

Assurance Papers:
A Strategy of the Special Cell

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INTRODUCTION

Communication can be identified as a distinctive stage in human evolution. Humans started to communicate through the medium of drawing and smoke signals, which eventually evolved to signs and symbols. However, before the invention of symbols and signs, humans began communicating orally. Writing as a medium of communication evolved only later. In modern times, prehistory and history have also been divided by the presence or absence of writing (van der Veer 2001)¹.

Oral forms were the preferred mode of communication, especially in the Indian subcontinent where the caste system posed as an obstacle to the use of written communication. A stringent caste system, wherein the authority of learning reading and writing (and thus having access to knowledge of scriptures) lay in the hands of Brahman men, led to the popularity of oral form of communication in India. Vedic mantras' sacrality depends on speaking and listening, and writing them is forbidden. "This prohibition has also to do with the secret power of these sounds which should only be known by the higher castes and certainly not know by the lower castes and women."²(van der Veer 1994). As men from lower castes and women from all castes, were prohibited from writing, it came to be seen as a skill that was accessible only to the privileged- a symbol of power.

The establishment of the British Empire also added more importance to the written word in the Indian subcontinent. Writing was seen as a sign of being civilized in modern Europe (van der Veer 2001). In the West, writing gained importance when historians realised that oral traditions and customs did not suffice as an appropriate method of documentation, as it implied that one had to rely on memory. Thus, there was a need to write contemporary documents for accuracy and reliability of events (Graham 1987). According to R. Thomas (1989), written documents

¹ van der Veer 2001, 119.

² van der Veer 1994, 161-68.

gradually became more common in various spheres once the official city archive was established. Eventually the written word became acceptable as proof. This perspective was brought to the Indian subcontinent.

According to van der Veer (2001), the part- oral and part- written traditions of India posed as a problem to Hindu nationalists. Hence, in order to make the traditions more compact, homogenised and unified they decide to print it in the form of authoritative texts. Indian scholars were embarrassed by the oral traditions, especially when they were confronted by the British, who attributed writing very highly. This movement towards writing made oral communication more and more redundant and made written communication more important.

Post-colonial theorists have also suggested that the way the written word has been perceived in India is highly influenced by the colonial rule. According to H. Bhabha, writing is a highly political activity and “...in its broadest sense is, closely linked to the acquisition of agency” (Olson and Wormsham 1998).

Writing also gained prominence during the fight for independent India. The fact that India chose to have a written constitution concretised the importance of writing even after independence. Writing thus became important even in the administrative processes of the Government, including the Police.

The work of the Police is not only limited to investigating and curbing crime—a lot of their work is also connected to documenting the investigation processes. For a survivor of violence who goes to the Police, giving her statement in writing or getting a document is writing is something that she expects, as the written document, especially in a setting such as the Police station, holds a great deal of value. A written document is proof of her visit and of her accessing police support, and is also a way to build the woman’s history of violence.

Importance of writing within the Special Cell

Special Cell for Women and Children, a psycho-socio-legal service for survivors of violence, is located within the Criminal Justice System. Special Cell offices are currently operating in 90 police stations³ across the State of Maharashtra.

In 1984, when the first Special Cell was instituted at the Officer of Commissioner of Police, the foundation of the work was based on principles of social work. Eventually, as a result of constant interactions with survivors of violence and active listening by the Special Cell workers, the strategies of the Special Cell developed. As these strategies were based solely on what the survivors' want and desire, they evolved into feminist/pro-woman strategies.

Similarly, the strategy of 'assurance papers' was developed as a result of the want and desire of the violated woman to get in writing, from the perpetrator, assurances of what had been promised to her at the Special Cell. This desire might stem from the fact that the woman has approached the police station, a place of authority and power, and that getting assurances in writing from the perpetrator would have more meaning and a constructive impact on her right to demand non-violent reconciliation.

Survivors wanted violence to stop in their intimate relationship and family, and not for the relationship to end. They wanted to get a commitment from the perpetrator, in a place of authority, witnessed by their families on neutral grounds, with support for non-violence. This culturally *conducive* strategy was suggested by women to ensure that papers are written by the aggressor (or at times the woman herself), and signed by the aggressor. They are usually written at the end of the intervention of the Special Cell i.e. after conducting individual meetings and joint meetings, and it is solely the woman's decision to get the assurance papers written.

Factors such as caste, class, social status influenced the importance of writing. As against any verbal assurance, which fails to guarantee consistency and accuracy, a written assurance provides

³ As of June 2014, there are 90 Special Cells operating in Maharashtra. The grant for 144 Special Cells has been passed.

the survivors of violence with consultability, accuracy and reliability of the assurances that are made by the perpetrator.

All these elements—of writing being looked as a formal/reliable assurance; the Special Cells' location in the Police Station; and that woman wanted to end violence in their lives and not necessarily end the relationship—together contributed to the development of the assurance paper as a strategy of the Special Cell.

A study of the assurance papers' strategy

The last thirty years has seen an overwhelming response to a service such as the Special Cell— not only by survivors of violence, but also from the State departments of Maharashtra (including Departments of Home, Women and Child Development and Police). The Special Cells service has been institutionalised as a grants-in-aid programme and has consequently expanded to 144 police stations at the district and *taluka* level. With such a high growth in the number of Cells and with amendments in the legal framework with regard to violence against women, it was seen fit to re-look at the strategies that are used by the Special Cell. Thus, the strategy of assurance papers was chosen for re-examination.

The primary objective of this study is to understand if the strategy which was developed by and for the violated woman, is at all detrimental to her and her access to rights.

Objectives

1. Along with the above mentioned objectives, this study also aims to:
2. Understand the range of problems for which this strategy is currently used;
3. Understand if the language used in the papers renders a disadvantage to the woman;
4. Assess the quality of the assurance papers (language and its implications), for it to be used in the courts.

Methodology

For the purpose of this study, the first 18 Special Cells that have been established in Maharashtra located in the district headquarters of Amravati, Aurangabad, Dhule, Jalgaon, Nasik, Nanded, Nagpur, Osmanabad, Parbhani, Pune, Sangli, Thane, Wardha, Yevatmal, as well as the Special

Cells from Mumbai, C.P. Office, Dadar, Kandivali and C.B.D. Belapur,⁴ were selected. These Cells are representative of the State of Maharashtra as they are spread across the three Police ranges of the State—Mumbai, Thane, Sindhudurg, Ratnagiri and Raigad range; Kolhapur and Pune range; Nanded and Nagpur range; and Amaravati and Aurangabad range. Data has been collected from the years 2006 to 2011. There are certain Cells, located at Parbhani, Osmanabad, Jalgaon and Dhule, which were established only after 2006 because of which data from these Cells is available only post-2006⁵. Random sampling technique⁶ was employed to get the required sample size for the study.

As mentioned above, the purpose of this research is to understand the nature of assurances that the perpetrators gives in writing at the time of the end of the intervention at the Special Cell, as well as to understand the language and the content of the assurance papers. Thus, it was found appropriate to use a mixed methodology. “Research problems suited for mixed methods are those in which one data source may be insufficient, results need to be explained, exploratory findings need to be generalised, a second method is needed to enhance a primary method, a theoretical stance needs to be employed, and an overall research objective can be best addresses with multiple phases, or projects.” (Creswell and Clark 2011)⁷ The assurances made were thus quantified and then later qualified for a better understanding of the use of the strategy of assurance papers.

The extent and nature of use

⁴ For the purpose of this study, the Special Cells of C.P. Office, Dadar, Kandivali and C.B.D. Belapur have all been clubbed under the city of Mumbai.

⁵ Parbhani (2009), Osmanabad (2007), Jalgaon (2009) and Dhule (2011)

⁶ These assurance papers were selected randomly through an online computerised programme called ‘random number generator’ (<http://stattrek.com/statistics/random-number-generator.aspx>)

⁷ Creswell and Clark 2011, 9-11.

The strategy of assurance papers, as mentioned before, was initiated in response to the want of clients of the Special Cell. Thirty years later, assurance papers are written in 21.2% of the cases that get registered at the Special Cell⁸.

Who are the assurance givers?

The assurance papers are still largely written by the woman's husband. 50% of the assurance papers are written by women's husbands, who were the main assurers when the strategy was first introduced. The woman's husband thus can be said to be the main perpetrator of violence and the main respondent in cases which get registered at the Special Cell.

Written assurances are not restricted to just the married couple; the marital family (2.8%), the natal family of the woman (1%) and other members of the community (largely as witnesses) (1.3%) also give written assurances. This demonstrates that the Special Cell workers have been facilitating a non-violent life for the woman by not only involving the husband, but also other stakeholders in the life of the woman.

The mandate of Special Cell is not just domestic violence, but is comprised of the larger issue of violence against women. The fact that assurance papers are written by men who are not in a marital relationship with the survivor (3.9%) is a testament to this. In an assurance paper from the Special Cell at Wardha, the respondent has written "*pichle 8 saalon se meri aur... jaan pehechan thi use vajah se kabhi kabar hum aapase mein milte thai...*" ("since the past 8 years I and... have known each other because of which we would sometimes meet each other"). Cases in which the male offspring has written assurances to their mother also are included in this category.

⁸ A total number of 17818 cases were registered between the years 2006 and 2011, out of which assurance papers were written in 3,861 cases.

A change from the time when the assurance paper strategy started is the fact that today assurance papers are also written by women—the clients of the Special Cell. In 34% of cases with assurance papers, women have given written assurances.

What kind of non-violence are the assurances against?

Currently, assurance papers are used not only in when the couple has decided to reconcile (47.9%), but also when the couple has decided to separate (4.1%) and divorce (2.5%). Hence, largely assurance papers are still used when the couple has decided to reconcile. Even when they do decide to separate or divorce, non-violence is still a central theme in the assurance paper. A majority of the assurances are made against physical violence (*sharirik tras/marhan*) (34.5%), which means that most of the women who come to the Special Cell have complaints against physical abuse. Assurances of ending mental violence (*mansik tras/chal/chal chal*) (24.7%) also are made. Very few assurance papers mention sexual violence (1.3%), which indicates that either sexual violence is not addressed at the Special Cell or then that women do not prioritise it as a kind of violence that they would want to get written on assurance papers.

What does the woman's husband assure? An end to physical violence is assured in most papers written by women's husbands (52.4%). The Special Cell works towards facilitating an intervention in which the woman gets back her economic assets, and thus in 6.6% of assurance papers, the woman's husband has assured that they will give the client back her *streedhan*.

In 11.7% of assurance papers, the woman's husband has assured separate accommodation for him and his wife. This indicates that these women identify living with their in-laws as a reason for discord in their marital life. Similar to the assurance of providing separate accommodation—hence assuring that there will be more distance and less interference from the woman's marital family—husbands have also written about the woman's access to her natal family. In one such assurance paper, the woman's husband has written that his wife, from now onwards, should not

visit her mother frequently (*“tasech maazhi patni... aaj pasun aamhi saangli yethe rahat astana tichi aai... kade janache nahi”*). In 2.6% assurance papers, the woman’s husband has mentioned that his wife will be allowed to go to her natal family during festivals and during emergencies (*“sanvar kinva katheen prasangi maheri pathveen”*).

In 11.7% of assurance papers husbands have assured that they will not consume alcohol or tobacco. While it is important to assure specific things, it is also important to keep in mind that it does not go against the spirit of the assurance paper. For example, in one assurance paper, the husband has written that he will not drink and then hit his wife (... *daru piyun marhan karnar nahi*).

7.5% of the women’s husbands have assured that they will take care of their family and 7.7% have assured that they will partake in household chores. When husbands talk about taking care of their families, it is assured or presented in various ways. One man has assured that he will fulfill his responsibilities towards his wife and children and that he will spend time with them and will take care of their happiness (*“aagese patni aur bacche ki zimmadari puri karunga aur baccho unko samay doonga aur unki khushiyonka khayal rakhoonga”*). Some respondents have not elaborated on how they will take care of their family, but have written that they will fulfill their responsibilities as a husband (*“mein pati ke naate jo kartavya banta hai, vo acchi tarah se nibhaoonga”*). A respondent has also written that his wife is his responsibility and hence he will take care of her (*“mazhya patnichi javabdaari mazhi asun te mi purnapane paar padnyache prayatna kareen”*). Both these statements reflect the roles and responsibilities of a man within the socially constructed norms of masculinity, which is similar to the assurances that are written by the violated women.

Respondents have also assured that they will take care of their family by clearly mentioning how the finances of the household will be distributed. One respondent has said that he will give his wife Rs. 100 per month for personal expenses and all other expenses such as electricity bill, cylinder, children’s school fees and medical expenses (*“patnina khaaji kharachsaathi mahinache*

Rs. 100 dene kareel v baki gharateel sarva kharcha mi sambhaleen jase kirana, electric bill, cylinder, mulanacha shaalache v davakhanyacha kharch ityadi”). In another assurance paper, a respondent has assured that he will take appropriate responsibility for his wife and children’s financial and medical expenses and will also take care of the household expenses (“*mulanichi v patnichichi aarthik v vaidakiy jababdarya yogy ritine paar padteel. Tasech sampoorn gharkharch chalavteel*”).

While it is an achievement for the Special Cell worker to facilitate an intervention in which the woman gets back her rights, it is also important to focus on the expectations that the husband has from the client. Expectations from the wife are mostly to do with her behavior, her nature and her duty as a wife and daughter-in-law. In an assurance the respondent has written that the client will also take proper care of the respondent (“*...tasech arjdaar suddha gairarjdaar yanchi neet kaljee gheel*”).

What does the woman’s marital family assure?

The marital family is also involved in perpetuating violence towards the woman. Hence, most of the papers written by the woman’s marital family assure end to violence. 31.6% papers assure an end to physical violence.

What does the woman’s natal family assure?

1% of all assurance papers are written by the woman’s mother, father and brother. These natal family members write assurance papers to assure non-violence, and a change in behavior.

14.3% assurance papers written by the woman's natal family assure an end to physical and verbal violence. An equal number of papers are written by the natal family assuring that they will change their behavior. All of the assurance papers are written at the time of reconciliation.

The fact that 31.6% of assurance papers written by the woman's marital family are written at the time of reconciliation and all the assurances papers written by the natal family are written at the time of reconciliation, indicates that woman's natal family is involved only when she decides to reconcile. There is a complete absence of the natal family narratives' when the woman decides to either separate or divorce her husband.

What do the other members of the community assure?

Members of the community are present as witnesses to the assurance papers. Assurances are also written by other members of the community, which includes neighbors, community leaders and employers. 1.3% of such people have given assurances in writing. 5 out of the 9 assurance papers written by community members are written in the capacity of witnesses. 11.1% assurances are made by members of the community to end mental, verbal violence and harassment, while 22.2% have assured an end to physical violence. 11.1% assurance papers are written when there has been some kind of economic transaction.

What does the violated woman assure?

While the husband assures a violence free life to his wife, the wife assures her husband that she will partake in household responsibility (13.2%) ("*gharateel sarva kaam mi neet netke karnyacha prayatna kareen*" "*gharateel kamanchi jabadari mazhi ahe yachi mala purna janeev ahe*"), behave properly (9.8%) ("*Mazhya saasri mi neet rahate...*"), and that she will take care of the family (6%). It is thus evident that the husbands assure that which are the woman's rights, while the wife's assurances still function within heteronormatively defined roles for women.

Along with assuring her role and duties around the house, women have also assured that they will take their husband's permission before visiting their natal family (2.6%) (“...mazhya saasri mi neet rahate ki maheri jaat nahi”) (“...mi mazhya navryala ultun bolnar nahi. Gharateel kame kareel, atmahatya karnyacha prayatna karnar nahi. Tasech maheri sanasaathi jaeel. Ase jar mi vagle tar mazhyavar yogy ti karyavahi karnyat yavi.”).

WAY FORWARD

“The world is man’s word. Man is the word of the world.”

- Annie Leclerc, 1974

The importance of having the woman’s voice in literature is undisputed, but at the same time it is important to keep in mind that the language used by either gender should be a language of rights and equality. Language, a component of human culture, “... encodes the culture’s values and preoccupations...” (Cameron 1992) onto the next generation, thus making the examination of representation of gender in languages an important exercise.

Women have been excluded from naming culture’s values, thus making this ‘man made’ language difficult for a woman to use to express her experiences. The exclusion of women from the naming of values and preoccupations does not only create obstacles in her expressing herself, but also further alienates her from language due to the existence of verbal taboo. According to O. Jespersen, “the fact that a wife is not allowed to mention the name of her husband makes one think that we have here simply an instance of a custom found in various forms and in varying degrees throughout the world—what is called verbal taboo...” (Jespersen 1998). The assurance papers also reflect a similar taboo. In all papers but one, from the Special Cell at Amravati, neither the respondent nor the client has mentioned each other’s names. Only the relation of the signatory to the person to whom it is addressed to is written. For example, in most of the assurance papers of the Special Cell at Amravati, it is written:

“Person writing: (name)

Henceforth I will behave properly with my wife....”

(“*Lihun denar: (naav)*

Mi patnis changali vagnuk deyin yapudhe).

Careful attention thus needs to be paid to the language used while writing an assurance paper because of the inherent heteronormative, patriarchal nature of language. The fact that it is 'man made' and 'man' friendly makes it important for violence against women interventionists to pay careful attention to the language of the perpetrators, survivors as well as interventionists as feminist language will further help in strengthening the psychological self of the survivor of violence. For instance, in one of the assurance papers, the respondent has written "I will respect my wife as she has realised her mistake and as per her promise mentioned above". This sentence which reflects the patriarchal notion of man being the forgiver and the woman being the culprit will not abet in strengthening the psychological self of the woman. Also the understanding that a woman merits respect only once she 'realises' her mistakes also does not support the woman in enabling her to build her self-confidence and self-esteem.

One of the aims of assurance papers is to safeguard the best interests of the violated woman through the assurances that she has received from the perpetrator. However, often the assurances are in opposition to expectations from the client.

When an assurance paper is written in a way which does not safeguard the best interests of the violated woman, its purpose may be defeated. In one case where the woman is getting the custody of the children, a husband has written that according to her will ("*tichya icche anusaar*") he is willing to give her the custody. This statement reflects the unwillingness of the husband to give custody and may go against the woman in the court.

In another case the woman has demanded division of finances (money from the selling of the house and salary fund) for the children. She has written the same on a Special Cell letterhead and the man has assured that he will divide the money according to what she says; and has also written that it is because of her stubbornness and pride that it is only for the children that he has

taken this decision. By labeling his wife as stubborn and proud, the husband has safeguarded his position and has blamed her for the distribution of finances, which in reality is her right.

It is important that the person writing, the man/husband/perpetrator of violence, acknowledges the history of violence. In one of the assurance papers, *the perpetrator has denied history of violence by saying that he has never hit his wife in the past and will not do it in the future.*⁹ Denying that there never was violence while writing an assurance paper, goes against the clients' experience. Along with denying her history of violence, it is also unjustified trivialising of the woman's experiences. In an assurance paper, the husband has written that *the reason for separation is kirkol (petty, small) and then husband and wife separated for 13 years and the husband remarried.*¹⁰ To say that the reason for separation is small, also has an effect on the woman's self esteem.

In one of the assurance papers written by the man, he has written that without reason I will not verbally and physically abuse (...*vinakaran konalahi shivigal ani marhan karnar nahi*). Statements like this and "*darupiyun marhaan karnar nahi*" leaves a window open for violence to occur when the husband feels that there is enough reason to physically and verbally abuse the woman and when he is not intoxicated.

It is also important to give attention to the way in which the perpetrator concludes the assurance paper. In one paper, the husband assures that he will not exhibit any violent behavior and that he would be liable to legal procedures if he does not follow what has been written. But he concludes the paper by writing, "I have written as I have been told" (*sangitlya pramane lihile le ahe*). This statement defeats the purpose of the assurance paper as it then seems like all the assurances made by the perpetrator have been made at the behest of either the Cell worker or the survivor.

⁹ Aurangabad (SPUA/403/06)

¹⁰ Pune (PU/ 790/09)

Learnings

The writing of an assurance paper, as a strategy towards a violence-free life, is used at the Special Cell in various situations. The strategy does not only assure actions for the future, but the act of writing what you will not do in the future also gives you time and space to reflect on what you have done in the past. Thus, the act of writing is not only limited to assuring for the future, but also a way to comprehend how and in what ways one has violated the rights of other individuals.

The fact that assurance papers are written by not only the husband/the perpetrator, but also by the other members of the family also shows us that the Special Cell intervention commits to work with the larger family structure and that involving them in the process of giving assurances in writing means giving them the space to reflect on their actions.

At the onset of this study, the hypothesis was that the writing of assurances is done when the couple decides to reconcile. Though this hypothesis got validated, it was also understood that the strategy is used when the couple decides to separate, divorce and a large proportion of the assurance papers are also written to re-establish the woman's economic rights.

Assurances papers do not only inform us that physical violence is what survivors would want to put an end to, but also give us an insight into the way the man and the woman, after intervention at the Special Cell, identify certain reasons and find solutions, so that the woman can lead a violence-free life. For instance, it is because survivors identify consumption of alcohol by the perpetrator as a reason for violence, that it is assured in the paper by the perpetrator that he will not consume alcohol. In cases in which the survivor is of the opinion that staying with her marital family is the cause of friction between her and her husband, she has negotiated to stay with her husband separate from her marital family.

Assurance papers may be used as proof in a court of law and hence, the language used in it should never go against the best interest of the woman. One needs to avoid the usage of

accusatory words. In an assurance paper, the perpetrator of violence has written that if he does not fulfill any of the above 'crimes' he will be liable to punishment. The realisation and understanding that violence is a crime and has legal consequences validates the intervention of the Special Cell and its location within the Criminal Justice System as the Special Cell believes that violence against women is a crime and aims to make the perpetrator understand the same.

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ANNEXURE

Table 1: Assurance papers written by

Written by	Frequency	Percentage
Woman's husband	349	50
Woman's natal family	4	1
Woman's marital family	19	2.8
Other members of the community	9	1.3
Man	27	3.9
Man and woman	47	6.8
Woman	235	34

Table 2: Decision of relationship status:

Decision of relationship status	Frequency	Percentage
Reconciliation	330	47.9
Separation	28	4.1
Divorce	17	2.5

Table 3: Assurances of non-violence

Assurances of non-violence	Frequency	Percentage
assuring end to physical violence/ physical responsibility	237	34.5
assuring end to suspicion	27	3.9

assuring end to mental violence	170	24.7
assuring end to financial violence	93	13.5
assuring end to verbal violence	85	12.4
assuring end to sexual violence	9	1.3
assuring end to harassment	84	12.2
Assuring end to social harassment	74	10.8

Table 4: Assurances of non- violence made by woman's husband

Assurances of non-violence	Frequency	Percentage
assuring end to physical violence/ physical responsibility	183	52.4
assuring end to suspicion	23	6.6
assuring end to mental violence	139	39.8
assuring end to financial violence	75	21.5
assuring end to verbal violence	62	17.8
assuring end to sexual violence	8	2.3
Assurances of non violence	Frequency	Percentage
assuring end to physical violence/ physical responsibility	183	52.4
assuring end to suspicion	23	6.6
assuring end to mental violence	139	39.8
assuring end to financial violence	75	21.5
assuring end to verbal violence	62	17.8
assuring end to sexual violence	8	2.3
assuring end to harassment	66	18.9
assuring no social harassment	62	17.8

Table 5: Assurances of re-establishment of women’s relationship with her economic assets by woman’s husband

Assurances of re-establishment of women’s relationship with her economic assets	Frequency	Percentage
assuring retrieval of <i>streedhan</i>	23	6.6
assuring land, money or other economic assets	9	2.6
received/returning documents	3	.9
maintenance	9	2.6
lump sum alimony	17	4.9
Economic transaction at the Cell	17	4.9

Table 6: Access to natal family/ home by natal family

Access to natal family/ home	Frequency	Percentage
Visits to natal home during	9	2.6

festivals and/or time of need		
Husband's permission to visit natal home	2	.6
No intrusion from natal family	27	7.8
assuring separate accommodation	41	11.7

Table 7: Assuring tangible behavioral changes by woman's husband

Assuring tangible behavioral changes	Frequency	Percentage
Behave properly	28	8
assuring no consumption of alcohol/ tobacco	41	11.7
partake in household responsibilities	27	7.7
take care of family	26	7.5
assuming responsibility for no fights taking place	11	3.2
no threat to harm oneself	3	.9
no threat to end relationship	2	.6
<i>sukhachasansaar</i>	2	.6
Will not throw woman out of house	1	.3
Will be loyal to woman	2	.6

Assurances of non violence	Frequency	Percentage
assuring end to physical violence	6	31.6
assuring end to mental violence	5	26.3
assuring end to financial violence	2	10.5

**Table
8:
Assura**

nces of non violence by woman's marital family

Assurances of non violence	Frequency	Percentage
assuring end to physical violence	6	31.6
assuring end to mental violence	5	26.3
assuring end to financial violence	2	10.5
assuring end to harassment	3	15.8

Table 9: Table assuring tangible behavioral changes by woman

Assuring tangible behavioral changes	Frequency	Percentage
Behave properly	23	9.8
partake in household responsibility	31	13.2
take care of family		6
taking responsibility of no fights taking place	10	4.3
no threat to harm oneself	2	.9
<i>sukhacha</i> sansaar	9	3.8

Table 10: Assurances of Access to natal family/ home by violated woman

Access to natal family/ home	Frequency	Percentage
Visits to natal home during festivals and/or time of need	1	.4
Husband's permission to visit natal home	6	2.6
No intrusion from natal family	4	1.7