# **Draft Report**

# Final Evaluation PROTIRODH Project

Managed by CARE Bangladesh

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CARE Bangladesh

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# **List of Acronyms**

BRIF	Bangladesh Rural Improvement Foundation (org)
COVAW	Cost of violence against women
DNS	Durjoy Nari Shangha (org)
EC	European Commission (org)
EKATA	Empowerment through Knowledge & Transformative Action (org)
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
GO	Government Organisation
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (org)
HIV	Human Immune-deficiency Virus
KII	Key informant interview
MoWCA	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (org)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMS	Nari Mukti Sangha (org)
PNGO	
PROTIRODH	Not really an acronym, but stands for 'Promoting Rights of the Disadvantaged by Preventing Violence Against Women' (project)
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SW	Sex Worker
UDDOG	
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities (org)
UP	Union Pratishad
VASW	Violence against sex workers
VAW	Violence against women

# 1 Executive Summary

# 1.1 Introduction

The PROTIRODH project started in 2007 with the overall objective of reducing violence against women and reinforcing the fulfilment of women's rights in 4 unions of rural Dinajpur and among sex workers in Dhaka, Khulna and Tangail. The project has been funded by the EC.

#### 1.1.1 Achievements

In both aspects of the overall objective there is a very clear improvement.

- All measures of physical and psychological intimate partner violence by men against women, amongst all categories of people studied, have improved – some highly significantly.
- There is some evidence of reduction of violence on women from other women. However, no data were collected on physical or psychological violence by women against children or by women against men.
- 3. A wide range of resources and services available at local and Union level to women and men to mitigate, prevent and control violence have been put into place and are highly valued and used. Especially important in this have been provision of counselling, reinforcement of self-help groups for sex workers and creation of women's solidarity groups, and provision of legal advice.
- 4. There has been general extensive improved awareness on most aspects of violence and women's rights.
- 5. The involvement of both men and women in establishing practical mechanisms of prevention, mitigation and control of violence has contributed to widespread acceptance of the project.
- 6. 61% of women claimed that a major improvement for them as a result of the project was an increase in self-confidence. The extent of improvement in women of public participation is good in some instances, although this varies by both site and by parameter.
- 7. There have been steps taken towards sustainability through the development of simple local resources and practices that have improved existing mechanisms of social management (e.g shalish and pratishad).
- 8. There has been excellent cooperation between the project and other national stakeholders in the development of a variety of policies concerning violence and women's rights.

For those women who have been part of the project (whether sex workers or not) who initially had low self-esteem, it is clear that PROTIRODH has helped them develop a stronger ability to mitigate, control and prevent violence, and has also greatly helped their feelings of self-worth and dignity. Many of those who have suffered violence are learning to overcome their sense of insecurity and to take practical action of a variety of types. The project has helped women and sex workers develop the capacity to speak out and protest against violence, and have easy access to various support services in case of violence. During the year 2009, 16,600 women and 4,900 men took part in project activities or attended services developed through the project.

All projects, because of their short time frame, are essentially opportunities for learning and experimenting and can never be expected to answer all the complexities surrounding any problems of human interaction. In this instance the project has demonstrated very ably that it is possible to:

- integrate practical provision of resources relevant to violence into existing practice;
- stimulate and foster groups and fora in which both men and women can review issues, develop mutual support mechanisms, develop strategies and learn;
- bring together a wide range of stakeholders to improve practice, legislation and regulation;

All these types of change are widely recognised to be effective in boosting confidence that change can occur, and in establishing the essential trust in institutions necessary to have impact on a wide range of social ills including violence of a variety of types.

According to participants of the focused group discussions, achievements of the project include the following:

- Increased reporting of cases of violence against women and sex workers;
- Reduced incidence of violence;
- Increased support and rehabilitation services for survivors of violence;
- Provision of training concerning violence against women to police, doctors, and other service providers;
- Improved male attitude towards females and female attitude to males;
- Greater gender awareness among community leaders, males and service providers;
- Sensitisation of *Shalish* Committee members regarding women's rights and violence against women;
- Organisation of Forum Theatre/ folk songs to raise awareness of community people regarding violence against women:
- Creation of mass awareness for combating violence against women;
- Development of an integrated strategy for case management through strengthening/ establishing linkages with service providing organizations (GO/NGO), and providing psycho-social support.
- Improved protection of sex workers from abuse by police/ mastans:
- Provision of more women friendly services (health/ legal).

Apart from the obvious fact that injustice and violence continue for many people, and that many women still fail to achieve their rights, the only area of weakness that may exist is that there is no clear sense of the limits of the project. Several attempts have been made to act beyond the immediate framework of the project in areas such as functional literacy, the development of income generating opportunity and of other areas of self-improvement. This has led to some frustration at the inability to do more than to help a few individuals. This is often a trap for those involved in development programming when they begin to see the wider ramifications of the factors that lead to violence or the particular problem being acted upon. Violence, like so many issues of human interaction, is in general terms a symptom and an end point of a wide range of factors. The project has done well to show how to integrate the essential mechanisms of

prevention, mitigation and control. It has also done a huge amount in sensitisation, coordination and improvement of legislation. It cannot possibly address wider issues of development at the same time.

#### 1.1.2 Considerations and caveats

CARE now has extensive experience both with projects concerning violence, and for those concerning power. Its recent Strategic Impact Inquiry focused on various mixes of these two areas of focus, and the resultant learning is being applied to this evaluation.

The first consideration is that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to separate the factors affecting violence by men against women from many other forms of violence. In particular, violence by women against other women, by women against men and by women against children has been found by many CARE programmes to co-exist with that by men against women and also to act as contributory factors. This evaluation was too restricted to be able to assess either these other forms of violence, or the extent to which women initiate psychological violence that results in physical violence to them, but wherever possible this should be seen as a caveat to the analysis. It is partly seen in the numerous instances of violence by mothers-in-law and by madams of brothels.

<u>The second major consideration</u> is that violence is in general a symptom of a variety of other contributing factors rather than something that can be targeted in isolation – apart, of course, from those instances where it is pathological. This evaluation therefore makes some assessment within its limited terms of reference of a few of those factors.

The third consideration is that it is important to try to make an assessment of why it is that the majority of intimate partners have disputes but only a minority descend into serious violence that causes physical injury. What are the factors that act to prevent this? Many disputes in all cultures result in minor physical violence occasionally (such as with a slap or a push) and most are accompanied by some kind of abusive language. However, what is interesting is that the level of severe physical violence between intimate partners is at roughly the same level amongst all types of intimate partner – whether they be between partners of the same sex or different sex. This level of violence appears to be between 15 and 25% of all types of relationship and a glance at the figures shows that Bangladesh is not unusual in this. In all cases the longer lasting injury is psychological and it is this that more often leads to separation or divorce. It is unfortunate that this evaluation was unable to make a measurement of the frequency or severity or of the perception of each instance of violence – this would have taken far too long given the time frame. A particular context that would have been useful would have been the assessment of men's perceptions of the same acts, and of the feelings by both women and men of love and affection. All the same, this evaluation does show some of the distinctions that are necessary if a better understanding is to be achieved of violence in its numerous contexts.

<u>Finally</u> it should be said that even in the baseline study it was clear that a proportion of women are already confident, act with power, are in good relationships and manage their lives happily. As will be noted during the analysis, this may explain the relatively low proportions of women who express considerable improvement in various parameters measured. It will be important to ensure that in future base line studies this will be taken into account.

# 2 Methodology of the Study

### 2.1.1 Statement of evaluation objectives

CARE Bangladesh commissioned the final evaluation of the project with the following general objectives:

- 1. Review the achievements of the project's planned objectives and outputs.
- 2. Critically look at the effect of the results on the targeted beneficiaries (i.e. women and sex workers), examining the positive and negative, and intended and unintended impacts of the project around the framework of CARE's empowerment of women around three dimensions of change (agency, structure and relationship):
  - Changes in the lives of women and sex workers;
  - Changes in the capacity of civil society and communities to support women's rights.
  - Changes in policies and practice affecting women and sex workers' rights;
- 3. Review the project strategy in terms of:
  - Program Logic: have the assumptions of the project design held true?
  - Relevance: do project objectives remain useful and compatible with local needs?
- 4. Offer insights into the effectiveness of the PROTIRODH model in protecting the rights of the women and sex workers and creating lasting opportunities for them.
- 5. Provide a core agenda for CARE Bangladesh for future projects to reduce VAW.

A total of 800 currently married women, from 8 villages of Dinajpur district and 400 sex workers from Dhaka (200), Khulna (100) and Tangail (100) were interviewed for the purposes of this evaluation.

In addition to questionnaire surveys, information was obtained through focused group discussions (FGD), case studies and key informant interviews (KII) from local level opinion leaders (formal/ informal), including village leaders, UP Chairman/ Members, members of Shalish Committees, Violence Against Women (VAW) forums/ committee, Support groups/ interest groups, and service providers. As key informants, service providers of implementing agencies, program personnel of CARE, and members of law enforcing agencies as well as other stakeholders were interviewed.

A series of meetings were held with CARE Bangladesh staff to help in designing the Research Framework and developing the field instruments. It was decided that the findings of baseline survey will be used for the present evaluation depending on the context and relevance.

The study employed a two-track methodology:

1. The first track consisted of a review and analysis of secondary sources of data. An indicative list of the sources of secondary data is given below:

Project documents including project proposal;

Progress reports, study/ policy documents;

2. The second track consisted of primary data collection including:

Interview with women and sex workers (Questionnaire Survey);

Key informant interviews (KII);

Focused Group Discussions (FGDs);

Case Studies.

Both quantitative (through questionnaire survey) and qualitative (through FGDs, Case Studies and KII) data were collected for the present evaluation. The initial thrust of the study was to collect qualitative information.

#### 2.1.2 Quantitative Data: In-depth Interviews

The study covered two categories of respondents, namely: (i) Rural women and (ii) urban sex workers (SWs). In Dinajpur district, 4 unions (2 from Setabgonj and one each from Birgonj and Chirirbondar upazila) are covered under the CARE PROTIRODH project. In Bangladesh, villages under a union are supposed to be homogeneous with respect to literacy, landholding size and occupation type of villagers. At the first stage, two villages were randomly selected from each of the 4 unions, which gave a total of 8 villages. At the second stage, from each village 100 currently married women belonging to age group 15- 49 years were selected for interview. Thus, a total of 800 rural women were interviewed for the present evaluation.

Similarly, for the urban sample, 400 sex workers were interviewed- 200 from Dhaka city, and 100 each from Khulna city and Tangail brothel. Since, brothel based sex workers consist of three categories: Madams/ Sardarnis, independent sex workers, and bonded sex workers; we have selected the SWs from Tangail brothel as per the following table:

	,	
Category	No.	(%)
Bonded	25	25.0
Independent	60	60.0
Madam/ Sardarni	15	15.0
ΛΙΙ	100	100.0

Table 1: Distribution of Brothel-based Sex Workers by Category

#### 2.1.3 Qualitative Data

In addition to questionnaire survey, information was obtained from local level opinion leaders (formal/ informal), including village leaders, UP Chairman/ Members, members of Shalish Committee, VAW forums, self- help groups and service providers.

The study population for FGDs and Case Studies included women survivors of violence, community people, local level functionaries (ward commissioner, UP member), babus of sex workers, law enforcers and other service providers. For KII, service providers of implementing agencies, program personnel of CARE, members of law enforcing agencies as well as other stakeholders were interviewed.

As already mentioned, a total of 800 currently married women, from 8 villages of Dinajpur district and 400 sex workers from Dhaka (200), Khulna (100) and Tangail (100) were interviewed for obtaining relevant information.

# 2.2 Socio-economic Profile of Respondents

# 2.2.1 Demographic Characteristics

Table 1 presents the socio-economic characteristics of respondents. Out of 800 sample women, about 31% belonged to age- group 15-24 years, 38.9 per cent was in the age group 25-34 years, while 30 per cent of the women were aged 35 years and over. In terms of duration of marriage, majority of women (65%) have been married for more than 10 years, 17 per cent have been married for less than 5 years, while another 19 per cent of the women are married for 6-10

years. About three- fourths (74.5%) of the women belong to nuclear families while the rest belong to joint families. It is clear from the data that joint family is no longer the tradition in Bangladesh.

#### 2.2.2 Education

In terms of literacy and education, a vast majority of the women are either illiterate (31.1%), without any formal schooling or have completed elementary education (28.4%) with less than 5 years of schooling. About 98 per cent of the women have completed secondary schooling, while a third of the women have 6 – 9 years of schooling. Similarly, 33 per cent of the husbands of the responding women are without any education, another one-third of the women (31.3%) are married to husbands having primary level schooling, 23 per cent of the women have got husbands with secondary level education (i.e. High School Graduates), while 12 per cent of the women have husbands with more than 10 years of schooling.

# 2.2.3 Occupation

Distribution of women by occupation of husbands shows that about 31% of the husbands are farmers, about a fifth (19%) is engaged in business/trade, about a third of the husbands are wage labour, less than 2 per cent of the husbands are self-employed (carpenter/ mason/ tailor, etc.), 5 per cent are engaged as transport workers, while only 7 per cent of the husbands of the respondents are salaried employees (either with the Government or in the private sector).

Table 2: Distribution of Women by Socio-economic Characteristics

	No	%
Age of Women (years)	1	•
15 - 24	245	30.63
25 - 34	311	38.88
35+	244	30.50
Education of Women (years of schooling)	•	
Illiterate	249	31.13
Primary	227	28.38
Secondary	261	32.63
SSC+	63	7.88
Education of Husband (years of schooling)		•
Illiterate	265	33.13
Primary	250	31.25
Secondary	187	23.37
SSC+	98	12.25
Type of family		,
Nuclear Family	596	74.50
Joint Family	204	25.00
Land Holdings (in acres)		
0	42	5.25
0.01 - 0.50	428	53.5
0.51 - 1.50	149	18.63
1.51 - 2.50	95	11.88
2.51- 5.00	49	6.10
5.01+	37	4.62
Duration of marriage (years)		
0 - 5	133	16.6
6 - 10	148	18.5
10+	519	64.9
Husband's Occupation		
Agriculture/ farming	246	30.90
Day labour (agri.)	242	30.40
Day labour (non-agri.)	15	1.88
Service	55	6.91
Small business	135	16.96
Trader	14	1.76
Rickshaw/Van puller/ helper	42	5.28
Carpenter/ mason	13	1.63
Others	34	4.27
Religion		
Muslim	642	80.25
Hindu	158	19.75
All	800	100.0
Mean Age of Women (years)		0.8

#### 2.2.4 Landholdings and Household Income

The distribution of women by household landholding size (of husbands) shows that 5 per cent of the women are married to households which do not have any land at all and for another 53.5 per cent of the women, household landholding size does not exceed half an acre (50 decimals). This implies that about 58.5 per cent of the women are married to husbands who are functionally landless, having land below 50 decimals. By contrast, only 18.6 per cent of the women are married to husbands having cultivable land between 0.51-1.50 acres, while only 12 per cent of the women belong to households with landholdings 1.51-2.50 acres, and only 11 per cent of households have land exceeding 2.50 acres.

The distribution of households by monthly income shows 2.5% of the holds have monthly income less than Tk. 2000; about 29% of the households have income between Tk. 2000 and Tk. 4000 per month. This implies that about a third of the households have monthly income not exceeding Tk. 4000. About a fifth (22%) of the households have monthly income between Tk. 4000- 5000, while a quarter (24.6%) of the households earn between Tk. 5000- 7500. By contrast, only one- tenth of the households have monthly income exceeding Tk. 10000.

Table 3: Monthly Household income: by Area

Income	Bochaganj	Chirirbandar	Birganj	Total
<2000	2.75	1.50	3.00	2.50
2001-3000	16.00	9.50	4.00	11.38
3001-4000	16.25	16.50	22.50	17.88
4001- 5000	17.75	23.50	29.00	22.00
5001-7500	23.75	29.50	21.50	24.63
7501-10000	12.25	11.50	12.00	12.00
10001-15000	6.00	5.00	5.00	5.50
15001-20000	2.50	1.50	1.50	2.00
20001+	2.75	1.50	1.50	2.13
Average monthly income	6806.22	6417.89	6159.26	6545.44

# 3 Project framework

Although not, strictly speaking, part of the evaluation, a request was made to include the project framework so that the different elements of the evaluation can be given some context.

Violence of any form is often associated with deprivation. The baseline study, for example, noted that people in great poverty, with little education, with particularly harsh working conditions (rickshaw drivers) had higher levels of intimate partner violence. Violence in general increases when:

- People believe they will be crushed rather than respected
- People believe they will be treated unfairly
- People cannot trust authority
- People cannot trust services
- Services show that they do not care for the person
- People are not provided opportunities to review, challenge and discuss with others
- People cannot access resources that help resolve disputes (legal, counselling)

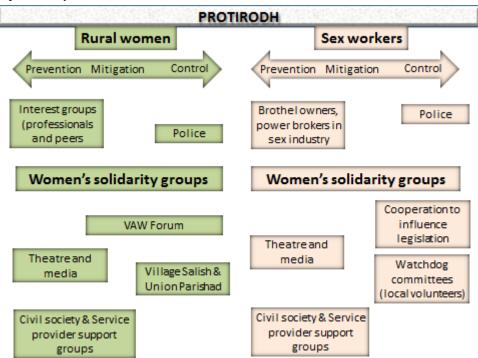
In order to improve the situation, therefore, a mixture of prevention, mitigation and sanction/control are needed. This is the route followed by the PROTIRODH project. In outline the categories are:

Prevention	Mitigation	Sanction				
Work with key elements of civil society to ensure structures are fair	Provide counselling and advice so that people know how to cope with violence	Work with law enforcement and justice system to ensure cases are heard fairly and justice is done				
Work with service providers, institutions, and police to ensure people treated well and respected	Cooperate with other agencies and institutions to ensure the legal framework sanctions offenders					
Help people come together to review common problems. Through group dynamics learn processes of communication that prevent violence and increase mutual support						
Work with media and theatre to help people review issues and modify prejudice						

The key idea here is that no one component can have success attributed to it, as all the components need to be in place and mutually reinforcing.

The way this has been translated into project components is shown in the figure below.

Figure 1: Project components



# 4 Overall objective: Reduced violence

The clearest statement of the reduction in physical violence for rural women since the base line study is seen in figure 2, with the corresponding table 4. This measured the violence reported by individuals that they had suffered in the previous year when questioned. This is a significant result.

However, it should be noted that even at the baseline the figures are very much in line with those from most other parts of the world, and that the actual numbers suffering the severer forms of violence are low – meaning that the corresponding reduction in real population terms of these severer forms of violence is very low.

Table 4 Physical Violence during previous year compared to base line.

Types of physical violence (n=800)	Baseline last 1yr (%)	End line Last 1yr (%)	End line Last 1yr (n)
Slapping	52.8	32	256
Kicking	24.1	10.4	83
Beating with a stick	18.4	7.6	61
Hurling objects at wife	9.5	4.1	81
Pulling by hair	12.7	5	40
Banging head against the wall	2.5	1.6	13
Beating extremely hands and legs	1.3	0.5	4
Hitting in sensitive organ/ private parts	0.7	0.5	4

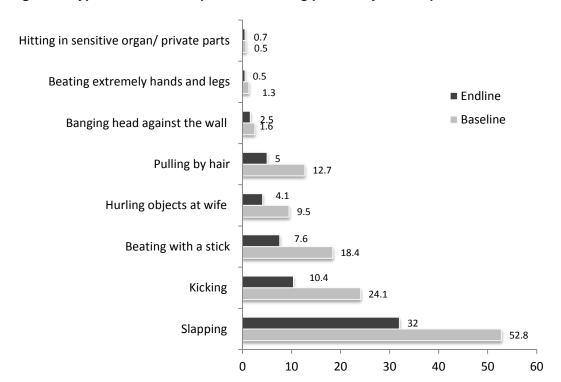


Figure 2: Types of violence experienced during previous year compared to base line

# 4.1.1 Factors influencing violence: group membership

These drops in violence occur in all categories studied. Thus it was noted in the baseline that violence was associated with low education of men and women, and with low landholding. This was also true during this study, but what was even more significant was the association between low violence and membership of a group, and most particularly of an NGO or self-help group. The graph for membership of any type of group is in Figure 3.

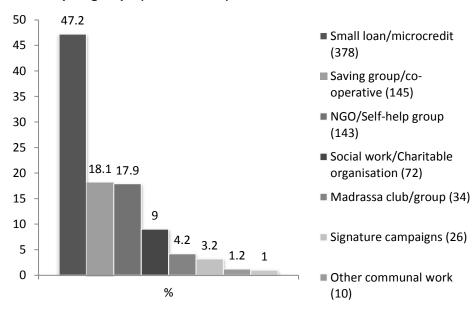


Figure 3: Membership of groups (n in brackets)

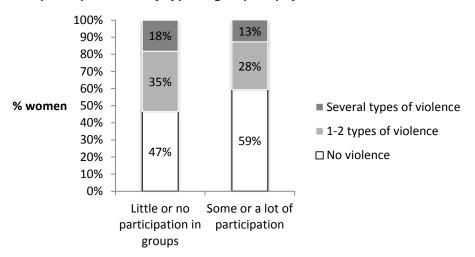


Figure 4 Impact of participation in any type of group on physical violence

The even more impressive figures for membership of a self-help group are as follows:

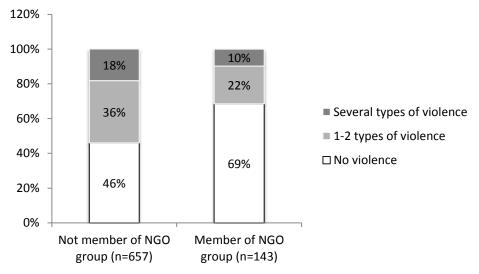


Figure 5: Impact on violence of participation in an NGO or self-help group

The Odds Ratio for not having any type of violence if a member of a self-help group is 2.56 – which is also of very high significance in statistical terms, and of great importance.

Membership of any other type of group (including savings groups) had a lower level of correlation with reduced violence but the correlation was still there.

# 4.1.2 Factors influencing violence: Education and job type

As in the baseline, violence was correlated with women or men who had low or no education. The Odds Ratio for the link between men who had no education and violence was 2.63 (p=0.000), and for women who had 1 year or no education it was 1.69 (p=0.002).

However even though the odds for violence remain higher than for other people, it is interesting that in both these groups there was also a diminution of violence compared to the baseline.

The same is true for type of occupation, but again, as for education, there is a reduction in all types of violence. A good example is amongst rickshaw drivers, which is shown in Figure 4.

80 72.7 70 60 45.2 50 % women 40 29.9 30 23.4 16.7 11.7 11.9 20 11.9 11.7<sub>9.5</sub> Baseline  $2.6^{\,4.8}$ 10 1.3 2.4 1.3 0 0 ■ Evaluation Ricking with a stick to the Polling by hair lead against the ... Hitting in private parts against the Hunting objects at wife Polling by hair lead against the ... Hitting in private parts

Figure 5: Violence amongst rickshaw drivers compared to baseline

# 4.1.3 Psychological violence (rural women)

The reduction in psychological violence is also impressive. This is seen in Figure 5 below. It should be noted that although many people mention dowry as a cause of violence, it does not feature prominently among the causes shown in the graph. Focused Group Discussions, however, suggested that dowry was a very big background cause of psychological violence. It may be that in answering the question people thought of more immediate causes.

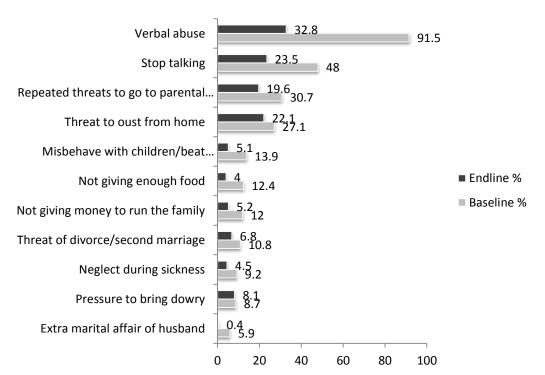


Figure 6: Rates of psychological abuse compared to base line

#### 4.1.4 Mental health

The above figures on psychological violence are quite important. This is not only because of the close association between psychological violence and physical violence. It is also highly important because Common Mental Disorders (CMD) are amongst the leading causes of disability and ill health throughout the world.

A further point of importance is that both depression and anxiety often lead to neglect of the self, of the home and of children – as well as of the external relationships that are so important to the maintenance of social support systems. Psychological violence is well known to lead to mental health problems, so it is highly important for programmes involved with violence to address mental health issues. To some extent this project has done so through its excellent group work and counselling, but this is more a by-product rather than part of a strategy that includes mental health.

It is interesting that, as shown in the figure below, a large proportion of the women in Bochagani and Birganj said they faced psychological problems and, further, that in all three areas a large majority said equal emphasis should be placed on mental health. The interest is because in reporting on the qualitative data, the researchers said that most people did not worry too much about psychological violence. This is a common perception, yet most people know that psychological violence incurs far longer and deeper damage than physical violence – which most people get over rather quickly.

Figure: Whether women have faced psychological problems

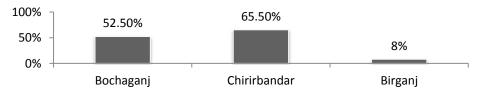
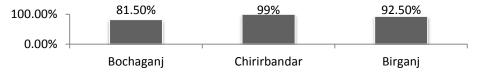
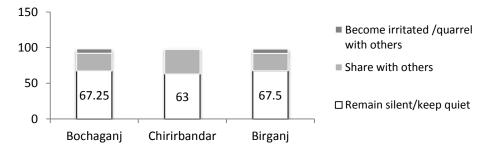


Figure: Whether women believe equal emphasis should be placed on mental health as on physical health



It is noteworthy that the sex workers seem far more ready than rural women to discuss psychological violence, as the two figures following show. For rural women two-thirds choose to remain silent, whereas for the sex workers over half either share their problem with others or become irritated and quarrel.

Figure 7: Tactics followed by women after mental disturbance



Become irritated / quarrel with others

37.04

42.98

56.73

☐ Remain silent/quiet

Figure 8: When mentally disturbed, what the SW usually does/tactics followed

Khulna

#### 4.1.5 Violence to sex workers

Dhaka

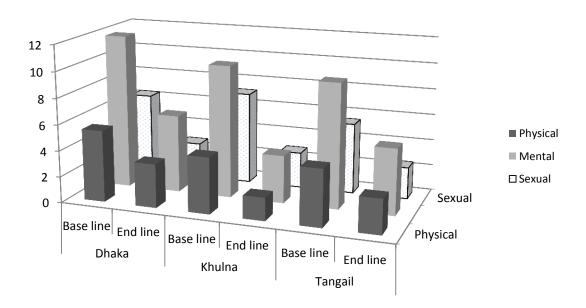
0

The proportion of SWs who suffered violence from *clients* during the baseline and the endline survey is shown in Figure 9. From Figure 9 it appears that in all the three study areas, violence against SWs by clients has declined remarkably. There has been a reduction in all categories of violence caused by the *client*: physical, mental, sexual, economic and social/ political. Compared to the baseline figures, economic violence has declined by 56.84%, closely followed by sexual (55.25%), mental (46.85%) and physical violence (38.95%). However, reduction in social/ political violence has been minimal (14.24%).

Tangail

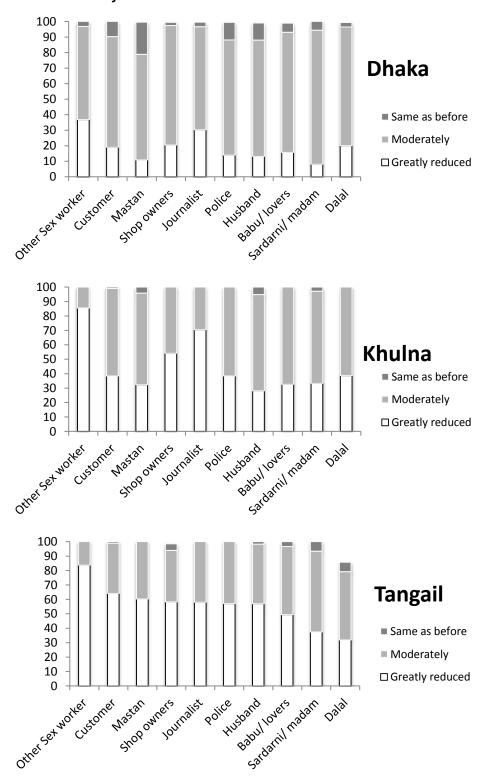
The sex workers themselves also state a general perception that violence has decreased – this being especially so in Tangail and not so much in Dhaka.

Figure 9: Mean number of episodes of violence suffered by sex workers per month from customers by type of violence: by site (compared to baseline)



This is to some extent matched by the stated perceptions of sex workers regarding change in the levels of violence they experience from various categories of people. Although most say there has been 'moderate' change, in Tangail it is impressive that the majority say there has been a great reduction in violence from most of the categories of people.

Figure 10: Opinion on the extent of reduction in violence (caused by different perpetrators) due to the activities of DNS/NMS: by area



This is also true of another form of violence – the demand for free sex where again the Tangail sex workers feel that the reduction has been considerable.

100% 25% 80% 44% 60% ■ No change 73.50% ■ Moderately reduced 40% 71% 55% □ Very reduced 20% 22% 0% Dhaka Khulna Tangail

Figure 11: Perception of reduction of clients asking for free sex

Unfortunately the realities of power still prevail in many places, and the mastans (muscle men) and various other forces still rule with brutality. In the last year, according to the 2010 annual report, trafficking has increased, including that of young girls – even though there have been several successes in saving women and girls. Thus last year, thanks to the successful efforts of the watchdog committees and friendly brothel owners, 160 women were freed, and 61 sent home. The figures shown in Table 3 show the problem.

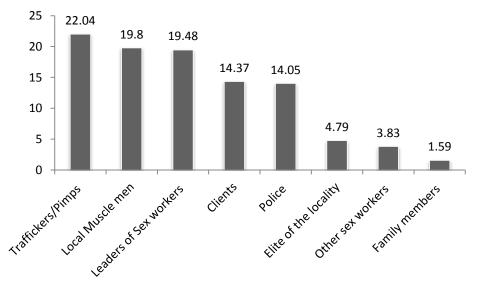


Figure 12: Perpetrators of violence to sex workers 2010 (% of cases, n=313)

Another facet of the violence against sex workers is the control that others have over their spending power. Here there is no comparison with the base line study, but it is clear that the majority feel they have power over their own spending.

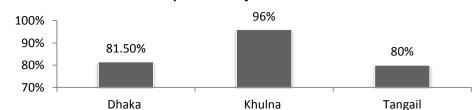


Figure 13: Whether sex workers can spend money of their own choice

# 5 Overall objective: Reinforce fulfilment of women's rights

How have the women assessed themselves in terms of the objectives they wish to achieve in relation to rights, dignity, respect and efficacy? In general, the responses by both rural women in general and by sex workers in particular, as well as the reports from the focused group discussions and key informant interviews, are positive. However there is considerable variation in the perceptions of change as will be seen in subsequent tables.

Part of the variation is the fact that, as mentioned at the beginning, a significant number of women are already quite capable, strong and well-positioned without suffering any unwanted violence. Their responses will therefore tend to the 'no change' end.

Then there is the obvious fact that not all women will benefit from a project. Some may not wish to join in with groups, some may be expelled from groups, some may leave the groups when they find the project is not for them. Some will be in situations that are highly unmanageable – such as the situation of bonded sex workers. Or there may be people who just don't want to change things.

Also, when interpreting the statements by people of their perceptions of change, caution should be exercised as usual in interpreting the statements about 'reasonable' change, or 'average' change. It is generally true that people want to please the interviewer, so really the statements to look for are those at the extremes – i.e. that there has been considerable change for the better or else that things are the same as before.

Thus there is a considerable proportion of women, who may not be in the majority, for whom the project has been very beneficial in facilitating their voice, their rights and their opportunities. In general these will be the women who say there has been considerable change for the better in their responses. So, for example, if 30% say there has been such change, then it is possible that the project has been beneficial for that proportion of women.

Since no parameters were set for measuring success or failure in women's perceptions, and especially since during the baseline there was no measurement of the proportions of women who wanted or needed change in particular aspects of their lives, it has to be left to the reader to decide whether the project has been 'sufficiently' successful in any of the following parameters.

The only exception to this is when situations have become clearly worse than at baseline – which is luckily rare.

## 5.1 General value obtained

During a discussion with some members of EKATA it was said that:

"Having a place where women could talk openly and freely, and having the support of VAW forums, interest group and the staff of PNGOs to help with our problems, especially those involving VAW, provided a sense of solidarity and a feeling of not being 'alone'. This increased confidence has helped us a lot in raising our voice and protesting against violence."

This statement clearly reflects the value of work with groups for some people, as has already been indicated by the strong correlation of low violence with membership of self-help groups (which sounds like a contradiction in terms). It results when groups have been very well

nurtured and facilitated, and in general the responses have shown that group development and facilitation have been carried out by the project very well indeed.

It is interesting that when women were asked the personal benefits they had as a result of the project, 61% said they had an increase in personal confidence.

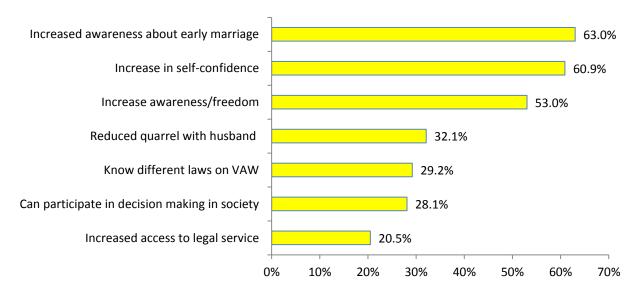


Figure 14: Personal benefits as a result of the project

# 5.2 Women's support

Although very little questioning was done concerning the violence done by women to other women, to men, or to children, there are two very important pieces of evidence concerning change in women's attitudes to other women.

#### 5.2.1 Support from rural women

Whereas it has been noted by project staff that a considerable portion of domestic violence is carried out by mothers in law, it is interesting to note that significant numbers of women felt that their mothers in law are now becoming more helpful in reducing violence from the husband. Yet again, Bochaganj scored best and Birganj scored least well in this regard.

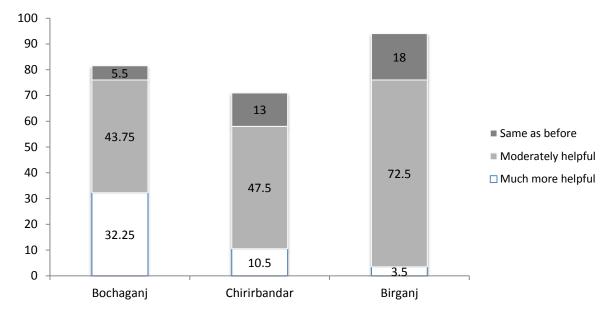


Figure 15: Improved support by mothers in law against violence from husband

### 5.2.2 Support from sex workers

In practical terms, the sex workers score very highly in the change in support they provide for one another, and for the different types of support. The following figures show both the perceptions of the sex workers with regard to change over time, as well as the range of responses they have.

Interestingly, although again Dhaka scored worst for the sex workers, the level of improved support from other sex workers is very high.

These results are very probably the result of the natural increases in mutual support that come with good group formation and nurturing. The results again demonstrate the excellent handling of the groups by the project staff.

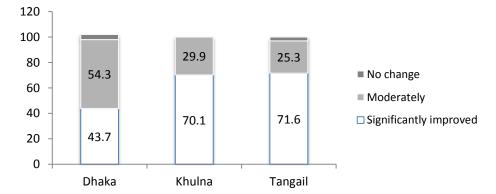


Figure 16: Improved support from other sex workers

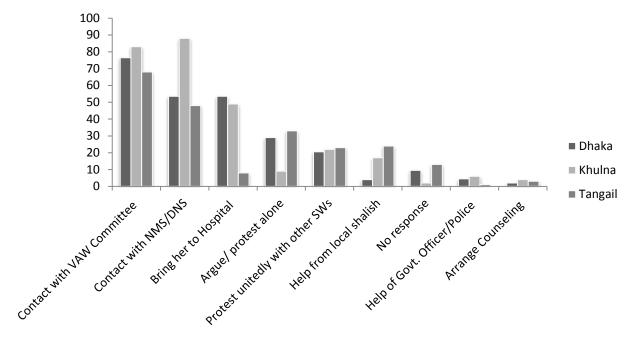


Figure 17: Types of support given by sex workers to each other

# 5.3 Women's voice

There were a variety of measures of the ability of women to speak out. The results are quite variable. The first figure shows a general increase in the proportion of women who believe they can voice their opinions in meetings – but a big increase in those who can do so at the village shalish and at public meetings. This is entirely consistent with the positive responses provided during interviews and focused group discussions.

What is puzzling at first sight is that women's voices at women's meetings and the village salish is not raised as much as one might expect. However, a quick look at the subsequent table which breaks the figures down by area shows the reason: there is considerable variation in the women's groups and the salish. The figures from Birganj really pull down the overall figures. It is very interesting that throughout the analysis the figures from Birganj are much poorer than from the other sites.

This underlines the fact that self-confidence is highly dependent on the supportive atmosphere of the environment, and that whilst work has been done on the salish environment, there is considerable work remaining to be done elsewhere.

Figure 18: % of women who believe they can participate fully and have opinions heard at meetings compared to base line

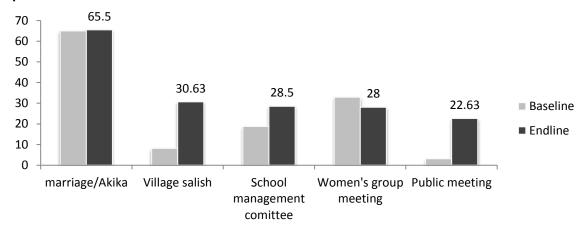
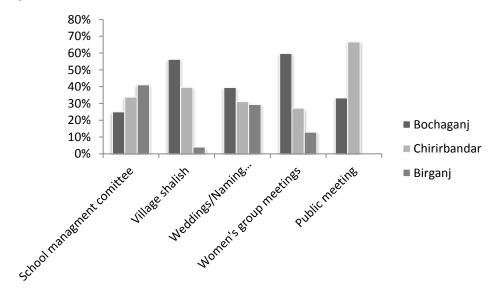
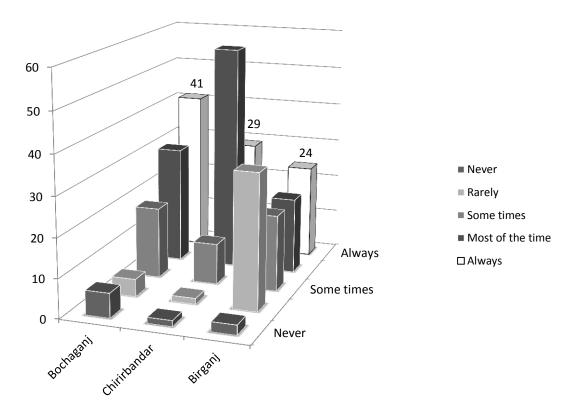


Figure 19: Whether women believe they can participate fully and have opinions heard at meetings, compared by District



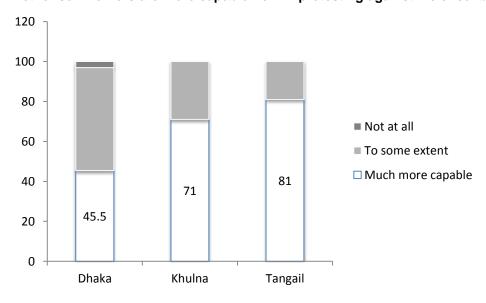
Another aspect of voicing of opinion is whether women can be open about violence done to them. The evidence is that a considerable proportion (more than 40% in Bochaganj) believe that they can always approach the system for justice, as the following figure shows. The figure also shows the relatively poor performance from Birganj. The project staff are aware of this performance and say that they know the reasons for the problem.

Figure 20: Whether women believe they can approach Union Parishad or village shalish for justice in case of violence



Similarly a very high proportion of sex workers now feel more able than before to protest against violence done to them. This is much more striking in Khulna and Tangail than in Dhaka.

Figure 21: Whether sex workers are more capable now in protesting against violence: by area



This is matched by figures for the belief sex workers have that they can protest about a particular person (but note that in all cases those in the 'always' group are less than in the 'much more capable' group in the previous figure):

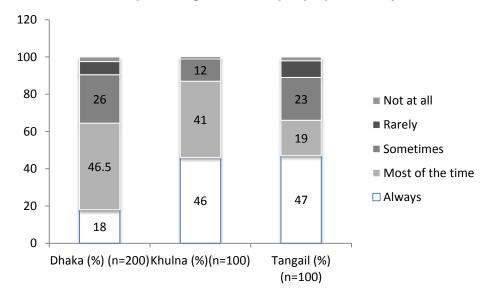


Figure 22: Whether the SW can protest against the culprit/perpetrator: by area

However, despite this increased voice among sex workers, the in depth interviews with them have suggested that this is not fully matched by appropriate action on behalf of the authorities. In the words of one sex worker "At least now we are not thrown out of the police station when we make a complaint".

Another aspect of voice in relation to sex workers is whether they have control over their lives. It has been seen in a previous table that most control their own money. This also applies to other aspects of their lives, except where they are getting support from the services.

	Self			DNS/NMS		
	Dhaka	Khulna	Tangail	Dhaka	Khulna	Tangail
Condom Use	99.0	89.0	81.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Spending money	89.0	99.0	79.0	1.0	1.0	0.0
No. of clients to be taken	98.0	99.0	78.0	0.0	0.0	3.0
Refusal to take client	96.5	99.0	76.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
Taking legal help in case of violence	39.5	16.0	37.0	55.5	83.0	45.0
When and where to take health care	40.0	47.0	41.0	50.0	52.0	38.0

Table 5: Who takes the decision in regard to sex worker's choices by region

# 5.4 Women's independence

The responses from rural women concerning their freedom when going out seem to show that they are in fact much freer in all respects than at the time of the baseline. The only word of caution here is the use of the word 'permission'. In other surveys it has been found that a better question is to ask whether a woman has been refused permission to go out. This is because in translation women may in fact be saying that of course they 'inform' their husbands when they go out, but have never been denied. Nevertheless, the questions were consistent across both surveys and that is what matters for the purpose of this evaluation.

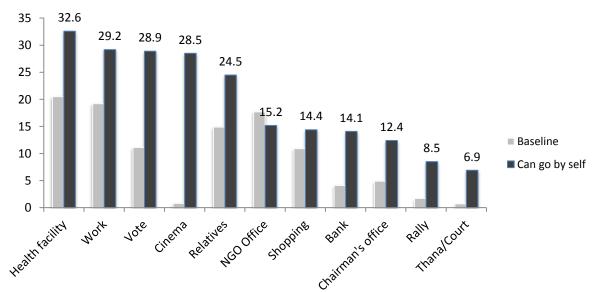


Figure 23: Whether women feel freer in going out by themselves compared to base line

Table 6: Whether women are more free in going out or visiting

	Can go alone			Can go with others/permission		gone
	Baseline	Present	Baseline	Present	Baseline	Present
Health Centre	20.5	32.6	68.3	66.7	11.2	0.8
Bank	4.1	14.1	34.8	75.1	61.1	10.9
For shopping	10.9	14.4	44.5	77.5	44.5	8.3
NGO/Shamity office	17.7	15.3	53.3	78.7	28.9	6.1
Chairman office	4.9	12.4	32.4	70.7	62.7	16.9
Cinema/theater etc.	0.8	28.5	27.9	65.3	71.3	6.1
Thana/Court	0.7	6.9	21.3	59.8	78.0	33.4
Rally/procession	1.7	8.5	16.0	59.8	82.3	31.6
Vote centre	11.1	28.9	74.5	66.6	14.4	4.6
Relative's house	14.9	24.5	83.5	74.7	1.6	0.9
Work place	19.2	29.3	64.0	63.7	16.8	7.0

# 5.5 How the organisations have helped

It has already been mentioned (in the section on reduction of violence) that there is a very strong association between being a member of an NGO group and reduction in violence. This and several other changes were attributed to the support from organisations.

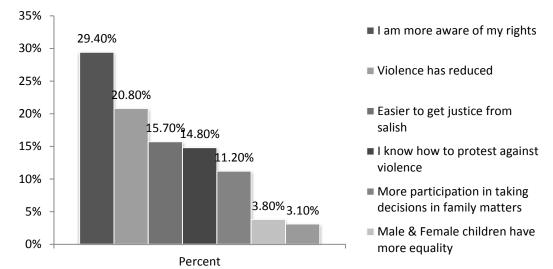


Figure 24: Changes attributed by women to activities of UDDOG and BRIF

The sex workers also scored some of the changes brought about by their groups. Although again those from Dhaka gave lower scores than those in Khulna and Tangail, the important fact to note is that in all areas it remains very hard for them to get their children into school.

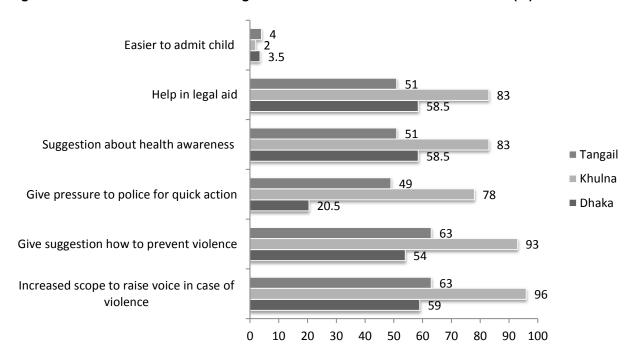


Figure 25: Perceived benefits of being members of committees for sex workers (%)

# 6 Overall objective: Reduction in early marriage

It is quite clear that amongst the women in this study there has been a significant decrease in early marriage during the time of the project. This is seen in the following table as well as in the responses in focused group discussions and interviews.

100% 90% 80% 70% 69.80% 60% 95.30% ■ 15 or older 50% 40% ■ 14 or younger 30% 20% 30.20% 10% 4.70% 0% 3 yrs or less 4 yrs or more

Figure 26: Years of marriage by Age at 1st marriage (cut at 15)

This shows very clearly that a tiny minority (4.7%) of people married in the lifetime of the project were married under the age of 15 – as long as we believe that no one told a lie about their age of marriage now that there is a law about it. This is to be set against the 30.2% of those married before who were married under the age of 15.

The change is still significant (at 50%) if the legal age of marriage is taken as the cut-off point.

Table II Toule of Illam	ago ay rigo at ioi	· ····a····ago ,	(out at 10)		
			Married age 17 yrs or below	Married age 18 yrs or more	Total
Years of marriage	3 yrs or less	Count	32	32	64
		%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	4 yrs or more	Count	590	146	736
		%	80.2%	19.8%	100.0%
	Total	Count	622	178	800
		%	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%

Table 7: Years of marriage by Age at 1st marriage (cut at 18)

The interest of the people is also reflected in the strong demand for legal advice on the issue, which will be seen in the discussion on the use of services within the project.

# 7 Improved access to services

Perhaps the greatest strength of the project has been its very practical development, organisation and delivery of a variety of highly relevant services which are much appreciated by the population in general, and by those who have suffered violence in particular.

The services and resources are all well used, and in general their quality is regarded highly.

These resources considerably ease the mental burden people have in relation to knowing what to do, and some of them, such as the health services, rescue from bondage and some legal interventions, are life-saving.

Furthermore, PROTIRODH has continued to investigate with the population (using a variety of participatory methodologies) methods of making services such as counselling even simpler and more available to more people. The Counselling Tool Kit and the Case Management Kit have both been developed in this way.

There is good evidence for the general appreciation of the services from the annual reports, from the responses to the questionnaires, from the focused group discussions, from the case studies generated by the project and from the interviews.

#### 7.1.1 Knowledge of sources of help available

In terms of knowledge of the types of help available, the following figure shows the surprising result that so few apparently know about the self-help groups, women's groups and NGO groups. Although there has been an improvement over the baseline, the level remains small. It is possible that in answering the question people did not think of these groups as help that is available for violence, since the question specifically asked about help for violence. Furthermore, such large numbers have used the services it is hard to imagine that so few know about them. 576 (72%) of those questioned claimed to have used services offered under the project. However, in the specific question about counselling, only 39.4% of those questioned knew that counselling services existed. There is not enough data to clarify this.

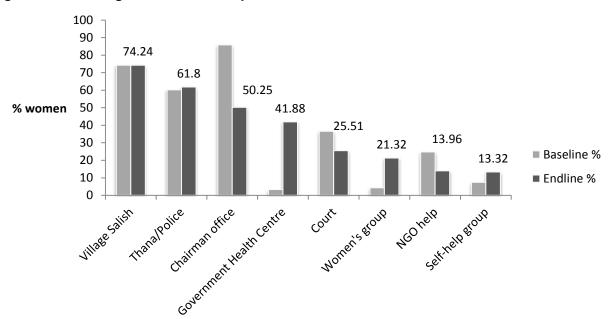


Figure 27: Knowledge of sources of help available for violence

The types of service used by people show clearly their main interests. Way ahead of the other services in terms of use is legal help on early marriage. Counselling on violence comes second at 19%, and of roughly equal importance is counselling on dowry law.

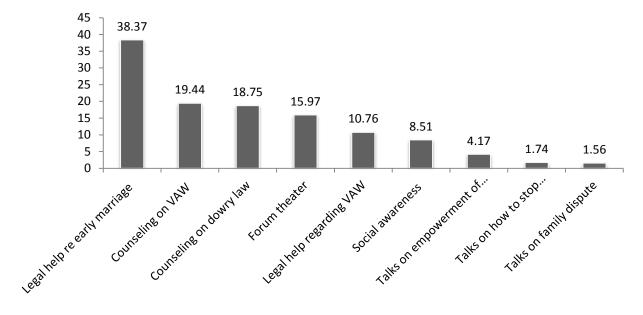


Figure 28: For those who used services (576/800 or 72%), type of service attended

#### 7.1.2 Importance of legal aid

One very interesting finding from the interviews and focused group discussions, as well as from project staff, is that people on the whole prefer to avoid going to law about domestic problems. They vastly prefer to solve their issues with counselling. Partly this is due to avoidance of the process of law because it is an irrevocable step which creates difficulties for future family relationships, but partly it is to avoid shame or stigma for the husband. Many women say they seek legal aid "to teach the husband a lesson". This again demonstrates the existing power of many women in working out how best to resolve situations that they find difficult. The existence of legal aid now becomes a new weapon in their armoury.

This preference for sorting the matter out at home is seen in the ranking of the reasons people seek counselling. 65 women (8.1%) of the 800 women questioned had gone for counselling. Of those that did the reasons were as follows:



Figure 29: Reasons for seeking counselling

#### 7.1.3 Satisfaction with services

It is very clear that the VAW fora, the self-help groups, the NGOs and the chairman's office have left a good proportion of people highly satisfied with the support they provide. Only the village shalish and the police score really badly. This data was not disaggregated (due to pressure of time), so there may be some hidden effect here.

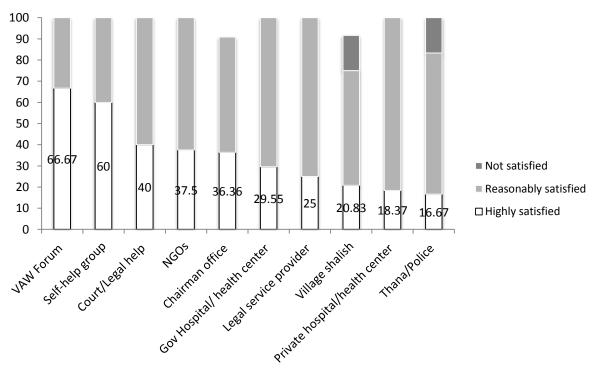


Figure 30: Satisfaction with services

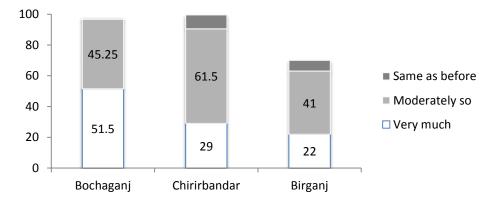
#### 7.1.4 Village and Union Parishad

The overall figures above hide some differences. The perceptions of the value of the village and Union shalish varied considerably by District. Bochaganj saw the most improvement and Birganj the least according to the perceptions of the respondents. It is hard to read much meaning into these figures except to say that whilst there are improvements they are highly variable and therefore unpredictable from a programming point of view.

120 100 80 ■ Same as before 60 ■ Moderately so 40 53 ■ Very much 20 34 19.5 0 Bochagani Chirirbandar Birganj

Figure 31: Perceived improvement in village shalish

Figure 32: Perceived improvement in Union parishad



#### 7.1.5 Attitudes of service providers

Both the rural women and the sex workers were asked about the change in attitude of the service providers to them.

Again the differences across the sites was marked. Many more women in Bochaganj felt that the service attitude was much better now, and very few felt that way in Birganj.

Similarly, and as with most of the data, the scores for service provider attitudes in Dhaka were very poor in comparison with Khulna and Tangail. However, it is noticeable that the scores for the sex worker sites were higher than for the rural women.

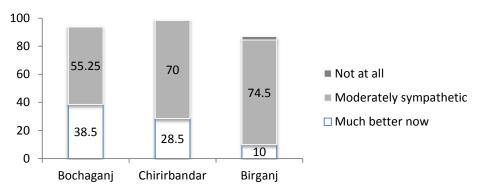
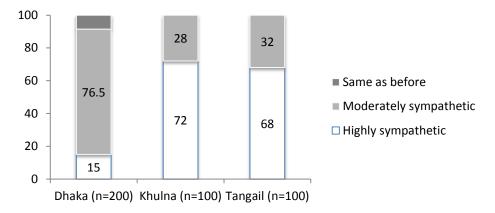


Figure 33: Whether service providers for rural women have become more sympathetic, by region

Figure 34: Whether doctors/nurses are more sympathetic to sex workers



#### 7.1.6 Value of groups and committees

Amidst all of these resources, perhaps the most immediate and valuable have been the variety of groups and committees nurtured by the project. A group in which people find knowledge, challenge and support is as useful a resource as a health centre.

In the focused group discussions and interviews people mentioned the value to them of the groups. Several said the groups gave them a big increase in self-confidence. The groups also acted as good fora for exchange of experience and ideas.

As an example of the considerable extent of their range, the Sex Worker component holds monthly and bi-monthly meetings in 105 VAW committees held in different locations of Dhaka, Khulna and Tangail. Discussion points include solidarity building among sex workers, leadership capacities, strengthening negotiation and communications skills in prevention of violence against them, gender and human rights and information on the service providers. Along with these committees of sex workers, 43 watch committees of Rickshaw pullers, drivers, different types of shop keepers, leaders of VAW committees, potential masters, cleaners, broker, security guards (All of whom have positive attitudes to extend support to the sex workers and help them to protect from violence) hold monthly and bimonthly meetings to discuss challenges that sex workers face and work out how better to provide support. These committee members also take part in issue-based campaigns through forum theatre performances in different field locations. They also provide support for conflict resolution, mitigation and supporting field facilitators to address incidences of violence.

Clear case handling mechanisms established and being used and monitored in programme area, including case handling by local shalish

# 8 Change in public attitude

The range of questions asking about perceptions of change has revealed extensive awareness of the issues. Unfortunately there has been no survey to measure the extent of knowledge or attitude. The following figure gives the general perception of change measured in the survey.

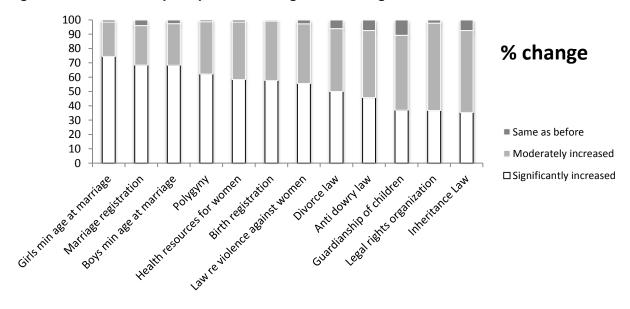


Figure 35: Rural women perceptions of change in knowledge

The fact that there is a gradation and such strong indication for change in knowledge about most of these aspects of the work of the project indicates that it is highly likely that there is increased general knowledge of the issues. It is impossible to assess the change in attitude without a proper survey. However, the evidence of the levels of positive change in some of the Village and Union systems of justice indicate that there is also likely to be general improvement of attitude.

# 9 Increased coordination and solidarity

One of the most important parts of the project's work has been its coordination with other agencies in advocacy for change in the legal framework. This is also likely to be the most long-lasting legacy of the project.

As a prime example, there is no law in Bangladesh to address domestic violence against women. The current law that deals with violence against women is "Nari shishu Nirjatan Domon Ain 2003 (Women and Children Repression Act 2003 revised)" but there is no constructive way to deal with cases of domestic violence. The law does not act as a deterrent to the perpetrators of violence as there is no express recognition of domestic violence as an offence and no definition of domestic violence.

As a result, 48 leading development and human rights organizations that included CARE Bangladesh, Ain-O-Shalish Kendra (ASK), BLAST, Action Aid, Bangladesh, Manusher Jonno Foundation (MJF), BNWLA, BRAC, Nari Pakkho, formed a coalition named "Citizen's Initiative

Against Domestic Violence (CIDV), prepared a draft bill and submitted it to the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs(MOWCA) in 2008. This has been positively accepted by the present government. The MOWCA organized a series of consultation meetings with development partners and CIDV members and recently this bill has been approved by the parliamentarian cabinet as the Domestic Violence Protection and Prevention Bill 2010.

# 10 Knowledge management

Knowledge management has been central to the project. There is constant review and feedback, especially round particular cases, with the various committees and institutions. These reviews are also highly participatory.

# 11 Lessons learned

# 11.1 Develop evaluation protocols that do justice to the project

This project is an excellent one to which this evaluation cannot do justice. This is partly because of the poor quality and type of data collected for the evaluation. Therefore one very important lesson is to develop an evaluation protocol that not only sets out to show that the project has undertaken the work promised, but also to enquire vigorously into the positive and negative changes of the women affected by the project, and to compare these not only to a baseline but also to changes in women not affected by the project. In this type of work, where violence is so clearly a function of a number of social environments, it really is important to check whether other social changes are responsible for any change in violence.

# 11.2 Seek greater complexity in analysing violence

There also needs to be a much sharper critique of what constitutes violence. In the present work there is no real attempt to distinguish between what is included as acceptable 'violence' and what is clearly not acceptable. There is no objective way of doing this as it will vary from household to household, but it remains a key point in why people change or do not change.

Similarly there is no corresponding measure of affection or the other factors that feed into the interpretation of violence, or the ways in which people and societies already prevent, mitigate and sanction violence.

Of course there is heavy violence against women which by any measure is unacceptable, but that should not blind people to thinking of it in its multiple dimensions. Thus most people use some form of psychological violence in their everyday lives, and that is an important part of social regulation, and the level that is deemed acceptable is never defined but constantly changing. In short, projects that try to relate to violence should seek complexity rather than try to simplify it.

# 11.3 Do not isolate violence by men against women

Another important point that this project has clearly learned, is that violence against women by men cannot be seen in isolation from other types of violence or from the social contexts of particular individuals or relationships – although men and women need different types of space and support to work through the issues. No one component of a programme concerned with social evolution can be effective in isolation of other changes.

One of the learning points from CARE's Strategic Impact Inquiry was that women themselves often abuse power and can be even more violent than men (certainly in psychological terms) with other women or with children.

This project has paid careful heed to the possibility of violence by women, and it is an important aspect to keep in mind when developing programmes. In this instance, the careful development of the project in a non-confrontational way has led not only to the strong inclusion of men at a variety of levels, but also has to some extent reduced the violence done by women to other women. Such violence is often very strong amongst sex workers because of the fact they are in competition with one another, but here there is good evidence of them developing strong mutual support mechanisms.

# 11.4 Be clear about the boundaries of the project

As mentioned in the beginning of this document, several attempts have been made to act beyond the immediate framework of the project in areas such as functional literacy, the development of income generating opportunity and of other areas of self-improvement. This has led to some frustration at the inability to do more than to help a few individuals. This is often a trap for those involved in development programming when they begin to see the wider ramifications of the factors that lead to violence or the particular problem being acted upon. Violence, like so many issues of human interaction, is in general terms a symptom and an end point of a wide range of factors. The project has done well to show how to integrate the essential mechanisms of prevention, mitigation and control. It has also done a huge amount in sensitisation, coordination and improvement of legislation. It cannot possibly address wider issues of development at the same time.

# 12Learning points and the future

As previously mentioned, projects of their nature cannot do more than provide a temporary space in which to explore options for strategy. This project has done slightly more than that by playing such an important and effective role in developing legislation in relation to violence.

It has also shown the effectiveness of simple resources and mobilisation together with very imaginative use of drama and media in the reduction of violence.

This evaluation has pointed to the following areas of learning which themselves point to future exploration.

# 12.1 Working with groups

Almost all projects work with groups of people. What has not been recognised so often is that success of a project often depends on the natural evolution of a group rather than on the technical focus of the project itself. It is remarkable that across different types of development project, people who stay with groups develop in a number of ways. If the groups are nurtured and facilitated with skill, the members improve in appearance, hygiene and bearing. They improve in communication and negotiations skills. They improve in self-esteem and self-confidence. As a result of these changes they take better care of their health and of their family. There are several other outcomes, but clearly one is reduced levels of physical and psychological violence. In this project the latter improvement must have been enhanced by the focus of the project itself and all the associated advocacy and awareness raising.

It should be noted that the evolution of the group depends on the skill of the facilitator. Mostly the good facilitators are ones who build trust and help groups through the difficulties of conflict

and change. They often do this under the banner of 'participatory methodology' without realising that what they are really doing is developing human interaction skills, trust and mutual support.

With such facilitators the group also benefits from the close attention and support being given to them, and that alone helps enormously in the development of self-esteem and self-confidence.

It would therefore be useful for CARE Bangladesh to review these aspects with staff who work as facilitators in projects in other aspects of development and then to monitor any project work for similar changes in group members in other projects.

Violence, as has been said, is a symptom in most cases, rather than a disease. There is no real need for special programmes on violence if the building of civil society will of its own accord improve a variety of social dysfunctional behaviour including violence.

### 12.2 Mental health

Mental health plays a key role in development and health. Poor mental health is very common and is frequently responsible for further problems from the resultant lack of self-care, and lack of care or interest in others. Despite this, very few projects take this into account in their planning.

This project has in effect been playing a role in the improvement of mental health by its two-pronged strategy of providing resources that are helpful to people who face psychological and physical trauma, and by encouraging membership of groups. Group formation is a frequently-used tool in psychiatry to help people improve in their capacity to solve problems, develop focus and develop the social skills necessary to become part of supportive society.

However, again it depends on the careful nurturing of groups. People are often frightened or anxious about joining groups and as a result can suffer more rather than less when first entering a group. Group dynamics can often turn on such people in a negative way which results either in their expulsion or self-expulsion. It is therefore important to help groups understand this and encourage involvement.

It was noticed, for example, that some of the groups did not seem to perform so well in giving voice to their members. This is an example of the need for careful nurturing.

A further aspect of mental health is the need to pay closer attention to psychological violence. Women are in general much more able than men to deploy psychological violence to obtain their desired end. Children use it very frequently as an effective way of bullying. Most people pay little attention to it. In British culture, there is a saying amongst school children "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words do not hurt me". This is remarkable in that precisely the opposite is true and this is deeply understood by most people. Psychological bullying has much deeper and very long lasting effects.

It is interesting in this regard that the researchers noticed that although there has been a reduction in physical violence, in some cases this has been exchanged for psychological violence. One woman said "He has stopped beating me, but he continues with his verbal abuse. Maybe that will change after a few more years".

What is needed here is skill in communication that reduces the level of threat. Such skill is frequently picked up as a result of group dynamics when conflicts are carefully managed. This is therefore another reason to develop good group management and fostering skills.

#### 12.3 Differences between households

This project has not explored to any extent why it is that disputes in some households end in severe violence whilst in the majority of others they do not. Already the project has a set of parameters which are known to be influential: educational levels of the man and the woman, membership of groups, poverty (and the strongly associated dowry system), and age (which varies in its effect since it was noticed during this evaluation that older women use their sons to wreak revenge on previously violent husbands).

There are, of course, the normal mechanisms at work when partners love and respect one another. This does occur, but has not been measured. However it is an important parameter to remember in order to avoid the temptation to generalise violent behaviour to entire categories of human being.

Another mechanism noted by the researchers in this evaluation is that there is less violence in families with children. When asked about this, one woman said "He knows I can't be thrown out now that we have the children".

However there is also a deeper set of reasons why violence is contained in most households. That is that they don't like violence and have learned in one way or another how to reduce tension in a conflict so that it does not get out of hand. Again this was not measured in the project, but it would be useful to think about its existence in future work on violence so that local lessons in mitigation and prevention can be learned.

# 12.4 Aspects that will be preserved after the end of project

It will be important for the project to make some estimate of which features are likely to be kept going by communities and local organisations. It does seem that legal aid and counselling are valued, so the question will be whether they are valued enough to be maintained at local cost.

It is already known that about 60% of the counsellors will continue. It would be good to know the factors that keep them going and not the others. Also it is important to realise that other than this there is no plan for expansion in any of the areas.

It will also be interesting to see whether those village salish and union parishod which have developed better justice for women after violence will continue to do so. Equally, it will be useful to establish the reasons why some of them have done better than others. This was not done during the evaluation and so is a bit of a missed opportunity.

# 12.5 Core agenda for the future

Any core agenda for the future should build upon the considerable strengths of the project. In brief such an agenda might look as follows:

- When setting up the project analyse why there is a difference between those households that degenerate into severe physical violence and those who do not. Explore the supportive and mitigatory functions that work at a societal level and which could be improved in the community.
- 2. Establish the types of communication used by women and men locally to mitigate or prevent violence and use those mechanisms as examples when working with groups.
- 3. Explore all the ways in which violence is used in households by men, women and children to each other as well as to people outside the household. Use these examples to explain to men and women that the same mechanisms of prevention, mitigation and control will work for most of these types of violence.

- 4. Ensure that all those who foster or facilitate groups in any kind of project have a good understanding of group psychology and the ways in which groups can evolve or self-destruct. Pay particular attention to mechanisms of exclusion and reasons for self-exclusion. Ensure facilitators understand the mechanisms of conflict resolution and know how to help groups learn these so that they can help others.
- 5. Monitor changes in groups for improvements in health, communication, self-esteem and violent behaviour. Establish which types of group evolve to become outward-looking and supportive of outsiders or who stimulate the creation of similar groups, and work out why that has happened. Use the lessons to help stop groups becoming inward-looking and competitive with others.
- 6. Think of volunteers and peer educators as people who are in a group of their own and apply the same rules of group understanding to these 'groups'. It will then be understood why in many cases it is the volunteers and peer educators who seem to benefit most from project work. This logic applies also to project staff, who often could do with a bit of improvement in their own right.
- 7. Establish resources available locally that are likely to help people in simple practical ways. One good example is for women with many children who often need help with child care. Others are already established by this project notably improvement in any existing systems of counselling, or improvement of local systems of governance using locally-led pressure for such improvement.
- 8. Always consider the potential impact of mental health on the value of projects for particular people. Consider how such people would use resources available and be included in groups, in social support mechanisms and social activity.

# 13 APPENDICES

# Table: Effect of Education of women (years of schooling) on violence compared to baseline

		Slappin g	Kicking	Beating with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pulling by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts
BASELINE	0	52.3	23.9	18.7	11	12.9	2.9	1.9	1
EVALUATION	0	31.3	12.9	9	5.5	3	2	1	1.5
BASELINE	1-5	56.4	23.8	20.8	9.4	15.8	3.5	2	0.5
EVALUATION	1-5	33.9	13.2	11	11.5	7.9	2.2	0.4	0
BASELINE	6-9	55.3	30	16.8	9.5	11.1	1.6	0	0
EVALUATION	6-9	30.3	7.3	5.4	8.4	3.8	0.8	0.4	0.4
BASELINE	10+	31.3	8.3	12.5	0	4.2	0	0	2.1
EVALUATION	10+	30.2	6.3	3.2	17.5	1.6	0	0	0

# Table: Effect of Husband's education (years of schooling) on violence compared to baseline

		Slappin g	Kickin g	Beating with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pullin g by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts
BASELINE	0	54.5	25.4	21.1	11.1	12.5	4.3	2.9	0.7
EVALUATI ON	0	36.9	15.9	12.6	7.9	4.7	1.9	0.9	1.4
BASELINE	1-5	55.6	27.4	21	8.5	17.3	2.8	0.8	0.8
EVALUATI ON	1-5	33.2	11.6	8.8	10	6.4	1.6	0	0.4
BASELINE	6-9	48.6	19.7	11.3	11.3	9.2	0	0	0
EVALUATI ON	6-9	25.1	6.4	4.3	9.6	4.8	2.1	1.1	0
BASELINE	10 +	45.7	19.8	13.6	3.7	4.9	0	0	1.2
EVALUATI ON	10 +	26.5	4.1	2	6.1	0	0	0	0

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Table: Effect of occupation on violence compared to baseline

		Slappi ng	Kicki ng	Beatin g with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pulli ng by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts	Tot al
Agriculture	Baselin e	49.8	22.1	14.1	5.7	12.5	1.1	1.1	0.4	263
Agriculture	Evaluati on	30.1	9.8	6.1	9.8	3.7	1.2	0	0	
		Slappi ng	Kicki ng	Beatin g with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pulli ng by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts	Tot al
Business	Baselin e	49.6	19.3	15.1	14.3	10.9	4.2	1.7	0.8	119
Business	Evaluati on	25.9	6.7	5.9	5.9	3.7	0.7	0.7	0	
		Slappi ng	Kicki ng	Beatin g with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pulli ng by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts	Tot al
Service	Baselin e	32.5	12.5	12.5	2.5	2.5	0	0	2.5	40
Service	Evaluati on	25.5	0	0	12.7	1.8	0	0	0	
		Slappi ng	Kicki ng	Beatin g with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pulli ng by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts	Tot al
Rickshaw/van/bus helper	Baselin e	72.7	29.9	23.4	11.7	11.7	2.6	1.3	1.3	77
Rickshaw/van/bus helper	Evaluati on	45.2	16.7	11.9	11.9	9.5	4.8	0	2.4	
		Slappi ng	Kicki ng	Beatin g with a stick	Hurling objects at wife	Pulli ng by hair	Banging head against the wall	Hands- feet tide down	Hitting in private parts	Tot al
Carpenter/mason/f isher man/potter/	Baselin e	42.3	26.9	26.9	11.5	7.7	7.7	0	0	26
Carpenter/mason/f isher man/potter/	Evaluati on	23.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	