

Untangling paradoxes in wellbeing work with women victims of violence: A developing world perspective

EDWINA PIO* and SMITA SINGH**

Abstract

Through using the lens of paradox theory, we examine an exemplar case of a social enterprise and highlight a developing world perspective on wellbeing of victims of acid violence. Acid attacks are one of the most gruesome forms of gendered violence. Although more common in the developing world, globalisation has transported such gendered violence into the international arena. Through narratives of participants in this study, we present three paradoxes that offer a rare glimpse into the emotionally laden and challenging nature of wellbeing work in addressing recovery and rehabilitation of women victims of acid violence in the developing world.

Key words: violence, paradox, wellbeing, social enterprise, work, developing world

Introduction

Wellbeing comprises dimensions of happiness, self-worth, positive social relationships and the necessities of food, shelter and clothing (Connerley & Wu, 2016; White, Fernandez & Jha, 2016). Our research context is the developing world, specifically a country in South Asia where we encountered the vulnerability and struggle for wellbeing, with women victims of violence and their work in a social enterprise. We explore how victims of violence enact wellbeing in a developing world and offer a developing world perspective through the lens of paradox theory. As we explore the loci of paradoxes, we present a multi-vocality based on the agency of women victims of violence and the agency of the organisation through its founder. In highlighting the phenomena of acid violence, we stress the vulnerability of victims of violence as they seek wellbeing on their healing journey (Ormon & Horberg, 2016). Acid violence is one of the most gruesome forms of gendered violence where mostly women are attacked through throwing of acid, commonly on a woman's face or body with the aim often to inflict lifelong punishment through permanent scars and physical disfigurement (Pio & Singh, 2016). Although more prevalent in the developing world, globalisation has carried such forms of gendered violence to the international arena. Unfortunately, these attacks are now being reported by media in the developed countries such as the UK, Germany and Italy. While the international community acknowledges such violence as a human rights issue and pressurises governments to design interventions, complex intersections of global, local, political and economic influences also make women in particular social positions more vulnerable to such violence (Yousaf & Purkayastha, 2016). Survivors not only live with permanent damage and multiple reconstructive surgeries to restore some sense of normal functioning, but also face enormous financial burden for recovery, as they seek to reintegrate into mainstream society and find employment for financial independence. In developing countries, this is an uphill battle with

* Department of Management, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand

** Department of Management, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand

policy gaps, inadequate compensation for survivors, delayed justice and negative societal attitudes (Ahmad, 2011; Halim, 2007; Pio & Singh, 2016).

The ultimate purpose of social enterprise work is to improve the wellbeing of groups of people who are severely disadvantaged or marginalised and require support because they do not have the financial means or political influence to transform their lives on their own (Kroeger & Weber, 2014; Martin & Osberg, 2007). Inherent in paradox is contradiction and tension between interdependent elements (Schad, Lewis, Raisch & Smith, 2016). This is exacerbated by the nested and interwoven nature of paradox, as the tackling of one paradox may activate another one that was in the background (Fairhurst et al. 2016), and wellbeing work triggers paradox based on the requirements of the organisation and the clients, or in the context of acid-violence, that of the founder and survivors. Paradoxes can stimulate the development of creative solutions and can also trigger intractable conflicts or organisation demise (Tian & Smith, 2014). In the case of social enterprises, paradoxes may be between social mission and financial performance which need to be interwoven, while at the same time can present as competing demands (Schad, et al., 2016). Our contribution is to illuminate the situational complexity of wellbeing work with acid violence survivors in a social enterprise situated in a developing country through the identification of three paradoxes which expand and incorporate the paradox of social mission and commercial viability. In the context of the social enterprise with a focus on acid violence victims, the three paradoxes are organisational legitimacy and personal healing space, organisational funding and survivor funding, entrepreneurial aspirations and personal career aspirations. Hence, we respond to the call for more complexity with emotion and irrationality in paradox studies (Fairhurst et al., 2016). The next section weaves together a background on paradox and wellbeing, followed by the methods, findings, discussion and conclusion.

Background literature

While social enterprises seem to be growing at an exponential rate (Battilana & Lee, 2014), success can be quite challenging due to confrontation with unique, often oppositional circumstances in contending with social, ethical and economic concerns linked to shifting boundaries, identity issues, complex relationships and inconsistent demands (Tian & Smith, 2014). Fairhurst et al. (2016), write that “as society grows more complex, paradox is and will continue to be a phenomenon that crosses all aspects of organizational life” (p. 180), and examples include: being optimistic and realistic, adaptive and persistent, hiring the most disadvantaged people and hiring the best talent available (Miller & Sardais, 2015; Tian & Smith, 2014). Paradox is both embedded within social systems and structural elements as well as in agency and sense-making practices (Fairhurst et al., 2016). Paradox defies logic and may seem to have absurd interrelationships and conceptual confusion and is associated with words such as dialectics, contradictions, tensions and dualities, yet paradox moves beyond tradeoffs, dilemmas and conflicts which can be resolved by choosing or splitting (Fairhurst et al., 2016; Smith, 2014). Paradoxes are often viewed as interdependent, inter-related, occurring simultaneously and persisting over time (Guerci & Carollo, 2016; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Our choice of the word paradox hinges on the need for engaging with both aspects of the persistent oppositional circumstances which demand ongoing responses. Several tensions may arise as the trajectory towards achieving both poles of the paradox are difficult (Kark, Preser & Zion-Waldoks, 2016; Jay, 2013) and, therefore, paradoxes are a defining force in an organisation’s long-term survival.

Successful entrepreneurs and managers tend to pursue various aspects of paradoxes and accept the tensions inherent in them, rather than going through analysis paralysis (Guerci & Carollo, 2016; Jahanmir, 2016; Miller & Sardais, 2015). Kark et al. (2016) suggest that embracing tensions and contradictions inherent in paradoxes can lead to transformational learning and facilitate women's leadership of social change enterprises. The paradoxical demands due to juxtaposition of social mission and commercial viability are often evident in social enterprises (Tian & Smith, 2014) but three meta-skills can facilitate social entrepreneurs to manage this paradox – acceptance or acknowledging competing demands, differentiation or recognising the contribution of various alternatives, and thirdly, integration or seeking synergies between the paradoxical demands (Smith & Lewis, 2011). In the arena of interprofessional collaboration, Huq, Reay & Chreim (2016) discuss virtuous cycles where conflict leads to positive tension which they term protecting the paradox and this is supported by three strategies. Strategy one is promoting equality between poles and may involving setting up structures to respect both poles of the paradox, developing a common vocabulary and shifting weight between the higher and lower status pole. Strategy two is purposefully strengthening the weaker pole and this means that weaker voices are strengthened and after-meeting discussions are engaged with. The third strategy is looking beyond the paradox and this translates as keeping the focus on client outcomes, managing negative tensions and ensuring that collective decisions inform the completion of work. These three strategies may follow one other, or they may overlap and function in an iterative manner. It is noteworthy that how demands are comprehended will affect how they are framed, approached and dealt with and when demands are framed as paradoxes, it might be easier to acknowledge that competing demands may co-exist and be interdependent; and that innovation involves creating rather than choosing from a repertoire of responses (Gaim & Wahlin, 2016). Overall, using the lens of paradox theory, an understanding can be built of the nature of persistent and different types of tensions and contradictory demands, how these manifest within a social enterprise and how these can be managed through the interplay of creative and novel strategies (Schad et al., 2016; Smith, Gonin & Besharov, 2013).

A social enterprise, in its widest sense, is an organisational form that combines a business model to generate economic benefit with a social mission to enhance wellbeing of groups of people who are disadvantaged or marginalised (Munoz, Farmer, Winterton & Barraket, 2015). Wellbeing comprises dimensions of happiness, self-worth, life-satisfaction and the perceived quality of one's life and is associated with physical and mental health (Connerley & Wu, 2016; White et al., 2016). Contrary to a sense of wellbeing is that of vulnerability, manifested through defencelessness, sensitivity, insecurity, feeling unprotected and victimised (Briscoe, Lavender & McGowan, 2016). The UN's World Happiness Report 2016 reinforces predictors of wellbeing based on positive levels of healthy life expectancy, income, social connection, trust and the ability to make life choices (Helliwell, Layard & Sachs, 2016). Wellbeing is facilitated by the opportunity to engage in meaningful work, live with authenticity, believe in our own internal locus of control, and experience social contact that fosters strong relationships with family, friends and the community (Biese and McKie, 2016; Connerley & Wu, 2016).

For most people, work makes up the largest part of adult lives. The ability to engage in work that enables one to create, construct, invent and transform the world impacts heavily on the sense of life-satisfaction. Meaningful work, with reasonable working conditions, provides dignity integral for wellbeing (Sachs, 2016 as cited in Helliwell et al., 2016). Stam, Sieben, Verbakel & de Graaf (2016) concur that a difference in feelings of wellbeing exists between those employed and those not employed, and note that an individual's feelings of wellbeing are connected to the relationship between employment status and the value that local society

places on work participation. Stigmatism, shame, disability and unemployment remove an individual's options to be actively, confidently and fully involved in society. Thus, the individual is no longer able to realise the potential wellbeing benefits that come from status, shared experience and a sense of shared purpose (Stam et al., 2016). Most acid attack victims lack the financial means to receive treatment and rehabilitation, and confine themselves at home for years on end (Yousaf & Purkayastha, 2016). This isolation is further exacerbated for the victims by a lack of demonstrated empathy and support from the community, often due to fear of intimidation and torment from the perpetrators (Haque & Ahsan, 2014). Perceived discrimination is adversely correlated to wellbeing, and is particularly strong for people with a physical disability or mental illness (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). Sadly, the failure to see justice meted out to perpetrators of acid violence leaves the survivors of acid attacks feeling hopeless; sometimes leading to such despair that they end their lives (Yousaf & Purkayastha, 2016). The Rejection Identification Model, born out of social identity theory, proposes that feelings of prejudice are more detrimental to the wellbeing of disadvantaged groups compared to advantaged groups; but that a greater sense of belonging within a marginalised group may lessen the detriment to wellbeing caused by discrimination (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz & Owen, 2002). There are numerous examples of self-help groups in developing countries that foster women empowerment through support and a shared voice. Women who become members of self-help groups have an improved sense of wellbeing because of better workplace dynamics and job security (Combs & Milosevic, 2016).

A sense of wellbeing is supported by the opportunity and ability to make personal choices as to what is best for the individual and their family (Biese & McKie, 2016). The inability to take control of one's own life can have a negative impact on psychological wellbeing, as demonstrated by Schmitt et al. (2014), and ubiquitous discrimination that reaches across a range of contexts leads to a general lack of control over one's own life outcomes. Similarly, Biese and McKie (2016) suggest a sense of wellbeing can come from the ability to opt in or opt out of a life path. In opting out of traditional high-powered careers, many women in the developed world are seeking other, more sustainable career formats, to provide a greater sense of psychological and physical health. Whilst victims of acid attack violence often lose the luxury of choice to opt in or out, a trend in the developed countries that may prove positive for such victims is that of individuals becoming increasingly able to create their own identity and pathway, rather than adhere to traditional career path expectations (Biese & McKie, 2016). Certainly, women feel empowered when they can orchestrate their situation (Combs & Milosevic, 2016).

The ability to be authentic is intrinsically linked to a sense of dignity and comfort in self. The World Health Organisation recognises the important role that dignity plays in ensuring wellbeing (WHO, n.d). Liedner et al. (2012, as cited in Jones, 2016) established that feelings of humiliation, shame and embarrassment are linked to feelings of hopelessness and helplessness; and that feelings of shame can have an implicit impact on achievement. A sense of humiliation may be extended and exacerbated for victims of acid violence by lack of action by authorities in ensuring retributive and restorative justice. Despite the brutality of the crime, courts can take years to determine a judgment and most victims do not receive compensation (Nguyen, 2015). The World Happiness Report 2016 highlights the serious impact that disability can have on wellbeing, noting that, whilst individuals display a degree of resilience in adapting to major life events such as those causing physical disability, strong evidence points to the extended influence that disability has on wellbeing. Although a social enterprise can be a wellbeing enhancing space for disadvantaged individuals and communities who are involved with it, not all such exchanges may be wellbeing promoting and, therefore, further studies in

this under-researched area can help build an understanding about the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the wellbeing resulting from the work of social enterprises as well as negative experiences impacting wellbeing due to such work (Munoz et al., 2015).

Research methods

We present an illustrative single case of a social enterprise from the developing world – a country in South Asia to highlight the paradox in wellbeing work in the case of survivors of acid violence. Our focus is unique as there are very few social enterprises which single-mindedly emphasise helping acid attack victims access crucial medical, legal and financial assistance in working towards empowerment and social integration in the South Asian context. Single cases are suitable when there is an opportunity of exploring a phenomenon under uncommon or extreme settings (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Scholars acknowledge that a single case is particularly suitable when it is “unusually revelatory, or when it is extremely exemplar, or when it offers opportunities for unusual research access” (Mariotto, Zanni & Moraes, 2013: 358).

Access to interviews with victims of acid violence can be very challenging due to the traumatic and fragile condition of survivors of such attacks. However, through persistence and knowledge of the unwritten mores of the local culture, we gathered primary data through narrative interviews and diarised accounts, and this study focuses on information rich stories of two individuals – the founder, and a survivor of acid violence. Narrative interviews are particularly suitable for sensitive research and for eliciting a more “contextualised and comprehensive account of an event and experiences” (Flick, 2009:191) than collecting data by asking pre-structured questions. The interviews started with broad open question to start the conversation. The founder was asked to narrate the story of how he started this social enterprise and the survivor was encouraged to tell her story of how she got associated with this social enterprise and her experiences. Participants were encouraged to share their understanding of wellbeing and resilience of acid violence survivors. Probing questions helped gain further insight into their perspective on key challenges and accomplishments in relation to wellbeing. Interviews with the participants lasted between two to three hours. Interview data was supplemented with field notes that contained observation about the rehabilitation centre where the primary data was gathered. Secondary data was sourced from websites, media reports, emails, social media messages and notes from phone conversations with participants.

Our study highlights how paradoxes around wellbeing of acid violence survivors triggered tensions between these two people and deteriorated their positive and trust based relationship, eventually transforming it into an intractable conflict. The founder of the social enterprise made all strategic decisions regarding the social venture such as campaigning and fund allocations for treatment and rehabilitation of victims. The acid violence survivor’s life was instantly changed when she was returning from work one day and was attacked by a man whose marriage proposal she had rejected more than once. Before this dreadful incident, the survivor supported her parents in meeting everyday living expenses by working in a local shop. The social enterprise team approached the survivor at the local hospital where she was admitted after being attacked by acid. The survivor and her parents were offered accommodation at the rehabilitation centre of the social enterprise so that they had somewhere to stay while they tried to arrange for medical treatment at the city hospital. Many hospitals in the developing country where the social enterprise was situated are ill equipped to provide adequate treatment for acid

violence victims. In a few months, the social enterprise founder encouraged the survivor to become involved in the activities of the social venture through volunteer work.

Based on established trust and rapport with the researcher, the survivor felt inclined to further share aspects of her recovery experience and personal wellbeing five months after the first face-to-face interview. With permission, this additional data was collected through notes made during phone conversations and online communication for a duration of 10 months. During this time the survivor spoke candidly about her experiences and goals of recovery and wellbeing. She had started living with her biological family and had stopped working as a volunteer for the social enterprise, using any support from them or living at their rehabilitation centre. This exemplar case is rare in that it reveals rich insights into how mutual trust, and understanding between a beneficiary of a social enterprise and its founder deteriorated over time from being very positive to ending in an intractable conflict. We modified and excluded particular personal details and descriptions from the participants' narratives to protect the participants and the social enterprise from being identified. At the time of the interview, the venture was new and had operated for less than a year and the founder revealed that the enterprise mainly relied on public funds through campaigns and like many new social enterprises operated under severe financial constraints to support approximately 15 survivors of acid violence.

Analysis was done through focusing on text descriptions in transcripts, notes and secondary data that depicted the participants' experiences and perspectives of wellbeing of acid violence survivors. Further interpretation involved focusing on the participants' point of view related to the sequence of incidents that transformed their relationship as well as the who, what and why details of the elements of wellbeing that were complex and enduring in nature. To ensure consistent interpretation of data, the co-authors had frequent dialogue to achieve a common understanding about complexities of wellbeing work by this social enterprise, through which three paradoxes pertaining to wellbeing work emerged. These are presented in the next section.

Findings

The situational complexity of wellbeing work with acid violence survivors in a social enterprise situated in a developing country is illuminated through three paradoxes, with each paradox highlighting the organisational point of view through the founder's voice, followed by the acid violence survivor's voice.

1. Organisational legitimacy AND personal healing space

Given the lack of support for victims of acid violence, gaining legitimacy as a social enterprise and raising awareness toward this issue was crucial. From an organisational standpoint, survivors' participation in campaigns would help achieve this legitimacy. Furthermore, campaigning could be a cathartic platform for survivors to rupture their silence about violence and challenge the barriers of social prejudice and exclusion:

Sharing personal stories and connecting with others is an opportunity for self-introspection, more clarity and understanding of one's own life and journey. One could end up repeating their personal story four times in a day to different media persons. Media interviews have happened even till 2am because we didn't have time for it during the day. But we do it because civil society needs to wake up and be sensitive about acid violence (Founder).

But, such efforts towards organisational legitimacy also inadvertently hindered survivor healing because of their repeated recounting of personal trauma during campaigns. To selflessly and tirelessly campaign while still dealing with one's own recovery roadblocks led to emotional and physical fatigue, shifting focus away from personal recovery and wellbeing:

I haven't had the time to see the doctor and have missed my last appointment as I have been quite busy with campaign work. To do campaign work, I must be away from my family, stay with the rest of the team, travel to other places. Although people are quite caring here, I feel lonely. I miss my father a lot. I must travel, compile lists, give interviews, protest etc. I do whatever campaign work the team asks me to do and I do all this as much as I can find courage within me (Survivor).

As per the local traditions and culture, it is uncommon for women to speak openly about their feelings, question or challenge the norms of society, live away from their families and travel with non-family members. Therefore, work for social enterprise, such as campaigning, may involve a transitional parting from traditional customs and can exacerbate stress and vulnerability among some survivors grappling with loss of identity and social discrimination after violence. The paradoxical tension of creating safe platforms for survivors to heal and move on from this trauma while also urging them to recount their personal horrors of violence to garner social and financial support was particularly challenging as depicted in the founder's quote:

A survivor told me that it initially she had difficulty in trusting us. We invited her many times to participate in media interviews but she would decline such invitations. We didn't know this but when she told us that initially she didn't trust us, we realised that it takes a long time to build trust. I am reminded of another survivor who for the first time decided to come out and eagerly share her story with media but this triggered many further media questions. She slipped into major depression due to her continuous interaction with media (Founder).

The paradox of achieving organisational legitimacy while also nurturing space for personal healing is further evident in the venture's strategy of encouraging survivors to use social media despite financial and other resource constraints:

We are stretched resource-wise but we are working towards individual Facebook pages for our survivors. This is where the world gets to know each survivor more personally such as likes, dislikes, skills etc. Many of the survivors we are supporting are from lower educational and socio economic background and lack these skills. We are supporting the survivors to learn some English, learn how to use social media tools and communicate directly. We want to work in a detailed way on one survivor at a time (Founder).

While social media opened additional channels for survivors to engage and heal by sharing their pain with others and for the enterprise to seek financial support towards its mission, the unintended consequence of this strategy was that it deepened the sense of social rejection, vulnerability and isolation due to lack of reciprocation from the online community. In the local patriarchal culture, which blames female victims for provoking abuse and inciting acid violence upon themselves, the lack of empathy reflected on social media platforms deepened the feeling

of social exclusion and exploitation by others for their personal gains as illustrated in the survivor's quote:

I feel like no one cares about me. I sent a message to all 50 of my contacts on social media. I met these people through campaigning activities. I gave interviews and shared my experiences with them but when I asked whether they could help me collect funds for my next surgery then not a single person replied. I didn't even hear from anyone to say 'sorry I can't help'. Just no response (Survivor).

2. Organisational funding AND survivor funding

Lack of funding was a major challenge for the young social venture. From an organisational standpoint, the founder had to find ways of meeting urgent recovery needs of survivors while also reserving funds for raising social awareness, rallying public support and meeting operational costs. Any funds raised through campaigning would be prioritised for the most urgent medical needs of any survivor but this did not diminish the founder's sense of urgency in trying to keep the venture financially sustainable:

Just last month we were in dire financial situation but luckily recently we have got much needed capital injection. We try to operate with a positive sense of hope and keep our larger mission in mind. Having said this, our venture operates on some basic principles. One principle is to use minimum resources for campaigns. We are therefore trying out different social media options and crowdfunding platform for various individual survivor projects. We are also expecting one of our survivor activists to get an employment contract so her earnings from that will help sustain our initiative. We aim to create a Trust and help the survivors get financially independent so that they can support each other. We try and focus on one survivor at a time to address their recovery and rehabilitation needs (Founder).

Funding appeals relied on survivor participation to communicate the seriousness of the social problem and urgency for required funds. Such appeals, therefore, portrayed individual survivors showing their physical injuries and recounting personal trauma. Most survivors of acid violence in the developing country where data was collected are women. Despite changing times and more women from this country getting educated and entering the workforce, societal expectations are still governed by patriarchal notions that include women conforming to traditional customs and norms:

We made a detailed plan to gain attention to acid violence. Today the survivors may easily be able to speak to various people but initially it wasn't so easy for them. There was much work that went behind this. I remember at a court hearing of one of our survivors, we encouraged all survivors to get bold, not hide their facial injuries and step out from behind their veils and gather in the front of the court to support each other. It is not easy to get one survivor to open her face and speak about her personal story and here we had several survivors gathered in front of the court and taking media questions. This is when people started getting interested in this issue (Founder).

The paradoxical tension of spending on campaigns, highlighting the needs of one survivor at a time to build momentum for generating more funds can lead to misunderstanding. The importance of shared values, collective good and shared social vision, if not understood by all stakeholders, especially the survivors as primary stakeholders, can create a feeling of

unfairness, preferential treatment and being taken advantage of, despite having received ongoing care and support from the organisation:

I don't want pity and sympathy. I asked him [the founder] for funding towards my next surgery and I was told that I couldn't have it. I asked why I couldn't have it when my face and my story is in the crowdfunding videos and I have worked so hard in every campaign. If I have participated in a crowdfunding campaign, then there should be a separate account in my name where the money is transferred for my surgery and I can access it when needed. I feel I have been sold false dreams (Survivor).

Due to funding constraints, there was lack of specialised therapy and clinical care at the rehabilitation centre. Hence, the founder mostly relied on fostering a "family" culture and a "home" like environment of care and responsibility:

We don't have facilities like one would see in a developed country like New Zealand. What we have here is a home for the survivors and their families. Many of the survivors are from rural areas and small towns and come to this city for treatment in the hospital. They have nowhere to stay. If someone has a problem, we talk about it and try to resolve it as a family. We offer them a place to stay as they seek access to treatment. There are no expert counsellors here. We cannot afford such expert help. Experts may help as many of our survivors face long term trauma, depression and sleepless nights but I also feel that sometimes it's a case of paying more attention to what the doctor says and when the same advice is given by a family member then its ignored (Founder).

The unintended consequence of creating such a nurturing environment is that it can impose a contemporary, organisational notion of a family on the more traditional concept of a family which emphasises values such as respecting hierarchy and authority to maintain harmony. For example, in the local tradition, the eldest male in a family usually acts as a head and all other family members respect his formal authority. Most women would generally not share accommodation with men outside their family as illustrated in the quote below:

I felt quite uncomfortable and uneasy living there because there were males who participated in this campaigns and would end up staying in this shared accommodation. During the time my parents stayed at the rehabilitation centre, they were often asked to cook and clean after others. They didn't mind and wanted to help but I felt hurt that just because we are from a poor family, there was a general lack of respect for their age. I was very frustrated when I saw one day that my father was asked to wash others' garments. I felt I was better off living with my family with dignity (Survivor).

The ethos of care through fostering a family environment from an organisational standpoint can fail to meet the wellbeing needs and even aggravate vulnerability among violence victims by unintentionally limiting or challenging the expression of traditional family values.

3. Entrepreneurial aspirations AND personal career aspirations

Financial burden due to medical costs is usually a major impediment for survivors recovering and rebuilding their life. While the founder supported the acid violence survivors to build skills aligned with area of their personal interest, an equally important consideration was to ensure that such skill-based training would ultimately help them get financially independent through employment. Sadly, survivors often face rejection, apathy and indifference when seeking

employment. Hence, from the founder's point of view, starting up a venture that would be managed by some survivors would not only help them become financially independent but would also rupture the social stigma of acid violence by limiting their chances of potentially undergoing further trauma and discrimination if they ended up working for an organisation that did not understand their wellbeing needs:

Through personal connections, we can get some of the survivors employed in private companies. But who will understand their health challenges? Who will understand their need for taking frequent leave to get multiple surgeries done? There is a risk of further stigmatisation and survivors feeling more depressed because of no support systems and awareness at workplace. Our venture is not even a year old so this issue is only now beginning to gain some attention. We know things take time in campaigning and activism work. One must be patient and dream fulfilment is not a possibility for many of us especially those who belong to the lower or middle socio economic section of this society (Founder).

For many women, fulfilling traditional roles and social expectations of getting married, being a homemaker, raising children and looking after elderly would be more important than carving out a professional identity through career accomplishments. From a survivor's perspective, holding onto the residue of unfulfilled dreams of full time work or being a homemaker could be more pertinent to healing than embarking on the uncharted path of entrepreneurship. A departure from such unfulfilled personal dreams and aspirations could mean an exacerbated sense of loss, further alienation from one's community and survivors could perceive this as an act of coercion by the organisation:

My interest has always been in beauty and my dream is to become a beautician. I hope to get funding support for professionally training in the beauty industry and becoming full time employed as a beautician. When I am full time employed, I can support my father. My father's health is not so good but he has supported me a lot so I want to be able to also help and support him through my earnings. But they [the founder and core team members] had some ideas about a dressmaking shop that would be managed by survivors. They would provide the ongoing support and they kept telling me to get involved in such ventures. We had arguments about this because I didn't want to be involved in it. It would also mean staying away from my family and living my life where such as venture would be started (Survivor).

Organisational strategies perpetuated through managing or controlling at such deep intimate levels can inadvertently run counter to the survivor wellbeing and empowerment aim of the social venture.

Discussion and Conclusion

The three paradoxes illuminate the fact that social mission, based on the aims of a social enterprise in a developing world context, may have paradoxical demands from the vantage point of survivors of acid violence. While both the founder of the social enterprise and the survivors have the aim of wellbeing, the translation of this aim can be loaded with emotion and contrary points of view. For the survivors, wellbeing may be negatively impacted through external influences associated with stigmatisation, entrepreneurial aspirations and activism, and internal influences associated with trauma, self-degradation, and the shrinkage of space to think

about wellbeing as the mind is occupied in sharing horrifying stories of personal acid attacks with the media. The psychological result of such internal and external sanctioning is decreased confidence, self-worth and self-respect.

Our contribution has been to illuminate the staggering complexity in which wellbeing work for women victims of acid violence is embedded in the often unforgiving and traditional milieu of a developing country. Untangling paradoxes in wellbeing work with women victims of violence in this context may involve not only the psychological benefits of being engaged in useful and meaningful work for self and the social enterprise, but also the ability to stay connected with the immediate family, reconstructive surgery and planning for the day-to-day needs involved in surviving acid violence. Additionally, even if employment is accessed, individuals from stigmatised groups, such as acid attack survivors face further obstacle to wellbeing by having a greater tendency to experience workplace discrimination compared to their cohorts from non-stigmatised groups as they receive less resources and thus have less means by which to select healthy behaviours, again impacting on their physical wellbeing (Combs & Milosevic, 2016). Thus, in a cyclic fashion the long-term presence of stress and low psychological health flow through to further impact negatively on wellbeing.

Yet, the paradox of wellbeing is that it is possible to support a virtuous cycle and Huq et al. (2016) note this is possible through setting up structures which respect both poles of the paradox or, in our case, respect shown to each other by both the founder and survivor. Achieving value for both parties may be enhanced through viewing the paradoxes as interdependent and inherent in the business of social mission (Schad et al., 2016). Additionally, in acknowledging that status and power differences may contribute to vicious cycles, attempts can be made to rebalance poles through encouraging and supporting individuals who are at the weaker pole, keeping in mind the big picture, or the support and empowerment so crucial for victims of acid violence within which the paradoxes are embedded.

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