sondev talks about his use of alcohol as response to stress:

M: Suppose you have a tension or you have a problem, then with whom do you speak with, mostly?

S: No, if I have a tension then I go to watch a movie. I will go over there and sit for three hours. Or if there is problem, then I will drink, come home and sleep. [Sondev, 37 yrs, 6]

Sondev comments on my assistant's suggestion that maybe he speaks to someone by replying that he deals with stress through being alone or drinking alcohol. Another man Sameer makes similar comments:

M: What do you do when you have more tension?

S: If have more tension, then I drink more.

M: What do you drink?

S: Alcohol.

M: How do you feel after drinking?

S: There is no tension after drinking. I am to myself, happy. I go home, eat food, and go to sleep. [Sameer, 26 yrs, 26]

Pankaj, one of the more expressive men, who reported a total lack of communication with his wife as discussed in the previous chapter, discusses his use of alcohol in relation to the tension he feels about his marital relationship:

While leaving from here I'll think and decide to go and talk to my wife, but as I meet a friend on the way, it won't happen. My friend will ask for a peg [a measure of alcohol] and I will forget about my wife. If I remember that I had to talk to my wife, I will think, 'Leave it! I will talk to her sometime later.'
[Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj outlines how going to meet friends to drink alcohol means he can avoid the difficulties of his relationship with his wife, offering an escape from these worries and being totally immersed in a world away from home.

The opportunity drinking provides for spending time with other men was also emphasised by Sudhakar, who also reported problems communicating with his wife, as discussed in the previous chapter:

After coming back from the work, I stay at home till 8.30 to 9 pm. With my wife. Then later I get out of my house. Because I eat late at 10.30 to 11 pm. So I go out and stand outside with my friends, smoke a cigarette and if there is money or a friend, then I drink beer and come back home in the night about 11.30 to 12 pm. As I work the whole day, I get these one or two hours for me. Earlier I used to be at home for one or two hours, now I spend one or two hours with friends. [Sudhakar, 30 years, 23]

Sudhakar describes his time drinking with friends as time for him, particularly after a long day of work. Also of note is the change he describes, from time spent at home with his wife, to time out drinking. Another man, Harish discussed in more detail how his use of alcohol relates to the stresses and demands he feels under from his wife:

If a person is happy, or if he has money, he will not do any intoxication, he will think differently. But due to this tension, and his wife saying, these things are not there, there is no money, he thinks it is better to drink and go home and sleep quietly. So one drinks for taking out his tension. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Some of the less expressive men we spoke to also spoke about their alcohol use. Akash is a migrant, working in a factory in Mumbai. He tells us a little about his drinking habit:

M: Why do you drink?

A: I have a lot of tension, and all these things are in my mind always. So I drink.

M: What happens if you drink?

A: One can sleep well when drunk. [Akash, 35 yrs, 21]

Akash doesn't expand too much on the emotions or thoughts he tries to suppress with his alcohol use, using the word 'tension', as many men did to express a sense of negative emotion and stress. There were many examples of men such as Akash who weren't particularly expressive in the interview but commented on their use of alcohol to ease their experience of stress, anger, frustration and anxiety, or 'tension'.

In common with Akash, several men talked about going out having something to eat and drink and feeling able to sleep afterwards. Harish goes on to talk about his first experience of alcohol:

I felt good, I could sleep nicely. After a few days, I got two or three friends, and I could eat nicely and sleep nicely after drinking, so I started drinking. Now I have to drink sometimes because of tension. [Harish, 30 yrs, 18]

Harish reports the association between drinking alcohol and positive emotions, in particular, feeling good and sleeping well.

The use of alcohol as a way of dealing with 'tension' was very common among the men we spoke to, with at least twelve of the sample talking about their alcohol use. Most men framed their alcohol use within the context of pressures at home, particularly from their wife or mother and challenges to men's ability to provide financially. Men's alcohol use often caused additional problems within marital relationships because of the money spent on alcohol instead of essentials such as food, education and clothing. However, in the face of emotional and social isolation, alcohol was one of the few ways in which to escape the pressures of work and home, and bring about positive emotions as well as feelings of relaxation and the ability to sleep.

7.5 Extramarital sex

Approximately a quarter of the men interviewed had visited sex workers and a third had had extramarital sex. While some men had extensive experience of visiting sex workers other men had gone once or twice or had no experience with commercial

sex workers but knew women in the community who they had sex with. There were many similarities between men's sexual encounters with women in the community and women who they paid for sex with. Some of these relationships had a significant emotional element, with men seeking affection and intimacy which was lacking in their marital relationships whilst others were primarily about the freedom to have more varied sex, which they felt unable to explore with their wives. In addition, some extramarital sexual relationships involved both of these elements. Either way, men explored these two areas with both paid and non-paid extramarital partners.

Beginning with men's descriptions of seeking affection and intimacy from their extramarital relationships, Pankaj provides a good example. He has a poor relationship with his wife, who he sees as little more than a woman who provides food and clothes for him. However Pankaj has a strong desire for a loving, intimate relationship as discussed in the previous chapter. He told us about his many experiences of visiting commercial sex workers and the affection and intimacy he received from some of them:

M: Why do you pay then?

P: Just to get the fun of body [non-penetrative] sex. Kissing or when we're both naked, touching here and there.

M: ...that you don't get at home?

*P: I don't get that at home, I get it there [with the sex worker]. Something different. Those women also do it on their own. They will press me or touch here and there and kiss me... I get more aroused when I go to Chaupati [a local beach] and see couples sitting and kissing on their own, then I think I also want like that. So there has to be someone who does it on her own.
[Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]*

For Pankaj, penetrative sex is not the only or even the main focus when visiting a sex worker. Instead, he talks about the importance of the physical intimacy and receiving affection in the experience. A key attraction for him is the way some sex workers will kiss him or touch him of their own volition, something his wife does not do. He goes on to explain why he prefers having sex at 'bungalows', rather than with sex workers on the street.

At bungalows, you pay an hourly rate. Here [with a street sex worker], it is like you go, finish your time and do it. They [women at bungalows] will not do like that. First they will make you relax, then put their hands on you, caress you, kiss you, they will give you some time. It is not that you must start immediately. You too will want to touch her or kiss her. Then you too get in a good mood to do that. It is more money for Bungalows, but you like it. [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj's description emphasises the build up of intimacy through caressing and kissing and that this is very much part of the enjoyment, rather than solely fulfilling a need for penetrative sex.

A second participant, Dinesh, reported having sex with over a hundred sex workers. Although here Dinesh talks about an experience before marriage, he continued to visit sex workers after getting married:

D: I had a habit that if I went to one, then I would always go to that one. Once I went to one and then a second time also I went to her. There used to be ten fifteen girls in one small place, they lived in one building, so whenever I used to go in that place, I used to choose only her among these fifteen girls. Slowly I developed a relationship with her and she was also attracted to me... Not all women, but if I talk about prostitutes, there were about seven or eight such girls who were attracted to me a lot. One girl was Pakistani and somebody had got her here by cheating her, I was not married at that time, this was in 2003, I used to tell her that if she was not a prostitute, I would have kidnapped her from there. So she was very much mad after me.

A: How much did you pay her?

D: That time, about 350 rupees for an hour. I used to be with her for an hour. One hour was enough with her and once when I went to another girl, she got very angry with me. I had given her some gifts and cards, which she then returned to me. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

Dinesh develops a relationship with a particular sex worker, which included sending her gifts and cards. He also talks about feeling attractive to these women. As a result, his frequent sexual encounters seem to provide an important boost to his self-esteem. He also talks of feeling proud about his extensive sex life:

I have this habit of counting [the number of partners] since childhood. I used to feel proud that I have done with so many people. All my friends know that I have a habit of these things. So 143 girls and 17 relations, out of these 17, I had full relations with 4. Love and sex. So total you can say 160 relations, I mean, except my wife. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

However, it was not only through contact with commercial sex workers that men sought affection and intimacy. Several men had affairs with women who were not sex workers. Sachin told us of his relationship with an old girlfriend, who he couldn't marry because her parents didn't approve of him. Sachin eventually had an arranged marriage but met his old girlfriend after his wife had given birth to their first child. He comments that after the birth of their child he was unable to have sex with his wife:

After the birth of a child, you can't have sex for a long time. As she starts her 7th month of pregnancy, there is a long gap. Then I can't get it... After having a child, it is more difficult for her. In that period, I met with my ex-girlfriend, who I used to love. [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

While Sachin talks about the lack of sex with his wife in this period, he talks in great detail about his ex-girlfriend's difficulties and how he cares for her. While he cares for his wife, he considers his relationship with his first love different and special:

We talk about so many things. Nothing is hidden. I like to talk openly. I still have a relationship with her. I mean, apart from my wife, I keep relation with her also. And with my wife also. But our relationship is much better than that with my wife. [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

In particular, Sachin talks about the good communication with his old girlfriend, that they talk intimately and don't hide things from each other. Sachin talks about the love he feels for her, and his empathy for the difficulties she has with her husband:

I think she liked it. Because when we were doing sex, the way she had held me, I felt that she was feeling much better doing sex with me. Probably she doesn't get enough sex from her husband. I felt it. Because her behaviour and the way she behaved with me, I could make out that she gets very little love, which has got compensated by my love. [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

In contrast to a desire for affection and emotional intimacy, some men we interviewed talked about their physical need for sex and the desire for greater freedom in sexual experience than they achieved in their marital relationship. Rahul lives separately from his wife who stays in the village with his mother. He talked of his relationships with two women in Dharavi:

M: Do the two women here know that you are married?

R: Yes. I told them. I did not tell them initially, but I told them after a while... they were somewhat sad. Actually the older woman wasn't sad because she used to use me for her time-pass. She used to do as she wanted. But the other girl was sad about it. I told her that it was better for me to tell her, otherwise she would develop expectations of me and she will depend on me. I told her that as she has needs, I too have needs. So we have done it together. So don't feel that I am doing time-pass with you. This is our mutual need. I talked to her like this and made her understand. [Rahul, 37 yrs, 29]

Rahul talks of these relationships as being primarily about satisfying a need for sex, although it seems there may be an affection or emotional intimacy particularly in the relationship with the second woman, which he then feels he has to end. He seems to feel the older woman is simply using him for 'timepass' or her enjoyment to pass the time. Dheeraj also talks about his relationship with a woman in the context of his distance from his wife:

I go back to the village after three or six months. I stay there for 8-10 days. As I don't get to go there often, I have a girlfriend here who I have sex with. ... We go to a lodge and have sex... She wants to do only sex. We do not have any other objective. Probably she is not happy with her husband and that's why she wants sex from me. [Dheeraj, 24 yrs, 25]

In a similar way to Rahul, Dheeraj recognises that it's not just his sexual satisfaction but also that the woman, who is also married is obviously looking for similar fulfilment. However, Dheeraj goes on to talk more about his sexual experiences with the woman in Mumbai:

The one who stays in Bombay, has a husband and she knows it all. But in the village, my wife doesn't not know much. She is not so daring. This one here is quite daring and therefore does sex with me. [Dheeraj, 24 yrs, 25]

Here, he brings up the issue of the difference in the quality of the sex he has with his wife and with the woman in Mumbai. He makes the distinction between his wife who has been brought up and only lived in the village and the woman he sees in the city who is more 'daring' and knowledgeable about sex.

This was a theme brought up by many of the men. Many men found communicating with their wives about their sexual relationship very difficult as discussed at the end of the previous chapter and many talked about the differences in the types of sex they felt able to have with women they weren't married to:

When you do sex with a woman from outside, you want to do sex like what you see in the blue films. But at home, one can't do that. I do regular kind of sex with her. But outside, you can do sex the way you want to. So you are satisfied. [Rahul, 27 yrs, 29]

Rahul talks not about his lack of satisfaction with the 'regular' sex he has with his wife. In a similar vein, Pankaj talks of his feeling free when having sex with sex workers:

M: What is the difference in doing sex at home and outside?

P: There's a lot of difference. At home I have only had sex 3-4 times. We do not have much space to do sex. Once or twice we have gone outside for walk, so we did sex there. While doing sex with her, I just removed her clothes, did sex and relaxed. That's all. Nothing more than that. Yes, some kissing etc. She likes it, but I don't. But outside, one is free. Here it is my wife... She will get ready for that, but I feel awkward about it. Outside it is like you give the money, do the work and come out. I am not concerned with her. That thinking prevails. With my wife it is different. [Pankaj, 24 yrs, 28]

Pankaj's account is interesting, partly because of its complexity. He talks about being 'free' with women outside, not having to worry about the emotions or feelings of the sex worker. However rather than being free to have anal or oral sex, as some other men expressed, Pankaj talks about intimacy and kissing and the way he can get this with a sex worker but not with his wife. He talks about his wife being ready for kissing and intimacy but that he feels awkward about that, instead just having penetrative sex with her, with little real intimacy. The difficulties of communication in their relationship mean physical intimacy is impossible for Pankaj to contemplate, even though his wife desires it, with him seemingly having given up on having sex with her at all.

Sachin's difficulties in talking with his wife about exploring their sex life further were discussed in the previous chapter. He contrasts these difficulties in his relationship with his wife with his experience of sex with a woman he has been having an affair with:

With her... different shots.... I never did anal sex. I don't like it at all. I hate it. We did oral sex. When we used to go to resorts, there was a TV. We used to order beer and we used to watch blue films. She is Christian, so she used to drink beer. I asked her what does she like. She said she drinks beer. After drinking beer, we used to see blue films for time pass. So I did to the extent she liked. I had to do as per her wish otherwise she will think that I am not man enough. Or she will think I've roamed around with her and have not even kissed her, and done nothing. [Sachin, 29 yrs, 19]

Sachin seems to feel the woman he has seen is liberated, not only does she drink beer but she expresses to him what she likes and what she doesn't like. Interestingly, he also talks of how he feels he must perform for her; otherwise he will not be 'man enough' for her. Many men similarly reported liking the fact that women they had sex with outside of marriage were more direct in communicating their sexual desire and in being actively involved in sex.

In summary, men talked about their extramarital relationships in quite different ways. Although many talked about the freedom to express and explore sexuality in a way which seemed impossible with their wives, or described their extramarital sex as a way of fulfilling a sexual need, many also talked of the emotional intimacy and affection they sought from their contact with women other than their wives. For some men, penetrative sex was not the primary reason for visiting a sex worker. Instead some men spoke of the importance of a sense of being looked after, receiving affection and feeling attractive in their seeking contact with other women. Men talked about the importance of all of these aspects irrespective of whether the woman they saw was a sex worker or not. In some cases, contact with women in the community was very much about the desire for penetrative sex and equally some men's experiences with commercial sex workers were about seeking affection and a sense of intimacy. What seems clear is that while very few men reported having platonic friendships with women, sexual relationships outside marriage provided a way in which men could achieve what they felt was missing from their marital relationships, whether through the relief of sexual frustration, or providing a sense of intimacy.

7.6 Men with no experience of alcohol abuse, perpetrating intimate partner violence or extramarital sex

Given the high numbers of men who had experience of alcohol abuse, perpetrating intimate partner violence or having extramarital sex, men who reported no experience of any of these behaviours represent interesting case studies. Out of the twenty-nine men we interviewed only three reported having no experience at all of any one of the three behaviours. These were Ashok, Rajveer, and Rakesh. From

these three cases three characteristics appear important when comparing them to other men: their ability to fulfil masculine norms, their egalitarian beliefs and their ability to communicate with their wives.

Firstly, Ashok, Rajveer and Rakesh were all earning money and were the main financial providers in their households. In response to a question about why no fights happen between him and his wife, Ashok answers:

I do not do such acts, I do my work, in the evening I come home, I get my food, I eat and drink and then I go to sleep. Then the next morning, food is made. I eat and I go for work. That is why we do not have fights. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

In Ashok's relationship both him and his wife fulfil the norms and what they expect of each other; which for him is going out to work and earning a decent wage; and for her, looking after the home and preparing food. However, while all three men are in employment and Ashok feels he is able to provide amply for his family, Rakesh obviously felt his financial position was less secure, feeling unable to have children because of the financial difficulties facing him:

I have no children. I am married for the last 2 years, but I have no child. I don't need a child and in this time of recession, how can I think of a child? It is a question of whether I will eat myself, or feed my family, or feed the child? [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

While Rakesh is earning, he doesn't feel particularly secure about his ability to fulfil the masculine role of provider and father. A second factor of potential importance could be that these three men all had more egalitarian views on gender. Although Ashok spoke of his strong endorsement of SNEHA's programmes and had obviously been heavily exposed to their community interventions, both Rakesh and Rajveer claim not to know anything about SNEHA or what they do. However, Rakesh and Rajveer were recruited through community friends of a member of male staff from the organisation, which may mean they were exposed to some gender programmes. Ashok tells us of his involvement and enjoyment of SNEHA programmes as outlined

in chapter six and Rakesh similarly tells us his views on the importance of gender equality. However, none of the three men's wives works outside the house. All of the men feel there is no need for their wives to work as they are fulfilling the family's financial needs. In contrast to Ashok, Rajveer has quite conservative ideas of the roles of men and women and reports that allowing his wife to go to work would be impossible mostly because it would reflect badly upon him, as discussed in chapter five. While Rakesh doesn't rule out allowing his wife to work, he reasons that he would defer to his father's decision and wouldn't go against this. Neither Rajveer nor Rakesh appear to be great defenders of gender equality. While Ashok provides the model of a man who earns successfully and has fairly gender equitable views, this is not true for the other two men.

However, a third factor which was common to all three men was their ability to communicate well with their wives, particularly in expressing and sharing their emotions. Ashok tells us of the intimacy he enjoys with his wife:

After I come from work, when I am going to sleep then I speak to her. When we are sleeping together, we keep talking when we are lying down. She will say something, like this incident has happened. Like this we keep talking about sad and happy things. She keeps making me understand things. So she understands what I say and I like it very much. Whatever things my wife tells me, I do not feel bad about it because she is saying it for me. She is not saying it for others. [Ashok, 52 yrs, 10]

Ashok's talks with his wife are seemingly very intimate, happening in the private, safe space and time before going to sleep. He describes their intimacy as being both the expression of emotion, 'talking about sad and happy things', as well as empathy for each other and his wife giving him advice. His description gives the impression of a strong emotional connection between him and his wife. Ashok also appears to listen to what his wife has to say and attempts to learn from it rather than feeling challenged by it.

In a similar way, Rajveer talks about the time he sets aside each day to make sure he speaks with his wife and family:

After this, I will go to work at nine o'clock. I will come back in the morning. My wife will do the routine like filling water, cooking, breakfast and tea and then for couple of hours I will talk to my wife. If I come after night duty, then I feel sleepy, but to keep my family happy, see I could not meet my wife in the night, so I have to talk to her in the day. I am in my family together for two hours and we talk with each other. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

Crucial to the good communication in these three couples, seemed to be men's ability to empathise. In response to a question about why he thinks he has never fought with his wife, Rajveer talks about his strong sense of empathy for her:

Because she is my wife and she has come here for me leaving her own family. If I say something to her, then the poor girl will remember her mother. She will think that she is unhappy after marrying me, or she will think that way. If there is any problem in the house, or any loss, we usually blame the wife, but she has no support other than me because she has come to us leaving behind her mother, father and her entire family. If I irritate her, then she remembers her family. Usually that happens in our communities. But I never thought that I should say something or question my wife. [Rajveer, 30 yrs, 15]

Rajveer realises how important his support and their relationship is to her happiness because of her isolation from her family. Rakesh also spoke of his empathy for his wife and how he tried to demonstrate his love for her in relation to them both going through the difficulties of a religious fast:

Now I have fasted for one day only. Tomorrow I have to decide if I continue to fast. My wife asked me to eat and not to keep the fast. But I said, if you are fasting, then I will also fast. This concern is called love. If the other person does something, you too do the same thing. If she is keeping a fast for me, then why can't I do that for her? This is called love. Isn't it? [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

Rakesh demonstrates the ability not only to understand his wife's emotions but also how his actions can help support her as well as developing the relationship between them. He goes on to talk about how he keeps that love alive in their relationship:

M: So what do you think, why has nothing [fights/violence] happened between you till now?

R: Because of love. In love it is very important to understand each other. That's why. Love each other and have faith in each other. Faith is the most important thing. That's why. We have not lost faith in each other.

M: How have you created that faith?

R: With love.

M: Love means what kind of?

R: Love which I created with my feelings/emotions. As love is shown, it is shown by doing something for the other person.

M: For example...

R: For example, through physical relations or some work, like doing small things for her or some favours. When she knows that I'm doing something for her, the love automatically gets created... If I solve some problem of hers which she cannot, then if that insoluble problem is solved, then she feels "he has done this for me". The love then doubles... The way I help her, she too helps me, through physical relations and by working. If I have tension, she tells me, "Don't take tension. Whatever it is, we will solve it together. Whatever is going to happen, it will. We can't stop it. So whatever we have to do, we will do it together." [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

In this excerpt Rakesh highlights the importance of understanding each other's problems, emotions and worries and the way in which selflessness and sexual pleasure help their relationship to grow. Additionally, Rakesh draws very much on the sharing of problems and accepting help from his wife, rather than feeling he must struggle with problems on his own. He adds to this sense of equality in their relationship when he talks later on about the importance of realising any wrongdoing against his wife:

If there is some mistake or I say something wrong to her father her sister... there are many things which happen with relations. So when she is upset, I say sorry to her. Nobody is belittled by saying sorry. Actually he understands her. [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

Rakesh's responses give a strong sense of his happiness in himself, demonstrated by his ability to admit to mistakes and his lack of anxiety over being belittled by admitting he was wrong. There is no sense that he sees himself as dominant in the relationship or that he controls his wife. In contrast to many of the other relationships men had, Rakesh doesn't seem to feel a need or struggle to maintain power and authority over his wife. This attitude is also reflected in the way Rakesh talks about their sexual relationship:

R: Sometimes when she has a stomach-ache, then I don't do it. She says when she has a problem and then I don't do it. Then I say, love means to understand the other person's problems.

M: She tells on her own that she has a problem.

R: Yes, she tells me that she has some problem. Then I say, Okay, if there is any problem, then I will not do it. Then she again goes to sleep. The love is then increased. A man doesn't do anything. He keeps himself in control. That's why. There are many people who do sex even if the wife has problem. They do.

M: How do you feel about it?

R: I don't do like that. The other person has a problem and I have to spend my life with her, then why should I do it like that. It doesn't matter if I don't get sex any day. I will do it when she is well. What's the big deal? Isn't it? She too has to spend her life with me. [Rakesh, 24 yrs, 16]

All three men, Ashok, Rajveer and Rakesh are quite unusual in the emphasis they place upon communication, understanding and empathising with their wives. Although they are all in employment not all of them are comfortable financially and in addition, while Ashok and Rakesh express some gender equitable views, none of their wives go out to work and Rajveer in particular, expects his wife to fulfil a very traditional role in the house. In addition, all three men had had arranged marriages,

developing intimacy and love within their marriages while still conforming to important social norms around marriage. In some ways it is not surprising that these positive deviant men had all had arranged marriages, which gave them the support of a wider family structure, avoiding the stresses and challenges of love marriages. The importance of men's ability to share and communicate their emotions was not only demonstrated in these three men's relationships, but also in men who had experienced change in their relationships, from a pattern of alcohol abuse and physical violence, to non-violent relationships.

7.7 Changing men

Several men we interviewed reported going through a process of change. Mostly this involved moving from a pattern of alcohol abuse and physical violence to non-violent relationships. For some men it meant no longer having extramarital sex. Three areas of change in particular appeared to be important in decreasing their use alcohol, their use of violence and in some cases their involvement in extramarital affairs. These were: changes in circumstances, such as moving to live separate from the husband's parents; improvement in the family's financial condition often as a result of men's wives going out to work and finally, improvements in communication between men and their wives.

A key change for many couples was when men and their wives were able to move to a house separately from the husband's parents. As described in the previous two chapters, many arguments in the family stemmed from power struggles and disagreements between men's wives and mothers. Some men were able to improve their living situations by fulfilling their wife's desire to live separately from his parents. While Anand hadn't had contact with SNEHA, he spoke of the change in the relationship between his mother and wife and as a result the improvement in his relationship with his wife, including the ceasing of his use of violence in the relationship:

There were fights with my mother. When this grew more, then I thought it is not good, and that there would continue to be more tension. Then some

disaster may happen... and if she does something to herself, then there would be a dispute. So I told my mother to go back to the village and live there. We live here happily and will send you money in the village. You will be happy and we will also. So now all are happy... After that there has been no violence. Not now. My mother has gone to the village and there is peace everywhere. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

Anand is quite unusual for making the decision to separate from his mother, and it is unclear who she goes to live with back in the village. However, this separation allows Anand's wife to live as she wishes, away from the power and influence of her mother-in-law. Another man, Ismail told us of the difficulties between his mother and wife. Ismail was the only man we spoke to who had approached SNEHA himself, all the others had been forced to go after their wife had made a complaint.

I am working for a medical company where my minimum payment is 5000 and my family is a quite big. Because of my salary I was unable to afford all the expenses. There were problems between my mother and wife because my wife wanted that the whole money shouldn't be given to my mother. She said, 'Give some money to your mother and some money to me.' My mother used to say that it's important to look after the house first, so due to this I could not balance both things, and there were lot of misunderstandings and fights took place and consequently it reached to the level of divorce. Then my wife and I lived separately for 2 years... Then I came to know about an organisation which can patch things up between us. I came to know from someone, that there is a trust called 'Sneha'. So I came to Sneha and told them my problem. We sat down and spoke over the problem. They asked us what the problem is and gave us a solution. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Like Anand, Ismail manages to afford a place separately from his mother. He explains the change in situation:

I live with my wife separately... three kms away from my parent's house... We go once in a week... my wife and child also come and we go on Sundays. My wife and mother's relation has become so nice that you can't

tell that they have ever fought in life. Because after staying far we are near, when we lived together we were still far and we did not realise. Now it has become so good that if my wife has saved some money she goes and gives that to my mother and she never tells me. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

However, Ismail and his wife were partly able to afford to live separately because of the increased income coming into the house after Ismail allowed his wife to go out to work. He reports the way staff at SNEHA challenged his own beliefs about negative norms in the community around women going out to work:

M: When your wife wanted to have a career and you told her not to work, why didn't you allow her?

I: I did not allow her because after marriage she should pay attention to the household and my mother, so she can fulfil her family responsibilities. Also Muslims don't send their wives for jobs otherwise people say that husband is not able to take care of her. This is a common problem for Muslims that the husband cannot take care of the family and eats from the wife's salary. But when Sneha told us that it's not like this, others won't do anything for you; you have to do something for yourselves. Then I told her to go for a job... It is difficult to manage in 5000-6000 rupees in a city like Mumbai. Therefore my wife does a job and we are able to manage somehow. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

The challenging of Ismail's beliefs about women going out to work and the resulting change in his behaviour meant that his wife was more involved in the family finances. He reports the sharing of the financial burden between him and his wife:

I: Mentally sometimes we go into depression when we see others who have moved forward in life, he has his own house and we are still in a rented house and the cost has become too much these days. When we hear about the inflation of prices, we feel like crying because costs have increased so much. Once we both even cried. Then we have to stop ourselves, we try to save and when we think that we have to buy this thing for the house then we think that when the prices come down we will buy it. For example we went to buy a new DVD of Rs. 1900 so when we see that we don't have that much

money we buy the second hand one. So that is there in our mind that if we take a new one our money will be gone and if we take a second hand one our money will be saved. So we have to manage the family like this.

M: So does your wife cooperate with you in this?

I: Yes. She cooperates. She says that if you can't take a new one then take a second hand one. She has started cooperating now, after coming to Sneha.

M: Then how was it before?

I: Previously, everything has to be new. If you want to buy anything, buy a new one and if I want this thing means I want this thing. I will only buy these clothes and not those clothes. It was like this. When they explained about family and the household and that you should support each other, both in sorrow and joy. If you are besides him in the days of sorrow, he will be with you in the days of joy also. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail's account mentions sharing the stress of the family's financial worries with his wife. He uses 'we' rather than 'I' and talks about the sharing of emotion, crying together and supporting each other. This improvement in communication between husband and wife was a key part of the improvement in the relationship between Ismail and his wife. Although the increase in income obviously made things much easier in the family, SNEHA's intervention not only consisted of challenging Ismail's beliefs about female roles:

Here they do not side only with the girl or the boy. They will listen and understand both sides, even if it is a man's fault, they will make him understand and if the fault is of the wife, they will make her understand. So they told us about small, small things, about how a married life should be run, how is the relationship between husband and wife that both persons should listen to each other. ... You have to explain to each other but with love. Not with bad words and fights. Because every human being is hungry for love, I was also explained there that become a human being first. You understand your wife, don't shout at her or beat her or drink, make her understand with love and if she is not able to understand then come to us, we will help her understand. So I feel good that till now nothing has happened between us. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

Ismail talks of the importance of understanding and communicating to each other lovingly and the importance of talking about and sharing each other's problems. He also tells us the importance of spending family time together:

Why are we not fighting now? Because if we argue, the next day I tell my wife get ready we have to go out. So when the climate changes and the environment changes then all the sadness is forgotten. So you should never live in one environment. You should never do one thing always. I do my job but once in a week I take my wife and child out. Even though I don't have much money I will take them to the beach or take them to a good hotel to eat food. So it takes just 100 or 200 rupees. So every man should take their wife and child out in a week so that he can remove all the tension in one day. That's what I do. [Ismail, 25 yrs, 7]

The focus of Ismail's family time is the removal of tension and stress and the improvement of relations between him and his wife. Another man, Pratamesh, similarly spoke of the improvement in communication in his family after going to SNEHA:

Madam told me that drinking alcohol is not good for your health or for the house. If it's not good for health means it's not good for the family also. I used to start drinking from 11.30 or 12.00 till 3.00... now that has all stopped... Now we have what is called a "sabha" [meeting] at home for us. They make us sit for half an hour, along with the children, they ask children also to sit and we talk, do the children have any problem, did the teacher in the school shout or did anyone shout at you, or is anyone giving you trouble, then you tell me, even my wife I ask her did anyone fight with you or did anyone speak anything, tell me about the whole day. In the same way I tell them my things... Every day. For 15 to 20 minutes or whenever we are free, we sit. [Pratamesh, 30 yrs, 8]

This quote which was used previously in chapter five when discussing new and contrasting norms is used again here to show how the idea of a family 'sabha',

which Pratamesh learns from his interactions with SNEA, promotes communication between Pratamesh and his wife and also him and his children. This was a change, which perhaps enabled Pratamesh to decrease and eventually stop drinking alcohol and seemed to have a very positive impact on Pratamesh and his family.

However, the cases of men who talked about ending their violence were obviously complex. While men like Anand spoke of violence stopping after improvements in the family's living situation, after his mother moved back to the village, there were still some areas of difficulty. For Anand, his wife's demands on him to share labour in the home still provide a source of anger as does his wife's refusals in response to Anand's desire for greater sexual intimacy:

There were fights on small issues, like who will bathe the daughter and who will take her to the school etc. It is about such things. Sometimes I get angry. When I am in the mood to have sex, she will say, not now, the daughter is awake. Then I get upset. Then I don't talk to her. This happens. [Anand, 28 yrs, 24]

While Anand's living situation has improved and he does spend time with his wife, talking about problems, he still occasionally finds his wife's desire for a more gender equal division of labour difficult and feels a need to improve their sexual relationship. Elsewhere Anand reports his desire to let his wife lead a more 'modern' lifestyle and for them to be equal partners, with him helping at home. However, he doesn't feel able to do this because they live in a chawl where other people can see. No longer living with his mother, provides some improvement but the couple still lack privacy and Anand evidently still feels a sense of being constrained by societal norms.

Another man, Dinesh who had no history of physical abuse against his wife but told us of his extensive experience of extramarital sex, spoke of his frustration at his poor sexual relationship with his wife and how he managed to improve the relationship through communicating about his sexual desires and their sexual relationship:

My problem was I wanted a very strong sexual relation and I told her that what I want in life is that with you. I told her honestly what I have done in my life and that I want this thing [sex] only. I cannot live without this. And I got married only because of this restlessness. So when she understood and started doing, now she also enjoys it. Earlier she did not like it but now she herself likes it a lot. I used to think why she doesn't like it. Because women do like it, but later on I understood that they take time to understand that. When she will understand and the pain will go, then only she will understand this thing. Today she understands and she has no hesitation in doing. Earlier she had a lot of hesitation. [Dinesh, 25 yrs, 2]

Dinesh feels able to communicate his desires and feelings to his wife and she is able to respond to them. He talks about how she enjoys the greater variety in their sex life as much as he does. For Dinesh, the increasing emotional bond is built upon a satisfaction with the sex in his marital relationship. His ability to overcome the problems of their marriage with communication is a good example of the importance of such open communication and the impact it had on men and their relationships with their wives.

Although this section has described three different reasons men often gave for reducing, and in many cases stopping, both their use of alcohol and perpetration of violence against their wife, the three reasons are very much interrelated and all are very much connected to gender norms. Men often cited changes in their living situation as helping to reduce the number of arguments. However, men were often able to move into a separate house and live as a nuclear family because of an improvement in the family's financial position. Women's contribution to the family finances through working for money was often a key strategy in improving the amount of income coming in. In addition, many men reported that women's involvement in labour and working for money, gave their wives a greater appreciation of the family's finances and the difficulties men faced in meeting different demands and needs. As a consequence men felt they faced the difficulties of providing jointly with their wife, which reduced the burden and stress as well as increasing communication between the couple. Active strategies to improve dialogue, the expression of problems and emotions between couples also appeared

to have an important effect. However, men's reports of change provided a complex picture, where many factors were important and interacted with each other, rather than one factor alone being the key. In summary, the promotion of new, more progressive gender norms around the role of both men and women within families and society appeared to be very important in changing many aspects of marital relationships which meant men no longer felt the need to drink alcohol or resort to violence. However, these more progressive norms were more than just the promotion of female empowerment but represented a more comprehensive move towards equality, key to which was reducing the family's financial difficulties which men often felt fell solely upon them to struggle with, as well as improving men's ability to communicate their difficulties and problems with their wives. As a result many of these factors in combination led to decreased violence and greater equality between couples.

7.8 Discussion

The previous chapter demonstrated how a nexus of specific masculine norms, have particularly negative emotional effects on the men we interviewed. This chapter in contrast has examined men's use of several behaviours, how they relate to particular emotions and masculine norms. A key argument of the chapter is that rather than simply being 'male-typical' or 'masculine' behaviours, men's involvement in violence, alcohol use, or extramarital sex has a strong emotional component and involvement in these different behaviours represents ways in which some men respond to difficult emotions. There are key differences between men's perpetration of intimate partner violence, their use of alcohol or involvement in extramarital sex. However, what these behaviours have in common is their relation to particular emotions and particular ways of coping with emotion, both of which are partly the consequence of highly prevalent beliefs in certain masculine norms.

There are two themes that emerged as particularly striking from men's discussions about their involvement in violence, alcohol use and extramarital sex. Firstly, all the men who were involved in one or all of these behaviours talked of the emotional impact which being unemployed or earning a low wage had on them. Both for men

who were in employment as well as those out of employment, challenges from men's wives to their ability to provide financially seemed to be particularly difficult, generating feelings of frustration, inadequacy and shame. For some men these feelings easily transformed to anger and violence, because of the limited range of coping strategies men had in dealing with emotional distress, which was a second key theme in men's interviews. Social and emotional isolation was a feature of the lives of many men interviewed, who not only lacked intimate relationships with male friends but who also had poor relationships with their wives.

As a result, many men described using instrumental behaviours, rather than verbal communication or discussion as a way of resolving emotional distress. Feelings of powerlessness and shame were often redirected towards feelings of anger, attempting to regain control, power and authority in arenas where this seemed possible, most notably in the home. Key to the use of physical violence seemed to be men's use of alcohol which also related to men's emotional isolation, with men reporting its importance as a way of 'removing tension', dealing with stress and helping them sleep. However, while many men reported using alcohol as a way of dealing with emotional distress and 'tension', men's use of violence seemed to relate not only to the stress of failing to fulfil the role as provider but also men's beliefs around gender. The chapter compared men's use of violence against women, with the use of violence against other men. Of note, was how men who reported using violence against other men, were usually unemployed with their victims often being men from minority communities, who they perhaps believed were inferior or subordinate to them.

In contrast to the use of violence and alcohol, which was common among men who communicated very little in interviews, some men who had experience of extramarital sex were articulate in talking of the inadequacy of their marital relationships in providing them with affection or emotional support and the way they sought intimacy and affection outside the marital relationship. Within the context of limited emotional support from other men or from their wives, visits to other women or to commercial sex workers were often not only opportunities for penetrative sex; they were also opportunities for receiving affection, developing physical intimacy as well as in some cases emotional intimacy, care and love.

The importance of men's ability to share their difficulties and emotional distress verbally with others in relation to these behaviours was underlined by discussions with men who had no involvement in any of these behaviours, so called 'positive deviants'. Two factors emerged as being particularly important in these cases. Firstly, all three of these men were in employment and while some still felt earning was a struggle, in many ways these men were able to avoid difficult emotions such as stress, shame or weakness because they were able to fulfil certain masculine norms, particularly through providing financially for their families. Secondly, all three men made time each day to sit down with both their wife and family and talk about the day, provide each other with support and a change to reflect. Although not all the men had egalitarian beliefs around gender norms and roles, this support, empathy and communication was remarkably consistent between the three cases.

Discussions with men who had changed from previously using alcohol and being violent underlined these points while shedding light on the complexity of bringing about change. Increases in income, particularly through women's involvement in paid employment; being able to live as a nuclear family; more egalitarian gender norms and roles and improving communication both around difficulties and emotions as well as around sexual relationships were all highly interrelated and together led to changes in behaviour.

This final results chapter brings to a close the results of the qualitative and quantitative analysis. It has brought the focus back to specific behaviours of public health importance while drawing on the findings of the previous qualitative results chapters. The next and final chapter discusses key findings from the study placing them within the existing literature and some of the debates that exist within it.

Chapter 8: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

The previous four chapters have presented results from two quite contrasting types of research. This chapter begins by discussing the strengths and limitations of both the quantitative and qualitative research as well as discussing the challenges which integrating findings from the two components presents.

After these reflections on the research the chapter discusses the findings of the thesis, placing them within a wider theoretical context. Throughout the thesis, an argument has been presented that focusing upon masculine norms and men's experiences of emotion is important in understanding and changing men's beliefs about gender norms as well as a range of behaviours. The details of this argument in relation to men's perpetration of violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour are summarised before exploring why such an approach, and in particular men's experiences of emotion, have been sidelined in so much of the research in the Indian context. The chapter then moves on to discuss how the results of this study fit into existing work on masculinities in the Indian context and in particular, the considerable focus in the literature on the effects of liberalisation and globalisation on gender relations.

Finally, the implications of the findings are discussed with a series of recommendations for interventions aiming to address intimate partner violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour, particularly highlighting the importance of empathetic approaches in bringing about social and behavioural change.

8.2 Strengths, limitations and challenges of the research

The study utilised two very different methodologies, each of which had strengths and limitations as well as bringing unique challenges. This section discusses the strengths and limitations of the quantitative and qualitative methods utilised, how

these were addressed, as well as the challenges which integrating findings from these two components presented to the study.

Beginning with the quantitative analyses, using secondary data was ethically the right thing to do, given its existence. However, it also presented challenges given the formulation and conceptualisation of questions was predetermined. A series of limitations were discussed in chapter four, including the different time frames used for different behavioural variables, problems surrounding the questions used in asking about alcohol use and violence as well as the way scales were based upon previous qualitative research, rather than internationally recognised standards such as WHO guidelines. Factor analysis provided evidence for the existence of latent variables and was therefore able to address some of these concerns.

The quantitative analyses did provide statistical evidence for associations between some key factors conceptualised as important in the study, consistent with both the findings of the literature review and what emerged from the qualitative fieldwork. This was particularly the case for spousal abuse as an outcome, where the analyses provided evidence for associations between many variables of interest and a range of different measures of abuse.

However, the quantitative analyses were less amenable to exploring the more complex aspects of social processes and behaviour. Firstly, they showed little evidence that the variables of interest were statistically associated with alcohol use or extramarital sex. In addition, associations between many of the independent and dependent variables were complex, with associations being mediated by other variables. This was particularly the case around indicators of psychological distress where the inclusion of sexual health complaints and psychological distress composite variable in the models meant some of the effects were lost. There were also more fundamental problems with the use of quantitative data in attempting to answer questions about complex social practices. The over simplification of these complex processes into questions such as 'do you share your problems with your wife' fails to adequately unpack what such statements represent. For example, answering 'always' to this statement could mean men had emotionally intimate relationships with their wives, alternatively it could mean they always vent and

'share' their anger. Finally, the cross-sectional nature of the study gives a static picture, failing to give insight into how factors might change in response to a range of interventions.

It was evident that the quantitative analyses could only go so far in understanding the impact different norms and practices had on men's lives and their behaviour. However, the use of qualitative methods addressed many of these problems, allowing an exploration of what men themselves considered important in their lives and particularly their use of violence, alcohol and sex while also seeking out what men highlighted as being important in bringing about social as well as individual change

Moving onto the qualitative component of the study, a key part of the study was the reliance upon in-depth interviews with individual participants as a source of data. While individual interviews provided a way of generating rich, contextualised data, as well as allowing for in depth and rigorous analysis, the reliance on individual interviews has some limitations. Some of these limitations relate to the use of qualitative methods in general and others to the specific ways these methods were implemented in this study.

The epistemological approach utilised in the study is reflected in its use of qualitative data, recognising that the data are the product of a social interaction between interviewer and participant in a certain social context at a particular time. As such individual's accounts are not considered as representing objective, externally verifiable truths but rather the construction of a narrative or account, which is in itself a social act. The way in which a narrative or account is constructed is in itself of interest, which qualitative methods allow an insight into. It was clear that participants used their narratives and recollection of events to construct a certain identity. This 'identity work' was most noticeable with the fourth individual we interviewed, Hussein, who had been recommended by one of the NGO staff as a possible 'key informant'. Hussein considered himself a leader of his community and the discussions therefore focused upon the community and other men rather than any reflection on his own life, beliefs or behaviours. While the identity Hussein was trying

to project was very clear, similar issues happened in interviews with other men, but perhaps in more subtle ways.

Men's ability to talk about some subjects and not others, or omit certain details relate to social desirability bias and the desire to maintain and project a certain identity both intentionally and unintentionally. This was particularly the case with the topics we were discussing in interviews. Men's reluctance to admit intimate partner violence or extramarital sex because of the socially taboo nature of these behaviours had an impact upon the data.

These issues were addressed firstly through the construction of an interview guide, which listed topics and follow up questions to ensure that all aspects were covered in each interview, not relying on the participant to always bring them up. In addition, the nature of in-depth interviews allows for the establishment of rapport, both through obtaining informed consent and emphasising the confidential nature of the interview but also through interpersonal communication, leaving more sensitive subjects until later on in the interview or returning to them at the end of interviews when participants may have felt more comfortable admitting to certain behaviours, thoughts or feelings. While these issues can be seen as limitations of qualitative research, they can also be seen as getting to the very heart of why qualitative methodologies are so useful. The use of in-depth interviews allows an exploration of how different individuals respond to certain questions, the type of responses they do or do not give, as well as their body language and general mood at different times in the interview. What may be considered 'biases' are very much an interesting part of the study and important in theory formation.

In addition to these general issues around the use of qualitative methodologies and in-depth interviews in particular, there were particular issues associated with the implementation of these methodologies in this research. Firstly, many issues surrounded my lack of fluency in Hindi which meant I could not conduct the interviews or do the translations myself. Although I did learn Hindi in London and in India during my fieldwork my level of understanding was never going to be sufficient to carry out in depth interviews on complex topics. However, I was able to welcome participants in Hindi and tell them who I was, where I was from and put them at ease

with my presence. I also was able to follow some conversations where the participant's Hindi was clear, particularly as my knowledge progressed. Even though I was present in all interviews, this separation from carrying out the interviews had many limitations. I was unable to explore issues which I felt were important or needed following up in more depth within each interview. Instead, after reading translations and talking with my assistant, areas of investigation for the remaining interviews were suggested. There was also a considerable time lag between completing interviews and getting translations back which meant simultaneous data generation and analysis was incredibly difficult. In addition, I had had to use a different assistant for the translation as my primary assistant who did the interviews did not have the time to do both. My lack of fluency in Hindi or Marathi also meant that investigating the use of language was difficult as well as understanding the potential ambiguities involved in the translation from Hindi to English.

Although these areas were often frustrating and made the research more difficult, several strategies were developed to overcome the potential limitations. I made full use of having several research assistants, talking the ideas which emerged from the data and my writing over with both my primary assistant and my secondary assistant who helped us find participants. Having other people involved in the research process meant I could discuss findings with another who had been in the interview, whereas if I had done the interviews myself, I would have had to rely just upon my own viewpoint. The use of language was an important point in the interviews and I was able to follow this up with my assistant. A particular example was the use of the word 'tension'. In exploring what the use of this word referred to, my assistant and I went back to the original recordings, found that the men used the English word 'tension' rather than any Hindi or Marathi equivalent and discussed the relevance of this use of language.

In contrast, my outsider status may have had some beneficial effects. My presence provided another active listener which combined with the fact that I had come from a foreign country to interview them about their lives, made men feel what they had to say was important. Some men commented on the respect they had been given in the interview and their enjoyment of the interview experience. There was also a certain amount of interest in me as a foreigner. Men were interested in who I was,

what the study was about, why I had come to Dharavi from London, and this in some cases helped the recruitment of participants.

Another important limitation of the study is that all the participants were male. We did not interview the wives of the participants, which would have led to richer data. However, given the limited resources focusing the attention of the study on men and differences between men was the right decision. In addition, interviewing couples would have had more complex ethical implications, which we avoided. The lack of female voices in the study is particularly important in respect to the validity of the results. There was the possibility for social desirability bias to influence men's responses around their use of violence or sexual behaviour. We addressed this partly by working with the Centre for Vulnerable Women and Children, who referred men with a definite history of violence to us. The men also knew that we knew about their history and so it was perhaps more socially desirable for men not to be found out to be lying. However, some of the men we interviewed claimed to no longer be violent and this was harder to verify. We did not feel it was ethically right to discuss details of individuals and what they had or had not told us in interviews with CVWC staff, or to cross check with their written records.

The study also focused upon men of a particular age, approximately twenty to fifty years old. We did not interview men before marriage and compare their relationships, beliefs and support networks before marriage and after. This was particularly an issue in understanding the changing nature of male friendships before and after marriage. This would have been a useful extension to the study.

Many of these limitations with both methodologies and their implementation in this study can be seen as having some advantages even though they present some difficulties. Of central importance in ensuring these limitations can be considered as adding to rather than weakening the study's findings is the continual reflection and reflexivity which has been a central part of the research process. Continually questioning not only how we were carrying out the study but also the many different biases and potential issues with the research as well as my role in it, enabled adjustments and alterations to be made. Realising the limitations of the approaches used in the study, as well as the limitations of my own abilities sparked further

discussion with others, such as my assistants and supervisors as well as others at qualitative analysis support meetings at the LSHTM and various conferences, which allowed me to receive feedback on the study, my thoughts and emerging writing.

This was a study of men, aged between 20 and 52 years old, married, living in specific low-income neighbourhoods in Mumbai, India. Before discussing the implications of the research and findings, it is worth considering how far the findings can be generalised not only to men in the areas where the research was carried out, but also to men in other settings, both in Mumbai, India more widely and beyond.

Mumbai and Dharavi in particular represented excellent geographical locations for this research because of the high number of migrants from all over India who move to Mumbai and Dharavi in search of work. As a result, Mumbai is not a city of Maharashtrians, despite contemporary political movements to that effect. Instead, men and women from many different parts of the country, particularly Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu as well as rural Maharashtrians live together in the city of Mumbai. Dharavi is particularly noticeable for this mix as well as its mix of different religions, including Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Buddhists. Although some areas of Mumbai have become more segregated in terms of religion since the 1993 riots, Dharavi has to some extent remained an area of pluralities (Thomas Blom Hansen, 2000; Thomas Blom Hansen, 2001; Robinson, 2005), although segregation within the greater Dharavi area does exist, with distinct smaller neighbourhoods, which are primarily, Muslim or Gujarati for example.

In addition, the quantitative work was based upon a survey in a different area of Mumbai to where the qualitative work was conducted, although both areas are considered low-income 'slum' areas. The survey was also completed eight years before the qualitative fieldwork was carried out. There were therefore differences in both time and place between qualitative and quantitative components of the study. However, these differences can be seen to strengthen the validity as well as generalisability of the findings.

The qualitative fieldwork included a very wide range of men, including migrants from many different parts of the country, men of different religious backgrounds, ages

with different levels of income to mention a few. This was not a study of a particular group such as the Kumbhars, a community of potters who live in Dharavi, and norms, beliefs and behaviours specific to their community. The focus of the study was firmly on the processes and pathways by which a variety of norms are transformed into social practices and behaviours, specifically through individuals' beliefs, emotions and behaviours.

Therefore while recognising the differences between individuals, families, communities and wider societies; there were some norms which were particularly prevalent and compare with masculine norms and beliefs in other contexts. The study therefore, provides evidence of the importance of certain pathways in a range of behaviours, exploring the commonalities and differences between individual men while placing this within a specific context of time and place.

The next section of the chapter discusses the findings of the research in detail, locating the findings within the existing literature and discussing how these findings relate to current debates and other approaches in the existing literature.

8.3 Discussion of findings

8.3.1 Masculine norms and men's emotional experiences are crucial to understanding men's perpetration of violence, use of alcohol and sexual behaviour

This study has made the argument that understanding masculine norms and the ways in which different norms affect men emotionally is important if we are to understand as well as change men's perpetration of violence, use of alcohol and sexual behaviour. A summary of the argument made throughout the thesis is presented here.

In-depth interviews with men showed the range of ideologies which men were exposed to and the varying degrees to which different men accepted or contested different norms, illustrating the socially constructed and diverse nature of such

norms. Men spoke of 'masculinity' being represented by a whole range of ideas, many of which were contradictory. Such concepts of the 'masculine' varied from emotional control, the suppression of emotions and the use of alcohol to the contrast of sobriety and spending time talking in a loving, intimate way with family. Despite this, some norms were particularly prevalent and resistant to change, particularly those surrounding men's role as financial providers, notions about power and authority and the importance of not being seen to be weak.

The study has demonstrated the effects different masculine norms have upon men as emotional beings. Many masculine norms glorify ways of being which men often find increasingly difficult to fulfil, partly as a result of economic and cultural change (discussed further in section 8.3.4). The reality of employment for many men involves informal labour on low, often irregular pay, with little job security. This combined with increasing demands for consumer goods and changes in lifestyles which require ever more of men as financial providers, places a great strain upon men, and with the reality of not meeting these increasing needs, many men feel frustrated, ashamed and emasculated.

Concomitant with these pressures upon men to provide were understandings of masculinity which centred upon power, authority and control, particularly in contrast to wives who they expected to be subordinate. Many men reported using violence when this sense of power or authority was challenged, often by wives commenting on the family finances or challenging men's behaviour in relation to its economic cost to the family. In these situations violence represented a way of gaining control for some men, silencing their wife's protests and re-establishing their power and authority.

Simultaneously, norms often constricted men's ability to cope with stressors including those which arise from a perceived failure to fulfil masculine norms. A great number of men we spoke to talked of their emotional isolation, the way they dealt with emotions alone, and their unmet emotional needs. In addition, rather than sharing the burden of the family finances with women, beliefs about the division of labour and in particular women not going out to work meant men often struggled with these problems alone. Other factors influenced men's ability to form supportive,

emotionally intimate relationships, including differences between men and their wives, such as large age differences or language barriers. Another key area of difficulty were differences between men and women who were brought up in very different environments, particularly in terms of an urban / rural divide. Men and women brought up in contrasting environments had different expectations and ideas about gender roles and norms, which often caused conflict.

Men spoke of their socialisation into alcohol use as a 'manly' thing to do as well as a way of coping with tension and difficult emotions. Men's discussions around their alcohol use included its use as a way of escaping the tedium of work and the stresses of home life. In addition, men spoke of it as a way of socialising with other men and making friends. However, men also spoke of alcohol's effects as a soother, enabling men to feel free of tension and allowing men to sleep more easily.

Finally, many men interviewed spoke of their frustration with their marital sexual relationship. A whole series of conflicting norms around sexuality impacted negatively on men and women's sexual relationships. In particular, some men felt frustrated at women's lack of experience or their refusal to explore their sexuality, with some men reporting their wives considered talking or trying out different kinds of sexual interaction shameful or dirty. However, quite contradictorily, men also expressed their worries about their wife having had sex with another man previously as well as current infidelities. While men wanted their wife to be more sexually assertive, if women did have more experience or were more knowledgeable this would have also been problematic. Many men who found developing emotional intimacy with their wife difficult also found sexual intimacy within their marriages problematic. While some men managed to develop both within their marriage, others looked outside the relationship for affection and love as well as more adventurous sex. Some men managed to develop emotional intimacy and communicate about their sexual desires and so were able to overcome many of these obstacles, having fulfilled sex lives as well as emotional intimacy within their marital relationship.

The focus of this study on masculine norms and emotion attempts to provide a theory which explains the commonly found statistical associations between men's perpetration of violence, alcohol use and sexual risk taking behaviour. While many

studies have noted these statistical associations, very few have attempted either to explore or intervene at a level which affects all three behaviours. Instead, these associations have commonly been used to target existing HIV prevention approaches more effectively, handing out condoms and talking about HIV transmission to men who drink in bars provides just one example.

The quantitative analyses added to findings from the in-depth interviews, providing evidence of associations between men's ability to fulfil masculine norms and an outcome relating to psychological wellbeing. The analyses also provided evidence of associations between men's ability to fulfil masculine norms, psychological distress and men's perpetration of violence. In addition, quantitative analyses provided further evidence that sexual weakness and semen related complaints were strongly associated with psychological wellbeing, providing further insight into the associations between such sexual health complaints and behaviours such as violence and sex. Programmes that utilise these findings to simply direct knowledge based interventions and the distribution of condoms more sharply are likely to have a limited impact. The association between these behaviours and psychological distress and men's reports of using these behaviours as ways of addressing a range of emotional states including stress, shame and feelings of loneliness, mean men are perhaps not so likely to implement health promotion messages as other studies in high as well as other low-income contexts have shown (C. Campbell, 1997; Martin & Knox, 1997a, 1997b; Prieur, 1990; Shernoff, 2006). In addition, men are unlikely to listen to messages which portray them as powerful or encourage them to embrace female empowerment if such interventions fail to reflect men's own social and emotional experiences.

However, perhaps more importantly than focusing on the flaws of existing programmes, the findings show a real missed opportunity to address issues which relate to a wide range of behaviours, which in turn have effects on health outcomes. Working on a range of issues around masculine norms has the potential not only to impact men's sexual risk taking behaviour, alcohol use or violence but also a range of other behaviours which have not been discussed in this thesis, from the use of tobacco to high suicide rates as well as the health behaviours of others within men's families.

8.3.2 Considering men as emotional beings within the Indian context

A major focus of this study has been men's experiences of emotion and the importance of understanding men as emotional as well as gendered beings. In developing this focus, the study has built upon a considerable literature examining the lives of men in the West, extending insights from this literature to the lives of men in a very different context. The approach taken has been firmly empathetic to the experiences of men while not making excuses or being apologetic for men's use of violence. In contrast, this empathetic approach, which recognises the importance of understanding men as emotional beings and men's emotional needs, has been largely overlooked by a considerable amount of research and intervention in the Indian context.

It is not just in the Indian context where more empathetic approaches have been avoided when considering men's use of violence, alcohol use or sexual behaviour. Internationally, there has been a reluctance to embrace approaches which are seen to be 'too' understanding given the effects many of the behaviours in question have on others, particularly women and children (Hearn, 1998). However, despite this there has been a move towards understanding men's experience of emotions as a valid subject for enquiry and the emergence of more empathetic approaches in work with men in Western contexts (Ridge, Emslie, & White, 2011; Seidler, 1998).

The neglect of empathetic approaches in the Indian context is in part a reflection of the history of the movements and orientation of studies which have sought to address these behaviours. Given a significant amount of work has been led by both feminist activists and public health professionals primarily concerned about HIV, it is hardly surprising that men's experiences of gender and emotion have not been centre stage. However, even the contemporary Indian masculinities literature has focused primarily upon structures, changing norms and contexts while avoiding more detailed questioning of men's emotional experiences. Osella and Osella (2006) express their *'general discomfort with psychological explanations which overlook social and historical processes in the formation of individual subjectivities.'* In addition, much of the work on contemporary masculinities in India has been

carried out by anthropologists who often seem to emphasise difference rather than similarity between contexts. In particular, these studies often refer to the importance of collectivism in India, appearing to make the argument that this more often than not negates the desires of the individual or even that people do not think of themselves as 'individuals' in the Indian context (Osella & Osella, 2006, p. 11). The importance given to collectivism has perhaps led previous researchers away from investigating men as emotional subjects in as much depth as research has in western contexts.

The focus on emotion and the ability to recognise and express emotion in some form perhaps betrays my position as a researcher brought up in the UK. However, it was very clear from in-depth interviews with men, that some men did want emotional intimacy and enjoyed the opportunity to talk over their emotions and complications of their lives to us. The results of this study have clearly demonstrated the importance of men's emotional needs. In many interviews it became clear just how many men feel their emotional needs are not met by their existing relationship and friendships. A considerable number of men had difficulties in articulating or expressing emotion to others, were socially and emotionally isolated, with many relying upon alcohol and visits to sex workers to deal with emotional distress and isolation. In addition, many men spoke of their relief at expressing their feelings and emotions to us in confidential interviews and their desire for more emotionally intimate relationships with their wives and the difficulties they faced in achieving this.

Another valid criticism would be that the verbal expression of emotion may not be so important and may betray just one particular therapeutic approach. Instead, physical affection and intimacy and a sense of being cared for and looked after maybe just as important to men's emotional wellbeing, as men's visits to sex workers for 'body sex', kissing and affection over and above penetrative sex perhaps demonstrate. A common reflection is that men prefer 'doing' while women prefer 'talking', with some therapists recommending approaches more focused upon practical or non-verbal activities, rather than verbal expression (Cameron, 2007; Wong & Rochlen, 2005). However, in contrast, these arguments can be seen to be simply building upon gender prejudices and stereotypes (Cameron, 2007). Given the conversations we had with men in in-depth interviews, there is no basis for stereotyping men as not

wanting to communicate their emotions verbally. In fact, these stereotypes perhaps only serve to exacerbate the problem of a lack of safe, secure environments in which men can be verbally expressive.

However, responding more directly to the Osella's comment about psychological approaches, the focus upon men's emotional lives and needs does not ignore the fact that emotional experiences are shaped by larger forces, including but not limited to, economic and social structures. Instead, this study has attempted to show that emotional experience is a critical pathway through which the effects of such larger forces and structures become apparent at the individual level and particularly translate to individual behaviour. In addition, the research also suggests that acknowledging the emotional impact of norms upon men can lead to better strategies to bring about social change by engaging with the realities of individual men's experience.

The discussion now moves on to some key arguments in the existing literature on masculinities in the Indian context and how the findings from this research add to these debates.

8.3.3 Changing contexts, changing norms

A key aspect of contemporary work on masculinities in the Indian context has been a focus upon changing contexts, particularly through the dual processes of economic liberalisation and globalisation and the degree to which this has brought changes in norms and practices particularly around gender relations. While discussions in the existing literature primarily focus upon the *effects* of large scale, structural change, these discussions and debates are also important in terms of thinking about the degree to which changes in gender norms and practices can be 'engineered'.

As discussed in the literature review, Osella and Osella argue for the strength of a new hegemonic ideal family form:

at whose heart (and head!) stands the man of substance – the man with financial resources, earning power, a network of dependents and, crucially, a wife and children.... This is a thoroughly postcolonial and contemporary ideal, played out in arenas such as globalized consumption practices and ideas about 'love'. (Osella & Osella, 2006, pp. 2-3)

They argue that this new ideal family form signifies many fundamental aspects of change in relation to gender norms and practices in the Indian context. There are three particular identifiers of this 'new' family form. Firstly, the importance of men's earning power to the definition of 'masculine'; secondly, the way identities are increasingly 'played out' through consumption practices and thirdly, the changing nature of marital relationships and kinship structures, in particular, the increasing focus upon love in marriage and the notion of the couple as an emotional and intimate unit. These three themes form the focus not only of the Osella's work but also of several other authors working on contemporary masculinities in India (Chopra, et al., 2004; Derné, 2000, 2008; Srivastava, 2001, 2004).

In 'Globalisation on the Ground', Derné (2008) examines the effects of the movement towards such a 'globalised' family ideal and in particular how an increased focus upon men as providers and the importance of consumption coupled with a lack of economic opportunities for the great majority of men impacts upon gender relations in the Indian context. Derné (2008) makes the argument that in the face of limited economic opportunities, unable to provide sufficiently for their family and unable to partake in globalised models of consumption, men emphasise a local rather than global identity, identifying themselves as Indian and finding 'Indianness' in particular constellations of conservative gender arrangements. Derné argues that a certain class of Indian men find compensation for their lack of success in fulfilling affluent lifestyles, in existing gender arrangements, which become a source of status, comfort and power. In addition, he theorises that globalisation brings new cosmopolitan celebrations of male power, privilege and aggression and ways of embodying these, through exposure to a variety of media including foreign pornography as well as cinema.

Derné's ideas focus upon class differences and a clear demarcation between an English-speaking elite middle class; a non English speaking 'non-elite' middle class; and 'the poor'. He argues that the English speaking elite have seen the fruits of liberalisation and economic development, enabling them to participate in certain globalised patterns of consumption, which develop a 'transnational identity', part of which is a move towards greater gender equality. In contrast, non-elite men have not seen the benefits of economic development and faced with this frustration reject new egalitarian gender arrangements. Derné therefore believes that the fundamental effects of globalisation come *'more through the transformation of economic structures than from the introduction of new cultural possibilities'* and therefore that only through increased economic opportunities and development will more egalitarian gender arrangements become more prevalent.

While Derné's argument is extremely coherent and well argued, it is too neat. This study provides evidence of men who are certainly not part of an English speaking elite middle class but espouse the importance of gender equality and are strongly against the use of violence and even some men who discussed their enjoyment of sharing domestic tasks. Several men we spoke to talked of their own contributions to work at home, including their enjoyment of looking after children or cooking for their wife. Others talked of their happiness at their wife's level of education or encouraging their wife to get paid employment. Many aspects of Derné's argument are true, lack of economic opportunities, poor wages and employment rights as well as men's failure to provide sufficiently to meet increasing financial demands and their inability to enter global patterns of consumption do represent great challenges. However, not all men turn to conservative gender roles, the use of violence or restricting women's power and independence. Men's attachment to conservative, gender inequitable beliefs and behaviours was more complex than the seamless picture Derné makes out. Any attempt to provide an overarching typology or to generalise, particularly based upon class or income appears overly simplistic and in fact the counter examples of men from low-income backgrounds who buck the trend Derné identifies are hugely important in thinking about change.

In another work, Derné (2000) points to messages in a variety of media, but particularly cinema, that 'help men find a sense of power and control in their

relationship with women... what viewers learn is that sexuality involves using violence to force women into a sexuality that exists solely for men's pleasure.' However, several of the men we interviewed spoke of a variety of other messages they encountered, which promoted a model of equality between men and women and crucially that they had taken these messages on, even though they remained poor. Men talked of the importance of exposure to community led programmes, TV, newspapers and other men in the community who provided alternative models to the one Derné suggests men turn to.

The men we spoke to gave a variety of reasons for having changed or desiring to move towards more gender equitable norms and behaviours. Firstly, contrary to Derné's thesis, many men discussed how economic hardship, both in terms of providing for new economic demands but also inflation has led to a change towards more gender equitable norms and behaviours, particularly around women's involvement in paid labour. Men disagreed whether this represented a true change in beliefs around gender or whether it was simply the result of financial necessity. However, far from a move towards more conservative norms, men seemed to agree that increasing numbers of women were going out to work to help boost family incomes and that this was changing norms.

A second reason men gave for change was the increased power of women, not through their involvement in labour but more through the law, police, women's organisations and women's education which meant women were now standing up to men and had a better knowledge of their rights. The Domestic Violence Act passed in 2005 (Government of India, 2005) has meant that men can be prosecuted for perpetrating violence against their wife and the threat of being sent to prison, used particularly by organisations such as SNEHA in supporting women, has provided a way of forcing men to engage with change.

Finally, but by no means least, men spoke of more emotional reasons for personally wanting to change their behaviour. Some men spoke of the breakdown in their relationships, their wife leaving them after prolonged alcohol abuse and violence and their desire to change and salvage the marital relationship. Other men spoke of their experiences of their father's alcohol use and violence and their desire to be

different and not put their children through those same experiences. In contrast to drawing upon more conservative norms, some men recognised the negative effects more conservative norms were having on them and their family and felt compelled towards exploring more progressive, egalitarian beliefs and behaviours.

Derné is therefore wrong to say that gender equality is the preserve of a wealthy, English speaking elite middle class. He is right to say that it is perhaps easier for elite men to take on more gender equitable ways of being; however, there are also strong motivations for men with low-incomes to change. In addition, simply because high income men adopt more 'progressive' gender arrangements, it is not to say that these men's marriages are free from alcohol abuse, violence or extramarital sex. While men may adopt more progressive values publicly, men's reliance on alcohol, violence and sex as ways of responding to certain emotional states may not change so easily.

In addition to the focus upon men as providers and patterns of consumption, another aspect of social change which studies have examined is the movement away from joint family structures to nuclear families, the accompanying shift from arranged to love marriages and the increasing focus upon the couple as an emotional and intimate unit. As mentioned in the literature review, Osella and Osella (2006) have questioned the effect these changes have had on gender equality and female empowerment, arguing that the move from 'traditional' structures of kinship is not necessarily a progressive or liberatory development.

The study findings add to this debate in several ways. Firstly, many men talked of their desire to have an emotionally and sexually intimate relationship with their wives, rather than the more 'transactional' relationship the Osellas describe as a feature of traditional structures of kinship. However, this was the case for men in arranged marriages as well as those in love marriages. While some men such as Pankaj talked of their wish that they had fallen in love and married a childhood sweet heart, others like Dinesh talked more along the lines of a 'love will follow' philosophy, seeking to develop love and sexual intimacy within an arranged marriage.

Some men commented on the conflict between generations which changing norms created within the family, particularly between men's mothers and wives. Living as a nuclear family often decreased these intergenerational conflicts over roles, however men talked about the additional restrictions of living in a particular community if they were unable to afford a flat which gave them privacy. Men's financial position therefore did affect the degree to which they felt they could adopt more gender equitable behaviours, through their ability to buy a separate home for them and their wife, to enable them to have privacy from parents and others in the community and with this privacy, the agency to decide how to live.

While the Osellas are right to say that a move to love marriages or a model of intimacy within marriage does not automatically guarantee equality this study has shown the importance of men's ability to develop emotional intimacy to the success of 'intimate' relationships, particularly ones which are egalitarian and free of violence and abuse. Both arranged and love marriages placed pressures on couples and restricted their ability to develop intimacy. Men spoke of the pressures of having had a love marriage and having gone against their family and community's wishes and how this affected their communication with their wife. Men in arranged marriages also spoke of the difficulties they faced in developing intimacy, including the difficulties of being married to women who were much younger, or who did not speak the same language as them. In addition, men spoke of big cultural differences between them and their wife, particularly in regards to attitudes around sex and how this impeded the development of sexual and emotional intimacy.

The Osellas suggest that the hardening of norms around a specific heterosexual and masculine identity affect men not only in the anxieties which failing to live up to these impossible ideals create, a key part of this thesis, but also the limitations it places upon men's relationships with other men. This study has not found examples of men in arranged marriages having strong, emotionally intimate relationships with other men. While the 'heterosexual commitment' may increasingly restrict men's sexual repertoire, with a rise in homophobia, it is difficult to believe that traditional structures of kinship provided men with plentiful sources of emotional intimacy. However, as acknowledged earlier, emotional intimacy may not be the only source of intimacy and physical affection, touch and a feeling of being connected to others

may also be important to emotional well-being. Changes in kinship structures may well have decreased the amount of physical affection men share with each other, with a move towards the expectation of both emotional and sexual intimacy within marriages.

The important debate which emerges from these discussions is the capacity for norms to change and how changes in gender relations come about. Writers such as Derné seem fairly pessimistic about social change without economic development while others such as the Osellas are pessimistic about the ability of 'new' family structures to bring about gender equality. This study argues that changing norms and behaviours is possible, even when working with men from low-income backgrounds. However, rather than talking about male power and privilege or solely focusing upon norms around violence, interventions must engage with men's emotional experiences in order to bring about lasting social and behavioural change. With this in mind, the discussion now moves on to discuss ways in which the findings from this study could be used in interventions on the ground.

8.4 Implications and recommendations

8.4.1 Engaging with a wide range of men to bring about change

Beliefs about male superiority, power and domination in relation to women as well as other men is an important part of men's use of violence. Challenging patriarchy and beliefs which sustain it is important in bringing about social change on the road to gender equality. However, challenging individual men about these beliefs is an incredibly difficult exercise, given that men who are perpetrating violence are often men who feel the most disempowered, unable to fulfil what they see as basic abilities such as earning a wage or having secure employment. Expecting such men to have an epiphany, recognising their privileged position as men in relation to women and as a consequence changing their behaviour is unrealistic outside the realm of a few men who feel secure enough to embrace the feminist movements. Beyond this small core of progressive individuals, messages about female

empowerment and women rising up against the power of men have little resonance with men, preventing them from engaging or inspiring towards change.

Any strategy for change has to recognise the emotional impact which certain masculine norms, economic realities and poor emotional relationships have upon men. While not denying the importance of challenging men's understandings of their right to power and authority, for any intervention to be successful it has to meet men where they are, rather than where feminist activists might like them to be. Recognising the range of emotions which men may currently be experiencing is part of reaching out to men who would otherwise be lost by a sole focus on the power of men. Such emotions include: men's experiences of stress over being sole financial providers for their families; their feelings of powerlessness and frustration in the face of unemployment; the difficulties they face in balancing changing gender norms and roles, particularly when living in joint families; many men's emotional isolation; many men's desire for better communication about their marital sex life and men's fear of others challenging or mocking them about more gender equitable behaviour. These all represent issues which are important to men and issues which men can be engaged upon in a way which they can relate to and are gateways to exploring more gender equitable relationships between men and their wives.

Many current interventions fail to meet men's needs and so fail to address some of the issues which lie at the core of men's perpetration of violence, use of alcohol and sexual behaviour. A quote from one of the participants in the qualitative component of the research highlights this failure of current interventions:

I have not thought like this in my life. It is the first time, I am feeling that I should think about my life. I liked it. The study is good. I felt that there is at least one person who is asking me about my life. The people from NGOs, they only tell me, "Use a condom, use a condom!" As if they are encouraging me to go there. Like, "Go and use a condom! Go and use condoms!" But there is nobody who is asking me about my life. Like, how do you live your life, do you need any help, will you change something about your life.... Nobody is there to help me. Wherever you go in Bombay, all are working on AIDS. All will say, 'Do you go? Go, take a condom and go!'... What is this

kind of life? No dog is asking about us. So if the world doesn't care about you, I also don't care about the world. [Pankaj, 24 years, 28]

However, it was not only sexual health interventions which failed to address wider issues which were of concern to men. Interventions on intimate partner violence which work solely on empowering women can also be problematic. This study has shown how women going out to work can further challenge men's ability to fulfil their role as financial provider, increasing men's sense of insecurity and anxiety and feelings of powerless and so increase men's use of violence as a way of dealing with these feelings and regaining a sense of authority, control and power.

However, the study has also shown that it does not have to be this way. Women's involvement in paid employment has the potential to improve the lives of women and decrease violence but not through its use as a bargaining tool, empowering women *against* their husbands. Rather, women's involvement in paid labour can bring about a series of changes which enable men and women to face common problems together.

Several men spoke about how their wife's participation in paid labour improved the financial situation of the family which had a series of knock on effects. Firstly, the increased income coming into the family meant less pressure on men's inability to provide as the extra money helped address the family financial problems. Secondly, some men reported their wife's involvement in employment led to them having a better understanding of the family financial position and how to improve the family finances. Men reported their wives no longer challenging them for particular items because they had become part of the management of the family finances. Thirdly, this understanding meant that men shared the economic problems they face with their wives, not only receiving more support emotionally but also a sense that they were facing difficulties together rather than trying to deal with the problems alone. Fourthly, the increase in money meant some couples were able to afford a home separate from the husband's parents which was a source of conflict between many men and their wives. The fulfilling of wives' desire for a nuclear family setup, women and men felt freer from the tensions between generations and the sometimes malign power of the mother-in-law.

An approach which focuses upon changing power relations through empowering one partner against the other does not address many of the fundamental issues. Facing men with the challenge that they hold all the power, particularly men who are barely able to earn enough to feed their family, subject to strong economic and structural forces, the challenge falls upon deaf ears. Interventions appear to be successful when they acknowledge men's position, meet men where they are, which in this context is often a place of desperation, anxiety and extreme stress. Key to the success of SNEHAs intervention had been their challenging of individual men's beliefs about what a woman going out to work would mean for men's masculinity, getting men on board by acknowledging the stress the family was under and the importance of utilising all of the family's economic resources to improve their situation. Rather than working solely with women, presenting a direct challenge to male authority, SNEHAs intervention sought to increase equality within marriage by helping men and women face problems together rather than alone, which also improved communication and a feeling of solidarity between couples, while placing this within a strong message that violence was totally unacceptable.

8.4.2 Focusing upon social norms: promoting new models of masculinity

The study has shown the wide range of masculine norms and beliefs in different gender ideologies that exist just in one area. The promotion of new models of masculinity for men and boys is a key implication and recommendation from this research. However, it is perhaps relatively easy to pathologise certain 'traditional' masculine norms but in doing so the object must be to establish what more positive masculinities and masculine norms look and feel like. Drawing upon Brooks' (1995) ideas of increasing gender role flexibility, here six themes are discussed as key to the development of positive, affirming and healthy masculinities.

Firstly, challenging men's sense of entitlement to power as well as notions of masculinity which are based upon domination, control of others and aggression are still a central part of bringing about more positive masculine identities. However, it is clear that this alone is insufficient. Other aspects of identity, behaviour and

relationships with others need to be given detail in order to establish an alternative to power/control/aggression as a way of being.

Secondly, there needs to be a challenge to the focus upon men's role as financial providers and the centrality of work and income to masculine identity. Changing this norm is not only about challenging existing masculine norms but also promoting among men the value of female involvement in paid employment, in improving the family's finances as well as developing women's understanding of money and the family finances.

Thirdly, and following from the previous theme, ideas of men as fathers and carers need to be reinforced. For many men their relationship with their father and the possibilities and disappointments of their relationship with their own son were key motivating factors. The notion of men as fathers, involved in family life not only from the perspective of bringing money home but also in a nurturing, caring capacity, is central to positive masculine identities.

Fourthly, in challenging the notion of men as all powerful and in control, there needs to be a focus on recognising vulnerabilities, men thinking about themselves as emotional beings and having emotional needs. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Fifthly, drawing upon emotions and emotional needs, the importance of emotional intimacy either with partners or close male friends needs to be promoted.

Finally, developing what appears to be an existing change towards the idea of being a 'good lover', promoting the idea that a 'real man' thinks about his partner's pleasure as much as himself during sex; challenging norms which focus attention upon aggression and penetration during sex, the importance of making a woman give into a man's power or the number of sexual partners a man has.

These six areas outline potential ways for norms to be challenged, which build upon existing as well as new ideas and crucially areas which men themselves often recognise are problematic in their lives.

8.4.3 A new focus on boys' and men's emotional development

A key implication and recommendation from the thesis is the importance of the emotional development of boys and men. Thinking about men's emotional experience and expression is a complex area. As the qualitative findings demonstrated, men often gain from not being emotionally expressive, particularly in their interactions with other men and similarly with wives and partners, by not expressing stress, anxiety or distress, men maintain power, a sense of authority and being in control. However, equally not expressing problems, emotions or feelings to others has many negative consequences.

It is clearly overly simplistic to think that men should be more emotionally expressive, at all times and in all places or focusing solely upon the importance of verbal emotional expression. However, being aware of thoughts, feelings and emotions and how they relate to behaviours is important as well as having safe spaces and close relationships where a range of thoughts, feelings and emotions can be shared.

Work on these different aspects of emotional experience and expression may be considered to be the realm of individual psychotherapy. However, the key to this study has been to show how issues around emotional experience and expression are strongly influenced by gender norms.

8.4.4 Working at multiple levels to bring about change

Many of these issues including gender norms and roles, experience and expression of emotion, individual behaviour such as violence, alcohol use and sexual behaviour can be addressed at many different levels. Here, suggestions for individual, couple, group and community interventions as well as wider social action are discussed as possible ways of bringing about change.

A first strategy is individual work, involving counselling with men who are considered to have problems with violence, alcohol use or risky sexual behaviour. While this is

an intensive, expensive way of addressing the problems of just a few men, it is a strategy currently undertaken by some charities such as SNEHA in trying to bring about change for their clients, women who are the victims of intimate partner violence. In thinking about individual work, recommendations include a focus on exploring men's emotions, particularly their experiences of tension, stress, shame, anxiety and anger and how they express or constrict the expression of these either to their wife or others and the use of behaviours in the absence of emotional expression as well as continuing to explore ideas and beliefs about power.

A second strategy involves working with couples together, through providing a safe, private space where problems and thoughts, emotions and behaviours can be shared and talked through. Again SNEHA currently talks to couples together, in cases where women have been the victim of violence. However, to what extent such counselling involves talking about men's problems, thoughts and emotions or instead is about telling men they must not use violence and challenging their power, is unclear.

A third strategy is the development of 'men's groups'. This could range from work with several male perpetrators of violence to non-therapeutic groups, aimed at consciousness raising, bringing groups of men together to discuss issues around masculine norms and problems facing men in the community. Brooks (1995) comments on the way feminist movements used consciousness raising groups as a way of bringing women together, without the power hierarchies inherent in a therapist-patient format, placing less emphasis on intra-psychic and individual change and more emphasis on societal change. He also notes that the 'non-pathological' orientation of such groups make them more appealing to men, who are reluctant to admit vulnerabilities and ask for help. Such groups instead provide an opportunity to interact in an all-male environment, share common issues, relating differently with other men and to bring about further social change.

Creating interventions which work with men on an individual basis is neither economically feasible, nor addressing the understanding which emerges from much of men's studies which is that the problems of certain individual men's behaviours are not solely within the individual but are the result of social structures and

practices. In particular, masculine ideologies and norms which influence the way men identify as men, think about themselves and the way they relate to others. So while men's intrapsychic processes such as the experience and expression of emotion are important, the key point for intervention is that these processes and behaviours are the result of social structures and practices which are malleable, contestable and subject to change.

A major avenue of intervention then is social activism and work on social norms. This might involve work with groups of young boys and men as well as work at a wider community, neighbourhood, city, state or even national level. Men are aware of changing social norms, from the influence of television, cinema, newspapers, radio as well as others around them, in their communities and neighbourhoods. Social norms change. SNEHA hold many community events, with street plays, speeches, videos involving community and religious leaders as well as key men and women within the community. A major recommendation of this research is that work in the community extends to talk about a wider range of norms, much greater than norms around violence against women, or female empowerment but around masculinities, what it means to be a man, and men's emotional isolation and the importance of emotional support.

While some men undoubtedly have complex issues and needs, which are difficult to resolve simply through social change, there are a large number of men who experience a large amount of distress, which relates to behaviour, because of particular norms which restrict and shape what they can do and who they can be as men. Changing social norms so that certain ways of being and behaviour become not only socially acceptable but desirable is one part of the solution. While contexts remain unique and on different paths of development, the massive changes in norms for men and women in the UK in the past fifty years show the potential for social change. From the emergence of particular gay identities to the rise of the notion of a 'metrosexual' man, gendered identities are certainly anything but static. Change has also come to women's roles and female norms in many parts of India. The challenge is how social change helps men and women move to ways of being and interacting which promote equality, non-violence, health and well-being.

8.5 The promise of better understandings of men, masculinities and emotion and their relation to health and well-being

This study has taken a particular perspective in relation to men's behaviour, focusing upon socially constructed masculine norms and their various emotional impacts upon men. This focus is in contrast with many traditional approaches which have focused upon epidemiological understandings of risk in relation to specific diseases, intervening with the aim of preventing or treating a specific pathology, doing so with the prime focus on individual behaviours with little attention to or adequate conceptualisation of the complexities of the structural, social or emotional factors which are integral to men's behaviour. Where social and cultural contexts are considered, it is often in relation to norms around specific behaviours, such as condom use or alcohol consumption. The study findings demonstrate that reducing violence, alcohol use and risky sexual practices requires a more holistic approach than many interventions have used, many of which have relied upon the distribution of condoms, educating men about HIV, testing and treating STIs or reducing access to alcohol. Central to any attempt to change these behaviours must be an understanding of the complexity of why men use violence, drink alcohol or have risky sex. Additionally, gender norms are about more than female empowerment and men's attitudes towards women, although these are both important.

Many of the findings and implications of this study have been found in other contexts. In addition to the wide literature in western contexts, there are notable studies in low-income settings, showing the importance of understanding men as emotional as well as gendered beings (C. Campbell, 1997). However there is still a great reluctance to think of men in a gendered or emotional capacity. Many interventions remain narrowly focussed on specific diseases and isolated behaviours. Feminist movements have shown the strength of understanding how social structures and practices influence behaviour as well as wellbeing. The insights and successes of feminist movements need to be extended to the lives of men, not only for their benefit, but for the benefit of women and children around them as well as future generations.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Details of individual in-depth interview participants

Appendix B: Collaboration agreement with SNEHA

Appendix C: Topic guide for individual in depth interviews

Appendix D: Information sheet and informed consent forms for individual interview and focus group discussion participants – English and Hindi

Appendix A: Details of individual in-depth interview participants

No	Name	Age	Source of respondent	Born in Mumbai	Employed	Education Completed (Years)	Marriage type	Lives with:		Views on Gender		Good relationship with wife	Alcohol	Intimate partner violence			Extramarital Sex	
								Wife	Parents	Ineq.	Equit.			Verbal	Physical	Change	CSW	Non-CSW
1	Shyam	23	Community	✓	✗	10	Love	✓	✓		✓	✓	✗	✗		✗	✗	
2	Dinesh	25	FGD 2	✗	✓	10	Arranged	✗	✓		✓	✓	✗	✓	✗		✓	✓
3	Satish	28	CVWC	✓	✓	10	Love	✗	✓	✓		✗	✓	✓	□	✗	✗	
4	Hussein	42	CVWC			10	-				Community leader / 'key informant' interview – little personal detail given							
5	Imtiaz	32	CVWC	✓	✓	10	Arranged	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓	✓	✓		✗	✗
6	Sondeev	37	CVWC	✓	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✓	✓		✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
7	Ismail	25	CVWC	✓	✓	10+	Love	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓		✓		✗	✗
8	Pratamesh	30	CVWC	✗	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
9	Sridhar	25	CVWC	✗	✓	5	Love	✗	✗	✓		✗	✗	✓	✓		✗	✗
10	Ashok	52	Community / CVWC staff	✗	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✗		✓	✓	✓	✗	✗		✗	✗
11	Ramesh	24	CVWC	✓	✗	5	Love	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓	✓	✓		✗	✗
12	Nitin	30	CVWC	✓	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✓	✓		✗	✗	✓	✓		✗	✗
13	Sohail	42	CVWC	✓	✓	?	Arranged	✓	✗	✓		✗	✓	✓	✗		✗	✗
14	Prem	41	CVWC	✗	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✗	✓		✗	✓	✓	✗		✗	✗
15	Rajveer	30	Community / CVWC staff	✗	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✓	✓		✓	✗	✗	✗		✗	✗
16	Rakesh	24	Community / CVWC staff	✓	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗		✗	✗
17	Kamresh	27	SHO worker	✓	✓	10	Love	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗		✓	✗
18	Harish	30	SHO worker	✗	✓	10	Arranged	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓		✗	✗
19	Sachin	29	SHO worker	✓	✓	10	Arranged	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✗	✗		✗	✓
20	Jay	45	SHO worker	✗	✓	10	Arranged	✗	✗	✓		?	✓	✗	✗		✗	✗
21	Akash	35	SHO worker	✗	✓	10	Arranged	✗	✗	✓		?	✗	✓	✓		✗	✗
22	Javed	32	SHO worker	✗	✓	<5	Love	✓	✗	✓		✓	✓	✗	✗		✗	✗
23	Sudhakar	30	SHO worker	✓	✓	5	Arranged	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓
24	Anand	28	SHO worker	✗	✓	10+	Love	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
25	Dheeraj	24	SHO worker	✗	✓	10+	Arranged	✗	✗	✓		✗	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓
26	Sameer	26	SHO worker	✓	✗	10+	Arranged	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
27	Rashid	25	SHO worker	✗	✓	5	Arranged	✗	✗	✓		✗	✗	✓	✓		✓	✗
28	Pankaj	24	SHO worker	✓	✗	5	Arranged	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✗		✓	✗
29	Rahul	37	SHO worker	✗	✓	5	Arranged	✗	✗	✓		✗	✓	✓	✓		✗	✓
				15	25		8 : 20	19				9	15		15		6	6

Key

CVWC: Centre for Vulnerable Women and Children
SHO: Sexual health outreachIPV: Intimate Partner Violence
CSW: Commercial Sex WorkerIneq: Inequitable
Equit.: Equitable

Appendix B: Collaboration Agreement with SNEHA

FORMAL AGREEMENT OF COLLABORATION

This document outlines an agreement between the Centre for Vulnerable Women and Children, SNEHA and Mr Benjamin Davis, an MB PhD Student from University College London.

Mr Davis's research requires making contact with married men, aged 20-40, currently living with their families in Dharavi. An outline for his research has been presented in a separate document. It is recognised that in order for the research to be a success a local partner needs to be strongly involved in the research in order for Mr Davis to gain a good understanding of the context and to gain access to potential research participants. Additionally, the Centre for Vulnerable Women and Children seeks reassurance that the research represents a collaboration rather than an extraction of data from the community. The research will aim to inform current and future work undertaken by SNEHA with men in local communities.

CVWC will therefore gain the following from Mr Davis's research:

- Access to findings of the research.
- Experience of undertaking in-depth academic qualitative research and its value in informing current and future SNEHA programmes.
- Training of a research assistant who will have the potential to continue working with men in local communities, either as part of an intervention or in further research.
- Extensive discussion of current theory surrounding men and masculinities research.

The research will be based upon openness and clear communication between Mr Davis and CVWC. CVWC will be continually consulted on the direction of the research and ongoing findings. Additionally, research findings will be presented through oral presentations and drafts of written work, to allow SNEHA and others involved in the research to comment and challenge findings before any publication

of material. If at any point either party feels uncomfortable or has concerns about the research they will discuss them at the earliest opportunity.

CVWC will be credited in any publications and presentations involving Mr Davis's work with SNEHA. Mr Davis will be primary author on any publication where he has taken the lead in conceptualisation and drafting. Co-authorship on such publications will be decided by Mr Davis in accordance with the conventions for authorship as set out by the International Committee of Medical Journal Editors (http://www.icmje.org/ethical_1author.html).

Mr Davis will be responsible for maintaining the security and confidentiality of any data generated.

Dr Nayreen Daruwalla
Project Co-ordinator/Director
Centre for Vulnerable Women and Children,
SNEHA, Urban Health Centre, 4th Floor, 60 Feet Road, Dharavi, Mumbai, India

14th October 2009
Date

Mr Benjamin Davis
MB PhD Student
Centre for Sexual Health & HIV Research,
UCL

14th October 2009
Date

Appendix C: Sample topic guide for individual in depth interviews

1. Introduction

- Who we are, Informed consent
- Tell me a bit about yourself. How would you describe yourself?
 - Job, difficulties finding employment, where from, religion, age.
 - Living situation

2. Relationships with family members

- Can you tell me about the members of your family
- *Probe for relationship with father and mother.*
 - *What was your father like when you were growing up?*
- *Probe relationship with any children*

3. Sex outside marriage

- Can you think back to the last time you had sex with someone other than your wife? What happened?
- What was happening before/around that time?
- How did you feel before and after?
- Who do you have sex with? When does it happen?

4. Relationship with wife

- How is your relationship with your wife?
- How is the relationship between wife and your parents?
- Emotional / sexual

5. Violence

- Do you and your wife argue?
- Can you think of a time you've had violence with your wife?
 - What happened? How did you feel?
 - What was happening around that time?

6. Gender Roles

- How should a man be? How should a woman be?
- Who are your role models? Who do you look up to?
- Would you like things to be different with your wife? How?

7. Friendship & Support

- Can you tell me a bit about your friends?
- How do you compare with other men? How are you different from other men?
- What do you talk about / do when your with friends?
- Can you think of a time when another man has challenged you?
- Gupt Rog: Experience of kamjori? What? When?

Appendix D: Information sheet and informed consent forms

Information Sheet for Individual Interview Participants

Men, Masculinities and Health: Exploring The Lives of Men Living in Dharavi

Principal Researcher

Benjamin Davis
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SNEHA Assistant

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SNEHA Assistant

Sitaram Kharat
9892601427

We would like to invite you to participate in this research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Aim of this research

This aim of this research is to understand more about the lives on men living in this area, the problems they face and how this affects their health and home life.

Who we are talking to

We are recruiting married men, aged between 20 and 40 years, who are living with their wife and resident in this community.

What will happen if you agree to take part?

If you agree to take part, we will talk to you for approximately 1-2 hours. We will find a location which suits you locally, where you feel comfortable talking about the issues outlined. As Benjamin's Hindi is not good enough, you will speak to Murugesan who will act as an interpreter and conduct the interview. We would also like to make recordings of our interview with you. This is so we can record what you say accurately and do not miss anything important.

Risks & benefits from being involved in this research

The interviews may talk about some sensitive issues. However, you can stop the interview at any time or tell us that you do not feel comfortable answering any question asked. This will not disadvantage you in any way. Benefits of the study include discussing some of the problems you are currently experiencing living in this community with someone who will listen and take an interest in you and what you have to say.

What will happen to what I say?

All interviews will be recorded, transcribed and then translated into English. Your name and anything that could be used to identify you will be removed from all material. All recordings and transcriptions will be stored securely. Only the researcher and the research assistants will have access to them. Your name will never be used in anything and we will not discuss anything you tell us with anyone else in the community.

If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (1943/001) and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998.

Informed Consent Form for Individual Interview Participants

Men, Masculinities and Health: Exploring The Lives of Men Living in Dharavi

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee & Tata Institute of Social Science.

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.
- understand that my participation will be taped and I am aware of and consent to, use of the recordings in your research
- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.
- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signed:

Date:

Information Sheet for Focus Group Participants

Men, Masculinities and Health: Exploring The Lives of Men Living in Dharavi

Principal Researcher

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SNEHA Assistant

Sitaram Kharat
9892601427

We would like to invite you to participate in this research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Aim of this research

This aim of this research is to understand more about the lives on men living in this area, the problems they face and how this affects their health and home life.

Who we are talking to

We are recruiting married men, aged between 20 and 40 years, who are living with their wife and resident in this community.

What will happen if you agree to take part?

If you agree to take part, we will invite you to a location close by, where we would like to talk to you as part of a group discussion, involving 5-7 men also from this community. The discussion will last between 1-2 hours. We would also like to make recordings of the discussions which we have. This is so that we can record what you say accurately and do not miss any important information.

Risks & benefits from being involved in this research

The interviews may talk about some sensitive issues. However, you can stop the interview at any time or tell us that you do not feel comfortable answering any question asked. This will not disadvantage you in any way. Benefits of the study include discussing some of the problems you are currently experiencing living in this community with someone who will listen and take an interest in you and what you have to say.

What will happen to what I say?

All interviews will be recorded, transcribed and then translated into English. Your name and anything that could be used to identify you will be removed from any transcriptions. All recordings and transcriptions will be stored securely. Only the researcher and the research assistant will have access to them. Your name will never be used in anything and we will not discuss anything you tell us with anyone else in the community.

If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (1943/001) and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998.

Informed Consent Form for Focus Group Participants

Men, Masculinities and Health: Exploring The Lives of Men Living in Dharavi

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee & Tata Institute of Social Science.

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I

- have read the notes written above and the Information Sheet, and understand what the study involves.
- understand that my participation will be taped and I am aware of and consent to, use of the recordings in your research
- understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.
- understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signed:

Date:



व्यक्तिगत साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने वालों के लिए जानकारी प्रपत्र

पुरुष, पुरुषत्व तथा स्वास्थ्य : धारावी में रहने वाले पुरुषों के जीवन का अन्वेषण

हम आपको इस अनुसंधान परियोजना में भाग लेने के लिए आमंत्रित करना चाहते हैं, जिसे **स्नेहा** तथा युनिवर्सिटी कॉलेज लंदन (यूके) के एक अनुसंधानकर्ता द्वारा आयोजित किया जा रहा है। आपको इसमें केवल तभी भाग लेना चाहिए जब आप ऐसा करना चाहे : इसमें भाग नहीं लेने से आपको किसी प्रकार की कोई हानि नहीं होगी। इसमें भाग लेने का निर्णय करने से पहले इस अध्ययन के कर्मचारी आपको अध्ययन के उद्देश्य के बारे में समझाएंगे, कि इससे आपको या अन्य लोगों को कैसे सहायता मिल सकती है तथा इसमें भाग लेने के क्या-क्या जोखिम हैं। आप अन्य लोगों से अध्ययन के बारे में चर्चा कर सकते हैं और यदि आपको कोई बात स्पष्ट नहीं हो या आप अधिक जानकारी प्राप्त करना चाहते हों तो हमसे पूछ सकते हैं।

इस अध्ययन का लक्ष्य

हम इस अध्ययन में, इस इलाके में रहने वाले पुरुषों के जीवन के बारे में जानने में रुचि रखते हैं अर्थात् उन्हें किन-किन समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ता है और यह उनके स्वास्थ्य, घरेलू जीवन तथा व्यवहार को कैसे प्रभावित करती हैं। इस अनुसंधान का लक्ष्य इस समुदाय में पारिवारिक संबंधों, पत्नियों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार तथा वैवाहिक संबंधों से बाहर यौन संबंध बनाने के बारे में अधिक गहराई से समझना है। वर्तमान में **स्नेहा** महिलाओं के बीच बहुत से काम कर रही है, परन्तु हम आशा करते हैं कि इस अनुसंधान से हमें पुरुषों के बीच और अधिक काम करने में सहायता मिलेगी।

हम किसके साथ बातचीत कर रहे हैं?

विवाहित पुरुष, जिनकी उम्र 20-40 वर्ष के बीच है, जो अपनी पत्नी के साथ धारावी में रहते हैं।

यदि आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते हैं तो क्या होगा?

यदि आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते हैं तो मुरुगेसन आपके साथ लगभग 1-2 घंटे तक बातचीत करेंगे। हम इसी इलाके में कोई ऐसा स्थान देखेंगे, जहां पर हम आपके साथ एकांत में बातचीत कर सकें और जहां पर आप सुविधाजनक महसूस कर सकें। हम यौन स्वास्थ्य, भावनाओं, यौन जीवन तथा पत्नियों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार संबंधी अनुभवों जैसे मुद्दों के बारे में बातचीत कर सकते हैं।

मैं जो कुछ कहूंगा उसका क्या किया जायेगा?

सभी साक्षात्कारों को डिजिटल रूप से रिकॉर्ड किया जायेगा, ताकि हम आपके द्वारा कही गयी बातों को सही-सही रिकॉर्ड कर सकें और कोई महत्वपूर्ण बात छूट न जाये। आपकी गोपनीयता सुनिश्चित करने के लिए, आपके नाम तथा ऐसी किसी भी बात को सभी सामग्रियों से हटा दिया जायेगा जिससे आपकी पहचान प्रकट हो। रिकॉर्डिंग की एक प्रति एक सहायक को भेजी जायेगी जो साक्षात्कार की लिखित प्रति बनायेंगे। इस व्यक्ति को आपकी व्यक्तिगत पहचान से संबंधित कोई भी जानकारी नहीं दी जायेगी। लिखित प्रति को चेक करने के बाद, रिकॉर्डिंग को इस परियोजना के समाप्त होने तक रखा जायेगा और फिर नष्ट कर दिया जायेगा। हम सभी रिकॉर्डिंग तथा लिखित सामग्री को सुरक्षापूर्वक रखेंगे।

इस अनुसंधान में शामिल होने के क्या-क्या जोखिम और लाभ हैं?

क्योंकि साक्षात्कारों में कुछ संवेदनशील मुद्दों के बारे में बातचीत की जा सकती है, अतः आप किसी बिन्दु पर शर्मिंदगी या असुविधा महसूस कर सकते हैं। परन्तु आप हमें यह कह कर किसी प्रश्न का उत्तर देने से मना कर सकते हैं कि आप उस प्रश्न से सुविधाजनक महसूस नहीं कर रहे हैं और आप किसी भी समय साक्षात्कार को समाप्त कर सकते हैं। इससे आपको किसी प्रकार की कोई हानि नहीं होगी। आप मुरुगेसन से स्वयं को किसी परामर्शदाता या समर्थन के अन्य स्रोतों के लिए संदर्भित करने के लिए भी कह सकते हैं।

इस अध्ययन के लाभों में किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति के साथ आपकी वर्तमान समस्याओं के बारे में विचार विमर्श करना शामिल है जो आपकी बातों को सुनेंगे और आप तथा आपके द्वारा कही गयी बातों में रूचि लेंगे। इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए आपको किसी प्रकार का भुगतान नहीं किया जायेगा।

यदि आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते हैं तो आपको एक सहमति पत्र पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिए कहा जायेगा। यह आपके ऊपर निर्भर है कि आप इसमें भाग लेना चाहते हैं या नहीं। यदि आप भाग लेने का निर्णय करते हैं तो भी आप बिना कोई कारण बतायें किसी भी समय बातचीत समाप्त करने के लिए स्वतंत्र हैं।

इस अध्ययन को यूसीएल रिसर्च ऐथिक्स कमेटी (1943/001) तथा टीआईएसएस मुम्बई द्वारा स्वीकृत किया गया है। सभी आंकड़े यू के डाटा प्रोटेक्शन एक्ट 1998 के अनुसार एकत्र और संग्रहित किये जायेंगे।

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जानकारीयुक्त सहमति पत्र—व्यक्तिगत साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने वाले



पुरुष, पुरुषत्व तथा स्वास्थ्य : धारावी में रहने वाले पुरुषों के जीवन का अन्वेषण

इस अध्ययन को यूसीएल रिसर्च ऐथिक्स कमेटी (1943/001) तथा टाटा इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ सोशल साइन्स द्वारा स्वीकृत किया गया है।

इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने में रुचि प्रदर्शित करने के लिए आपका धन्यवाद। भाग लेने में आपकी सहमति से पहले अनुसंधान आयोजित करने वाले व्यक्ति द्वारा परियोजना के बारे में आपको समझाया जाना जरूरी है।

यदि आपको जानकारीयुक्त प्रपत्र या आपको प्रदान किये गये स्पष्टीकरण के संबंध में कोई प्रश्न हैं तो कृपया भाग लेने का निर्णय करने से पहले अनुसंधानकर्ता से उनके बारे में पूछ लें। आपको अपने पास रखने तथा किसी समय संदर्भ के लिए इस सहमति पत्र की एक प्रतिलिपि प्रदान की जायेगी।

प्रतिभागी का वक्तव्य

मैं.....घोषित करता हूँ कि

- मैं ऊपर लिखी हुई टिप्पणियों तथा जानकारीयुक्त प्रपत्र को पढ़ चुका हूँ और यह समझ गया हूँ कि अध्ययन किस संबंध में है।
- मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरे वार्तालाप को टेप किया जायेगा और मुझे आपके अनुसंधान में रिकॉर्डिंग के इस्तेमाल के बारे में मालूम है और मैं इसके लिए सहमत हूँ।
- मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि किसी भी समय मैं आगे परियोजना में भाग लेना जारी नहीं रखना चाहता हूँ तो मैं इसके बारे में तुरन्त अनुसंधानकर्ता को बता सकता हूँ और बातचीत समाप्त कर सकता हूँ।
- मैं इस अनुसंधान अध्ययन के उद्देश्यों के लिए अपनी व्यक्तिगत जानकारी के संसाधन की सहमति देता हूँ और यह समझता हूँ कि इस जानकारी को पूरी तरह से गोपनीय रखा जायेगा और इसका प्रबंधन डाटा प्रोटेक्शन एक्ट 1998 के प्रावधानों के अनुसार किया जायेगा।
- मैं इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि ऊपर जिस अनुसंधान परियोजना का नाम दिया गया है, उसके बारे में मुझे मेरी संतुष्टि के अनुसार समझाया जा चुका है और मैं इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए अपनी सहमति देता हूँ।

हस्ताक्षर	दिनांक
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सामूहिक साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने वालों के लिए जानकारी प्रपत्र

पुरुष, पुरुषत्व तथा स्वास्थ्य : धारावी में रहने वाले पुरुषों के जीवन का अन्वेषण

हम आपको इस अनुसंधान परियोजना में भाग लेने के लिए आमंत्रित करना चाहते हैं, जिसे **स्नेहा** तथा युनिवर्सिटी कॉलेज लंदन (यूके) के एक अनुसंधानकर्ता द्वारा आयोजित किया जा रहा है। आपको इसमें केवल तभी भाग लेना चाहिए जब आप ऐसा करना चाहे : इसमें भाग नहीं लेने से आपको किसी प्रकार की कोई हानि नहीं होगी। इसमें भाग लेने का निर्णय करने से पहले इस अध्ययन के कर्मचारी आपको अध्ययन के उद्देश्य के बारे में समझाएंगे, कि इससे आपको या अन्य लोगों को कैसे सहायता मिल सकती है तथा इसमें भाग लेने के क्या-क्या जोखिम हैं। आप अन्य लोगों से अध्ययन के बारे में चर्चा कर सकते हैं और यदि आपको कोई बात स्पष्ट नहीं हो या आप अधिक जानकारी प्राप्त करना चाहते हों तो हमसे पूछ सकते हैं।

इस अध्ययन का लक्ष्य

हम इस अध्ययन में, इस इलाके में रहने वाले पुरुषों के जीवन के बारे में जानने में रुचि रखते हैं अर्थात् उन्हें किन-किन समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ता है और यह उनके स्वास्थ्य, घरेलू जीवन तथा व्यवहार को कैसे प्रभावित करती हैं। इस अनुसंधान का लक्ष्य इस समुदाय में पारिवारिक संबंधों, पत्नियों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार तथा वैवाहिक संबंधों से बाहर यौन संबंध बनाने के बारे में अधिक गहराई से समझना है। वर्तमान में **स्नेहा** महिलाओं के बीच बहुत से काम कर रही है, परन्तु हम आशा करते हैं कि इस अनुसंधान से हमें पुरुषों के बीच और अधिक काम करने में सहायता मिलेगी।

हम किसके साथ बातचीत कर रहे हैं?

विवाहित पुरुष, जिनकी उम्र 20-40 वर्ष के बीच है, जो अपनी पत्नी के साथ धारावी में रहते हैं।

यदि आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते हैं तो क्या होगा?

यदि आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते हैं तो हम आपको नजदीक के ही एक स्थान में आमंत्रित करेंगे जहां हम आपसे इस इलाके के 5-7 अन्य पुरुषों के साथ लगभग 1-2 घंटे तक बातचीत करेंगे। मुरुगेसन परिचर्चा का संचालन करेंगे परन्तु हम मुख्य रूप से आपके अनुभवों और विचारों के बारे में जानना चाहेंगे। परिचर्चा में यौन स्वास्थ्य, भावनाओं, यौन जीवन तथा पत्नियों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार संबंधी अनुभवों जैसे मुद्दे शामिल हो सकते हैं।

मैं जो कुछ कहूंगा उसका क्या किया जायेगा?

सभी साक्षात्कारों को डिजिटल रूप से रिकॉर्ड किया जायेगा, ताकि हम आपके द्वारा कही गयी बातों को सही-सही रिकॉर्ड कर सकें और कोई महत्वपूर्ण बात छूट न जाये। आपकी गोपनीयता सुनिश्चित करने के लिए, आपके नाम तथा ऐसी किसी भी बात को सभी सामग्रियों से हटा दिया जायेगा जिससे आपकी पहचान प्रकट हो। रिकॉर्डिंग की एक प्रति एक सहायक को भेजी जायेगी जो साक्षात्कार की लिखित प्रति बनायेंगे। इस व्यक्ति को आपकी व्यक्तिगत पहचान से संबंधित कोई भी जानकारी नहीं दी जायेगी। लिखित प्रति को चेक करने के बाद, रिकॉर्डिंग को इस परियोजना के समाप्त होने तक रखा जायेगा और फिर नष्ट कर दिया जायेगा। हम सभी रिकॉर्डिंग तथा लिखित सामग्री को सुरक्षापूर्वक रखेंगे।

इस अनुसंधान में शामिल होने के क्या-क्या जोखिम और लाभ हैं?

क्योंकि साक्षात्कारों में कुछ संवेदनशील मुद्दों के बारे में बातचीत की जा सकती है, अतः आप किसी बिन्दु पर शर्मिंदगी या असुविधा महसूस कर सकते हैं। परन्तु आप हमें यह कह कर किसी प्रश्न का उत्तर देने से मना कर सकते हैं कि आप उस प्रश्न से सुविधाजनक महसूस नहीं कर रहे हैं और आप किसी भी समय साक्षात्कार को समाप्त कर सकते हैं। इससे आपको किसी प्रकार की कोई हानि नहीं होगी। आप मुरुगेसन से स्वयं को किसी परामर्शदाता या समर्थन के अन्य स्रोतों के लिए संदर्भित करने के लिए भी कह सकते हैं।

इस अध्ययन के लाभों में किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति के साथ आपकी वर्तमान समस्याओं के बारे में विचार विमर्श करना शामिल है जो आपकी बातों को सुनें और आप तथा आपके द्वारा कही गयी बातों में रूचि लेंगे। इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए आपको किसी प्रकार का भुगतान नहीं किया जायेगा।

यदि आप भाग लेने के लिए सहमत होते हैं तो आपको एक सहमति पत्र पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिए कहा जायेगा। यह आपके ऊपर निर्भर है कि आप इसमें भाग लेना चाहते हैं या नहीं। यदि आप भाग लेने का निर्णय करते हैं तो भी आप बिना कोई कारण बतायें किसी भी समय बातचीत समाप्त करने के लिए स्वतंत्र हैं।

इस अध्ययन को यूसीएल रिसर्च ऐथिक्स कमेटी (1943/001) तथा टीआईएसएस मुम्बई द्वारा स्वीकृत किया गया है। सभी आंकड़े यू के डाटा प्रोटेक्शन एक्ट 1998 के अनुसार एकत्र और संग्रहित किये जायेंगे।

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सामूहिक सहमति पत्र-व्यक्तिगत साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने वाले

पुरुष, पुरुषत्व तथा स्वास्थ्य : धारावी में रहने वाले पुरुषों के जीवन का अन्वेषण

इस अध्ययन को यूसीएल रिसर्च ऐथिक्स कमेटी (1943/001) तथा टाटा इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ सोशल साइन्स द्वारा स्वीकृत किया गया है।

इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने में रुचि प्रदर्शित करने के लिए आपका धन्यवाद। भाग लेने में आपकी सहमति से पहले अनुसंधान आयोजित करने वाले व्यक्ति द्वारा परियोजना के बारे में आपको समझाया जाना जरूरी है।

यदि आपको जानकारीयुक्त प्रपत्र या आपको प्रदान किये गये स्पष्टीकरण के संबंध में कोई प्रश्न हैं तो कृपया भाग लेने का निर्णय करने से पहले अनुसंधानकर्ता से उनके बारे में पूछ लें। आपको अपने पास रखने तथा किसी समय संदर्भ के लिए इस सहमति पत्र की एक प्रतिलिपि प्रदान की जायेगी।

प्रतिभागी का वक्तव्य

मैं.....घोषित करता हूँ कि

- मैं ऊपर लिखी हुई टिप्पणियों तथा जानकारीयुक्त प्रपत्र को पढ़ चुका हूँ और यह समझ गया हूँ कि अध्ययन किस संबंध में है।
- मैं समझता हूँ कि मेरे वार्तालाप को टेप किया जायेगा और मुझे आपके अनुसंधान में रिकॉर्डिंग के इस्तेमाल के बारे में मालूम है और मैं इसके लिए सहमत हूँ।
- मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि किसी भी समय मैं आगे परियोजना में भाग लेना जारी नहीं रखना चाहता हूँ तो मैं इसके बारे में तुरन्त अनुसंधानकर्ता को बता सकता हूँ और बातचीत समाप्त कर सकता हूँ।
- मैं इस अनुसंधान अध्ययन के उद्देश्यों के लिए अपनी व्यक्तिगत जानकारी के संसाधन की सहमति देता हूँ और यह समझता हूँ कि इस जानकारी को पूरी तरह से गोपनीय रखा जायेगा और इसका प्रबंधन डाटा प्रोटेक्शन एक्ट 1998 के प्रावधानों के अनुसार किया जायेगा।
- मैं इस बात से सहमत हूँ कि ऊपर जिस अनुसंधान परियोजना का नाम दिया गया है, उसके बारे में मुझे मेरी संतुष्टि के अनुसार समझाया जा चुका है और मैं इस अध्ययन में भाग लेने के लिए अपनी सहमति देता हूँ।

हस्ताक्षर	दिनांक
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