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Changes in Gender Roles and Relations in GQAL Households: Impact of GQAL

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ACRONYMS

| | |
|------|--|
| BA | Bachelor of Arts |
| BBS | Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics |
| CD | Compact Disk |
| CFPR | Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction |
| CNG | Compressed Natural Gas |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| GQAL | Gender Quality Action Learning |
| GJ&D | Gender Justice and Diversity |
| HH | House Hold |
| HSC | Higher Secondary Certificate |
| IGA | Income Generating Activities |
| IRRI | International Rice Research Institution |
| MA | Master of Arts |
| MBBS | Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organization |
| OLS | Ordinary Least Square |
| RED | Research Evaluation and Division |
| SSC | Secondary School Certificate |
| STUP | Specially Targeted Ultra Poor |
| TMSS | Thengamara Mohila Sabuj Sangha |
| UP | Union Parishod |
| VAW | Violence Against Women |
| VO | Village Organization |

FOREIGN WORDS

Aman

Type of rice of Bangladesh

Bigha

Bigha is a customary unit of measurement of area of a land, frequently used in Nepal, Bangladesh and in a number of states of India

Bazaar

A large shop selling assorted commodities.

Hadith

A set of sayings of Hazrat Muhammad (SAW), the prophet of Muslims that reflects his daily practice (the Sunnah). Among Muslims this book is considered very precious apart from Holy Quran.

Kabiraj

Refers to the physician who does not have any educational degree regarding the subject. They are often known as traditional healer in the society and are mostly seen in the rural part of Bangladesh. These doctors usually do their treatment through herbal remedies.

Lakh

Lakh is a unit of counting refers to hundred thousand.

Matbor

Refers to traditional or social leader of a village mostly considered as guardian of the community. This person is considered to be influential and his decisions or suggestions are considered with much value.

Purdah

Purdah Practice is commonly seen among the Muslim and certain Hindu women. These women tend to live behind the curtain in a separate room. They appear in front of the men or stranger in a well covered dress to be off sighted from them.

Shalish

Shalish is a social and an informal way of seeking for justice in the rural areas of Bangladesh. *Shalish* tends to be an informal settlement of petty disputes for both civil and criminal arranged by local notables, such as *matbars* (leaders) or *shalishkars* (adjudicators). In Bangladesh because of conservatism or religious obligations *Shalish* becomes an additional way of resolving disputes in the rural power structure. In order to maintain the interest of the dominant class, *shalish* is also dominated by men and characterizes men ideology thus often this system considered to oppress women in various cases.

Upazila

The *upazila* is the second lowest tier of regional administration of Bangladesh.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to explore the impact of Gender Quality Action Learning (GQAL) Programme initiated by Gender Justice and Diversity (GJ&D) Programme during the period of 2007-2011. The study employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches to achieve its goals. The data collection tools used here were survey, focus group discussion (FGD), case study and census. Here, a village with maximum GQAL intervention in 2007- 2011 was selected for census to know the status of that community on selected indicators. The data was collected from five districts of Bangladesh in June-July 2014. The impact was measured by comparing the data between respondents with intervention and those without intervention. The study revealed that after receiving GQAL message, men achieved positive attitude towards gender division of labour as well as women's role in decision making. Women also experienced decreased physical violence after intervention. In addition to various recommendations, the study suggested to have mechanism through which it can follow-up the situation of programme recipients for sufficiently longer period of time after intervention.

INTRODUCTION

Gender refers to social attributes and opportunities associated with male and female members of the community, specially the relationships between women and men, and girls and boys, and the relationship between women and between men. It is a learned idea which is context and time specific and changeable. The overall system of gender relations in which societies shape notions of masculinity and femininity through power relation is referred to gender order by Connell 1987. The gender order determines what are accepted and allowed for men and women, and thus encourages them to act accordingly.

The maintenance of unequal gender order has negative influence in the path of gender relations and equality. In a patriarchal system, gender order accepts male domination and female subordination and maintains uneven power relationship between men and women. While linking masculinity to violence, war, sexism and aggression, and femininity to passivity and submissiveness the system legitimises men's violence and domination over women. Therefore, working for justice and equality in gender relations require the involvement of both men and women in such endeavour. Apart from the necessity of working on the unequal relationship between men and women to establish justice, a very practical reason for engaging men in work on gender equality is that men control the resources needed to be redistributed, in particular because of the under representation of women in all spheres of decisions-making. Recognising the need of engaging men in the journey towards gender equality and women's empowerment, development focus have shifted from 'women' to 'men and women' since the late 1970s. In this regard, emphasis has also been given on changing traditional gender roles which in fact demands addressing women's strategic needs along with practical gender needs to ensure women's empowerment. Here, it is needed to be mentioned that practical gender needs are those which arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning within the gender division of labour, and it fulfills immediate perceived needs without challenging women's subordinate position in the society. In contrast, strategic gender needs are considered by feminists as women's "real" interest or need. These needs are based on the consciousness required to struggle against patriarchal social system women live in, thus therefore, termed as "feminist" (Molyneux 1985 233). However, development intervention aiming to change women's position should address strategic gender needs by challenging and changing women's domestication, subordination and marginaliation. This intervention often requires bringing change in established cultural norms and

practice. The outcome can involve a re-division of labour, new facilities to reduce women's domestic work, or the end of discriminatory practices.

At present women's empowerment is frequently cited for development interventions. Although the term empowerment is related to gender equality it is distinct from it. Empowerment is defined as the process that involves someone as a significant agent in the change process that takes place in his/her life over the period of time (Malhotra, Schuler and Boender 2002). Therefore, an empowered woman is one who has previously denied the ability to make choices for her life and now has acquired the agencies to formulate strategic choices and control resources and decisions that affect important life outcomes (Kabeer 1999, 2005). The concept is not only involved with gaining resources in an equal basis or having equal capabilities (such as education and health) or equal access to resources and opportunities (such as land and employment) but also having agency to use these rights, capabilities, resources and opportunities to make strategic choice and decisions.

Definitely central to women's empowerment is power, and in this case, understanding the various aspects of power is necessary to comprehend the concept of empowerment. There are four categories of power (Rowlands 1997): power over, power to, power with and power within.

- ▶ "Power over" that involves the mutually exclusive relationship of domination or subordination, where one exercises power over other. In this case, powerful makes powerless to do something which the powerless would not do otherwise. This aspect of power is concerned with formulating rules and methods in order to legitimise its act of dominating other by giving credits to some voices while discrediting others (Lukes 1974 cited in Mosedale 2005, p. 250). In order to avoid conflict with the other group, the powerful also manipulates the consciousness of the less powerful so that they cannot see the conflict, rather consider the situation as natural (Mosedale 2005, p. 250). In this dimension of power one achieves the benefits at the cost of other's rights. But in other forms of power, one's gain does not necessarily result other's loss.
- ▶ "Power to" refers to intellectual abilities (through training and development of thought and reasons as critical analysis skill) as well as the economic means. It also involves ability to make decisions, have authority and find solution to problems. 'Power to' means women's access to and control over resources in terms of health, education, employment, decision making and political participation.
- ▶ "Power with" refers to collective action. Therefore, it is the ability to get together to achieve a collective goal, recognising the fact that more can be achieved by a group acting together than by individual alone (Mosedale 2005). However, working at the level of 'power to', opens up the possibilities of 'joint action' or 'power with'.

- ▶ “Power within” refers to- self-awareness, self-esteem, identity and assertiveness (Mosedale 2005). Therefore, it refers to internal power and self analysis that influence one’s life and bring changes. All power starts at this level, therefore, without having these assets associated with this dimension of power only gaining access to resources fails to lead one to empowerment. Many development interventions target this aspect of power to work on in order to bring about changes (Mosedale 2005).

The patriarchal system regulates power relations within households that has been reflected through its ideology controlling family, marriage, lineage, decision-making power, allocation of resources and related dogmas (Kabeer 1999; Naved 2000; Sebstad and Cohen 2000). Veils, restricted mobility and dowry are some of the social tenets in this male dominated system, which are responsible for women’s subordinated position in patriarchal society. Although concerted effort of government and non-government development organisations has resulted progress in the field of women’s empowerment at the level of ‘power to’ but women in Bangladesh are still the subject of discrimination, violence and exploitation due to patriarchal ideology that is strongly embedded in the culture and values. Labour force participation of women in 2010 was 36%, which was 82.5% (Rushidan *et al.* 2013) for men for 15 and above 15 age group of population (BBS 2010). Adult literacy rates of women at national level have increased by 31.2% during 1981 to 2011; still the rate for women is lower than that of men, which is 49.2% against 56.8% (BBS 2012). Therefore, women’s possibilities are limited by the traditional roles in the society in spite of having equal rights in rhetorical in all walks of life with men according to the constitution of Bangladesh. Literature shows (Jahan 1994; White 1992; Zaman 1996; Zaman 1999 cited in Sultana 2010, p. 31) that in contemporary Bangladesh, women are being discriminated within their household by the socio-cultural values and norms. Due to socio-cultural practices like dowry women are discriminated within their families from birth. They are deprived from the rights of education due to the discriminatory attitude towards women. There is also a clear division of labour that renders women to take care of household and do activities like cooking and cleaning and men to income generating activities (Sultana 2010 p. 35) or public space that is associated with power according to the dominant ideology. Therefore, women’s economic dependence on men supports and perpetuates power relationship within the family. These discriminatory social attitudes also lead families to provide women with inadequate meals, clothes and minimum health care and education (Schuler *et al.* 1996 cited in Sultana 2010 p. 32).

Women’s subordinated position both at family and society along with the societal norms and traditional values make women victims of various forms of violence varying from wife abuse to rape, dowry, acid throwing and sexual harassment through trafficking (Zaman 1999 cited in Khatun and Rahman 2012 p.1). Although the Government of Bangladesh has formulated various laws and policies, for example the recently passed Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act of 2010, to protect women from violence but the violence against women is still continuing and in many cases increasing (Khatun and Rahman 2012 p. 20; Hossain and Suman 2013 p. 89). This increased trend was found to be reflected in the total number of reported

cases of violence against women which was 19998 in 2011 against 10871 in 2005 (BBS 2012).

Considering this reality, BRAC being one of the major development organisations in Bangladesh had been working in the area of women's empowerment addressing the need to work at all levels of power through its various development interventions. Gender Quality Action Learning- GQAL was such a project taken by Gender Justice and Diversity (GJ&D) section of BRAC that targeted both men and women for direct intervention in order to bring changes in the existing gender relationship between them at household level.

Overview of GQAL

Since inception, BRAC had been working in the field of empowering the women and marginalised groups. Since its origin in 2005, to achieve its goal of gender equality BRAC Gender Justice and Diversity (GJ&D) Programme had taken various initiatives and projects envisioning women's empowerment. Gender Quality Action Learning (GQAL) programme was one such initiative.

In 1995, BRAC initiated the GQAL Programme, basically a training initiative aiming to improve gender relations at staff level within the organisation. This training was extended till 2001 to include members of its Village Organisations (VO) on a pilot basis. The goal of this initiative remained similar, but with more focus on fostering gender equality and equity among the villagers. More specifically, the aim of this intervention was to build favourable attitude towards women's empowerment, and also to ensure gender equality and equity by addressing strategic gender needs that are, if met, transform the balance of power between men and women at family, society and organisation in the village level.

The programme worked to increase knowledge and to bring positive changes in the perception, attitude and behaviour or practices on specific areas of gender relations: (1) division of labour, (2) discrimination, (3) empowerment and (4) violence against women. Some specific issues were covered by these broader areas for intervention. The issue of social differences between men and women in household and income generating activities was covered by the theme of division of labour, while equity in education, food intake and rights were included under the theme of discrimination. The theme - empowerment dealt with division of property, decision-making power on household items and assets, and women's mobility, and issues like dowry, domestic violence and marriage related violence had been brought under the theme of violence against women.

A study (Mahmud and Mahbub 2004) was conducted by an external evaluation team in 2004 for the findings indicated the fact that the intervention of GQAL programme could bring significant changes in gender relations of power, control and status at the community level; and the intervention also contributed in reducing gender

discrimination caused by the deeply rooted patriarchal ideology in the family and community level. At the same time, BRAC Research and Evaluation Division (RED) recommended that the GQAL programme need to address the practical gender needs correctly and had the potentialities to fulfill those needs by strengthening the various events and forums of the programme. Following this recommendation the programme had been launched during 2005-2006 in 10 Specially Targeted Ultra Poor areas under 'Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction' (CFPR) programme of BRAC.

RED again evaluated the impact of the programme, and came out with the findings that the programme had been successful in bringing positive changes in attitude of community regarding the issue of gender discrimination, women empowerment, and violence against women, child marriage and dowry. However, RED strongly recommended continuing the programme in order to achieve program's goal of creating an egalitarian society. Achieving the success, in 2007 the programme was extended to 50 Specially Targeted Ultra Poor areas. The project continued till 2011. In 2011 the training covered 10 *upazilas* and raised awareness among 30,000 household members and trained 3,000 gender justice trainers (Annual report 2011).

GQAL had been implemented through various events and forums: (1) court yard meeting, (2) parents meeting, (3) UP forum, (4) local journalists' forum, (5) educator visit¹, (6) commitment follow-up², (7) focus group discussion, (8) CD show, and (9) popular theatre show.

Justification of the Study

The justification of conducting this study was ingrained in the importance of the GQAL programme for the society. It was well documented that various socio-cultural values and norms derived from deeply rooted patriarchal system were responsible for gender discrimination against women within the household in Bangladesh, especially in rural areas (Sultana and Zulkefli 2012). This dominant ideology hindered the path of women's empowerment by creating division of labour that gave value to 'masculine' tasks over 'feminine' one and kept women outside the so called productive or public sphere, and thus maintained the status queue by keeping women under men.

1 In order to observe the behavioural change the project staff visits the house of the trained. During the visit, the staff also identifies problems the trained face in implementing training and tries to come up with solution.

2 In GQAL training, the trained adopt an action plan (*Amar Protigga*) that they vow to follow in their everyday life. Project staff follow-up that the training was follow the plan. They also identify the challenges faced in implementing the training and try to provide solution to the problem in implementation.

Identifying some of the existing values and behaviours as the barriers of gender equality which were in practice in rural Bangladesh, BRAC had tried to eradicate the traditional ideology that the men and women in the rural community were brought up through GQAL programme. Although various studies were conducted by the external team Mahmud and Sultan 2011 and the internal research team of Alim in the year 2005, 2007 and 2012; to evaluate the programme, the proposed study had intended to see the impact of the programme differently. That is, the study had seen the impact of the programme in those areas where the programme had completed its intervention in 2011, and then the areas which did not, had programme's interference till 2013. Hence, at that moment it was important to see the sustainability of the programme in those areas.

There was another dimension of the study that made it different from the previous ones. The former studies that evaluated the programme were quantitative in nature having the limitations of covering various issues that could not be expressed in numbers, but essential in case of knowing the real picture of the situation. This study, as mentioned earlier, had taken both quantitative and qualitative information into account.

The findings of the study would assist the programme in determining its future path. The obvious need for an impact evaluation is to help policy makers to understand whether the programme was generating intended effects; and to fill in gaps in understanding what worked, what did not, and how changes in well-being were attributable to a particular project or policy intervention.

Objectives of the Study

The study intended to explore changes in terms of impact at those areas where the programme had intervened. The major objectives were to explore:

1. Changes in women's situation in terms of selected indicators of empowerment.
2. Men's participation in household and caring activities.
3. Gender based discrimination between sons and daughters within the family in accessing food, education and healthcare.
4. Men's support in ensuring women's participation in decision-making as well as their access to and control over resources including family properties.
5. Women's and men's awareness and sensitisation in recognising violence and sexual harassment against women.

Materials and Methods

By nature the study was a qualitative-quantitative mix in its mode of analysis and presentation of findings. Schedule, check list for FGD and case studies had been used as data collection tools (Matrix 01).

Matrix 01. Data collection tools employed in the study

| Sl. | Theme | Instrument | Analytic strategy |
|-----|--|------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Women's situation in terms of selected indicators of empowerment | Schedule | Statistical procedures Analytic comparison |
| 2. | Men's participation in household and caring attitude | FGD, Case study, Schedule | Statistical procedures Analytic comparison Content analysis Case study |
| 3. | Gender based discrimination between son and daughter within the family in accessing food, education and health care | FGD, Case study, Schedule | Statistical procedures Analytic comparison Content analysis Case study |
| 4. | Men's support in ensuring women's participation in decision-making as well as their access to and control over resources including family properties | FGD, Case study, Schedule | Statistical tools Analytic comparison Content analysis Case study |
| 5. | Women's and men's awareness and sensitisation in recognising violence and sexual harassment against women | FGD, Case study, Schedule | Statistical tools Analytic comparison Content analysis Case study |

The aim of the schedule used here was to see the process of changing gender roles of men keeping the women of the household as respondents. The schedule also aimed to know the changes in gender based discrimination in some selected indicators as well as women's position in decision making of the household and their action and sensitivity towards the issue of violence against women. Besides, the study tried to find out men's involvement in protesting violence against women. A census had been conducted in a village with maximum intervention of GQAL the number of households was 640, out of which data could be collected from 620.

The same schedule that had been used in the baseline survey was employed in the case of sample survey conducted on female respondents in this study. Another schedule covering the selected indicators regarding gender roles and relations had been used in census conducted in a selected village with maximum intervention of GQAL in 2007-2011. FGDs and case studies had been used to collect data from men to know their attitude and practice towards the issues covered in the GQAL programme.

The data of the benchmark survey conducted in the catchment of 50 area offices in 10 districts where GQAL programme was initiated in 2007 was used. The impact of the programme was measured through comparing the information received from the treatment group with the control group.

In total eight FGDs had been conducted, among which four were with the men who received GQAL messages, either directly or indirectly, like, via their neighbours or family members, and another four men who did not receive GQAL messages. Here, control groups were taken from area of similar socioeconomic background as the intervention area.

Thirteen case studies were conducted to explore the impact of the programme on men from the intervention group in-depth. The impact of GQAL on community was assessed through a census survey in a village with the intervention of maximum number of GQAL components.

Study Area

A survey was conducted to collect data from five districts out of ten districts where the benchmark survey was conducted in 2007. The districts were randomly selected. Sequentially, data were collected from 25 area offices under 5 districts where the programme intervened from 2007 to 2011. The ten districts, where the benchmark survey was conducted and the programme had intervened during the above mentioned time period were: Rangpur, Kurigram, Nilphamari, Lalmonirhat, Gaibandha, Rajbari, Madaripur, Gopalganj, Netrokona and Kishoreganj.

The five districts that were selected as study area for impact sample survey were: Gaibandha, Netrokona, Kishoreganj, Gopalganj and Madaripur. Among those five districts, two were randomly selected for FGDs and case studies. The districts were: Gaibandha and Netrokona. In Netrokona the study area for FGDs for the intervention group were Raipur village and Rajibpur village under Kendua *upazila*, while Silimpur village was taken as control village under the same *upazila*. In the case of Gaibandha, Kumiradanga village under Gobindoganj *upazila* was taken as treatment area for FGDs while Purbapara village was taken as control area that was under same *upazila* as intervention area.

Among the selected five districts, one village Kumiradanga under Gobindoganj *upazila* in Gaibandha district with maximum GQAL intervention had been selected to know the overall impact of GQAL. In general, qualitative data were randomly collected from the two districts out of five through random sampling technique.

Sampling

Baseline survey was conducted in 2007. Although the programme was conducted in 2011, the end line data was collected in 2014. The study was proposed by the programme in 2014 and data was collected in the same year. Original sample size for treatment and control group in baseline was 3008 and 2991 respectively. For further

understanding of sampling and sample selection of the baseline survey, please see Appendix 01.

In the impact sample survey, five districts were randomly selected from the list of ten districts covered by baseline survey. Then from the list of respondents of the selected five districts the sample was randomly selected for intervention and control group. Then the sample size became 324 for treatment and 320 for control group taking .05 as the standard error at 95% confidence interval. Therefore, the total sample size was 644 (Matrix 02).

Matrix 02. Sample size for baseline and impact survey used in 2014

| Survey | Treatment | Control |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|
| Baseline (2007) | 324 | 320 |
| Impact (2014) | 324 | 320 |

Thirteen case studies had been conducted out of which nine were done on male respondents who received GQAL messages by one or more than one component of the programme, and the rest three were done on women with GQAL message. The objectives of the case studies were to gather information of households regarding the issues addressed in the programme. The cases being most informative and insightful had been taken for case studies.

Data Analysis

Numerical description, cross tabulations with significant tests, difference-in-difference and regressions were the main statistical tools used for the analysis. The qualitative analysis had concentrated mainly on the analysis of the variables which could not be expressed conveniently in number. The analysis also concentrated to explain the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. The study mainly resorted on the content analysis in explaining the relationships.

In the schedule of sample survey, 16 questions on four themes of gender roles and relations were asked to assess the knowledge level of respondents. Highest score for each question was '1' and '0' was scored for wrong answer. Then the total score for each respondent was converted into proportion. Thus, the percentage scores revealed the status of respondents' knowledge.

In order to measure the attitude level, respondents' opinion about 12 statements regarding the issues covering GQAL were asked. Respondents' were given four options to answer in a four point Likert scale- 'completely agree', 'partially agree', 'partially disagree', 'completely disagree'. Both positive and negative statements were considered for getting balanced attitudes of the respondents. Each of the statements was given numerical weight - four to one. Here, score '1' was given for 'completely

disagree' and '4' for 'completely agree' to the statement. Thus, the highest score for the 16 statement was 48 while the lowest score was 12. The higher the score the more was favorable attitude towards gender roles and relations. The total score of each respondent was determined by summing the attained score against each statement. Like the knowledge score, the proportions of cumulative scores of the different themes indicated the attitude level of the respondents.

The practice regarding the issues covered in GQAL was measured by asking questions about their own and their family members' actions in family and community. Men's attitude and practice towards gender roles and relations were explored qualitatively through FGDs and case studies. Here, content analysis was used as the method of analysis.

In order to know the impact of the programme, data received from sample survey were analysed by employing difference-in-difference, which is also called as double difference method, in most cases. The difference-in-differences method compares the changes in outcomes over time between a population that is enrolled in a programme (the treatment group) and a population this is not (the control group). To apply the method, it was necessary to measure outcomes in both treatment and control group both before and after the programme (Gertler *et al.* 2011). In this method, when the same individual is observed before and after a programme and a simple difference in outcome for that individual is computed, effect of both observed and unobserved time-invariant characteristics of the individual is cancelled out. Thus, the method allows evaluators to take into account any differences between treatment and control groups that are constant over time (Gertler *et al.* 2011).

This was a simple model in which the impact was determined by participant and non-participant groups and year of intervention. Another variable called interaction was derived by multiplying year of impact survey with participants. Then the significance of the impact was derived from the coefficient of Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression.

Definitions of the Concepts

The three concepts- knowledge, attitude and practice, were used in this study. Knowledge means the ability to generate an appropriate response to a particular input. It is the fact or condition of knowing information on and understanding about particular fact or situation through education or experience. Gender knowledge refers to how gender relations are perceived and on what grounds. According to Andresen/ Dölling, gender knowledge does not mean what someone knows in a factual way. Rather it refers to the social construction of meaning and to explicit and implicit negotiations in society. Psychologists define attitudes as a learned tendency to evaluate things in a certain way. Such evaluation can be positive, negative or sometimes uncertain, for example, one can have mixed feelings about particular person or issue. Attitudes can also be both explicit and implicit. Explicit attitude are those about which one is aware

of and those that are translated into practice or behaviour, and implicit attitudes are unconscious, but still have an effect on our beliefs and behaviours.

Practice means the application of rules and knowledge that leads to action (Kaliyaperumal 2004). One's action and practices towards an object is the reflection of his/her knowledge, and attitude of that object or situation. Knowledge, attitude and practice are, in most cases, linked with each other, and change; however, one may or may not bring change to other.

FINDINGS

As mentioned earlier, the study aimed to explore the impact of GQAL programme on the specific issues related to GQAL message. Here, the findings had been presented in six parts: 1. changes in women's situation at selected indicators of empowerment; 2. situation of gender based discrimination in food, education and healthcare; 3. men's involvement in household and caring activities; 4. men's involvement in ensuring women's participation in decision-making as well as their access to and control over resources at family level; 5. women's and men's action against and sensitisation over violence against women; and 6. exploration of a community intervened by GQAL programme by certain indicators, like discrimination in terms of food, education, medical, gender division of labour and violence against women to assess the effect of the programme for this particular community.

In each part, the discussion has been done on the basis of the findings received from the survey conducted on women receiving GQAL messages directly and also on the information collected from FGD and case studies conducted on selected men who received GQAL messages, either directly or indirectly.

Table 1. Demographic profile of respondents surveyed

| Variables | 2007 | | 2014 | |
|----------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Treatment | Control | Treatment | Control |
| Age | | | | |
| 16- 24 | 18.8 | 17.2 | 0.3 | 2.2 |
| 25-34 | 42.6 | 41.9 | 29.9 | 29.9 |
| 35-44 | 35.8 | 36.9 | 44.8 | 41.0 |
| 45-54 | 2.8 | 4.1 | 19.8 | 21.0 |
| 55 and above | 0 | 0 | 5.2 | 5.9 |
| Mean age | 31.32 | 32.07 | 39.27 | 38.83 |
| Marital Status | | | | |
| Married | 96.3 | 93.4 | 92.6 | 95.7 |
| Widow | 2.5 | 6.3 | 5.6 | 4.0 |
| Separated | 1.2 | 0.3 | 0.9 | .0 |
| Divorced | 0 | 0 | 0.6 | 0.3 |

| Variables | 2007 | | 2014 | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Treatment | Control | Treatment | Control |
| Education (class completed) | | | | |
| Illiterate | 9.0 | 15.6 | 27.8 | 18.5 |
| Can only write and read | 50.3 | 39.7 | 29.6 | 31.8 |
| Below primary | 7.1 | 6.3 | 9.3 | 17.3 |
| Primary | 12.3 | 12.2 | 13.0 | 10.5 |
| Below SSC | 17.3 | 21.3 | 17.9 | 20.4 |
| SSC | 2.8 | 4.1 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| Above SSC | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.3 |
| Mean year of education | 2.58 | 2.97 | 2.59 | 2.65 |
| Main Income Generating Activity | | | | |
| Engaged | 19.4 | 25.0 | 23.8 | 19.1 |
| Not engaged | 80.5 | 75.0 | 76.2 | 80.9 |
| Involvement in NGO | | | | |
| Involved | 44.8 | 37.2 | 45.1 | 40.4 |
| Not involved | 55.2 | 62.8 | 54.9 | 59.6 |
| n | 324 | 320 | 324 | 320 |

Note: The difference between treatment and control groups were statistically significant ($p=.05$), except for education in 2014, and education and marital status in 2007 only

In Table 01 presents the demographic features of treatment and control group of the years 2007 and 2014. For the impact survey no significant difference could be seen in terms of education although marital status and age had significant difference. Here to be specific, the mean age is 39.27 and 38.83 and has a significant difference. In the age groups, majority of the respondents belonged to the age group of 35-44 followed by the group of 25-34. Regarding education most of the respondents could only read and write. Again, in this study it could be seen that most of the respondents from both the groups are not engaged in any income generating activities as such most of the selected households are male headed.

1. WOMEN'S SITUATION IN TERMS OF SELECTED INDICATORS OF EMPOWERMENT

In order to see GQAL's impact on women's empowerment, the study identified some selected indicators, which included 1. Women's knowledge, and 2. Attitude on four particular themes: (a) Gender division of labour, (b) Gender discrimination, (c) Women's opinion and decision-making at household level and (d) Violence against women. Programme's impact in terms of changes in women's mobility, their action against violence against women and participation in activities that went beyond the traditional definition of gender division of labour has also been investigated in order to see the change in empowerment. Here, data received from the impact survey had been compared with baseline data to measure the impact created by the GQAL programme.

1.1 Knowledge regarding gender roles and relations

The knowledge score of respondents on selected issues (Matrix 03) for intervention groups increased after intervention ($p < 0.05$). In the baseline survey, more than 10% of the respondents from the intervention group had scored zero (0) in gender division of labour, gender discrimination, decision-making and violence against women. In the impact survey, none of the respondents from this group scored zero (0). On the other hand, percent of respondents from the intervention group scored 76-100 which increased by 37.3% for base line. In overall score, percent of respondents having up to 50 score decreased followed by the significant increase of those having 51 to 100 score. The impact of the programme was statistically significant (Table 02).

Matrix 3. Issues on which knowledge was measured

| | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Biological and social differences between men and women ▸ Concept of gender discrimination ▸ Areas of gender discrimination ▸ Right to equal education ▸ Importance of girl's education ▸ Food and nutritional need of men and women ▸ Valuation of men's and women's works | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▸ Right to take rest ▸ Property distribution among male and female child ▸ Control over household assets, earnings ▸ Illegal divorce ▸ Multiple marriage ▸ Age of marriage |
|---|---|

However, the per cent of respondents scored 76 to 100 separately increased by 35%, 42%, 38% and 28% in division of labour, gender discrimination, women's role in decision-making and violence against women respectively (Appendix 02, 03, 04 and 05). The difference was statistically significant.

Table 2. Overtime change in respondents' knowledge on GQAL issue

| Score | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff (%) |
|--------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| | Diff (%) (T-C)* | Diff (%) (T-C) | |
| 0 | -4.2 | -0.9 | 3.3 |
| >0-25 | -5.8 | -57 | -51.3** |
| 26- 50 | 7.5 | -8.9 | -16.4** |
| 51-75 | 1.8 | 29 | 27.2** |
| 76-100 | 0.6 | 37.9 | 37.3** |

*(T-C) = Treatment- Control

**Difference-in-difference score is significant if $p < 0.01$

Knowledge scores of the respondents were regressed on selected independent variables (Table 03). The regression indicates that the age of respondents and their years of schooling were associated with the changes of their knowledge score. Changes in respondents' knowledge level were likely to be higher with one unit changes of their age after the invention. Similar association was found between respondents' knowledge score and the number of school going children they had at home as well as the group, treatment or control, they belonged to. This regression model was effective in explaining 60% of the causes leading to the change in knowledge level.

Table 3. Linear regression on the respondents' knowledge level

| Independent variables | Coefficient | t | p>t |
|---|-------------|--------|-------|
| Age in years | -0.221 | -2.206 | 0.028 |
| Religion: Muslim=1, else=0 | 1.149 | 4.943 | 0.000 |
| Marital status: married=1, else=0 | 0.590 | 1.604 | 0.109 |
| Involved with IGA: yes=1 | 0.363 | 1.849 | 0.065 |
| Education in years | 0.204 | 8.487 | 0.000 |
| Number of school going children at home | 0.214 | 2.465 | 0.014 |
| Number of children going to private tutor at home | -0.088 | -0.797 | 0.425 |
| NGO membership: yes=1 | 0.166 | 1.042 | 0.298 |
| Type of groups: treatment=1, control=0 | 6.407 | 28.931 | .000 |
| Intervention period: 2014=1, 2007=0 | 1.733 | 8.469 | 0.000 |
| Constant | 0.950 | 1.818 | 0.069 |
| Number of observations: 1292 | | | |
| R ² .60 | | | |

1.2 Attitude towards gender roles and relations

The study measured the changes in respondents' attitude on selected issues (Matrix 04).

Matrix 4. Issues on which attitude was assessed

| |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Division of labour in family • The wisdom and intelligence of men and women • Status of men participating in washing clothes, cleaning dishes etc • Prioritise boy's education over girls • Social recognition in wage difference between men and women • Importance of providing equal amount of food to men and women in family • Importance of taking wife's opinion in running family • Importance of husband's decision in selling household assets • Women's mobility • Norms of wife beating • Dowry |
|---|

There was an increase of almost 60% of the respondents who changed their attitude positively towards the fact that men and women have equal responsibilities of taking care of children as well as of running families through economic activities. The difference of per cent respondents having favorable attitude between baseline and impact survey was statistically significant. Same is the case of discrimination, decision-making and violence against women (Table 04). However, the per cent of respondents having less favorable attitude decreased after intervention in all issues, dealt here, to measure the change in attitude. The differences between baseline and impact group on the theme were also statistically significant (Table 04).

Table 4. Per cent respondents changed attitude towards the selected themes after GQAL training

| Theme | Less favourable attitude | | More favourable attitude | | p-value | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------|------|
| | Baseline (2007) | Impact survey (2014) | Baseline (2007) | Impact survey (2014) | 1vs2 | 3vs4 |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | | |
| Division of Labour | 47.8 | 1.2 | 24.4 | 85.2 | .000 | .000 |
| Discrimination | 57.1 | 10.8 | 42.9 | 89.2 | .000 | .000 |
| Decision-making | 40.7 | 6.2 | 30.6 | 75.3 | .000 | .000 |
| Violence against women | 45.7 | 4.9 | 25.3 | 70.3 | .000 | .000 |
| n | 324 | 324 | 324 | 324 | | |

In total, the per cent of respondents having positive attitude towards selected issues had increased by 47% after intervention. Here, the significance value of difference of intervention and control groups between baseline and impact survey indicates program's positive impact on respondents' attitude level (Table 05). However, in the case of division of labour, the per cent having favourable attitude towards taking equal responsibilities of household and productive activities as well as towards women's intelligence increased by 38% after intervention. The per cent were 44%, 36% and 39% respectively for discrimination, decision-making and violence against women (Appendix 6, 7, 8 and 9).

Table 5. Overall changes in respondents' attitude on selected four themes (%)

| Level of attitude | Baseline (2007) | Impact survey (2014) | Diff in diff |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | |
| Less favourable | 3.20 | -36.10 | -39.30** |
| Neither less nor more favourable | -3.50 | -11.40 | -7.90* |
| More favourable | 0.30 | 47.50 | 47.20** |

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Average attitude score of the treatment group had significantly increased after the intervention. The before and after average score of this group was 27 and 39.5 respectively ($p=.000$). In the case of control group, according to the baseline data, the average score in this case was 30.7 that decreased to 27.3 in the case of impact survey, although the difference was not statistically significant.

The attitude scores were regressed on the independent variables (Table 6). It showed that the age of respondents' and years of schooling had positive association with the attitude score. It also showed that one year change in years of schooling of the respondents were likely to cause more favorable attitude towards gender roles and relations after the intervention (Table 6). The regression model was effective in explaining 37% of the causes leading to the changes in respondents' attitude level.

Table 6. Linear regression on the respondents' attitude level

| Independent variables | Coefficient | t | p>t |
|--|-------------|--------|-------|
| Age in years | -0.513 | -2.043 | 0.041 |
| Religion: Muslim=1, else=0 | -0.371 | -0.628 | 0.530 |
| Marital status: married=1, else=0 | 1.014 | 1.094 | 0.274 |
| Involved with IGA: yes=1 | 2.716 | 0.125 | 0.000 |
| Education in years | 0.452 | 7.486 | 0.000 |
| NGO membership: yes=1 | -0.103 | -0.253 | 0.801 |
| Type of groups: treatment=1, control = 0 | 8.711 | 15.472 | 0.000 |
| Intervention period: 2014=1, 2007= 0 | 4.121 | 7.908 | 0.000 |
| Constant | 25.850 | 19.496 | 0.000 |
| Number of observations: 1292 | | | |
| R ² 0.37 | | | |

The study also aimed to know respondents' arguments in favour of their attitude. Their arguments regarding the discussed on four themes are as follows:

Gender Division of Labour

While seeing the attitudes towards division of labour of men and women in a family, it was observed to what extent the respondents agree or disagree with the traditional view of the society that women would only take care of the children and look after the family and men would earn money and run the family. Here, in the treatment group showing completely negative attitude justified their answer saying that they had been seeing this in practice from their childhood and they had considered it as society's rule. Some of them had perceived it from religious angle saying that God had created men and women in such manner. In the control group along with these points some other issues came out. Some of the respondents opined that women

did not have any contribution in family and they did not earn either. Even if the women got engaged in such work then their children would be misguided.

The respondents from treatment group showing positive attitude justified their position saying that one should not be engaged in specific job rather they should share each other's role because neither single earning nor single effort in domestic work was sufficient. Moreover, women's contribution would better the condition of the family and would build the self-confidence in them as well. And, above all men and women both had equal responsibilities towards their children and they should be aware of it. In control group apart from previous stated points, the respondents said; God had not created human being to differentiate their work. Therefore, women should get engaged in income generating activities because if the husband was in such situation where he was unable to work then such family will be in trouble.

About the intelligence, respondents from the intervention group having positive attitude said that if women received equal benefits and opportunities, had access to proper food, education and job then women would also be able to nourish their intelligence. Because God had provided them with equal level of intelligence to women but men are more privileged in obtaining these benefits. The control group said; men got relieved once they earn but it was the women who managed and spent it wisely. And that justifies the fact that if the women were not intelligent, men would have not relied on them.

Justifications showed by both the group in favour of their negative attitude towards women's intellectual capability were different. Respondents from treatment group identified men's more access to outside world that had made them sharp and pro to come out with immediate solutions to every problem. On the other hand, control group justified their position by pointing out 'men's ability of in-depth thinking and ability of keeping secret' as the indicators of men's intelligence.

The third issue that was asked to the respondents was whether they agree with the statement that whether men should also participate in the domestic works like-washing clothes, dishes etc. along with the women or not. Here, respondents from both groups who completely agreed with the statement said that men would be teased if they took part in domestic works which are traditionally known as 'women's work'. Some of them thought those sorts of works were not meant for men. In support of their positive stand, both groups agreed upon the same reasons. They mentioned if husband helped wife in her multi task it would decrease women's work load. But the treatment group added more that men and women have equal responsibilities towards their family so they should not have discriminatory view towards the works. The other group did not express the same opinion.

Gender Discrimination

Under the theme of gender discrimination, the respondents from the intervention group justified their positive attitude by saying that if both the children were getting equal education society would equally value them because they would contribute in developing the condition of the society. Then women would be able to confidently

solve their problems and can fight back in their hard times rather being a burden to family. The control group having the same attitude opined that educated women got good marriage proposals and they were able to avoid any kind of trouble in their life. Respondents from both groups who showed totally negative attitude towards girl's rights to have equal education opined that spending a lot of money on the girl would be a waste because they would get married after a certain stage and her education would be of no use to her parents. Again, they did not need to communicate with the outside world rather they stayed at home whereas; the boys did job and secured the future of the family by contributing their earned money. Moreover, there was a threat of free mixing if the girl went for higher study. Apart from these points, control group also added that if the girls went for higher study they often faced eve teasing.

In case of equal wage, justification of both groups showing completely positive attitude pointed out the reality that women worked as much as men did and then they raised the question about employer's paying less to women. Respondents of both groups who showed completely negative attitude mentioned that women were not physically strong enough of doing the same volume of work as men, and they also did not need to support family.

Respondents from both groups who took stand in favour of gender discrimination regarding food opined that men worked harder and did not get enough time to eat or rest. Therefore' they should get more food. The respondents having positive attitude regarding the issue supported their stand from the human rights perspective. That is, they highlighted men's and women's equal right to food in favour of their arguments. In addition to this, treatment group also mentioned that women had the same physical requirements of food as men.

Decision-making

Respondents from the intervention group who denied placing men in the position of sole decision-makers in the family justified their arguments by saying that both husband and wife put the same hard labour and contributes equally for the family. Therefore, they argued that both men and women were the head of the family. And if both of them decided together then the decision-making process would be easier and less faulty. Besides everything, it was the right of the wife to participate in the decision-making process and her opinion be valued. Along with these points the respondents of the control group said that it was not necessary that the husband would understand everything of a family.

On the contrary, the other group who supported the given statement said that the family should run according to the decision of the husband's. They argued that the husband worked hard for the family and earns whereas wife stayed at home and did small household works. Therefore, his decisions should be considered as final words. Some of the respondents had set their husband in the position of God and some believe that God had given husbands the next positions to him. Some of the respondents think that a wife could not be as good as husband and if they disobeyed their husbands, they might throw them out of their house. Along with these points,

the respondents of control group added more that since the husband went out more often so they were more intelligent to make any decision. And regardless being literate or illiterate the wife could not decide anything since she was staying at her husband's house. Above all it was believed that husband did not listen to his wife and if the wife disobeyed him it would be a sin to Allah.

The second issue under this theme was that whether the respondents agreed with the thought that selling assets (jewelry) of the family, the wife should only listen to her husband. Here, respondents from the intervention group supporting the thought put their points that husband was the head of the family and own every asset of it so he reserved the right to sell the asset on his own decision. And if it was done for the betterment of the family then the wife should not interrupt in it. In the control group the respondents said that if the husband was in trouble then the wife should let him sell the assets otherwise he might torture her. Moreover husband gave the jewelry so he could sell it anytime he wants.

The respondents of the treatment group supporting the attitude of women's participation in decision-making regarding household assets said that both husband and wife were family members and had equal rights. The assets belonged to the whole family and therefore the husband could not sell and waste the money in doing any wrong activities like gambling, playing cards etc. The respondents of the control group also agreed that the husband had to give a valid reason to sell the assets.

Under the theme of decision-making, the study explored women's attitude towards their freedom of taking decision about their mobility. In order to do so, respondents were asked about their attitude towards a situation where a woman's father, whose home was at another village, became seriously sick. Now the point was to see the attitude of the respondents regarding whether the wife should go and see her sick father without the permission of her husband or any elderly guardian in their absence or not. Justifications in favour of women's freedom of going to her father's home without permission in that particular situation came from both intervention and control groups were that it's the duty of the daughter to go and see her father because the parents had raised her since her childhood. And the wife should be given that freedom so that she could take her own decision just like the husband did. At best, the wife could inform the neighbours. Respondents having different opinion in this regard mentioned that wife should take husband's permission before going to any place, otherwise there would be argument and the husband might divorce her for this. With these points some of the respondents of the control group said that Allah had forbidden women to step out of the house without the permission of their husbands.

Violence against Women

The last theme was Violence against Women and under this there were three issues on which the respondents were asked to give their view point. The first issue was what the respondents thought about beating wives if they did not fulfill their duties accordingly. The justification came from respondents who supported the idea was

that the society had given the right to husbands to beat the wife if she did not listen to him. Some of them said since the husband had taken all the responsibilities of the wife and bore the expenses too then he also reserved the right to beat her as well. Wife's first duty was to take care of her husband and look after his belongings. But if she neglects that, then the husband should explain her at first that it would cause loss of their assets and if she did not realise even after that then he could beat her. Some respondents said women needed to be in fear to do their works properly. Beside all these points, the control group added that since the husband was the head of the family and the wife was staying at his house so he could beat her if he thought it is needed.

Again the treatment group who did not support the act of wife beating in any circumstances said that husband should not beat wife rather he should find out the reason of her failure. He should explain the wife about this or inform her parents or take the help of the law. But beating is neither his right nor it is acceptable in the society. The control group said if the husband beat her then the wife would be demotivated.

The second issue under this theme was whether the respondents agree with the view that it was husband's right to create pressure on his wife for dowry that was being promised before the wedding and now it is due. Respondents from the intervention group supporting this view justified their position by saying that since the parents had promised to pay the dowry they had to pay it because if it was not done then the in-laws would torture the girl. So, to avoid further hassle the parents should manage the money. Some of the respondents said that after getting married the girl did not get anything from her parents so the dowry should be given at the time of wedding. Some other respondents said that the parents had promised and if they were avoiding that then it would be a fraud and in our society the grooms' family mostly agreed on a proposal based on the amount of money given as dowry. So for the happiness of the daughter, dowry should be paid. The control group of the same attitude level expressed the same opinion.

In case of those respondents who took the opposite stand regarding dowry, the treatment group said; it's not right to torture the girl or create mental pressure because the girl might not be able to handle it and might commit suicide. If the father was not paying the dowry, he must have some problem like poverty and the in-laws should understand it. However, giving or taking dowry was against the law and it was a punishable offense too. In the control group, the respondents said that although it's hard to arrange marriage without dowry but still people should come forward and raise their voice against dowry.

The last issue under this theme was if the husband forcefully forbids his wife from going to her parents' house then the wife should listen to him. The respondents were asked to give their opinion about this. The respondents of the treatment group supporting the view said that; the husband was everything in a family and his decisions were more valuable than the wife's decision. And it's mentioned in the Hadith too. Men loved to exercise their power over women and since they took all

the responsibilities of the women and earned money, women were bound to listen to them. Otherwise they would throw their wives out of the house or could divorce them too. The respondents of the control group said that most of the men thought that it was not important to listen to the women because their place is under them. It was quite evident that women did not have any independence so they had to be tolerant and wait for the right time. The respondents of the treatment group having different view said that it was natural that the wife will go to her parents' house after marriage. The husband and the wife had the same right so they should discuss on this matter. If the husband does not let her go then it will be a torture and the wife should not tolerate it. In the control group the respondents said that it would be unfair if the husband did not give proper explanation of restraining his wife from going to her parents' house and it would be a violation of her right too.

1.3 Changes in women's mobility

Positive change had been observed in women respondents' mobility due to intervention. Statistically significant change occurred in their mobility to local bazaar, *upazila* bazaar, and Government office and *upazila* health complex. Although not statistically significant, but their mobility to parents' home, NGO offices had also increased (Table 7).

Table 7: Changes in women's mobility outside home (%)

| Actions | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | |
| Parents' home (another village) | 2.2 | 3.7 | 1.5 |
| Local bazaar | -14.1 | 13.3 | 27.4** |
| <i>Upazila</i> bazaar | -7.8 | 14.8 | 22.6** |
| Government office (any) | -1.3 | 4 | 5.3* |
| NGO office | 3.3 | 8 | 4.7 |
| <i>Upazila</i> health complex | -6.3 | 9.9 | 16.2** |

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

1.4 Changes in action taken by women against violence against women

As a result of GQAL intervention, women's involvement in protesting the various forms of violence against women were found to have increased (Table 8). The table shows that the highest percentage of female respondents was found to have increased in the case of protesting child marriage. Followed by child marriage, the next highest was in *shalish*. In the case of protesting illegal divorce, the lowest per cent of women was also found to have increased.

Table 8. Per cent of respondents changed action to protest VAW overtime

| Areas of Changes | 2007 Diff (T-C) | 2014 Diff (T-C) | Diff in diff | p-value | |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| | | | | 2007 vs 2014 | |
| | | | | Intvn* | Cont* |
| Polygamy | 0.0 | 13.6 | 13.6 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Illegal divorce | 0.0 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 0.000 | 0.007 |
| Child marriage | 0.0 | 26.2 | 26.2 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| <i>Shalish</i> | 0.0 | 26.0 | 26.0 | 0.015 | 0.024 |

*Intvn: Intervention

Cont: Control

Polygamy: n: 2007: intvn=18, cont= 6; 2014: Intvn=33, cont= 48; Illegal divorce: 2007: intvn= 11, cont= 2 2014: Intvn=6, cont=15; Child Marriage: 2007: intvn= 9, cont=4, 2014: Intvn= 88, cont= 88; *Shalish*: 2007: intvn=9, cont=3, 2014: Intvn=15, cont= 11

1.5 Changes in participation in activities beyond stereotypical boundaries of gender roles

Efforts had been made in the impact survey to see the changes programme had made in women's participation in such activities where women were kept excluded to maintain the traditional gender division of labour. In order to investigate the issue, women of both groups, intervention and control, were asked to mention the works which they used to perform after intervention or the intervention period in case of control group, but could not think of doing before intervention.

Findings revealed that a higher per cent of women having GQAL intervention participated in activities like decision-making, shopping, protest violence in neighbourhood or family level, giving opinion in *shalish* compared to the control group (Table 9). This finding might indicate women's increased access to and participation in such works which they did not consider themselves as capable of. This increased participation also might indicate the greater self confidence among the intervention group members.

Table 9. Per cent of respondents performed certain tasks those were not performed before (%)

| Act | Intvn* | Cont* |
|--------------------------------|--------|-------|
| Earning | 4.2 | 4.3 |
| Decision making | 41.2 | 38.5 |
| Shopping | 14.1 | 4.5 |
| Protest violence | 30.8 | 18.1 |
| Gave opinion in <i>shalish</i> | 4.9 | 0.8 |
| No change | 4.9 | 33.8 |
| n | 597.0 | 397.0 |

Multiple responses considered

2. GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSEHOLDS

This section discusses about the changes occurred at the household level after intervention in terms of gender discrimination on selected issues: education, food and medical treatment. It also presents the findings of men's attitude and practice towards gender discrimination.

The sample survey revealed that the programme left a significant impact in increasing the per cent of school going children of the households in the case of both male and female children. The increase in the case of children going to private tutors and having school bags were observed for both treatment and control groups but indicates no impact of the programme on this change. The programme was found to have left negative impact on the per cent of female members involved in IGA of the surveyed households (Table 10).

Table 10. Over time changes in gender discrimination on selected activities of the household (%)

| Activities | Sex | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|--|--------|------------|------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| | | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| School going children | Female | -5.6 | 6.8 | 12.4* | 0.000 | 0.804 |
| | Male | -13.5 | 0.7 | 14.2** | 0.000 | 0.493 |
| Children going to private tutor | Female | 5.7 | 7.9 | 2.2 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| | Male | 3.0 | 4.2 | 1.2 | 0.053 | 0.091 |
| Children having school bag | Female | 3.2 | 1.4 | -1.8 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| | Male | 0.9 | -3.9 | -4.8 | 0.010 | 0.000 |
| Children having vaccination card (0-<5yrs) | Female | 0.4 | 5.6 | 5.2 | 0.002 | 0.028 |
| | Male | -8.1 | 0 | 8.1 | 0.018 | 0.235 |
| Members involved in IGA | Female | -6.1 | 2.7 | 8.8** | 0.464 | 0.000 |
| | Male | 0.1 | -1.8 | -1.9 | 0.143 | 0.638 |

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Table 11 shows that the proportion of male and female children who did not eat egg within a week decreased due to the impact of the programme. The proportion of those who eat 1-3 eggs per week increased significantly. The milk consumption by children irrespective of sex increased statistically in both groups but indicates no impact of programme on the surveyed households in this regard.

Table 11. Over time change in consumption of selected food items per week by 5 to 18 years old children in households (%)

| Food Item | Indicators | Sex | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|-----------|--------------|--------|------------|------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| | | | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| Egg | No egg eaten | Male | 9.1 | -15.2 | -24.3** | 0.000 | 0.290 |
| | | Female | 4.6 | -18.0 | -22.6** | 0.000 | 0.035 |
| | 1 to 3 | Male | -5.7 | 14.9 | 20.6** | 0.000 | 0.368 |
| | | Female | -4.7 | 14.3 | 19.0** | 0.000 | 0.081 |
| | 4 to 7 | Male | -3.5 | 0.5 | 4.0 | 0.287 | 0.341 |
| | | Female | -0.2 | 3.0 | 3.2 | 0.011 | 0.432 |
| | 7 plus | Male | 0.0 | -0.3 | -0.3 | 0.005 | 0.006 |
| | | Female | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.352 | 0.359 |
| Milk | Male | 9.4 | 1.7 | -7.7 | 0.017 | 0.000 | |
| | Female | 8.4 | 5.6 | -2.8 | 0.000 | 0.000 | |

For Egg: n; Male- intervention (2007)= 313, Control (2007)= 266; intervention (2014)= 322, Control (2014)= 320 ; Female- intervention (2007)= 287, Control (2007)= 231; intervention (2014)= 309, Control (2014)= 275; ** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Table 12 shows the changes in gender discrimination in seeking treatment in the surveyed households. The findings revealed that the programme made impact by increasing proportion of men seeking medical treatment from the MBBS doctor and village doctor, and decreasing percent of men going to pharmacy for treatment. It was also found that the per cent of both men and women from both groups, who did not seek treatment in case of illness, decreased after intervention (Table 11).

Table 12. Over time change in doctor visit by household member during sickness (%)

| Indicators | sex | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|----------------|--------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|
| | | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| MBBS | Male | -10.2 | 4.3 | 14.5* | 0.420 | 0.000 |
| | Female | 2.2 | 2.5 | 0.3 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Pharmacy | Male | 25.4 | 0.6 | -24.8** | 0.879 | 0.000 |
| | Female | 7.3 | 4.8 | -2.5 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Village doctor | Male | -15.7 | -4.1 | 11.6* | 0.066 | 0.254 |
| | Female | -8.2 | -6.1 | 2.1 | 0.203 | 0.641 |
| Others | Male | 0.8 | -1.2 | -2.0 | 0.824 | 0.564 |
| | Female | -1.5 | -0.8 | 0.7 | 0.167 | 0.185 |
| No treatment | Male | -0.3 | -0.2 | 0.1 | 0.075 | 0.147 |
| | Female | 0.3 | 0.1 | -0.2 | 0.030 | 0.077 |

n; Male- intervention (2007)= 194, Control (2007)= 316; intervention (2014)= 273, Control (2014)= 114; Female- intervention (2007)= 200 , Control (2007)= 129; intervention (2014)= 310, Control (2014)= 238

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

2.1 Changes in men's attitude towards gender discrimination

Men from the intervention group showed different attitude than those from the control group over the issue of male and female children's equal access to food, education and medical treatment.

2.1.1 Attitude towards equal access to food

Respondents from intervention group expressed positive attitude towards children's (both boy and girl) on equal access to food. But the justification for providing equal food was different for most of the respondents.

According to respondents from the intervention group, men should eat nutritious and proper amount of food since men work hard outside or in the field, and in the case of women, they also need nutritious and quality food as they work hard all day long inside and sometimes both inside and outside home. Respondents also highlighted the fact that women need quality and good amount of food during their pregnancy and post-partum and lactating periods.

On the contrary, men from the control group opined that men and women need equal amount of food since they both work hard either inside or outside home. Besides expressing this opinion, most of them also opined that men could eat more than women at times when their work needed more physical energy and strength than that of women. Women need to eat more when they are pregnant, they opined. Few from this group opined that demand of food varied with age. They opined that nutritious food should be served to all family members according to their requirement.

2.1.2 Attitude towards equal access to education

Most of the respondents from the intervention group opined that both male and female children should study at-least up to SSC. Many of them also opined that both boy and girl children should be provided with opportunity to study as long as they wanted if their (parents') financial condition allow.

Although having the positive attitude, some of them from this group expressed the attitude that girls should get married immediately otherwise they would get engaged in a relationship. As a consequence it would cause damage to the reputations of their parents and families.

Except a few cases, most of the respondents from the intervention group gave equal value to educate a girl and a boy child of a family. While talking about benefits and setbacks of educating boy and girl children, many from the intervention group opined that if boys were educated, it would be beneficial for their future job or business that would in turn be beneficial for their families. Although many of the respondents pointed out the same aspect as beneficial for girl child, some opined that girl should be educated so, that they could find good in laws and also could become good mothers, and won't face any problem in family and society.

Some from the intervention group went beyond traditional views and opined that if girls were educated, they could support their parents at their old age in the same way as boys. Therefore, most of the respondents from this group considered both boys and girls as assets for families if they were educated.

On the other hand, although men from the control group was found to have taken their stand in favour of equal education for boy and girl children, they were seen to be more ambitious about boys' education while the main goal of girl's education were considered by them as to find a good marriage proposal for them. While talking about benefits of educating girls, they mentioned the necessity of educated mother and wife for the family, and expressed their reservation about women's engagement in income generating activities outside home. One of them commented: it is a problem for a woman to maintain purdah if they do job outside. Another said: men are created to earn. Some from this group opined that it was difficult to get husband for educated women. And thus they showed negative attitude regarding the education of women.

2.2 Changes in men's practice in gender discrimination

Household consisting of both male and female children as dependents had been taken as case studies to explore discrimination, if there was any, between the children. Findings showed that after giving up the traditional attitude and discriminatory behaviour towards female children, men with intervention valued their daughters as same as their sons. The behaviour of men encountering intervention could be described in the following way:

2.2.1 *Providing equal opportunities to meet the basic needs*

Case studies revealed that after having GQAL intervention men's practice towards treating female family members equally as male members has been changed positively. This aspect of their behaviour for their male and female children had been reflected in their act of food distribution, medical support and providing education to their children.

Education

Case 01 was such a case that depicts the story of a household headed by a man having GQAL messages through training as well as through other components of the program, like CD shows and court yard meetings. Here, Saidur Rahman, head of the household was observed to have given the preference to daughter's choice of food equally as he gave attention to his son's. Realising the need of education he had provided necessary support to both the children. At the time of data collection, his son was studying in primary level and his daughter was an examinee of Secondary board examination. She was also provided with private tutors to pay extra care for some particular courses as per her requirements.

Food

Case 02 also shows the same type of behaviour regarding food distribution by the household head of the family who received GQAL message. He treated his children equally regardless of their sex in case of food although having economic hardship without any permanent livelihood to maintain his family. Although in this particular case, a violation of GQAL message has been reflected in this household's practice of not having meal together, where his wife and mother had the habit of having dinner in the last batch; the information gathered from this case confirmed that no gender discrimination existed in terms of the amount of food and quality. In that particular case, the quality and the amount of food for all family members was not maintained properly due to poverty and unemployment of the household head. Men from the case studies were found to have given equal attention to their son's and daughter's choice of food while buying it (Case 01).

Medical

All case studies revealed that the studied households usually went to village doctors or pharmacy in case of minor illness like fever, cold etc. of any of their family members. They only go to hospital or an MBBS doctors if they fail to recover with the help of village or traditional doctors. The same trend of their behavior of seeking treatment had been reflected for all of their family members regardless of sex (Case 01 and Case 02). It was their usual pattern that they went to hospital or MBBS doctors after their failure in getting recovered from village doctor or medicine prescribed by the pharmacy or drug store. In the case studies, the same practice had been revealed for family members regardless of their sex.

2.2.2 *Future plan for male and female children*

Findings revealed that sometimes household head have the same kind of future plan, and in some cases they have different future plans regarding education and marriage for their male and female children. Case 01 shows that men having GQAL messages have plans to pursue their's children's education as long as the sons and daughters wished to.

On the contrary, other men, even after having intervention, wish to make his son educated up to MA and would like to see his son getting engaged in a service. He also had the plan to send his son abroad if he fails to get a job. But regarding his daughter's education, he has planned to support her at least up to SSC before arranging marriage. Thus, in this particular case, the household head showed the traditional attitude in terms of making plan for daughter's future education by keeping the marriage as centre and kept the productive work or income generation as the center for his son's future (Case 02).

Therefore, it could be seen in cases that despite having different motivations for male and female children's education, the year of education intended for female children had been increased as the impact of GQAL, as they set at least primary or sometimes secondary education as the target before arranging marriage for their female children.

CASE 1

Location - Village: Kumiradanga, Union: Mohimaganj, *Upazila*: Gobindoganj, District: Gaibandha

Md. Saidur Rahman (38) resides in Kumiradanga village under Mohimaganj union in Gobindoganj *upazila* in Gaibandha district. He is married and has one son and one daughter. His daughter Shakila Akter (16) is a SSC examinee from Mohimaganj Central High School. Saidur's six-year-old son Sultan Mahmud Shaikat is a student in Kumiradanga Government Primary School. His wife Shumi Begum (29) is a housewife.

In 2007 Saidur Rahman came to know about GQAL programme from a GQAL staff first, who came to his house to give GQAL message. He also received the programme message from his elder brother and his wife, both of whom were Gender Justice Educators. Saidur also attended several CD shows and court yard meetings organized by GQAL programme, many of those were organised in his own court yard. Since then he is experiencing a change in his attitude towards the issue of gender equality at household level. Later he supported programme to arrange court yard meetings and CD shows in his village.

Saidur Rahman worked in a Sugar Mill in Rangpur as a temporary employee, and he has to work there for five months in a year, and rest of the time he lives on farming. He has two bighas of land of his own, a part of it he inherited from his father and the rest he took as mortgage. With the earning received from both his land and his employment in the Sugar Mill, he maintains his four member family.

Saidur's wife Shumi Begum prepares food in the morning for the whole day. They usually have vegetables, fish or egg and lentils in their lunch. In dinner, they usually eat fish every day, and once in a week they keep meat instead of fish in their menu. He and his wife always try to keep such food in their menus that are capable of meeting the nutrient need of family members.

Some days ago, Saidur had a cow of his own that supplied milk for their family consumption. But recently he sold his cow and was expecting to have another one in order to have milk for family consumption and also for having another source of income. Saidur gives preferences to both his daughter's and son's likings and dislikings while buying food from market. For example, he buys banana two to three times in a week for his son Shaikat as likes it, and buys apple for his daughter Shakila one or two days a week as she loves it. Saidur has taught his children to share food with other family members when he gives them something special, like sweets. In his house, they also have the practice of cooking some extra rice to feed their cattle.

Due to being an SSC examinee, Shakila is sent to a private tutor for Mathematics and English. She stays in the school from 10.00 to 3.30 in the afternoon every day. Before going to school she goes to one of her private tutors very early in the morning and to another after finishing her school. She goes there by van and every day her father gives her the conveyance for the visit. Saidur has also provided her with Tk. 1500/- as the application charge to confirm her daughter's entrance in SSC examination. Saidur often visits Shakila's school and also private tutors to know the updates and the status of her daughter's preparation for the exam.

Saidur always feels concerned that his daughter may be a victim of sexual harassment on her way to school or private tutor. Therefore, he tries to know from Shakila or her friends if his daughter experiences any form of sexual harassment, and encourages her not to hide it if she has experienced any such incident, so that Saidur can take step against any interruptions to her education.

Saidur's six year old son Shaikat is a primary school student. Saidur himself helps him in his study since he does not need any private tutor in his early grade. He also often visits to Shaikat's school to know about his performance in the school.

In the case of minor illness like cold and fever, Saidur and his family goes to a village doctor, an elder brother of Saidur. Saidur can get medicine from his brother at low cost. Saidur is suffering from gastrointestinal disorder. When this problem increases, he also takes medicine from his brother. In the last one year, Saidur had to buy medicine for his wife Shumi, his son Shaikat and daughter Shakila since they suffered from fever in different time of the year. He also bought medicine for his gastrointestinal problem several time from the same doctor last year.

Saidur asks for Shakila's opinion while taking decision about how to spend family earnings. He has the habit of handing over all of his earnings to Shumi at the beginning of the month, and she spends according to family's requirement. But Shumi's opinion is not taken while deciding about children's education, as she was illiterate and Saidur thought her incapable of giving any opinion in this respect. Shumi also accepts whatever her husband decided about her children's education.

CASE 2

Location: Village: Dokkhinpara, Post-office: Jagdishpur Union: Mahimaganj,
Upazila: Gobindoganj, District: Gaibandha

Arshadul Uddin has six family members in his family that includes- his mother Arsheda Begum (65), Kulsum Begum (30), son Ashiqur Uddin (14), and two daughters Akhi Moni (10) and Asha Moni (7). Arshadul Uddin got the message of GQAL first in 2008. But he did not receive any training. Under this programme he attended court-yard meetings and watched CD shows.

Ashrafal Alam is a farmer. He has 3 *bighas* of farming land. As his land is near a canal, he can only harvest IRRI rice in that land. Rest of the year the land remains under water. Besides farming, Ashrafal does business of fruits. He does this from January to July. Ashrafal is the only earning member in his family.

Ashrafal said that in the last October and November, he was sick and couldn't work. For his treatment he had to spend 5000 taka. Till now he is not able to work that well and therefore there is poverty in his family. Now to recover the deficit he has to limit expenses like food expense. But for this he has not compromised with his family members. He is providing equal food to everyone. During meals Ashrafal, his mother and the children eat first. After everyone has their meal then his wife eats. In lunch, Ashrafal eats first and after the children return from the school; his wife feeds them then she and his mother eat. At dinner all family members eat together but Ashrafal used to return home late. So his wife keeps the food served for him. In his family every family members eat according to their requirement. He said, he has always tried to provide good food to his family members, especially to his children.

Ashrafal also tries to provide his family members with good medical facilities. He is aware of what the family members are suffering from and what precautions shall be taken to mitigate those problems. If someone becomes ill, he buys medicine from the medicine shop or take them to the village doctor. If it is serious sometimes then he takes the person to Mahimaganj clinic as well.

In 2015, Ashrafal's son is a SSC candidate. He is now going to two private tutors for Mathematics and English. Akhi is appearing Primary School Certificate exam this time. She does not go to any private tutor rather she goes to school coaching and the youngest one, Asha studies in class one.

For the future, Ashrafal is planning to do fish farming in his two bighas of land. For this he is going to sell his cow. He has a plan to educate his son up to MA and get him a job. For the daughters, he wants them to study at least up to SSC and then arrange marriage.

Ashraful never shared domestic works with her wife. Sometimes he did some of the works. But after getting GQAL training he has started doing such works. But at first her family did not let him to do so. Ashraful also tries to inspire his business partner Shah Alam (42) to do so but he does not value that. So, he stopped advising him.

Before taking any decision, Ashraful always discusses with her mother and wife. Though his wife never speaks in between them but he always motivates her to do so. In 2014, Ashraful finalised everything to sell the land beside canal. But his mother stopped him to do so. Hearing upon his mother, Ashraful did not sell it. His wife was happy too in his decision. In 2013, Ashraful planted three Mehgoni and four Akashmoni trees there.

Though Ashraful's mother does not like women working outside the house; Ashraful believes that women should get involved in income generating activities. That is why he bought ten chickens for his wife. And he wishes to build a layered poultry farm for his wife. His wife has her consent in this idea too.

3. MEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSEHOLDS ACTIVITIES

This section discusses men's attitude toward the idea of sharing domestic activities before exploring their participation in domestic and caring activities. In order to see their attitude the study attempted to know men's views about men's and women's work as well as the value of domestic works from their perspective. Men's practice regarding the issue was investigated through case studies as well as through the findings of the survey conducted on women.

3.1 Men's attitude towards gender division of labour

3.1.1 Works considered as women's work at household level

Men from the treatment group identified cooking, organising house, smearing floor with mud, broom the yard, cleaning the cowshed as women's works. They also identified all caring activities, especially to children, sick and elderly family members as women's responsibility in the house. Besides those works performed inside the house, many of them also identified running a shop, harvesting paddy and wheat, and growing potatoes as women's works. Although they showed traditional attitude to some extent by indicating household works as women's work, men from this group shifted from their traditional stand by identifying earning as women's work as well as men's. They identified farming, construction work that could be performed by women.

Most of the respondents in a FGD agreed with a comment made by one of the respondents that: 'there was no difference between men and women in terms of work'. Another commented: 'beside the household works women should do something that would help in earning for the household.' Another respondent from this group took it further by saying that women could do everything as men, even flying a plane. While saying this he mentioned illiteracy as the reasons for which the village women were lagging behind.

On the contrary, control group identified household works as the main and only work for women. In such category they mentioned cooking, taking care of children and husband, raising poultry and cattle and all other works related to domestic space. Only few mentioned that women could also work in the field and could engage themselves in particular works like cleaning weeds and harvesting crops. Most from this group denied the point of identifying any outside work as women's work.

3.1.2 Works considered as men's work at household level

Men respondent from intervention group identified some household works that should be performed by men. These works included supply water for cooking, wash their own clothes and children's clothes, look after the farm animals before going out for work and feed them, collect food for the farm animals. Although, many of them from that group agreed to the opinion made by one: men should do all those works that will help them to survive with their family, most of the respondents from intervention group opined that earning money is the main work of a man but he has to do household work as well.

Most of the respondents opined that they assisted their wives in cooking. They also supported their female family members' work by collecting water for domestic use and wood for cooking, dropping their children at school, looking after their children's education, cleaning and making bed, taking care of children and sick family members. Most of them from this group also reported to have taken care of the farm animals and gone to bazaar in order to help their female family members in household activities. However, almost all the respondents reported to have performed domestic activities as much as they could after coming back home from their work outside.

On the other hand, earning was identified as the main work for men by the control group. Although few from this group opined that men's responsibilities for families should include some works other than earning, such as, taking care of children and elderly family members. Most of the time, by the word 'taking care' they meant to provide economic support to their families.

3.1.3 Benefits of sharing domestic work

Respondents from intervention group opined that if combined efforts were given, any work of the family would be successfully completed, and the same was true in the case of household works. Therefore, they mentioned that although men remained busy with their outside work most of the day, they should invest as much as possible

on domestic and caring activities. According to them, if men helped women in their household works, then the stress of female family members would be reduced and thus, the relationship among the family members would be strong and effective in further work.

In other way, some said that if male members participated in household works, then female members would be able to finish the work in time without having any pending work at the end of the day for female family members. As a result, good relationship would be developed between male and female members of the family which would bring positive impact in their family life.

On the other hand, men from the control group showed a completely traditional attitude in this regard. According to them, they expressed their opinion in favour of the division of labour on the basis of public and private space. Few of them went beyond traditional view to some extent by saying that men should help women in works only when they are overloaded. Rather, most opined that if they always perform household activities, the female members of their families will become idle and will refuse to work in the long run.

Many from control group opined that men should assist women in such works that needs physical strength like weighing weight.

3.1.4 Recognition of domestic work as work and their need for leisure

Most of the men respondents from both intervention and control group recognised household work as important as productive work outside home. They opined that women had to work hard from dawn till dusk and sometimes men did not even work that hard.

For considering women's work as labourious work, men from the intervention group recognised women's need of taking rest. Although women work as hard as men do, sometimes even harder than men, respondents from this group opined that men manages to take rest, but most of the time women cannot.

Respondents from the intervention group mentioned that women should have two to three hours leisure time in a day. They should select the time according to their convenience, like in the afternoon after lunch or other time in the evening. Many of the respondents from this group also opined that women should have access to recreational facilities like TV, radio so that they can have break from their monotonous household activities.

On the contrary, many respondents from control group opined that since women used to do her works in the house, they did not need rest as much as men do. Rather, men should take more rest on regular basis than women due to their involvement in outside work. Although most from the control group showed the same attitude as the intervention group towards women's need and amount of taking rest, they contradicted in the case of recreational facilities. They all opined that women should

take rest to have a break from their household works; most of this group opined that for recreation women should not go to outer space. Only few from this group opined that women could go outside home but their mobility should be limited to neighbours' or father's home.

3.2 Men's practice in domestic and caring activities

Positive attitude towards shifting gender roles had been reflected in the practice among men respondents from intervention group. The fact had been reflected in the case studies that men with GQAL messages shared domestic and caring activities with their female family members.

The survey showed the significant increase of husbands' participation in household activities after intervention. This increase of husband's participation in child care, washing clothes, managing household belongings and cooking as well as drying out rice and assisting in cooking was revealed to be statistically significant, although in the case of cleaning house and fetching water for domestic use, husbands' participation increased but was not statistically significant (Table 13).

Table 13. Changes in husbands' participation in household activities (%) (Only male headed households were considered)

| Activity | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | p-value (2007 vs. 2014) | |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| Child care | 10.8 | 23.1 | 12.3* | 0.215 | 0.061 |
| Washing clothes | 2.2 | 23.7 | 21.5** | 0.000 | 0.935 |
| Managing household belongings | -1.4 | 31.7 | 33.1** | 0.000 | 0.982 |
| Cooking | 5.2 | 17.0 | 11.8* | 0.001 | 0.408 |
| Cleaning house | 0.0 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.026 | 0.091 |
| Fetching water | -0.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.549 | 0.074 |
| Drying out rice | -0.4 | 3.9 | 4.3* | 0.000 | 0.699 |
| Assisting in cooking | -0.4 | 2.9 | 3.3* | 0.174 | 0.021 |

n= 2007: treatment- 301, control- 295; 2014: treatment-308, control- 312

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Therefore, the fact revealed that husbands of respondents from the treatment group increased their participation in household activities after intervention (Fig 1). This change was highest in case of laundry and managing households and belongings. The fact that intervention resulted this increased participation also reflected the difference between treatment and control group in terms of the issue, that is, husband's involvement in domestic activities where husbands' participation of treatment group

in selected household activities was higher than that of control group during the time of data collection in impact survey (Fig 2).

Fig 1. Changes in husband's participation in household activities in treatment Households over time

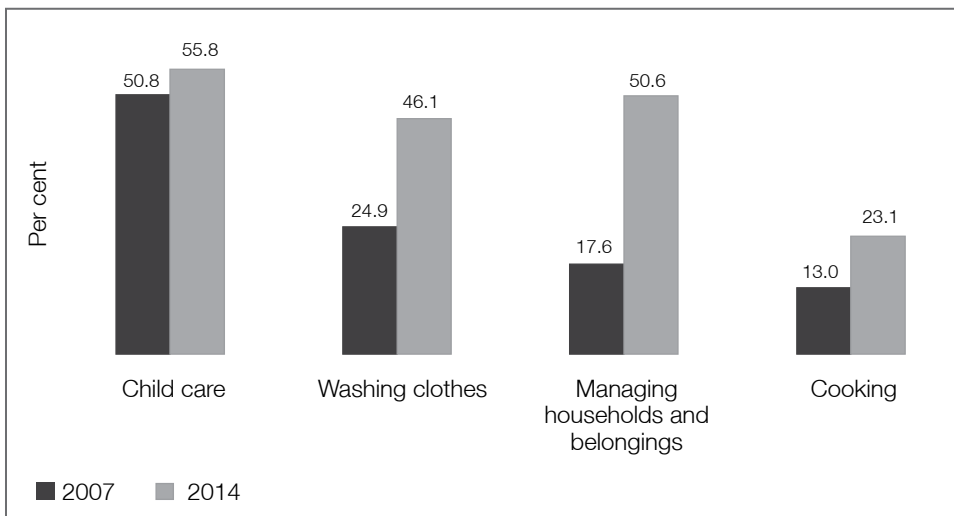
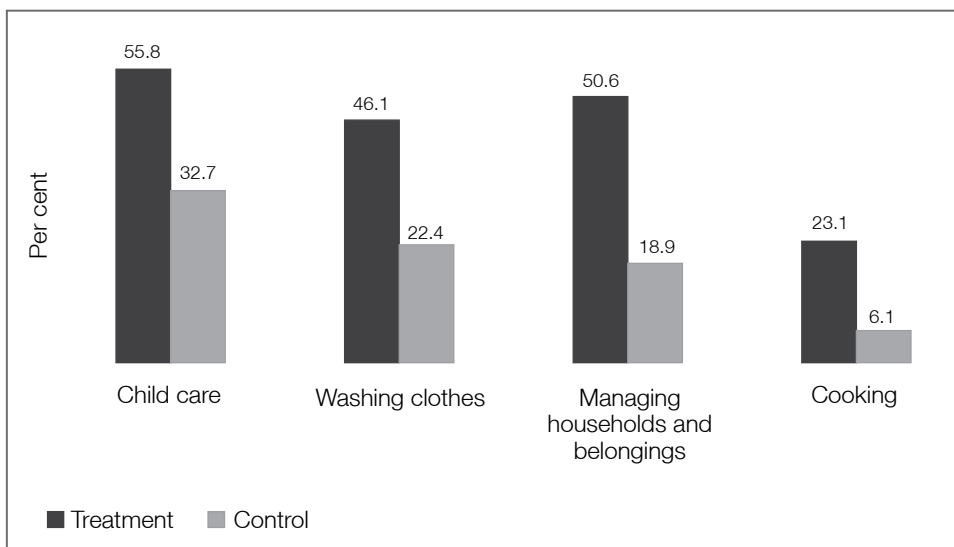


Fig 2. Difference in husband's participation in household activities between two groups in 2014



Men’s practice of domestic activities was found to have taken two patterns:

3.2.1 *Performing those works started to be viewed as ‘both men’s and women’s work’ after intervention*

There are some activities which were traditionally viewed as women’s work due to the space and nature of the works. These works included washing clothes, cleaning house, taking care of children and elderly family members who are sick, cleaning cattle sheds, taking care of livestock, cleaning court yard etc. Case study revealed that GQAL message has made the respondents change their traditional views towards domestic and caring activities (Case 3 and Case 4). They got involved in domestic activities and inspired more after receiving the benefit of their acts. The case studies (Case 3, Case 2 and Case 4) showed that men who never thought of performing domestic activities started to perform those works after receiving GQAL messages. The process of being involved in such works, they first got inspired to help their female partners in their work after receiving GQAL messages briefing about the benefit of sharing domestic works, then they finally got convinced to continue their practice when they experienced the benefit in their practical life.

3.2.2 *Performing and assisting works traditionally considered as exclusively women’s work*

The study reveals that after receiving GQAL message some of the men respondents started performing those part of household activities like cooking which were traditionally viewed as exclusively for women (Case 3).

On the other hand, some of the men from the control group revealed during FGDs that, they assisted their wives only in the case of their (wives’) sickness. At that time, they used to help them in cooking, cleaning households, washing clothes. But they opined that they should not do these ‘women’s works’ on a regular basis. If they did, they would be insulted by their neighbours for ‘being women’. They also expressed their fear of being labelled by their neighbours as someone who ‘did whatever his wife said’ or someone who ‘did his wife’s work’.

Table 14. Linear regression on husband’s participation in household activities

| Independent variables | Coefficient | t | p>t |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------|-------|
| Husband’s years of education | -0.012 | -0.570 | 0.569 |
| Wife’s knowledge score | 0.077 | 4.181 | 0.000 |
| Wife’s attitude score | 0.047 | 5.776 | 0.000 |
| Intervention period: 2014=1, 2007=0 | -0.298 | -1.940 | 0.053 |
| Constant | -0.522 | -2.623 | 0.009 |
| Number of observations: 603 | | | |
| R ² .23 | | | |

A linear regression was run to see whether there was an association of men's participation in household activities with their wives' knowledge and attitude level over the issue of gender roles and relations. It had been observed that wife's increased knowledge and attitude had positive association with increased husband's participation in household activities. In other words, changes in husbands' participation in domestic and caring activities were likely to be higher with one unit changes of wives' knowledge and attitude score (Table 14). This regression model was effective in explaining 23% of causes leading to the changes of husbands' participation in household activities.

3.3 Challenges faced and response to the challenges in performing household activities

Respondents from intervention group revealed that they had to face social problems while changing their gender roles. They reported to have experienced negative comments from some of their neighbours for doing works which were considered as women's task. Not only from outside people, but many of them had also experienced barriers from their wives, since they (wives) had not socialized enough to accept their husband doing household activities, even after receiving GQAL message (Case 03). Although some of them felt shy and embarrassed for the negative comments at the beginning, soon they had overcome the challenges through the awareness they received from GQAL as well as the benefits they received from their practice of sharing domestic and caring activities in their real life. According to one of the respondents; 'If husband and wife did the household activities together, they became more intimate to each other that ultimately resulted a peace and happy environment for the family life.' Then many of the respondents engaged themselves in awareness raising activities over the issue (Case 3)

CASE 3

Location- Village Akondopara, Union: Mohimagonj, *Upazila*: Gobindoganj, District: Gaibandha

Fourty-five years old Saidur Rahman, lives in Akondopara village under Mohimagonj union in Gobindogonj *upazila* in Gaibandha district. He has three sons Shona Mia (22), Shahid Mia (22), Shahadat Mia (12) and a daughter Shapna (7). Saidur's wife Shurjo Begum (35) is a house wife and she has been suffering from illness for the last four years. He received GQAL message in 2009 through court yard meetings and CD shows.

It has been 24 years since Saidur Rahman and Shurjo Begum got married. Saidur Rahman never thought of doing household activities till 2009 when he got GQAL message about the equal sharing of domestic activities. After being convinced of the benefits of men sharing domestic activities,

he started to assist his wife in cooking, collecting water and fuel, cleaning house, taking care of children and preparing bed. He took care of his livestock by preparing food, grazing, cleaning cattle sheds. Saidur Rahman has one sanitary latrine in his house, and he cleans it by himself.

It was not easy for Saidur Rahman to start performing household activities for which he was not taught from childhood. At the beginning, his friends and neighbours laughed at him, and teased him by saying that he would turn into a woman if he continued to do household activities which were not his jobs, but his wife's. But these negative comments could not prevent him from sharing domestic activities with his wife. Although at the beginning his strategy was to avoid his neighbors when they made negative comments about his doing household work, but gradually he changed his strategy and started to spread awareness of sharing domestic activities among teasers. He then started highlighting the benefits of sharing domestic activities for maintaining a happy family.

It was not only the neighbours or friends or other relatives, Saidur faced challenges from his own wife Shurjo who at the beginning did not like Saidur's engagement in household activities, which was traditionally viewed as women's work. But over the time she experienced reduced work pressure as well as better relationship with her husband due to such involvement; he got her convinced about the benefit of his act. Now Shurjo feels proud of her husband and motivates her neighbours to do the same.

In 2011 Shurjo was diagnosed with breast tumor that caused severe illness and ultimately made unable to do heavy work. During that time, Saidur Rahman did all of the household activities starting from cooking, washing clothes to taking care of their younger children. Besides these, he also took care of his sick wife who had to be in bed rest for three months.

At present, neighbours of Saidur Rahman do not show any reaction to Saidur as they did before. Now they are more aware of the issue of sharing domestic activities, and appreciated Saidur for the act of supporting his wife during her illness.

As an attempt of his awareness raising activities over GQAL message, he also arranged a court yard meeting in his own court yard with the assistance of GQAL staff. After being motivated, many of his neighbours, friends and relatives also started to follow Saidur. Fazal Haq (58), his elder brother, was one of them who also started to assist his wife in her household activities. Saidur spread the GQAL message among his neighbours through his every day informal conversation with the community people in tea stall. He also motivates his sons to be engaged in household activities, and as a result, some activities like cleaning house and serving food has become the part of daily routine of Shahadat, his 12 years old son.

Saidur Rahman takes his wife's opinion while taking any decision for their family. He, in the past, after receiving GQAL message, had taken his wife's opinion in selling livestock, taking and repaying NGO loans. He always asks his wife's opinion while buying and selling household assets. While taking decisions about children's future, he values his wife's opinion. His attitude reflected when he decided to send his youngest daughter to school at five upon his wife's wish, although he had plan to send her to school at seven. They decided together to send their eldest son to Dhaka for work.

After receiving GQAL message, Saidur Rahman believes that every man should share domestic and caring activities with their female family members in order to have happy family life.

CASE 4

Location: Village: Kumiradanga (Akandpara), Union: Mahimaganj,
Upazila: Gobindoganj, District: Gaibandha

Md. Shafiqul Islam (30) lives in Kumiradanga village in Mahimaganj union under Gobindoganj *upazila* in Gaibandha district. He lives with his wife Khaleda Begum (25) and his two sons- Md. Shakil Mahmood (9) and Md. Saif Mahmood (2). Shafiqul and his wife both are Gender Justice Educators of BRAC GQAL programme. In the year 2007, they received the three days GQAL training and in 2008 and again received three days training as Gender Justice Educators. They participated in those sessions together thrice. Beside those, from 2007 to 2010 they attended CD show for around 15 times. And in most of the time they helped Mr. Aslam who was a field organiser, to arrange this sort of shows. They participated in around 40-50 courtyard meetings organised by the programme.

Shafiqul Islam passed SSC examination in the year 2002 and after that he could not continue further for his involvement in politics and his unwillingness to study. In 2003, he married Khaleda Begum. During that time, he was not a trained village doctor. He had a pharmacy at a nearby bazaar. He had 3 bighas of paddy lands as an ancestral property. Beside this he had a CNG of his own which he gave on rent and from that he earned BDT 10,000 per month. . After a few days of their wedding they started to argue and his in-laws pressurised him to do some income generating activities. Khaleda also agreed to this. And at that time Shafiq forbade her to go to her parents' house. But Khaleda did not listen to him and continued going. Seeing this Shafiq became furious and started beating her. In 2005, their first child Shakil was born upon the wish of Shafiq. After that Shafiq started looking for sources of earning and started a clothing store at the bazaar. Khaleda

advised him not to give such kind of store in that rural area but Shafiq did not listen to her. In 2006, all the goods were stolen and Shafiq was in financial crisis once again. And thus there was chaos between them. In 2006, Shafiq placed two sweater machines in his house and started a business of knitting sweaters. But their argument never stopped and during this Shafiq once beat Khaleda furiously. Khaleda went back to her parents' house. But Shafiq did not let Shakil go with her.

During that time Shafiq used to be very furious and whenever his father Rois Uddin (60) and brother Saidur Rahman tried to explain him he never listened instead abused them. Therefore his in-laws were afraid of him too. 15/16 days later he agreed to bring his wife back. And his father brought her back.

During all these occurrences, in 2007, Mr. Aslam came to meet Shafiq's family after hearing about the mishaps. Though Khaleda met him but Shafiq did not agree to meet him at all. And during the period of his recession he started selling the crops he used to get from the land and trees around his house.

In September of the same year Shafiq agreed to meet Mr. Aslam for the first time when he used to ignore his wife and beat her for no reason. At that time Shafiq sold a portion of his land without the consent of his father and wife.

In November, Shafiq agreed to attend three days training session arranged by the programme. When they attended the session they saw that they were the youngest couple there. After receiving the training Shafiq somewhat realised about his misbehaviour. Slowly he built a personal relation with trainer and programme officer. And after the training, they advised him to get admitted to a village doctor training course. Beside this he started a small pharmacy with BDT 14,000 capital investment. Now his medicine value around 3 Lakh taka. Along with this he has a business of recharging mobile phones' bills. With the profit of his business he bought the CNG and gives it on rent. And he did it on the advice of Khaleda.

Shafiq's neighbour Shahjahan (27) and his wife Masuma (20) used to quarrel a lot. Sometimes he beat her as well. One day Masuma informed Khaleda about all these and Khaleda told her husband Shafiq. After hearing this Shafiq started explaining Shahjahan slowly. In between, one day the argument went extreme and Shahjahan beat Masuma furiously. At that time Shafiq was not present there. When he returned in the evening he got to know about this and then he and Khaleda together went to Shahjahan's house. There was a *shalish* going on regarding that issue. And all the guardians from both the sides were present there. They decided that

Shahjahan would divorce Masuma. But Shafiqul and Khaleda interrupted in that and asked permission to talk to the couple alone for a while. Then they took the couple and explained the bad sides of divorce. After spending a good amount of time the couple agreed that they would start afresh. Then they expressed their opinion in front of the *shalish* and the guardians also agreed with them. Now they are living a happy life and has a baby too.

Another similar event happened with Shafiqul's cousin and his wife. His cousin Ashraful (35) was a labourer and was fighting with poverty. And thus his relation with his wife Jhorna (27) declined and came to a stage where he used to beat her. One day it became extreme and Ashraful's parents told him to divorce her. Khaleda got to know about it and informed her husband. Hearing this Shafiqul wanted to meet Ashraful. But even after promising him to meet, Ashraful did not show up. Shafiqul then went to meet him at night and tried to explain that their decision will affect their two children. But Ashraful denied to consider it saying that it's not in his hand since his parents decided it and they wanted him to remarry. Being failed, he and his wife decided to inform Shafiq's father. Hearing all, Rois Uddin told them to inform his brother and head (Matbor) of the village Alam (50). The next day, they all went to Ashraful's house and saw that Kazi was already there to finalise their divorce. At that time they altogether tried to explain Ashraful and his parents in various ways. After hearing all these they agreed to stay back. And now they are in good terms. Even after being elder of Shafiqul, Ashraful often takes suggestions from Shafiqul regarding family issues and Shafiqul tries to guide him and his sister in law Jhorna. This is how he brought peace in their family.

After receiving the training of GQAL Shafiqul and his wife Khaleda always actively try to practice it in their personal life and also try to motivate their neighbours to practice it. After their first training Shafiqul had stopped beating Khaleda. And slowly when he watched the CD show and participated in courtyard meetings he tries to behave well with her and tries to give her respect. They have a very good understanding among themselves. At that time they actively try to protest any kind of mishaps with women.

Shafiqul has realised that if the husband and wife are on a good term then economic condition develops. They together can ensure a good future for their children. He said; when he started discussing about the business decisions with his wife his economic condition got better. As an example he talked about his wife's advice about buying CNG with the profit of his business.

Now Shafiqul and Khaleda take all the decisions after discussing together. In December of 2011, their second child Saif was born. Though Khaleda

wanted this child, Shafiqul was in a dilemma. But then he agreed after knowing about her will. They both decide about the education of their elder child. To ensure a better future for their children they decided to bear all the expenses. To buy all the house hold accessories they take the decision together. In 2009 Khaleda sold her lamb and gave Shafiqul BDT 3,500 to buy 300 decimal Of lands adjacent to their house. Besides that, Shafiqul took a loan of BDT 25,000 in the name of Khaleda from TMSS and paid back in 30 weeks. In 2014, they again bought 400 decimal of lands and this time Khaleda took another loan of Taka 50,000 from TMSS. And then they are repaying it in monthly installment of Taka 4,800. Shafiqul arranges the money and gives to Khaleda and Khaleda pays it.

Shafiqul always desires for a motorcycle but Khaleda told him to wait for a while and build a house first. Shafiqul agrees to it. Shafiqul said now he involves his wife in every decision because he thinks if he does it alone then there is a scope of making mistakes. But engaging others will decrease the chance. He gave the example of the losses of his previous business and profit he got from the CNG. He already gathered the capital investment of the CNG and now he is going to sell it in 2.5 million taka.

For the purpose of his work, Shafiqul has to stay outside of the house. When he is in the home he looks after the study of Shakil, prepares him and drops him at school. Again, takes care of the domestic animals as well. And by this time Khaleda does the other works. When Shafiqul returns home in the middle of the day, Khaleda remains engaged in cooking at that time. So, Shafiqul takes shower and bath his younger son Saif. They have lunch together and take rest too. In the evening when he goes to his shop he picks up his son from the school. And during that time Khaleda finishes the works. After that she looks after the study of Shakil. At night, after returning from work Shafiqul looks after the study of Shakil and Khaleda feeds Saif. After Saif sleeps, they eat their dinner together. That year Khaleda participated in the exam of first year of HSC from Open University.

Now Khaleda owns 2 ducks, 10 chickens, 3 cows and 3 lambs. They bought it in various times from their area. They built a space for these animals adjacent to their house. And whatever they earn from those animals, Khaleda keeps it to her and spends it according to their need. Even if Shafiqul could gather some money from his business he gives it to Khaleda and takes from her when needed.

4. MEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN ENSURING WOMEN'S ROLE IN DECISION-MAKING

The study endeavoured to explore the changes GQAL message had brought in the area of women's decision-making at the household level. In order to do so, the study tried to look at men's attitude towards the issue keeping the other group without intervention as the comparison group. Case studies had been used here to know the attitude and practice of men over the issue.

4.1 Men's attitude towards women's role in decision-making at family level

Positive attitude regarding women's capability of making decisions at household level had been reflected from male respondents' opinion during FGDs with the intervention group. Most from this group agreed to a comment made by one from their group that 'wife was the first preference. It's not possible to do anything without her suggestion.' Most from this group opined that both husband and wife should discuss and take any decision related to the family.

4.1.1 *Identified areas of decision-making where women must be included or not included*

When the discussion identified the areas of decision-making where women's opinion should be considered, many of them said opinion of female family members' should be valued while taking decisions about buying or selling any household assets like animals, land, van. They also identified the necessity of including women's voice while taking decisions about children's marriage and education or decisions related to household income like buying or selling any household assets, opening a shop to run, types of crops to be planted and so on. Exception was seen in the case of few respondents who said that when women's self-interest conflicts the overall interest of the family, in those cases their suggestions should not be taken under consideration. Respondents from intervention group could not identify any area at household level where women's opinions were useless. Rather they pointed out the necessity of including women's voice in all cases of family matters. One of them commented: woman was the backbone of a family. So, if we discussed with them it would do better not worse. But one of them restricted women's suggestions in some cases of 'personal work' to avoid the chaos in the family. To describe the 'personal work' he mentioned some activities like playing cards, gambling, and drinking alcohol.

In the case of control group, although most of the respondents expressed the same opinion as intervention group, many showed their reservation about asking women's opinion about all family matters. Some from this group also added that women should not be asked by their husband about the matter of taking care of husband's family.

4.1.2 *Perceived benefits of including women in the decision-making at household level*

Respondents from intervention group justified their position in favour of involving women in the decision-making process by saying that women had better knowledge and awareness about family needs due to their close attachment to domestic matters. Many also opined that women must be discussed with while starting any new business or investing money on anything or repaying loan, since they (women) might help with their savings or by taking loans from NGOs in their name. Some of them also opined that the act of exchanging opinion about domestic issues with female family members could relief men from the stress and pressure of carrying all the responsibilities and thought by them (men) alone.

On the contrary, although men from the control group apparently showed that they were positive to consider women's opinion in all matters of their households; their opinion regarding the issues where women should discuss indicated their reservation over the issue. They opined that women's opinion must be taken in the case of such matters like- buying food, children's education, medical etc. But they showed their unwillingness in taking women's opinion in any financial transaction. They specified their position by saying that it would not be wise to ask for women's opinion in taking decision about every spending men did for himself or for the households. Women are not always aware of her in-laws needs, they opined, so it was not necessary always to discuss with them while supporting husbands' families.

4.2 Changes in men's practice in ensuring women's involvement in decision-making

The positive attitude of men from the intervention group towards the issue of women's participation in decision-making had been reflected in their behaviours. The case studies revealed that GQAL programme left impact in two different ways on two different categories of respondents:

4.2.1 *Respondents changed their previous discriminatory behaviour*

The findings revealed that some respondents never considered their female family members capable enough for playing role in decision-making at any family matter before receiving GQAL messages. But after being convinced by the GQAL message about the benefit of sharing work and opinion with women regarding household matters, they started to bring changes in their traditional practices of neglecting women. Findings of the case studies (Case 3, Case 5 and Case 7) revealed the pictures of household where any family related decision, starting from every day issues like buying food to major issues like buying and selling lands, medical, children's education and marriage had been made upon the discussion of both husband and wife.

The case studies revealed that men before intervention used to ignore women's opinion in terms of decision-making, became convinced about the benefit of valuing women's opinion overtime. Here, their first step towards the act was out of their

motivation received from GQAL. It is noticeable that changes in one dimension left an impact on the other dimensions of gender equality. For example, in most cases, the message of sharing domestic activities of GQAL could send the message to men about the value of women's domestic work for household and family life, which would make them to value women's contribution for the family and that again, would make them to value their opinions at household level. The message regarding women's right to perform economic activities also helped to increase women's position in the family that also had the effect on women's position in decision-making in the family. This fact has been confirmed by a case when male household head of the family justified his act of involving his wife in the decision-making by saying that his wife had the equal right to give opinion in the family matters since she also worked hard all day long in the household same as him working outside (Case 5).

Similarly, case 6 shows that husband of the house also gave a thought about the GQAL message saying that women are more capable than men to take better decisions for the family. While starting to practice the message in his life, he found his wife's advice more useful than his decision in handling the family problems (Case 7). In some cases, it had been also seen that men were reserved to take women's opinion in some matters of decision making like children's education (Case 1) on the ground of women's perceived inability to give opinion due to their illiteracy. Case 3 also showed that a man with GQAL message insisted his wife to participate in decision-making although she was not interested to speak up due to accepting the fact that decisions should be made by male family members and they were to implement those without participating in the process of making the decision.

4.2.2 Respondents increased their previous positive practice

Case studies revealed another category of respondents who had the practice of including women's opinion in the decision-making process even before they received GQAL messages. But after intervention, their practice, which was against the traditional value, found the logical base of equality and they increased such practices of sharing (Case 6).

Household under case studies were seen to have taken women's opinion about two kinds of matters:

- i. Every day / frequent household matters: Main women of the households were found to have decided some everyday issues like buying every day food alone in most of the cases (Case 3, Case 1 and Case 5). All the husbands under case studies were seen to have consulted with their wives in buying things like clothes (Case 6).
- ii. Occasional matters: Apart from the frequent issues, most of the households were seen to have included women in decision-making about major issues for the family, like buying and selling properties, arranging children's marriage, mortgaging in land, children's education (Case 2, Case 5, Case 6 and Case 4). This act of inclusion of women in the major decision of the household indicated men's awareness and sensitivity over the issue of ensuring women's role in decision-making at household level.

Findings from the survey also confirmed the fact. It showed that per cent of women consulting with their husbands or family members while taking decision to sell any household assets had been increased, although the impact of the programme was not statistically significant (Table 15). Same was the fact in the case of buying household assets like duck-chick, land, cattle where the difference was found to be statistically significant only for the case of buying cattle. The negative change was observed in taking decision of buying utensils, clothes and ornaments (Table 16).

Table 15. Per cent of respondents consulted by husbands or family members to sell household assets (only male headed households were considered)

| Asset | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| Cow-goat | 2.4 | 10.9 | 8.5 | 0.497 | 0.077 |
| Duck-chick | -0.5 | 3.2 | 3.7 | 0.030 | 0.399 |
| Land | -14.3 | 0.0 | 14.3 | 0.235 | |
| Ornaments | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | | |

Difference in difference score is not statistically significant

While exploring women respondents' control over resources, it had been revealed that per cent of respondents' had increased who are using money received from selling assets, although not statistically significant (Appendix 10). Exception was found in the case of money received from selling cattle where no change had been observed. It had been also revealed that per cent of women respondents shared money received from selling household assets with their husbands has increased after intervention (Appendix 11).

Table 16. Per cent of respondents consulted by husbands or family members to buy household assets (Only male headed households were considered)

| Asset | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| Duck-chick | 3.4 | 3.5 | 0.1 | 0.437 | 0.548 |
| Cow-goat | -5.7 | 15.2 | 20.9** | 0.643 | 0.001 |
| Land | 6.7 | 12.5 | 5.8 | | 0.636 |
| Utensils | 5.9 | 4.9 | -1.0 | 0.149 | 0.146 |
| Clothes | 5.9 | 3.7 | -2.2 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| Ornaments | -4.9 | -5.3 | -0.4 | 0.597 | 0.516 |

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$

Table 17. Percent female respondents gave opinion in children's marriage during the last two years (Only male headed households were considered)

| Decision makers | 2007 Diff (T-C) | 2014 Diff (T-C) | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| | | | | Intvn | Cont |
| Father | 5.8 | -12.7 | -18.5* | 0.106 | 0.243 |
| Mother | 8.5 | 0.6 | -7.9 | 0.187 | 0.378 |
| Both mother and father | -7.7 | 2.1 | 9.8 | 0.319 | 0.894 |
| Children themselves | -9.1 | 10.0 | 19.1* | 0.006 | 0.439 |

Here: n: 2007: intervention -47, control-33, 2014: intervention- 68, control-43

* values are significant if $p < 0.05$

CASE 5

Location: Village: Digholkusha, Union: Kandiura Rajibpur, *Upazila*: Kendua, District: Netrokona

Anowara Khatun (39) lives in Digholkusha village in Rajibpur union under Kendua *upazila* in Netrokona district. She has 4 children but only two of them are living with her – therefore her family members included her husband Fazlu Mia (50), and younger daughter Dina Akhter (17) and younger son Syed Anowar Pasha (14). She received GQAL 3 days training and had attended different events as well arranged by the programme during the year of 2009-10 such as – courtyard meeting, CD show. Fazlu Mia had seen CD shows 5/6 times.

Anowara Begum who is a house wife lived in Digholkusha village which is surrounded by paddy fields. Her husband is a farmer. Her family consists of two sons and two daughters. Her elder daughter and son already got married and now Anowara Begum lives with her husband and younger son and daughter. Elder daughter is a house wife and elder son works in Mymensingh. Younger son is studying in class 8 and younger daughter also studied upto class 8. Now she is not regular in school but participates in the exams only. This is because 3/4 years ago she suffered from fever and wasn't getting well. Then Anowara Begum and her husband took her to the doctor at Mymensingh and that doctor suggested them to take her to Dhaka. The doctor of Dhaka told them that Dina had a problem in nerve in her leg. And even after surviving from the fever she couldn't sense anything in her leg. After passing some time like this Dina took physiotherapy at Mymensingh staying at her grandparents' house. And now Dina can walk. And therefore Dina has stopped going school. Dina's family had spent a lot of money for the treatment purpose and thus they had to sell off their paddy land and some other land.

Through GQAL training Anowara got to learn about some issues like-women's and men's equal participation in decision-making process, husband's responsibilities during the time of wife's pregnancy, economic empowerment of women, eliminating discriminative attitude towards the women of the family etc. and later on she practices her learning in her family life along with other members. For example; now all the decisions are taken upon the discussion of both. Again, in case of children's education, job, and marriage – in all these matters they both discuss and take the decision.

When Fazlu Mia got the marriage proposal of his elder son and daughter he came to Anowara and discussed about it. And after taking her consent Fazlu finalised it. Similarly, when they saw that their elder son was less attentive in study, they both decided to involve him in job.

When Dina was sick, at first Anowara decided to take her to the town for treatment and Fazlu agreed to it and sold off the paddy and took her to town. And afterwards they sold off some of their lands for better treatment in Dhaka and Mymensingh. Apart from that they decided to enroll their younger son for further study. To buy daily necessary items or to repair the house they both discuss and find out the way to do that.

However, in case of daily cooking or food, Anowara decides that alone. In this case Fazlu Mia does not interfere. But to buy clothes Anowara asks her husband and Fazlu does the shopping and sometimes Anowara does it too.

The earning of the family that comes from the farming goes to Anowara. Fazlu takes money from her on need. Sometimes their elder son sends money to Fazlu. They both discuss and decide how to spend money. In case of buying instruments and logistics for farming Fazlu solely takes the decision. Above all in the entire issues Fazlu and Anowara take decisions upon discussions. For example, 5/6 months before they sold their land. Since Fazlu works in land he knows better that which of the land is going to be less profitable. He came to his wife and told her about it. Anowara gave her consent about selling the land and Fazlu arranged it.

They said training of GQAL could bring positive changes in their life. Before that Fazlu or Anowara might have taken decisions alone and thus they used to have a lot of arguments. But now it has changed. Now both of them thought that they should take decision together because Fazlu is helping the family by earning money and Anowara is helping by taking care of the family. And thus both of their roles are important in family.

Now Anowara shares her experience to her neighbours and tries to motivate them by giving a picture of her success. However, though she practices it in her life she never gives her suggestions in any *shalish*.

CASE 6

Location: Village: Kumiradanga, Union: Mahimaganj, *Upazila*: Gobindoganj, District: Gaibandha

Mohammad Abdul Matin (30) lives in Akandpara in Kumiradanga village in Mahimaganj union under Gobindoganj Thana in Gaibandha district. He is married to Mosammat Sufia Begum (27) and has three daughters – eldest one is Mallika (16), second is Moushumi (12) and the youngest is Jannati (3). Abdul has attended around 20 courtyard meetings and could remember one CD show. Beside that he used to have conversation on GQAL with Mr. Aslam who is a former field organiser of GQAL programme. And his wife has attended around 15 courtyard meetings and watched 2 CD shows. She also said that, Mr. Aslam used to visit them 3/4 days a week and explain those things and they can still recall those learning of GQAL programme.

Mohammad Abdul Matin is a Van driver and owns a van. Though he can only sign and never went to school, his wife had studied up to class three. And therefore he discusses everything with his wife and takes the decision. And another reason for such dependency is that Abdul lost his parents at a very early age. And thus he gives all the responsibilities of education of his daughters on his wife's shoulder.

He and his wife buy the daily necessary items and clothes of the members together depending on the availability and convenience. They have one cow, six sheep and four chickens. Sufia trades the chickens on her own decision and she does this within her own village. But in case of other animals they decide together. Sufia has taken loan and she has repaid it by herself. Again, whatever she earns from selling the eggs and milk of cow, she spends a portion of it for taking care of the animals and rest she keeps to herself. Abdul also gives his earnings (whatever is left after spending in buying daily necessary items) to Sufia.

Abdul and Sufia do not own any land but they have taken lease of 12 decimal of a land. While taking the lease they discussed and sold two cows to manage the money. And now they are farming in that land.

Sufia usually does all the household works but Abdul shares some of it.

Usually, if any of the family members become sick then they go to their nearby doctor. But once Abdul became very sick and was not recovering even after going to several nearby doctors. Then Sufia Begum advised him to go to a doctor in Gobindoganj. At first Abdul was reluctant thinking of money but Sufia explained him and convinced him to go with her. Abdul

agreed and went to Chadni clinic. There they got to know Abdul was suffering from Malaria which needed long term treatment and rest and that was pretty expensive too. Abdul couldn't manage the money so Sufia sold one cow with cub and let the treatment continue. The treatment is going on till now and Abdul is quite better too.

The eldest daughter already got married and Sufia takes all the necessary decisions. This marriage took place in the year 2012 when Mallika was only 15. Abdul was aware that it was child marriage and did not agree at first since he was aware of the harmful sides of early marriage and knew that it was illegal too. But even after that, he was forced to agree because of Sufia. The proposal came from a relative and Sufia explained him that it would be good for their daughter. But when they came to meet Abdul and his family they demanded dowry and Sufia denied it. But later their relative convinced her saying that it's not possible to arrange wedding without dowry and if they want they can pay slowly after the wedding. Thus, they arranged the marriage. But they could not arrange the money and now their son-in-law tortures their daughter and they have realised that the marriage was not a good decision.

Abdul said, in his family Sufia takes all the necessary decisions and later he evaluates and gives his suggestions.

After getting the intervention from GQAL programme, their dependency have increased more than before. But Abdul again said since he remains busy all the time he is unable to spread this learning among his neighbours.

CASE 7

Location: Village: Pachpara, Post-office: Jagdishpur Union: Mahimaganj,
Upazila: Gobindoganj, District: Gaibandha

Momiron Begum (48) is a resident of Pachpara village in Mahimaganj union under Gobindoganj *upazila* in Gaibandha district. She has two daughters and two sons. At present she lives with her husband Md Abdus Salam (55), elder son Md Mizanur Rahman (26), and his wife Shilpi Begum (23) and their child Shadhin Rahman (5). Momiron Begum and her husband attended the three days GQAL training in 2007. They were the gender justice educator couple. In 2008 they again participated in three days training session. Beside these, Momiron Begum participated in a number of court-yard meetings and CD shows.

The age of Momiron's family life is near about 34 years. Among four children her two elder daughters and elder son are married. Her younger

son, Md Sobhan Rahman Kazi (22) works in a garments factory at Dhaka. Mizan's wife used to work in a garment factory at Dhaka but now she is a house-wife. Momiron's husband is a farmer and beside this he works as a leader at a paddy drying yard.

Though Momiron is a house-wife but she does different farming activities during the time of 'IRRI' paddy. When it is harvest time her husband does not get the time to work in IRRI paddy field since he remains busy at drying yard. And during that time Momiron plants IRRI crops in their 5 bighas of land which is situated in 3 km distance near canal. Whatever amount she gets, she sells a portion of it and rest she plants in the next land.

Momiron said she wakes up early in the morning, cooks for the family and then leaves for work. She usually does not come home at noon and she has her lunch there too. In the evening she finishes her work and goes back home. When it is the season of IRRI rice, she does all the work related to this. She said that, whenever her husband gets time, he helps her in her work. The money she earns from this, she keeps it to herself. Momiron said, after getting married her husband used to give her money to spend. But she never spends it rather she keeps it to herself and later when her husband needs money urgently, she gives it to him.

Momiron said, after receiving GQAL training in 2007, there has been a positive change in her family. After the training her husband gives all the money to her and Momiron spends it on the basis of need of the family. She believes that since her husband gives her all the money upon trust so she should spend it wisely. When he needs money he asks for it to Momiron. Momiron always gives him lesser amount since she thinks it is right way and she can save some money for the family.

Salam said, after getting GQAL training he got to learn that women can take good decision for the family as well. He added that, when he used to keep all the money to himself, he could not save any. But now for the sake of the betterment of the family he gives all the money to Momiron and she always gives good advices to him.

Momiron had discussed with her husband, elder son and his wife about admitting her grandson to school in January, 2015. But her husband said that he is too young to go to school and should wait for one year more. Her son and daughter-in-law agreed to that. But Momiron explained them that it will be too late for him and if he gets admitted in 2015 then he will gather interest regarding study and go to school regularly. They all then decided together that he will be admitted to Kumiradanga Govt. Primary school. Again, Momiron takes all the necessary decision regarding domestic

activities like- buying or selling household stuffs and she does not require permission from Salam. She gives money to Salam to buy daily necessary groceries and also gives list mentioning what to buy in what amount. She also gives money accordingly. Sometimes she does it by herself. Momiron has three cows and two cubs which her husband bought for her in 2010. Every year Momiron sells one cub and before that she discusses Salam. He also helps to take the right decision. She does the same while selling the milk. Salam cleans the cowshed, the cows, milk the cows. Momiron bought 10 chickens with the money she got after selling milk. Salam is very happy with this decision and motivated her to sell the eggs. She keeps all these money to herself. In case of buying clothes, they usually do it on two Eid festivals. Her younger son buys clothes for them before Eid and her elder son and his wife do it from Gobindoganj Bazaar.

In 2006, they built their house. After that it did not require any repairing yet. She had decided that she will arrange marriage for her younger son in 2015 and thus they will need another room. She discussed with her husband. She has planned that after gathering some money she will start the work of it. She has more plans regarding making furniture for Sobhan and Salam has agreed to that.

In terms of treatment, Momiron and her family buy from the medicine shop. If anyone is seriously ill then they go to village doctor but they never go to a quack.

In 2012, Salam bought 13 hundred decimal of land in the name of Momiron. They discussed and both contributed in buying the land. In 2014, Salam took a lease of land near canal. At first, Salam was not interested in taking lease of it as it was near canal. But Momiron explained that it would be a good decision and convinced him to take the lease. She arranged money from her two sons and took the lease. They got Amon rice in this season and have planned to sow IRRI next.

Momiron Begum said after receiving the training her husband never takes any decision alone rather he discusses everything with her. Salam said; now while taking any decision Momiron takes the lead. Momiron again added that, before the training Salam used to take all the decision alone, never discussed with her and if she gave any suggestion never listened to it or value it. But GQAL could bring changes in his thinking. And they discuss with their son and daughter in law before taking any decision. Salam also inspires his relatives and neighbours to involve the female members in decision making process. He added that as long as the programme was going on he inspired others but now the programme has ended he does not do it much. He does not get time to do that either. Momiron said, she

also did it before. She added that if the women are engaged in decision-making process then the chance of misunderstanding and arguments decreases. And on the other hand when the decision is taken together, development of the whole family takes place. One will not be able to blame other for any decision.

5. MEN'S ACTION AND SENSITISATION OVER VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Data from Households under case studies revealed the positive practice of men over the issue of violence against women (VAW). They were found to take both individual and collective action against VAW. The changes in the behaviour over the issue before and after GQAL intervention indicate the positive impact of the programme on them as well as on their households.

The findings revealed that GQAL left impact on two categories of respondents in two different ways. One category belonged to the group who were ordinary villagers and changed their traditional behaviour towards their female family members, and also engaged in awareness raising activities over the issue among neighbours in their everyday interaction with them, but without having power to influence on the larger community in a formal way. Another category of respondents were those who have influenced the community in the positive way through their social position and power by participating in the village *Shalish* and addressing the issue of VAW (Case 8).

The programme brought changes in men's practice in the area of violence against women in the following two ways:

5.1 Built men's capacity to view their everyday practice critically

GQAL had provided men with new lens to see their everyday practice critically. This awareness had been reflected from some cases where men having GQAL messages changed their violent behaviour against their wives after receiving intervention. The forms of violence in those cases included wife beating, verbal abuse, preventing women from going to parents' house and the act of denial to women's reproductive rights (Case 8). After receiving GQAL messages they brought changes in their behaviour of domestic violence which they never considered as crime before.

Changes in men's response to women's reproductive rights after GQAL intervention was worth mentioning here by highlighting the Case 4. This man under the case study imposed his demand of having child regardless of his wife's interest to get pregnant at that moment, and forced his wife to give birth to their first child in 2005. But his

mentality in this subject changed at the time of taking decision about their second child in 2011. Initially, he was not interested much to have another baby, due to his wife's desire, he changed his opinion, and agreed upon to have their second child.

5.2 Made men engage in protesting VAW

Two types of actions were taken by men under the case studies to protest the incidence of VAW that occurred in their neighbourhood and among their relatives. Those were: individual action and collective action. Both types of actions they applied against different forms of VAW ranging from wife beating to demand for dowry (Cases 4 and 8). Most of the respondents were seen to have taken action at individual level against the act of wife beating and dowry. They went for collective actions most of the time where they failed to solve the problem through their personal initiatives (Cases 4 and 8).

The changes in men's sensitivity over VAW were observed both in case studies and findings of the survey. It shows the decreased number of VAW at the household level after intervention. Survey explored whether the incidents of violence had taken place in respondents' households due to dowry or not. Due to intervention such incidents decreased in households under study. Particular forms of acts from the bride's side for example- selling household properties like land, cattle and trees to pay the dowry, being in-debt, bringing bride back to natal home, arranging *Shalish* in order to settle the dowry related problem had increased ($p = <.05$). On the other hand, although statistically insignificant, from the bride groom's side, less number of respondents reported to had experience in certain acts like- beating, teasing and threatening to divorce due to dowry in the last two years (Table 19). Table 18 also shows the positive impact of programme in increasing the amount of dowry transaction during the last two years from the data collection period. Here, number of household transacted dowry significantly decreased after intervention.

Table 18. Over time change in amount of dowry transaction in male headed households in last two years (%)

| Amount (Tk.) | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|---------------------|------------|------------|--------------|---------------------------|-------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| No dowry transacted | -9.3 | 29.5 | 38.8** | 0.025 | 0.113 |
| 3000-20000 | 26.2 | -3.4 | -29.6 | 0.000 | 0.691 |
| 20001-40000 | -9.3 | -16.4 | -7.1* | 0.852 | 0.428 |
| 40001-60000 | -7.8 | -8.3 | -0.5 | 0.236 | 0.442 |
| 60001-100000 | 3.4 | 0.4 | -3.0 | 0.841 | 0.445 |
| Above 100000 | -3.0 | -1.8 | 1.2 | 0.236 | 0.719 |

Here: n: 2007: intervention -47, control-33, 2014: intervention- 68, control-43

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Table 19. Over time change in per cent households reported dowry related violence in the last two years (only male headed households were considered)

| | Violence | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|-------------------------|--|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|
| | | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| From bride groom's side | Beating | -0.7 | -0.3 | 0.4 | | 0.530 |
| | Teasing/verbal abuse | 0.0 | -0.7 | -0.7 | 0.576 | 0.199 |
| | Threat to divorce | 0.0 | -0.3 | -0.3 | 0.322 | 0.168 |
| From bride's side | Selling properties (land, cattle, trees) | 1.6 | -4.1 | -5.7** | 0.322 | 0.052 |
| | Taking loan | 3.3 | -4.5 | -7.8** | 0.207 | 0.001 |
| | Bringing bride back to natal home | 1.3 | -1.6 | -2.9** | 0.042 | 0.029 |
| | Arranging <i>Shalish</i> | 0.7 | -2.0 | -2.7* | 0.982 | 0.006 |
| | Keeping the land in mortgage | 0.3 | 0.0 | -0.3 | 0.327 | 0.091 |

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Per cent of households reported physical violence by their husbands or other family members on any family matters decreased by 8% after intervention. But no change was observed in the case of other forms of domestic violence like verbal and mental torture (Table 20).

Table 20. Over time change in per cent households reported violence in the last one year in male headed households

| Violence | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | 2007 vs 2014 (p-value) | |
|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------------------|-------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| Physical | -1.5 | -9.5 | -8.0* | 0.000 | 0.041 |
| Verbal | -2.5 | 1.2 | 3.7 | 0.000 | 0.002 |
| Mental | 1.9 | 4.2 | 2.3 | 0.392 | 0.102 |
| No violence | 3.4 | 2.6 | -0.8 | 0.000 | 0.000 |

Physical: beating, not providing food; Verbal: slang/calling bad names, shouting, scolding; Mental: threat to murder, threat to divorce, stop communication, husband's rejection of food, husband's leaving home out of anger

Here: n: 2007: intervention -301, control-295, 2014: intervention- 308, control-312

* values are significant if $p < 0.10$

Programme had a significant impact on the relationship between husband and wife in terms of the frequency of the quarrel they usually became engaged. Table 25 shows that the per cent of female respondents who reported to have arguments with their husbands once in a month decreased from 38% to around 3%. Although the rate of these changes for the control group was also statistically significant, the programme left the positive impact in bringing the changes in the intervened households, according to the findings. The programme also left statistically significant impact in decreasing the conflict between husband and wife who reported to have quarrel at least once in a week before intervention (Table 21).

Table 21. Over time change in number of times respondents had quarrel with husbands or in-laws in male headed households (%)

| Number of times | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | p-value | |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|---------------|-------|
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | 2007 vs. 2014 | |
| | | | | Intvn | Cont |
| At least once in a week | 2.9 | -13.4 | -16.3** | 0.657 | 0.000 |
| Not now but before happened | 5.6 | 9.1 | 3.5 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Once in a month | -14.0 | 1.3 | 15.3** | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Often | 0.3 | -6.6 | -6.9* | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Not at all | 5.3 | 9.3 | 4.0 | 0.346 | 0.821 |

Here: n: 2007: intervention -301, control-295, 2014: intervention- 302, control-308

** values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

Particular forms of domestic violence like grabbing women's income, ignoring women's opinion in selling household assets, preventing them from going to natal home, putting restriction on women's mobility and involvement in income generation, depriving women from proper medical support during pregnancy as well as in general illness and threatening to divorce were found to have affected positively by the intervention. In the case of mental torture, like stop verbal communication by husbands, rebuke, and using slang language, no impact of the programme was found. The programme has left significant positive impact on women's rights over income and mobility. Per cent of women facing threatening to divorce in the form of mental violence was revealed to have significantly decreased after intervention (Table 22).

Table 22. Over time change in respondents' having incidents of domestic violence at household within a year in male headed households (%)

| Type of violence | 2007 | 2014 | Diff in diff | p-value | |
|--|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| | | | | 2007 Vs 2014 | |
| | Diff (T-C) | Diff (T-C) | | Intvn | Cont |
| Take away income | 2.8 | -11.4 | -14.2** | 0.148 | 0.000 |
| Sell household assets without taking consent | 1.6 | -1.6 | -3.2 | 0.462 | 0.161 |
| Prevent from going parents' home | 0.3 | -5.9 | -6.2* | 0.557 | 0.026 |
| Prevent from going outside | 3.9 | -6.0 | -9.9** | 0.000 | 0.214 |
| Prevent from doing job | 5.4 | 2.2 | -3.2 | 0.077 | 0.092 |
| Not providing medical support during pregnancy | 23.1 | -2.7 | -25.8 | 0.000 | 0.352 |
| Threat to divorce | -0.2 | -2.8 | -2.6** | 0.127 | 0.801 |
| Stop verbal communication | -10.6 | -3.9 | 6.7 | 0.024 | 0.841 |
| Use slang language | -18.8 | -11.6 | 7.2 | 0.100 | 0.858 |
| Rebuke | -23.2 | -9.9 | 13.3** | 0.000 | 0.410 |
| Not providing medical support during illness | 5.6 | -4.1 | -9.7** | 0.007 | 0.015 |

** Values are significant if $p < 0.01$ and * values are significant if $p < 0.05$

CASE 8

Location: Village: Raipur, Union: Maska, *Upazila*: Kendua, District: Netrokona

Md. Abu Saleh (52) has six daughters Shohag (30), Rima (28), Jhuma (26), Moni (22), Lahu (10) and Panna (8) and a son Rajib (12). Elder four daughters already got married and now Abu Saleh lives with his wife Sultana begum (48) and children Lahu, Panna and Rajib. Abu and Sultana got GQAL three days training. Beside this, they saw CD shows and participated in various courtyard meetings too.

Abu Saleh has established himself as an influential person in past 8 years in his village. Most villagers have faith on him. He has been nominated as UP member in two consecutive years. His house is near the union council office.

After attending the various curriculum of GQAL programme Abu and Sultana have learnt about the importance of women's participation in decision-making process, what men's responsibility during the time of child birth etc. and they try to implement their learning in their daily life

while running the family. Since Abu is an influential person in the village, he has used these learning in many cases in court. He has solved many cases regarding violence against women in his area and nearby areas. In the past year he has solved or has tried to solve three cases regarding violence against women. He may have become successful in some case and may have failed in some cases. The cases he failed to solve, he again tried to solve 3/4 times later. But it'd been seen that though the parties agree upon the solution during the *Shalish* but later they repeat the same thing.

After attending GQAL training, Abu had solved a case of his neighbour regarding violence against women. His neighbour Faruk (28) son of Abul Hashim (50) was an auto bike driver. He married Tajmahal (22), the daughter of Wajibul Fakir (55) of next village Chakpara. Wajibul is a farmer and when he arranged the marriage, he gave 30,000 taka as dowry and beside this; he gave some furniture such as- Bed, Show-case, closet, Television as gifts. But 3/4 months later, after getting all these things, Faruk started beating Tajmahal. After knowing Faruk's behaviour towards his wife, Abu started collecting detailed information from the neighbours about the reasons behind Faruk's such behaviour. Then he got to know that as Tajmahal was too polite, Faruk often beat her and told her that since she could not run the family properly she had to bring more money and other stuffs from her parents' house. Abu got to learn more that faruk's mother also beats her.

Knowing all these Abu brought this issue to village court on his own initiative. Wajibul also requested Abu to look into this case. Abu gave notice to both the party and asked them to be present in *Shalish*. In that *Shalish* process Faruk was proven guilty and his father Hashim on behalf of his family, asked to forgive him and promised that that would not be repeated in future. They stopped for sometime but few days later they started doing the same thing again, and they, therefore, again called for a *Shalish*. Here also, Faruk and his family promised that this would not repeat. But after some time, they repeated it and this time Tajmahal's father decided to take the matter to police station. Abu Saleh thought that Faruk and his father both are not good persons and they do not value the suggestions of their neighbors. Since Faruk was disobedient to his family that was why he beat his wife and this practice could not be stopped. Abu Saleh had informed it to the Chairman and had given consent to Tajmahal's father to file a case against Faruk to police.

Beside these, Abu Saleh always tries to make his neighbours aware about the violence against women so that it is not in practice among the families. If there is any problem he tries to solve it and communicates with the neighbours to stop the violence.

6. IMPACT OF GQAL ON THE COMMUNITY KUMIRADANGA VILLAGE OF GAIBANDHA DISTRICT

Apart from exploring impact of GQAL on men and women at individual level, the study also tried to know the impact of GQAL message on community based upon some selected indicators, like per cent of school going children, food discrimination at household level, incidents of child marriage, and incidents of violence against women. In order to achieve this objective, a village with maximum GQAL intervention in 2007- 2011 was selected for census. In this village, all five components included in the then GQAL programme, like- three-day training, parents' meeting, UP forum meeting, CD show and court yard meeting had been used to spread the messages. Through this census the study intended to see the changes between households having GQAL messages either directly participating in GQAL events or indirectly from other participants, and those who did not receive GQAL messages by any means within the village.

After presenting the demographic characteristics of all the households of the village, the findings of the census on the selected indicators related to GQAL training had been presented in this section. The village had 640 households. Among these, information from the twenty households could not be availed due to the absence of the members of the households during the census period. Therefore, findings on the 620 households had been presented here.

Table 23. Vital statistics of households of the village

| Variables | With GQAL message (%) | Without GQAL message (%) | p-value |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| Household size | | | |
| <2 | 2.3 | 0 | 0.304 |
| 2-4 | 68.1 | 72.1 | |
| 5-7 | 25.6 | 25.7 | |
| 8-10 | 3.3 | 2.1 | |
| 10+ | 0.6 | .0 | |
| n | 480 | 140 | |
| Religion | | | |
| Islam | 91.3 | 92.1 | 0.740 |
| Hindu | 8.8 | 7.9 | |
| n | 480 | 140 | |
| Sex | | | |
| Male | 51.2 | 52.4 | 0.638 |
| Female | 48.8 | 47.6 | |
| n | 1934 | 546 | |
| Age | | | |
| 0-10 | 25.3 | 25.3 | 0.978 |
| 11-20 | 19.9 | 19.4 | |
| 21-30 | 19.9 | 19.2 | |
| 31-40 | 12.4 | 11.9 | |
| 41-50 | 10.5 | 11.0 | |
| 50+ | 12.0 | 13.2 | |
| n | 1934 | 546 | |

| Variables | With GQAL message (%) | Without GQAL message (%) | p-value |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| Marital Status | | | |
| Married | 53.5 | 53.1 | 0.622 |
| Single* | 46.6 | 46.9 | |
| n | 1934 | 546 | |
| Education (class completed) | | | |
| Illiterate | 40.4 | 44.2 | 0.746 |
| Class 1-5 | 34.2 | 32.5 | |
| Primary & above* | 25.5 | 23.3 | |
| n | 1698 | 489 | |
| Main Income Generating Activity | | | |
| Not engaged | 63.9 | 65.5 | 0.135 |
| Engaged** | 36.1 | 34.4 | |
| n | 1698 | 489 | |
| Involvement in NGO (except BRAC) | | | |
| Involved | 12.1 | 8.1 | 0.014 |
| Not involved | 87.9 | 91.9 | |
| n | 1683 | 484 | |
| Household type | | | |
| STUP | 2.9 | 4.3 | 0.420 |
| Non-STUP | 97.1 | 95.7 | |
| n | 480 | 140 | |
| Social status | | | |
| Common villagers | 99.2 | 99.5 | 0.511 |
| Others*** | 0.8 | 0.5 | |
| n | 1934 | 546 | |
| Household having both male and female children (under 18) | 29.2 | 24.3 | 0.258 |
| n | 480 | 140 | |

*Single: unmarried, separated, divorced, widow

**Engaged: service, day labor/ self-employed, agriculture, business

***Others: *Goshti prodhan*, *Shomaj prodhan*, UP member, political leader, *Polli Shomaj* member

Table 23 showed that irrespective of age, the male-female ratio of the community is 51.5: 48.5. The majority of the people belonged to the age group of less than 1-10 years (25.3%) followed by the age group 11-20 (19.8%). Forty-one point two percent of people above five years of age were illiterate while half of the population had education up to below SSC. A few were found to have studied after SSC. About religion, majority were Muslim except 8.5% were Hindus. Average household size was four where 69% households having 2-4 members. The majority of population was being employed as day labourer or self-employed in the agriculture sector. In total, 11.2% of population were involved with other NGOs than BRAC, and 100% of which were found to have received microcredit support from NGOs.

Statistics on household's participation in the programme shows that 43.8% households had at least one member participated in one or more GQAL events.

More than half of the population received intervention reported to have participated in two GQAL events followed by 47.7% attending one, the rest received messages from the three different events of the programme. Survey revealed that more than 70% of the population of above five years of age belonging to 56% of households did not participate in any GQAL events, although 59.7% of these non-participant households received GQAL messages indirectly from others who participated in the programme during the intervention period (Table 24).

Table 24. Participation in GQAL Events

| GQAL Events (multiple responses) | Per cent |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Court yard meeting | 55.3 |
| UP forum | 1.0 |
| Journalist forum | 0.1 |
| Parents' meeting | 1.6 |
| CD show | 40.4 |
| Training | 1.5 |
| n (people) | 669 |
| People did not participate in GQAL (above 5 yrs of age) | 72.1 |
| Number of GQAL events participated | |
| 1 | 47.7 |
| 2 | 50.5 |
| 3 | 1.8 |
| n (households) | 434 |
| Per cent of household from which at least one member participated in GQAL events | 43.8 (272 out of 620 HH) |
| Number of members participated GQAL from each household | |
| 0 | 56.1 |
| 1 | 24.0 |
| 2 | 15.6 |
| 3 | 2.7 |
| 4 | 1.3 |
| 7 | .2 |
| n (households) | 620 |

Although the objective of the census was not to compare the changes in selected gender indicators with any control area, rather to see the situation of that particular community against those indicators, in order to shed light on the effect of programme on the community, households were divided into two groups at the time of analysis. Households having GQAL messages directly or indirectly were separated from the rest who did not receive GQAL messages by any means. However, in total 272 households participated in GQAL events, the rest of the household that is 348

households did not participate in the programme. Out of 348, 208 households were found to have heard GQAL messages from other participants of GQAL events. Therefore, 480 households belonged to the group having GQAL message while the rest (140) were those without GQAL messages. Except few cases, exploration of the situation of community on the selected indicators had been made in this section by comparing the two groups mentioned here.

In order to see discrimination between men and women in the households under census in different aspects, households were identified on the basis of some criteria, like households where both husband and wife were living were identified to know the discrimination between husband and wife in some areas like food and medical treatment. In the same way, households where both male and children under the age of 18 were also singled out to know the discrimination in the areas like food, education and medical treatment.

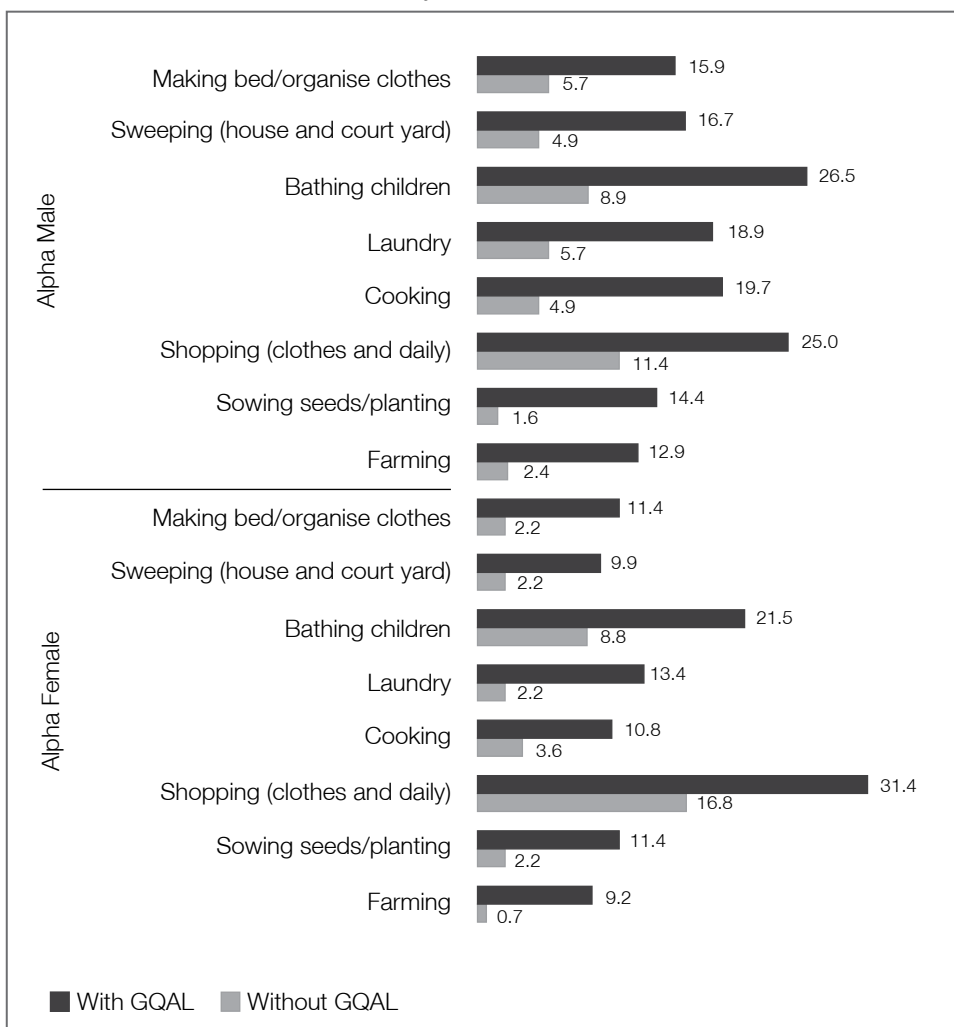
Here, it should be noted that, in the census area total number of households where both husband and wife were livings was 570. Out of 570, number of total households where GQAL messages did not reach was 133 and number of households where GQAL messages reached some way, directly or indirectly, was 437. There were 169 households that had both male and female children of less than 18 years of age in the census area.

6.1 Perception on gender division of labour

According to the traditional patriarchal ideology, women were responsible for domestic and caring activities while men's duty is to support the family through their productive work outside home. Therefore, a typical patriarchal society maintains gender division of labour. The study tried to explore whether the population of the census areas had different perception about this division of work than the traditional views. In order to know the fact, the study targeted the alpha female and alpha male in each household as respondents.

The findings revealed that higher per cent of men in the household from the GQAL group perceived some specific works as the works for both gender compared to the other group without GQAL. The Fig 3 shows that there is a big difference between the GQAL and non-GQAL group in perceiving some specific works, both outside and inside works, as the work for both sexes. More than 26% of men from the former group perceived the work of bathing children as both men's and women's work while the figure shows 8.9% for the later group. In the case of cooking the figure shows 4.9% and 19.7% respectively. In the case of farming, which is traditionally viewed as men's work, is considered as both men's and women's work by almost 13% of main men from the GQAL group which is considerably higher than that of non-GQAL group of which only 2.4% had the similar view.

Fig 3. Perception of gender division of labour by alpha male and alpha female of households under survey



Apart from the works mentioned in Fig 3, considerably higher per cent of Alpha male of the households under census with GQAL messages agreed that harvesting, drying out crops, running shops in the market place as the works that should be performed by both men and women compared to its counterpart. The per cent of such respondents from GQAL group is 14.4%, 46.2% and 12.9% for the three above mentioned kinds of work respectively (Appendix 12).

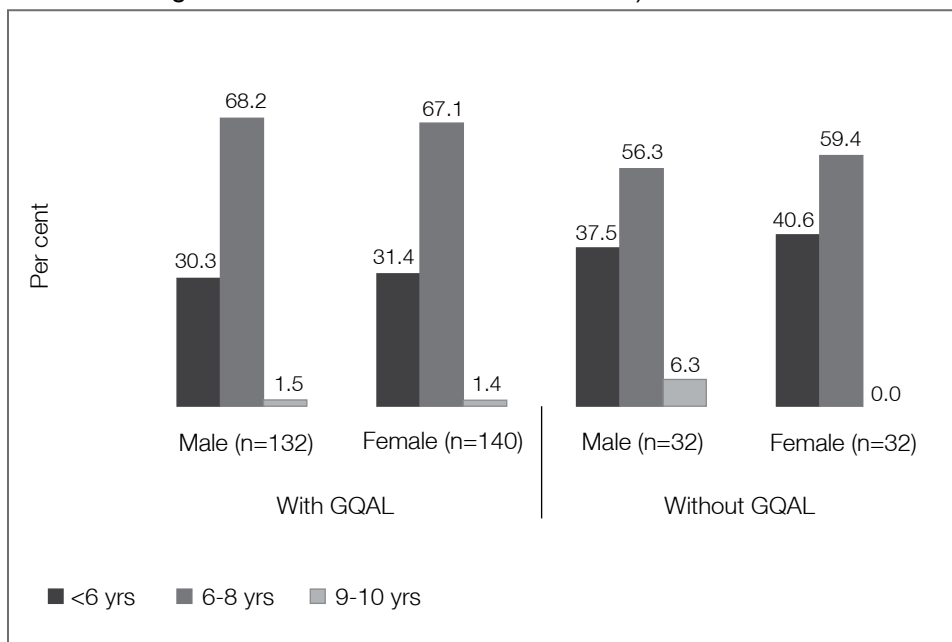
Similar gap between GQAL and non-GQAL group had been reflected in the opinion of Alpha female of households regarding the issue of division of labour. Considerably higher per cent of Alpha female went beyond the traditional views by considering

some specific types of works as the works for both sexes while the negligible per cent, ranging from 0.7% to 3.6%, from non-GQAL showed the same views (Fig 3 and Appendix 12).

6.2 Discrimination in education

The number of household having both male and female children was 140 with GQAL messages while 34 were without messages. Considering these households having children of both sexes, the findings revealed no significant difference between the groups in terms of the age of the admission of male and female children to schools. For both groups, major portion of children, both male and female, were admitted into school at six to eight years of their age (Fig 4).

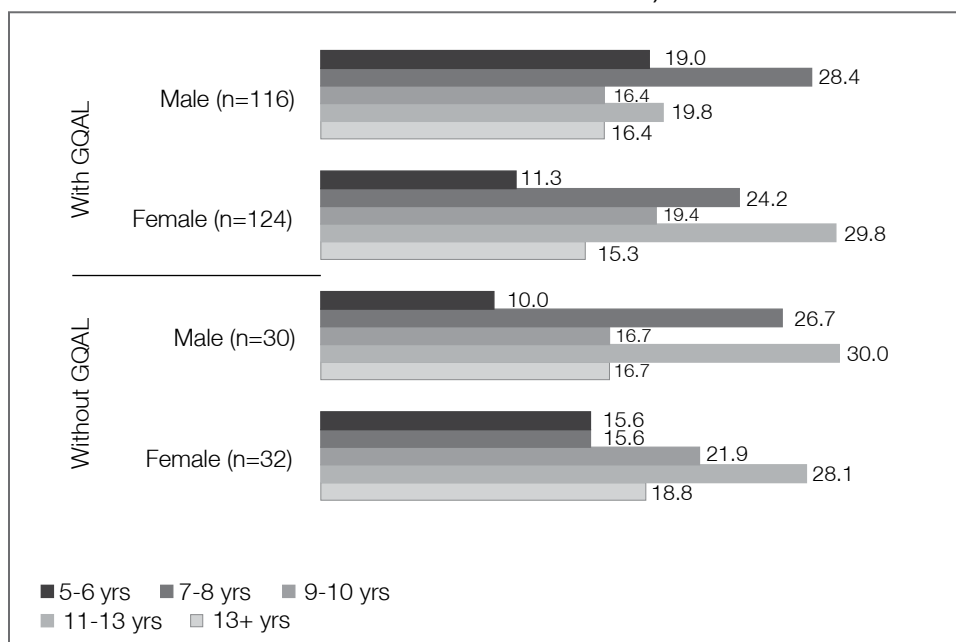
Fig 4. Per cent male and female children were admitted to school (only HH having both male and female are considered)



Study has assessed some selective households having both male and female children. In this case, the per cent of school-going children had been counted in both GQAL and non-GQAL community group. The highest per cent of school-going children is under the age group between 7 to 8 years followed by 28% male and 24% female in GQAL group; alternatively, the children between 11 to 13 years is counted as the highest per cent of school going children in non-GQAL group followed by 30% and 28% respectively in male and female children. However, based on the p-value of both

groups of community, the difference of school going children between both groups is not found significant statistically (Fig 5).

Fig 5. Per cent of male and female children going to school (only HH having both male and female children are considered)



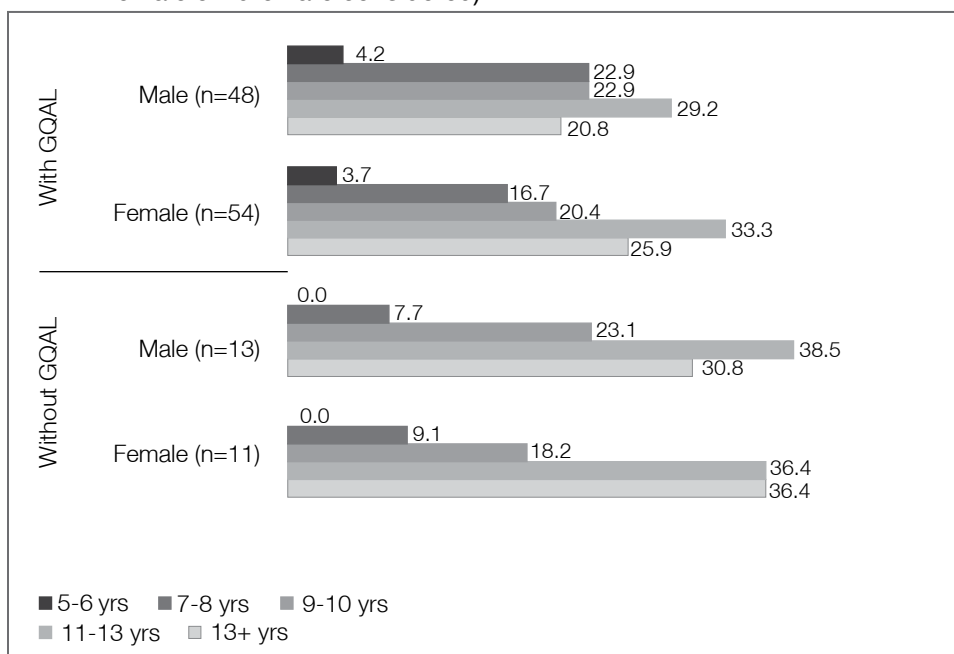
Statistically significant difference had been observed in both groups regarding the plan of continuing male and female children's education in future. In this respect, no differences between the groups had been found. In the case parents of 29.2 % male children from the GQAL group expressed their interest to continue their education as long as they could afford financially. The figure was 27% for the female children for this group while highest per cent of the female children of this group have planned to be educated up to SSC level. The same trend of planning about male and female children's education had been observed in the case of the group without GQAL messages.

The study considered future plan of children's education in terms of total years of expected education. Here, the expected years for male children were 11 years and 14 years respectively for the group having GQAL messages and that without messages. For female children the figure was 10 for both groups. In both cases differences between the expectation for male and female children was found to be statistically significant, although the difference was more significant in the group with GQAL than that without GQAL (Table 25).

Table 25. Future plan regarding children’s education (only HH having both male and female children are considered) (%)

| Grades | With GQAL | | | Without GQAL | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|--------|---------|--------------|--------|---------|
| | Male | Female | p-value | Male | Female | p-value |
| up to five | 3.3 | 1.6 | | | | |
| up to any class from six to nine | 1.7 | 5.6 | 0.000 | .0 | 3.1 | .001 |
| up to SSC | 25.0 | 49.2 | | 3.2 | 40.6 | |
| up to HSC | 1.7 | 3.2 | | 3.2 | .0 | |
| up to BA | 11.7 | 4.0 | | 6.5 | 3.1 | |
| up to MA | 4.2 | 1.6 | | 9.7 | .0 | |
| depending on financial ability | 29.2 | 27.0 | | 22.6 | 34.4 | |
| As long as child likes to continue | 22.5 | 7.1 | | 54.8 | 15.6 | |
| religious study | 0.8 | .0 | | - | - | |
| MBBS | .0 | .8 | | .0 | 3.1 | |
| n | 120 | 126 | | 31 | 32 | |

Fig 6. Per cent of children going to private tutor (only HH having both male and female children are considered)



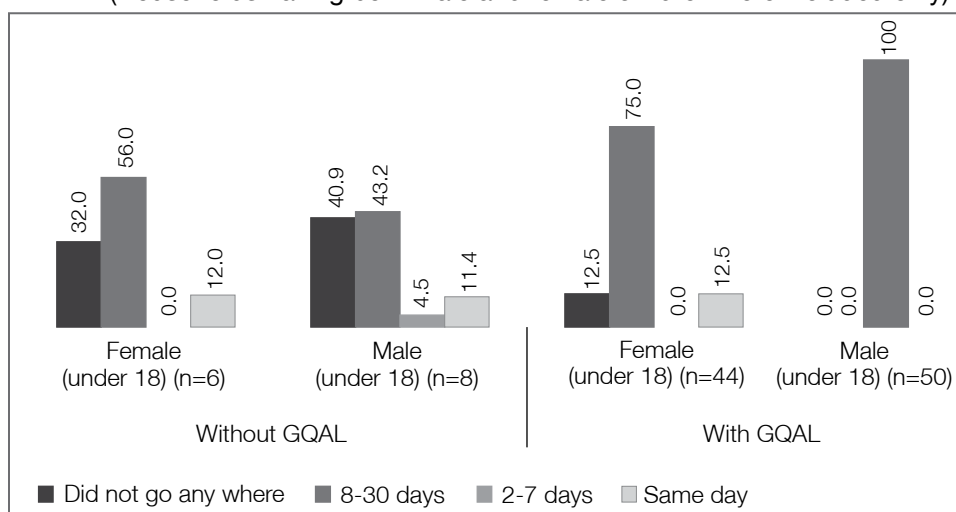
In the case of having private tutors, no statistical difference had been observed in both groups between male and female children. In comparison with different age-group of children, the highest 29% male and 33% female have private tutors among GQAL group, followed by 39% and 36% respectively in non-GQAL group (Fig 6).

6.3 Discrimination in medical treatment

Findings reveal no discrimination in seeking treatment for male and female children from the households of both groups. That was, the difference of the duration between becoming sick and taking treatment between male and female children under 18 of both group was not statistically different (Appendix 13 & 14). But the significant difference had been revealed in this regard between husband and wife in GQAL group while no difference was found in its counterpart (Appendix 15). The fact had been revealed in both groups that the highest per cent of husband and wife suffered illness during the reported time period sought medical treatment within a week, although in this group highest per cent of husbands sought medical treatment in the same day they got ill while for wife the highest per cent concentrated on the group went for treatment between two to seven days (Appendix 15)

In both groups, the majority of the households sought treatment for their children regardless of sex within two to seven days followed by the per cent of children from the GQAL group (32% and 41% from male and female children respectively) sought treatment in the same day (Fig 7). Although not statistically significant, higher per cent of female children from GQAL group than the non-GQAL group were provided with treatment in the same day after getting ill in the case of diseases like fever, diarrhoea, abdominal or other kind of pain and minor injuries, cold, pneumonia, skin disease, dental problem, cough, weakness, typhoid, urine infection, vision problem, stroke, appendix, tonsil, kidney problem, anaemia, gynecological problem (Appendix 14).

Fig 7. Gap between getting ill and taking treatment for children under 18 (Households having both male and female children were included only)



The types of treatment sought for the children of both sexes as well as for the husband and wife of the household did not vary with sex according to the information from the

households of both groups (Fig 8). Majority of the children of one to eighteen years old were taken to village doctors in the last one month while in the case of husband and wife, major per cent went to pharmacy followed by the per cent; who went to village doctor (Appendix 16 and Fig 9).

Fig 8. Places went for treatment for children under 18 (households having both male and female children were included only)

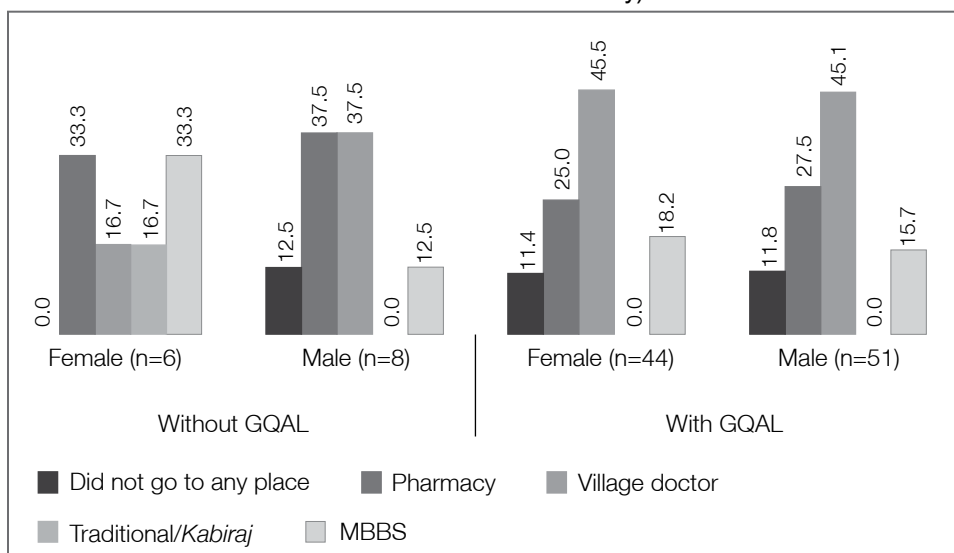
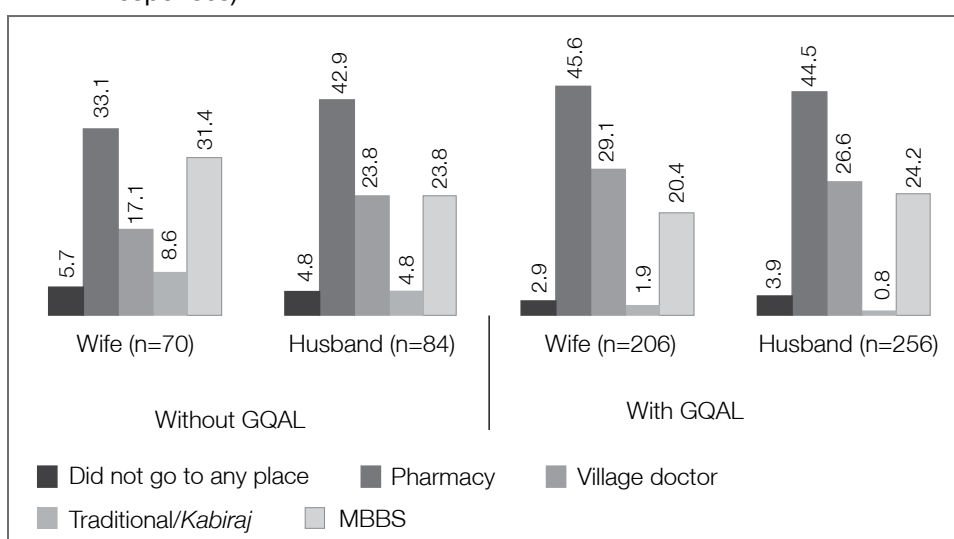


Fig 9. The places went for treatment in the case of illness of husband and wife (only households having husband and wife were considered) (multiple responses)



Similar to the above mentioned factors, study also explored the amount of money spent on male and female children’s treatment as well as the difference between the cost on husband and wife in this regard. In all cases the difference between sexes of each group as well as between the groups were seen to be statistically insignificant (Fig 10 and Fig 11).

Fig 10. Amount of money spent on treatment for children under 18 (households having both male and female children are included only)

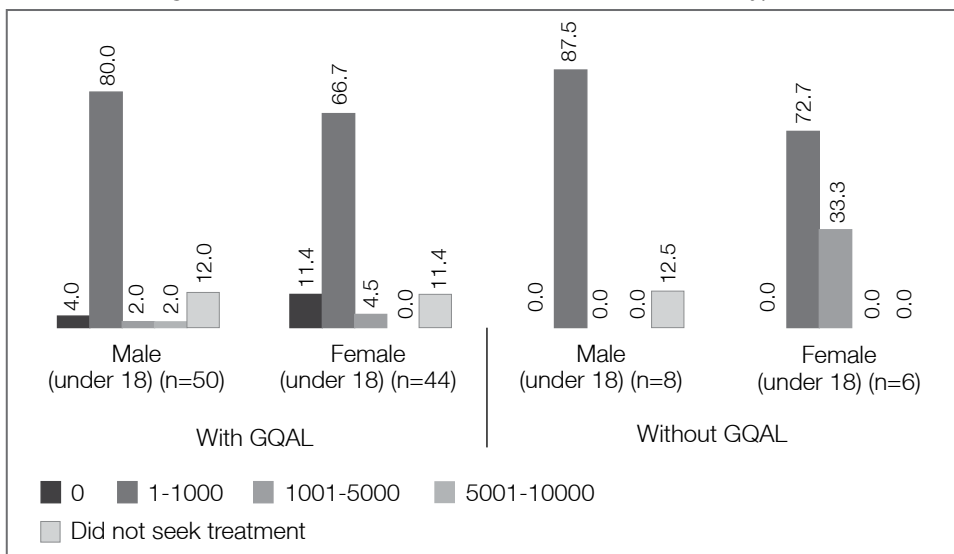
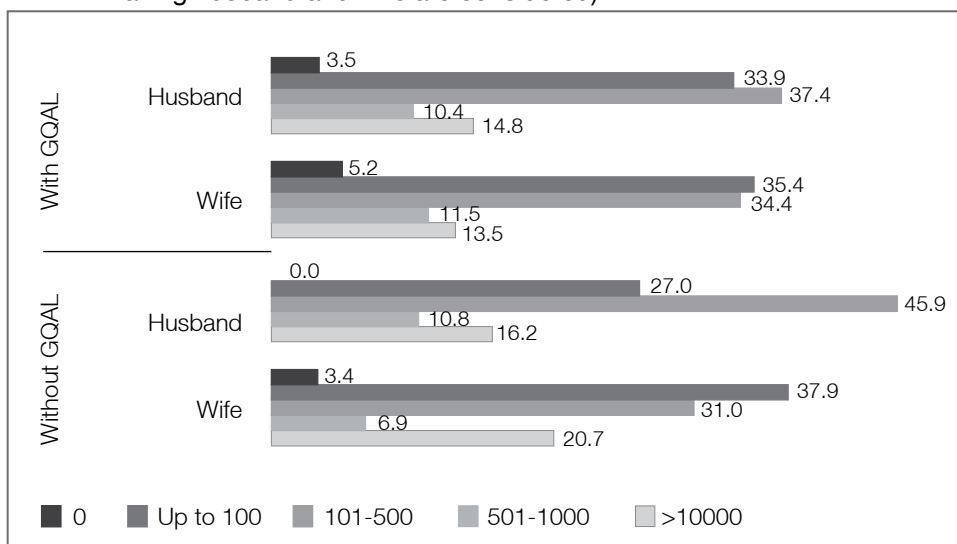


Fig 11. Amount of money spent on treatment of husband and wife (only HH having husband and wife are considered)



6.4 Discrimination in Food

The findings revealed that there was no difference in providing food between sexes in the intervened households having both male and female children although; the same thing was found to be true in the case of the households without any GQAL messages. Being asked about the last meal they had at the time of data collection, major per cent of children of one to eighteen years old from both group revealed that they have had enough amount of food to full fill their appetite. Only few, 5.3% male and 3.7% female from GQAL group, and 13.3% male and 10.7% female from non GQAL group mentioned that the amount of food they had in the last meal was not sufficient for their appetite. The difference between two groups in terms of providing food to children of both sexes was not found to be statistically different (Fig 12).

Similar findings had been revealed in the case of households of both groups between husband and wife. Here, the households where both husband and wife had eaten the last meal or dinner and both of them were present at the time of data collection to confirm the fact were considered. That is, in the case where either husband or wife skipped the meal, or in the case where although having meal by both of them, if either of them were absent at the data collection time, such households were kept out of the consideration (Fig 13 and Table 26).

While exploring food discrimination between the sexes, the study explored that the per cent of male and female children as well as husband and wife consumed protein in their last meal. In both groups, the difference between sexes in terms of protein consumption was found to be statistically insignificant (Fig 12, Table 26, Fig 13 and Fig 14 and Table 27).

Fig 12. The amount of food taken in the last meal by children of one to eighteen years old

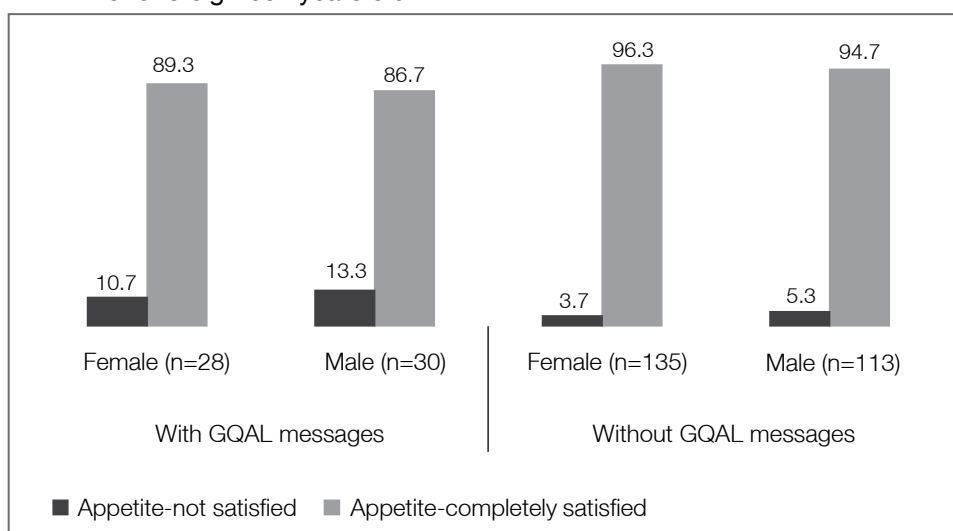


Table 26. Protein intake in the last meal by children of one to eighteen years old (%)

| Food item | Age group (yrs) | with GQAL messages | | | without GQAL messages | | |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-----------|---------|
| | | Male | Female | p-value | Male | Female | p-value |
| Egg | 1-6 | 33.3 (1) | 66.7 (2) | 0.529 | 0 | 0 | - |
| | 7-12 | 80.0 (4) | 20.0 (1) | 0.097 | 50.0 (1) | 50.0 (1) | 0.953 |
| | 13-18 | 50.0 (2) | 50.0 (2) | 0.656 | 0 | 0 | - |
| Fish | 1-6 | 75.0 (12) | 25.0 (4) | 0.034 | 0 | 100.0 (2) | 0.099 |
| | 7-12 | 37.2 (16) | 62.8 (27) | 0.261 | 60.0 (3) | 40.0 (2) | 0.689 |
| | 13-18 | 46.7 (7) | 53.3 (8) | 0.499 | 50.0 (1) | 50.0 (1) | 0.906 |
| Meat | 1-6 | 22.2 (2) | 77.8 (7) | 0.066 | 66.7 (2) | 33.3 (1) | 0.660 |
| | 7-12 | 50.0 (6) | 50.0 (6) | 0.656 | 50.0 (2) | 50.0 (2) | 0.930 |
| | 13-18 | 33.3 (1) | 66.7 (2) | 0.819 | 50.0 (2) | 50.0 (2) | 0.853 |

*The figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

For group with GQAL messages: Total number of male children aged 1-6 years was 43, and female children 41, for age 7-12 years male children was 51 and female was 65, for the age group 13-18, the number was 19 for male and 29 for female.

For the group without GQAL messages: Total number of male children aged 1-6 years was 11, and female children 9, for age 7-12 years male children was 13 and female was 12, for the age group 13-18 years, the number was 6 for male and for female 7.

Fig 13. The amount of food taken in the last meal by husband and wife

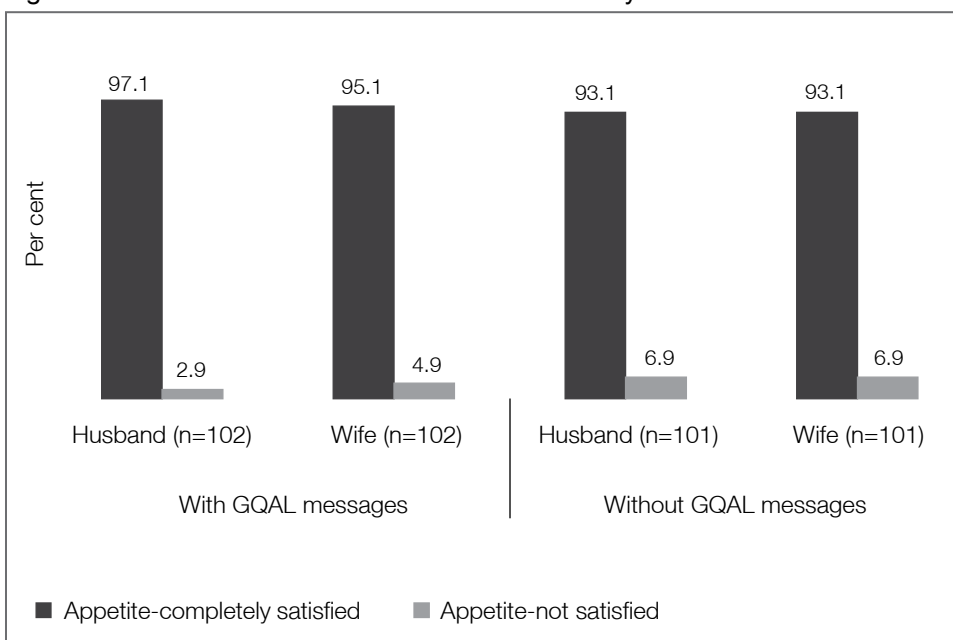


Table 27. Protein intake in the last meal by husband and wife (%)

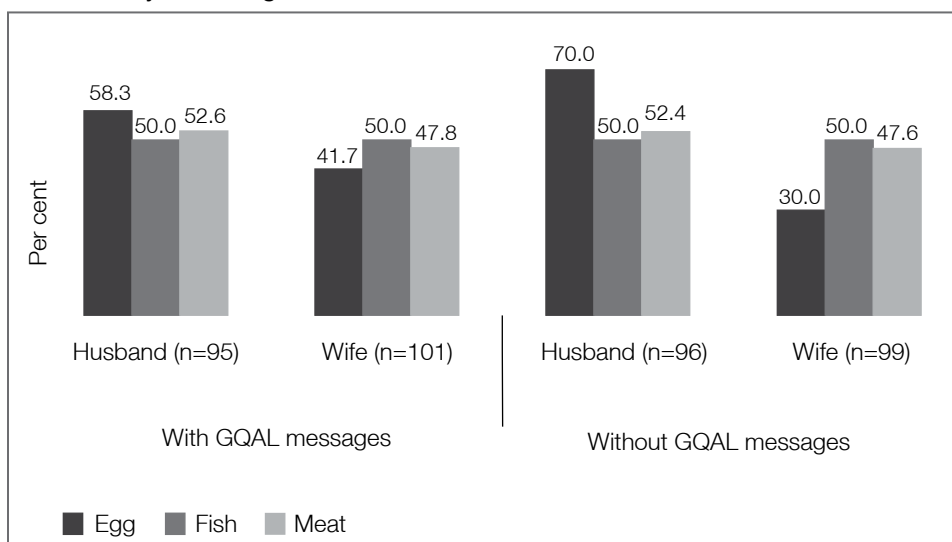
| Food item | Age group (yrs) | with GQAL messages | | | without GQAL messages | | |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|----------|---------|
| | | Husband | Wife | p-value | Husband | Wife | p-value |
| Egg | Up to 30 | 60.0 (3) | 40.0 (2) | 0.191 | 100.0 (1) | 0 | 0.174 |
| | 31-49 | 33.3 (1) | 66.7 (2) | 0.500 | 50.0 (2) | 50.0 (2) | 0.813 |
| | 50-65 | 75.0 (3) | 25.0 (1) | 0.854 | 80.0 (4) | 20.0 (1) | 0.373 |
| | 65+ | - | - | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| Fish | Up to 30 | 29.2 (7) | 70.8 (17) | 0.603 | 32.0 (8) | 68.0 (7) | 0.663 |
| | 31-49 | 60.9 (14) | 39.1 (9) | 0.340 | 66.7 (12) | 33.3 (6) | 0.278 |
| | 50-65 | 66.7 (10) | 33.3 (5) | 0.630 | 58.3 (7) | 41.7 (5) | 0.781 |
| | 65+ | 100.0 (1) | - | - | 100.0 (2) | 0 | 0.439 |
| Meat | Up to 30 | 35.3 (16) | 64.7 (11) | 0.846 | 40.0 (4) | 60.0 (6) | 0.747 |
| | 31-49 | 55.6 (10) | 44.4 (8) | 0.764 | 57.1 (4) | 42.9 (3) | 0.936 |
| | 50-65 | 100.0 (5) | - | 0.126 | 75.0 (3) | 25.0 (1) | 0.567 |
| | 65+ | 100.0 (6) | - | - | - | - | - |

*the figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

For group with GQAL messages: Total number of male aged 15-30 years was 26, and female 52, for age 31-49 years male was 43 and female was 39, for the age group 50-65 years the number was 27 for male and 11 for female, the number of male and female was 6 and 0 respectively in the age group of 65-90 years.

For the group without GQAL messages: Total number of male aged 15-30 years was 28, and female 51, for age 31-49 years male was 29 and female was 18, for the age group 50-65 years, the number was 29 for male and 18 for female, the number of male and female was 5 and 1 respectively in the age group of 65-90 years.

Fig 14. Protein intake in the last meal by husband and wife of 18 to 65 years of age



6.5 Discrimination in decision-making

The study explored households' practice of valuing women's opinion in decision-making process about the particular areas like buying and selling household assets as well as about children's marriage. Here, statistically significant difference had been found in both group between per cent of male and female members of the household played the major role in the decision-making process.

Table 27 shows that although men played the major role in both groups with GQAL and without GQAL, higher per cent of women from the former group were found to have played the major role in the decision of buying and selling household assets like cattle, land, crockeries, furniture and jewelries than that of later group. Little exception was seen in the case of buying poultry and clothes where per cent of women from non-GQAL group were slightly higher than those of GQAL group who took the major decision in this regard (Table 28).

Table 28. Major decision-making role in buying and selling household asset during the last one year

| Role | Household assets | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | |
|---------|------------------|------------|------------|-----|--------------|------------|-----|
| | | Male (%) | Female (%) | n | Male (%) | Female (%) | n |
| Buying | Poultry | 53.7 (117) | 46.3 (101) | 218 | 53.3 (32) | 46.7 (28) | 60 |
| | Cattle | 76.5 (65) | 23.5 (20) | 85 | 92.0 (23) | 8.0 (2) | 25 |
| | Land | 95.3 (41) | 4.7 (2) | 43 | 100.0 (8) | .0 | 8 |
| | Crockeries | 25.6 (71) | 74.4 (206) | 277 | 27.6 (21) | 72.4 (55) | 76 |
| | Clothes | 47.1 (197) | 52.9 (221) | 418 | 42.6 (55) | 57.4 (74) | 129 |
| | Furniture | 61.2 (30) | 38.8 (19) | 49 | 64.3 (9) | 35.7 (5) | 14 |
| | Jewelries | 50.0 (8) | 50.0 (8) | 16 | 75.0 (3) | 25.0 (1) | 4 |
| | Electronics | 55.6 (5) | 44.4 (4) | 9 | | | |
| | | p= .000 | | | p= .000 | | |
| Selling | Poultry | 29.8 (34) | 70.2 (80) | 114 | 32.6 (15) | 67.4 (31) | 46 |
| | Cattle | 89.4 (101) | 10.6 (12) | 113 | 96.4 (27) | 3.6 (1) | 28 |
| | Land | 87.5 (7) | 12.5 (1) | 8 | 100.0 (3) | .0 | 3 |
| | Crockeries | | | | .0 | 100.0 (1) | 1 |
| | Clothes | 100.0 (7) | .0 | 7 | 75.0 (3) | 25.0 (1) | 4 |
| | Furniture | 100.0 (1) | .0 | 1 | | | |
| | Jewelries | 100.0 (1) | .0 | 1 | | | |
| | | p= .000 | | | p= .000 | | |

*The figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

In order to explore more about women's participation in implementing the decision about buying and selling household assets, the study also explored the per cent of women who went to market to buy/sell the products by themselves during the last one year. Here also statistically significant difference had been found between male and female participation in both groups. Table 28 showed that although lower per cent of women than men went to market for buying and selling products, the difference in terms of women's participation varies by groups. Higher per cent from the GQAL group than that of the non-GQAL went to market to buy household assets like poultry, cattle, land, crockeries, clothes and jewelries. Only exception was the case of furniture, where 18.8% women from GQAL group went to market to buy it, while the figure was 20% for its counterpart.

Table 29. Members went to market to sell/buy the products during the last one year

| | Household assets | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | |
|----------|------------------|------------|------------|----------|--------------|------------|-----|
| | | Male (%) | Female (%) | n | Male (%) | Female (%) | n |
| Buying | Poultry | 81.8 (180) | 18.2 (40) | 220 | 83.3 (50) | 16.7 (10) | 60 |
| | Cattle | 89.5 (85) | 10.5 (10) | 95 | 100.0 (5) | .0 | 25 |
| | Land | 81.1 (43) | 18.9 (10) | 53 | 88.9 (8) | 11.1 (1) | 9 |
| | Crockeries | 55.5 (166) | 44.5 (133) | 299 | 69.6 (55) | 30.4 (24) | 79 |
| | Clothes | 73.1 (334) | 26.9 (123) | 457 | 80.7 (113) | 19.3 (27) | 140 |
| | Furniture | 81.2 (44) | 18.8 (10) | 54 | 80.0 (12) | 20.0 (3) | 15 |
| | Jewelries | 64.8 (11) | 31.3 (5) | 16 | 80.0 (4) | 20.0 (1) | 5 |
| | Electronics | 100.0 (9) | 0 | 9 | | | |
| p = .000 | | | | p = .051 | | | |
| Selling | Poultry | 54.6 (65) | 45.4 (54) | 119 | 68.9 (31) | 31.1 (14) | 45 |
| | Cattle | 87.7 (107) | 12.3 (15) | 122 | 96.3 (26) | 3.7 (1) | 27 |
| | Land | 80.0 (8) | 20.0 (12) | 10 | 100.0 (3) | .0 | 3 |
| | Crockeries | - | - | | .0 | 100.0 (1) | 1 |
| | Clothes | 100.0 (7) | .0 | 7 | 100.0 (4) | .0 | 4 |
| | Furniture | 100.0 (1) | .0 | 1 | | | |
| | Jewelries | 100.0 (1) | .0 | 1 | | | |
| | p = .000 | | | | p = .008 | | |

*The figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

In order to see women's control over economic resources, the study tried to explore whether women took the money they received from selling household assets. Similar

findings had been revealed in this case like the case of taking decisions about buying and selling products as well as going to market where men were seen to have taken major roles in both groups having the statistically significant difference between sexes. Here also higher per cent of women from GQAL group took the money than those of another group (Table 30).

Table 30. Family members who took the money (in case of buying)

| Household assets | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | |
|------------------|------------|------------|---------|--------------|------------|----|
| | Male (%) | Female (%) | n | Male (%) | Female (%) | n |
| Poultry | 55.9 (66) | 44.1 (52) | 118 | 56.7 (34) | 43.3 (26) | 60 |
| Cattle | 85.6 (101) | 14.4 (17) | 118 | 93.1 (27) | 6.9 (2) | 29 |
| Land | 85.7 (6) | 14.3 (1) | 7 | 100.0 (3) | .0 | 3 |
| Crockeries | 50.0 (1) | 50.1 (1) | 2 | .0 | 100.0 (4) | 4 |
| Clothes | 36.4 (8) | 63.6 (14) | 22 | 20.0 (4) | 80.0 (16) | 20 |
| Furniture | 100.0 (2) | .0 | 2 | .0 | 100.0 (1) | 1 |
| Jewelries | 100.0 (1) | .0 | 1 | 100.0 (1) | .0 | 1 |
| Electronics | .0 | 100.0 (1) | 1 | | | |
| p= .000 | | | p= .000 | | | |

*The figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

Apart from the decisions regarding household assets, contributions of women in the decision of children's marriage over the last seven years had been explored. Higher per cent of women (31.8%) played role in decision-making on their children's marriage from the GQAL group than its counterpart where the figure was 25.2%. The difference between these two groups in this regards were not statistically significant (Table 31).

Table 31. Sex of decision-makers about children's marriage held in last 7 years

| | Male % | Female % | n |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----|
| With GQAL | 68.2 (377) | 31.8 (176) | 553 |
| Without GQAL | 74.8 (95) | 25.2 (32) | 127 |

p = 0.144

*The figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

6.6 Violence against women

The statistically significant difference had been found in terms of per cent incidents of violence against women at the household level between GQAL and non-GQAL group. Seventy four point six per cent of households from the former group reported to have experienced one or more than one kind of violence against women while the figure in this case was 87% for the other group (Fig 15).

The per cent of different forms of violence against women occurred at the household level varied in two groups. The group with GQAL messages had lower per cent of incidents of sexual and economic violence than its counterpart although the per cent of incidents of physical and psychological violence was higher in this group than those of group without GQAL messages. The difference between the groups was found to be statistically significant (Fig 16).

Fig 15. Incidents regarding VAW taken place in the last one year at household level

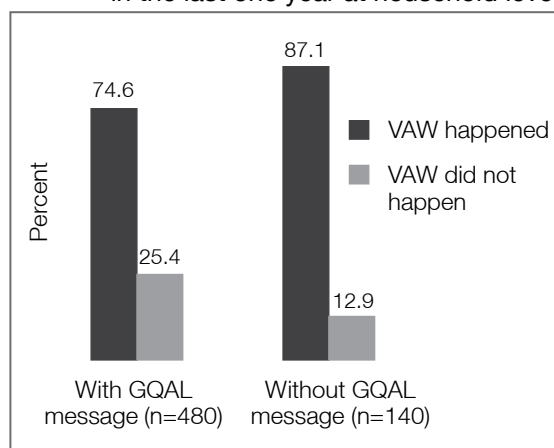
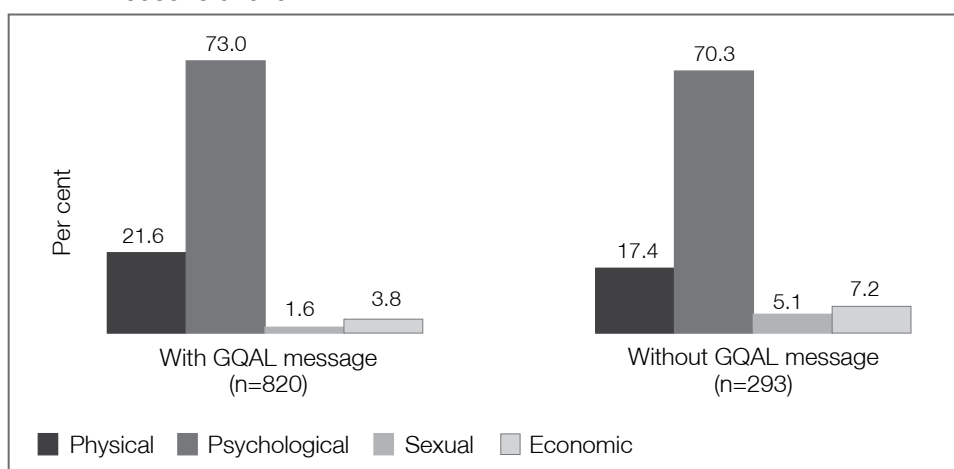


Fig 16. Types of violence taken place in the last one year at household level



Here, it should be mentioned that the form of physical violence includes wife beating, depriving from food, keeping under work pressure while psychological form includes

threat to divorce, stop talking etc. Arranging child marriage and committing multiple marriages by husband had also been included in the form of psychological violence. Forcing women to get pregnant and all types of sexual harassment both verbal and physical have been categorised as sexual violence in Fig 16. In this Table, the act of preventing women from working outside, taking wives' income without their consent, depriving women from their rights of properties as well as demanding dowry had been included as the incidents of economic violence.

Higher ability and awareness of disclosing the incidents of violence among households having GQAL messages might have worked as a reason for higher per cent of incidents of violence reported by this group, since the issue of violence at the family level is very sensitive issue to be revealed by any household members.

Per cent of child marriage occurred in the household varied between groups with GQAL and without GQAL. The difference between these groups had been found to be statistically different. Higher per cent of incidents of child marriage had been revealed to have taken place in GQAL group than non-GQAL group (Fig 17). Regarding the sex of victims of child marriage, no statistical significant difference had been found between these two groups (Fig 18).

Fig 17. Types of marriage held in the community in the last 7 years

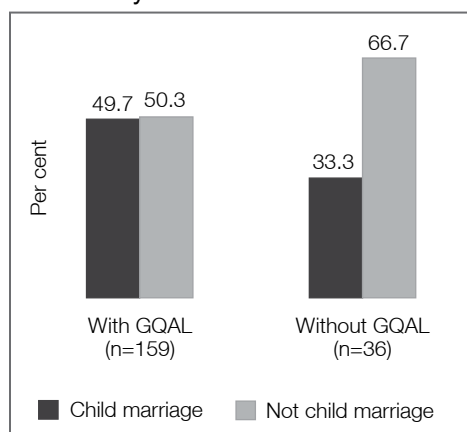
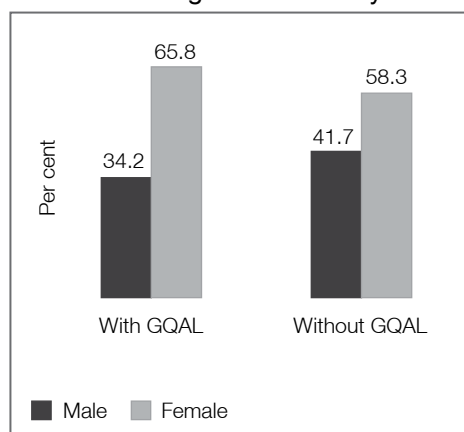


Fig 18. Per cent male and female became victim of child marriage in the last 7 years



The study explored respondents' attempt to protest violence against women taken place in the community in the last one year. Table 32 showed that higher per cent of respondents from GQAL group took action against VAW than its counterpart. The difference between groups was statistically significant. Very few respondents from group that did not receive GQAL message went for action against VAW. Among the respondents who took steps against VAW, majority went for collective action considering as the way to protest such incidents.

Table 32. Per cent respondents protested VAW taken place in the neighbourhood in the last one year

| Type of incident | With GQAL | Without GQAL |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | % respondents protested | % respondents protested |
| Multiple marriage | 42.6 (23) | 33.3 (1) |
| Verbal Divorce | 1.9 (1) | 33.3 (1) |
| Child marriage | 48.1 (26) | 33.1 (1) |
| Injustice in Shalish | 7.4 (4) | .0 |
| n | 54 | 3 |

p = .038

*the figures in the parenthesis indicate actual number

DISCUSSION

The study revealed that the GQAL programme had brought changes in particular aspects of gender relations. By targeting both men and women for intervention, the programme followed inclusive an approach to empower women. Findings showed that the programme’s approach of integrating men into the process of achieving gender equality had been successful in bringing positive changes in their attitude and practice towards gender relation. Here, after being intervened men reported to have experienced improvements in their own lives that in turn made them act further towards gender equality in the area of work, decision-making as well as protesting violence against women.

Male respondents from the intervention group showed positive attitude towards gender division of labour as well as women’s role in decision-making. With regard to participation in caring activities, men from the intervention group were found to have crossed the androcentric boundary to some extent by showing their practice and positive attitude towards sharing household works like taking care of children, the sick and elderly family members. In contrast, the control group had the tendency to focus their role in providing economic support to families when describing their performance in caring activities at the household level, although, in general, the typical androcentric view of seeing men as the main bread winner and women as house makers had been reflected in both group’s attitude. However, men from the intervention group identified several household activities as both men’s and women’s work, which were traditionally viewed as only women’s work in a patriarchal society. Considering this fact the programme could be said as successful in taking men out of the traditional boundary defined by patriarchy. Here, the stand taken by the intervention group regarding gender division of labour went against the norm of defining women’s and men’s work on the basis of space, public or private, where the particular work was performed.

Apart from the findings revealed from the case studies, female respondents of the survey also confirmed the fact that men's engagement in reproductive or household activities had increased significantly after intervention. As a result of the intervention, statistically significant changes in case of men's participation in cooking, child care and other household activities took place that indicated programme's success in changing gender roles in terms of the division of labour in the household.

These findings can be further discussed in the light of the term gender order associated with the writings of RW Connel's in 1987 in her book *Gender and Power*. According to her, there are three aspects of society which interact to form a gender order: labour, power and personal/sexual relationships. She also called these as the three main structures that are responsible for the constitution of the gender relations. The family, as one of the major institutions of patriarchy, contains these three structures. Sexual division of labour is the allocation of different tasks to male and female on the basis of their sex. This division of labour becomes explicit at the family or household level in a patriarchal system in the case of childrearing and domestic labour. Here, the act of allocating the task which has been called as structure by Connel (1987) shapes the practice of male and female. Society also sanctions rules to legitimise and justify the practice, that is, men's and women's performance of different tasks. By creating the notion of masculinity and femininity, this structure allows men not to take child care and household responsibilities. Therefore, the findings shows that the GQAL message has successfully worked against this structure of patriarchy by engaging men in this act of 'perversion'.

The findings revealed more that crossing the patriarchal boundary of gender roles was not easy for either men or women. In the case of sharing reproductive activities, male respondents had to face constraints both from men and women. Gender was the product of social doing of some sort (West and Zimmerman 1987) and men and women "do" gender by engaging in the socially determined tasks for them (Berk 1985). By playing the socially determined roles individuals hold them accountable to the normative conception of men and women (West and Zimmerman 1987, 2009). Any perversion from socially expected roles make individual's act to be questioned. The conception of gender requires individual to conduct tasks in order to be labeled as men or women having "essential nature" of men and women by others s/he interacts with (West and Zimmerman 2009, p. 114). In this context performing housework is an important way in which women confirm femininity while by act of avoiding housework all men produce masculinity (Schneider 2012). In other words, men and women created gender deviance when men do "women's work" and women do "men's work", and performing "women's work" by men is viewed to be more deviant than the act of performing "men's work" by women (Schneider 2012). The findings confirmed the tension created by so called "deviant" act when all male respondents who were in the process of this "perversion" revealed to have experienced negative comments and jokes from their relatives and neighbours. The obligation of "doing" gender was seen to have inbuilt in the feelings of "insecurity" in performing different tasks than socially determined tasks. GQAL has seen to have provided respondents from this group with the awareness through which they overcame the challenge.

While investigating programme's contribution in changing women's status in decision making, the study revealed that women's participation as joint decision makers with their husbands or other family members about buying and selling household assets in most cases had been increased (ns). The sample survey that had been conducted exclusively on the households of respondents receiving GQAL training revealed that programme achieved success in bringing change in the power relations that has been reflected to women's decision-making roles of the intervened households. Here, also the situation of intervention group was better than that of control group in most cases regarding decision-making. However, the case studies revealed that women belonging to the intervention group in most cases acted as the independent decision makers for food expenditure and as the joint decision-makers on the issues like children's education. Exception was found to be in the case 01 where a woman was not consulted about children's education due to being considered as incapable of giving decisions regarding that particular matter by her husband because of her illiteracy. Here, power exercise at the household level in the form of men's dominance over decision-making areas in the patriarchal context were also found to have changed to some extent by the programme intervention, the findings revealed.

Although not translated into action to the desired level, the programme demands credit for changing men's attitude regarding women's rights of playing role in decision-making at the household level. Men from the intervention group showed very different attitude towards the issue than that of the control group. They identified every household matters starting from buying daily foods to buying or selling household assets or children marriage as the area of decision-making where women must participate. On the other hand, traditional attitude of keeping women out of decision-making or taking their opinion in few selected issues related to household activities was expressed by control group.

In a patriarchal setting, women are apparently given some power to decide on specific issues, the major life changing decisions were taken by men in this system. According to Woolley and Marshall (1994), decision about daily shopping or buying daily food is a routine, time consuming and tedious work. When inequalities between spouse exist, it may be the case that more powerful one delegates this routine work of deciding every day's less "important matter" for example, buying daily necessities, to the less powerful side, and he keeps authority for himself to make decisions about "major" and "important" issues which determine the major characteristics of the household. In this case, the former is said to have "orchestration power". The manifestation of this division of decision-making was not found in the case of attitude of intervention group while the control group showing reservation of including women's voice in decision about financial transaction confirmed this patriarchal norm that prevents women to give their voice in such matters that determine the major characteristic of their households. Now the question may arise why the positive attitude shown by the intervention group did not reflect in the findings revealed from the survey. Androcentric definition of family that puts men at the position of household head as the only and main decision makers, socialisation to perform gender from the childhood, dominant patriarchal ideology working on individual for centuries, women's acceptance of being

in a subordinated position may work as the factors that hinders men to translate their attitude into practice. Women's denial of enjoying equal rights has been explicit in their arguments in favour of their negative attitude towards women's equal rights in the area of gender division of labour, gender discrimination, decision making, and violence against women.

While exploring women's situation in the context of empowerment, the study revealed women's advancement in selected indicators related to empowerment. Here, women's knowledge and attitude towards different issues of gender relations were found to have positively changed after intervention. The per cent of women achieving high knowledge score had increased on the different issues of gender relations, and none of the respondents received the zero score after having GQAL message, while before intervention the percent belonging to this group was over 10%. Average knowledge score for intervention group was 20.6% that increased to 68.39% after intervention.

The findings also revealed the positive change in the attitude female respondents had on the issues covered by the programme. Per cent of respondents showing positive attitudes had increased while the per cent having negative attitude decreased.

Gender discrimination decreased in terms of certain indicators of food, education and health. The increase in the per cent of school going children occurred due to the impact of the programme. In the case of children going to private tutors, having school bags and also in the case of vaccination both groups had gone through positive changes overtime which was statistically significant and therefore, the findings indicate no impact of the programme on this change. The census conducted on the community revealed the same findings where again the positive changes had been seen in the case of gender discrimination in both groups- population with GQAL messages and that without message, but no impact of the intervention.

Findings from both the sample survey and census regarding gender discrimination indicate the fact that there were other factors, like development interventions of other organisations and Government or media campaign that contributed in improving the status of women in certain indicators, like health, nutrition and so on in the same way as the programme did. Therefore, the population without GQAL intervention was seen to have achieved similar improvement in terms of gender discrimination as the intervention group received. Hence, the result of the study suggests revising the components of the programme on gender discrimination, since the relevance of working on those indicators appeared to have diminished. The programme was found to have left significant impact on increasing number of children from five to eighteen years of age group going to school in the case of both male and female children (Table 10), according to the findings of the survey. But census conducted did not show any impact in this regard in the studied community, since both groups had the same changes over time. The survey also found significant increase of women engaged in income generating activities after intervention.

Mobility is considered as one of the major indicators of measuring empowerment. The study revealed women's advancement in these indicators in terms of attitude and practice. Programme's positive impact was found on women's mobility in selected areas explored by this study. The selected areas where programme left significant impact in terms of mobility included market and health centre, and in the areas like NGO office and parents' home mobility had increased in both intervention and control group, but programme's impact was insignificant here.

By keeping Joe Rowland's concept (1997) of empowerment in mind it can be said that programme left positive impact on women's situation at the level of "power to" that indicated the women's increased capacity to change the existing power relations. Women were better equipped with enhanced knowledge and attitude towards women's rights and capacities to combat unequal gender relationship at household and community levels, which also indicates women's advancement in challenging the "power over" exercised by patriarchy.

It was observed from the sample survey that the physical violence decreased, but the mental or verbal forms of violence have increased after intervention. In the case of dowry, respondents reported decreased per cent of violence took place in the last two years at their households when they belonged to bride groom's side, but incidents was reported to have increased when the respondents' were from bride's side.

Decrease of dowry related violence in the surveyed households might be the result of women's action to resist violence that might have come from women's increased awareness on gender relations and VAW that also indicates women's advancement at the level of "power within". Certain acts such as verbal abuse and threatening to divorce for dowry and also some acts by bride sides like selling properties to pay dowry, bringing bride back to natal home and arranging *shalish* decreased over time. At the same time, although the programme left significant impact on decreasing incidents of physical violence perpetrated by husband in the last one year in the surveyed households, the impact of the programme was not significant on the incidents of verbal and mental violence.

The study did not limit its investigation regarding domestic violence only to those violence perpetrated by husbands, but also to those by any other family members in general that had taken place in the last one year. It revealed that the intervention significantly decreased the incidents of certain types of act which were considered common forms of power exercise by husband or in-laws who were assumed to be powerful only for being in a privileged side, on women in a patriarchal setting. The acts included deprivation of women from their income, prevent them from going to parents' home, put restriction on their mobility, and make them feel insecure by giving threat to divorce on minor issues and deprivation of medical treatment during illness. (Appendix 17).

Census also gave encouraging findings for the programme that households with GQAL messages had significantly less incidents of VAW than households which reported of

receiving no GQAL message either directly or indirectly. In the case of verbal abuse, using slangs was found to have significantly increased after intervention. However, lower per cent of respondents, than the baseline, reported no violence experienced in the last one year.

While exploring the forms of violence, census revealed that by being in the better position, the GQAL households had higher percent of physical and verbal violence, while the other group, that is, the households without GQAL messages had higher per cent of sexual and economic form of violence. All after the intervention, the higher report of physical and verbal violence by the GQAL households can be explained by saying that female respondents may have gained higher capacity to recognise violence that made more number of violence reported in the impact survey than that of the baseline.

In general, findings from the sample and census were different which in fact demands explanation to understand the impact of GQAL messages on the community in a broader context. Some factors that might be responsible for the different result may include the fact that the survey focused on small sample who received GQAL messages in 2007-2011, while census covered the whole population regardless of their receiving GQAL messages where at least one member from less than half of the total households received GQAL messages. Therefore, large population who did not receive GQAL intervention were counted in census. Hence, the findings received from census were different from survey in which population having GQAL intervention only were taken as samples. It also indicates that GQAL training was not transferred significantly to the part of population who did not get GQAL intervention, which also highlights the need of mobilising GQAL participants in engaging themselves in the awareness raising activities in their community.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, the programme could be considered successful in most cases due to the positive impact in the area of women's knowledge and attitude on gender roles and relations as well as men's attitude and practice over the issue towards equality. In spite of the achievements, few recommendations can be made to go further. The programme should:

- i. Provide intervention for a longer period of time to bring changes in deeply rooted power relation between men and women, and the programme should have mechanism through which it can follow-up the situation of programme recipients for a sufficiently longer period of time after intervention;
- ii. Need to revise or rethink of the contents of the message on some issues like discrimination in food, education and medical treatment in order to add to the messages over the same issues provided by other sources in general;
- iii. Provide more emphasis both on ensuring women's equal access to and control over resources and shifting the dominant patriarchal ideology that makes women deny the rights to enjoy equality, such as targeting students from educational institutions at all level, especially at primary level, for gender training and awareness, and lobbying with policy making level to include gender sensitive issues and education into educational curricula;
- iv. Provide more emphasis on the messages relating to women's equal right to participate in decision-making process, since the findings showed the gender division of decision-making in most issues at the household level;
- v. Need to give more attention to bring more changes in the area of violence against women since the changes in this component were not significantly positive in most cases after intervention;
- vi. Provide motivation to spread the messages to others;
- vii. Conduct a study to identify more effective indicator of discrimination relevant to the present social context.

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APPENDIX

1. Sampling: During the baseline survey, the programme selected four spots in each branch office with similar socio-demographic characteristics. Two out of four spots from each branch office catchments were selected randomly as intervention spots and the rest as control spots. The programme made a list of households from each spot, which consisted of around three hundred households. The number of households from each cluster was selected by cluster randomised control trial. Thirty respondents selected randomly from each spot representing their areas. Therefore, the data had been collected from the number of 5,999 respondents, among those the number of treatment was 3,008 and control was 2,991 from these 50 branch offices in ten districts.

2. Knowledge score on gender division of labour (%)

| Score | 2007 | | | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7=6-3 | Sig ⁸ | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|--------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3=1-2 | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6=4-5 | | | Intvn 1vs4 | Cont 2vs5 |
| 0 | 64.8 | 76.6 | -11.8 | 5.9 | 57.7 | -52 | -40 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| >0-25 | 20.1 | 17.8 | 2.3 | 10.5 | 26.5 | -16 | -18.3 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.008 |
| 26- 50 | 6.2 | 3.8 | 2.4 | 27.8 | 9.9 | 17.9 | 15.5 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.002 |
| 51-75 | 6.8 | 1.6 | 5.2 | 15.7 | 2.8 | 12.9 | 7.7 | 0.005 | 0.000 | 0.290 |
| 76-100 | 2.2 | 0.3 | 1.9 | 40.1 | 3.1 | 37 | 35.1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.007 |
| n | 324 | 320 | | 324 | 320 | | | | | |

3. Knowledge score on gender discrimination (%)

| Score | 2007 | | | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7= 6-3 | Sig ⁸ | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|--------|------------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|----------------|------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3= 1-2 | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6= 4-5 | | | Intvn 1vs4 | Cont 2vs5 |
| 0 | 58.6 | 66.3 | -7.7 | 4.6 | 32.7 | -28 | -20.4 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| >0-25 | 20.4 | 15.6 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 36.7 | -32 | -36.6 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 26- 50 | 12 | 9.4 | 2.6 | 14.5 | 19.1 | -4.6 | -7.2 | 0.057 | 0.354 | 0.000 |
| 51-75 | 6.5 | 5.9 | 0.6 | 28.1 | 5.6 | 22.5 | 21.9 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.835 |
| 76-100 | 2.5 | 2.8 | -0.3 | 47.8 | 5.9 | 41.9 | 42.2 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.058 |
| n | 324 | 320 | | 324 | 320 | | | | | |

4. Knowledge score on women’s opinion and decision-making (%)

| Score | 2007 | | | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7= 6-3 | Sig 8 | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|--------|------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|-----------|----------------|------------------------|----------|----------------------------|--------------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3= 1-2 | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6= 4-5 | | | Intvn 1vs4 | Cont 2vs5 |
| 0 | 25.3 | 37.2 | -11.9 | 4.3 | 28.1 | -24 | -11.9 | 0.009 | 0.000 | 0.014 |
| >0-25 | 35.5 | 41.3 | -5.8 | 12 | 39.2 | -27 | -21.4 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.595 |
| 26- 50 | 28.4 | 17.5 | 10.9 | 16.7 | 20.4 | -3.7 | -14.6 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.353 |
| 51-75 | 6.8 | 3.4 | 3.4 | 18.2 | 4.9 | 13.3 | 9.9 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.342 |
| 76-100 | 4 | 0.6 | 3.4 | 48.8 | 7.4 | 41.4 | 38 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| n | 324 | 320 | | 324 | 320 | | | | | |

5. Knowledge score on violence against women (%)

| Score | 2007 | | | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7=6-3 | Sig 8 | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|--------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|----------------------------|--------------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3=1-2 | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6=4-5 | | | Intvn 1vs4 | Cont 2vs5 |
| 0 | 30.6 | 33.4 | -2.8 | 1.5 | 7.7 | -6.2 | -3.4 | 0.413 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| >0-25 | 34.9 | 37.2 | -2.3 | 9.3 | 40.1 | -31 | -28.5 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.444 |
| 26- 50 | 25.3 | 22.2 | 3.1 | 26.5 | 33 | -6.5 | -9.6 | 0.051 | 0.720 | 0.002 |
| 51-75 | 8 | 6.3 | 1.7 | 26.9 | 11.7 | 15.2 | 13.5 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.015 |
| 76-100 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 35.8 | 7.4 | 28.4 | 28.1 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| n | 324 | 320 | | 324 | 320 | | | | | |

6. Attitude score on division of labor (%)

| Level of Attitudes | 2007 | | Diff 3=1-2 | 2014 | | Diff 6=4-5 | Diff in diff 7=6-3 | sig |
|---------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|-------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | | | |
| Less favorable | 47.8 | 57.5 | -9.70 | 1.2 | 21 | -19.80 | -10.10 | 0.027 |
| Neither less nor more favorable | 27.8 | 19.4 | 8.40 | 13.6 | 33 | -19.40 | -27.80 | 0.000 |
| More favorable | 24.4 | 23.1 | 1.30 | 85.2 | 46 | 39.20 | 37.90 | 0.000 |
| n | 324.00 | 320.00 | | 324.00 | 320.00 | | | |

7. Attitude towards Gender Discrimination (%)

| Level of attitude | 2007 | | Diff | 2014 | | Diff | Diff in diff |
|-------------------|--------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------------|
| | Intvn | Contl | | Intvn | Contl | | |
| less favorable | 57.1 | 50.3 | 6.80 | 10.8 | 48.5 | -37.70 | -44.50 |
| more favorable | 42.9 | 49.7 | -6.80 | 89.2 | 51.5 | 37.70 | 44.50 |
| n | 324.00 | 320.00 | | 324.00 | 324.00 | | |

8. Attitude score on decision-making (%)

| Level of attitude | 2007 | | | Diff 3=1-2 | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7= 6-3 | sig |
|---------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|------------|-----------|----------------|------------------------|-----|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3=1-2 | | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6= 4-5 | | |
| less favorable | 40.7 | 39.1 | 1.60 | 6.2 | 20.4 | -14.20 | -15.80 | 0.001 | |
| neither less nor more favorable | 28.7 | 30.3 | -1.60 | 18.5 | 41 | -22.50 | -20.90 | 0.000 | |
| more favorable | 30.6 | 30.6 | 0.00 | 75.3 | 38.6 | 36.70 | 36.70 | 0.000 | |
| n | 324.00 | 320.00 | | 324.00 | 320.00 | | | | |

9. Attitude score on violence against women (%)

| Level of attitude | 2007 | | | Diff 3=1-2 | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7= 6-3 | sig |
|---------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|------------|-----------|----------------|------------------------|-----|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3=1-2 | | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6= 4-5 | | |
| less favorable | 45.7 | 40.3 | 5.40 | 4.9 | 22.2 | -17.30 | -22.70 | 0.000 | |
| neither less nor more favorable | 29 | 31.3 | -2.30 | 24.7 | 42.9 | -18.20 | -15.90 | 0.002 | |
| more favorable | 25.3 | 28.4 | -3.10 | 70.4 | 34.9 | 35.50 | 38.60 | 0.000 | |
| n | 324.00 | 320.00 | | 324.00 | 320.00 | | | | |

10. Respondents (women) used money received from selling household assets (%) (only male headed households were considered)

| Asset | 2007 | | | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7=6-3 | Sig 8 | p-value 2007 vs. 2014 | |
|------------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------------|-------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3=1-2 | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6=4-5 | | | Intvn | Cont |
| | Cow-goat | 5.6 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 6.3 | 3.1 | | | 3.2 | -2.4 |
| Duck-chick | 17.3 | 19.4 | -2.1 | 14.0 | 11.9 | 2.1 | 4.2 | 0.602 | 0.512 | 0.214 |
| Land | 7.1 | 0.0 | 7.1 | 22.2 | 0.0 | 22.2 | 15.1 | 0.562 | 0.295 | |
| Ornaments | 0.0 | 20.0 | -20.0 | 20.0 | 0.0 | 20.0 | 40.0 | 0.418 | 0.495 | 0.495 |

11. Per cent of household in which both husband and wife used money received from selling household assets (only male headed households were considered)

| Asset | 2007 | | Diff 3= 1-2 | 2014 | | Diff 6=4-5 | Diff in diff 7=6-3 | Sig 8 | p-value | |
|------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|--------------------------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | | | | 2007 vs. 2014 | |
| | | | | | | | | | Intvn | Cont |
| Cow-goat | 38.9 | 30.6 | 8.3 | 55.8 | 39.1 | 16.7 | 8.4 | 0.499 | 0.047 | 0.352 |
| Duck-chick | 34.7 | 32.3 | 2.4 | 71.0 | 47.6 | 23.4 | 21.0 | 0.044 | 0.000 | 0.062 |
| Land | 35.7 | 33.1 | 2.6 | 55.6 | 40.0 | 15.6 | 13.0 | 0.767 | 0.349 | 0.850 |
| Ornaments | 50.0 | 60.0 | -10.0 | 40.0 | 0.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 | 0.451 | 0.809 | 0.147 |

12. Perception about gender division of labour at household level (%)

| Activities | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | | p value | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | | p value |
|--|-------------------|-------|------|-------------------|-------|------|---------|---------------------|-------|------|---------------------|-------|-------|---------|
| | Main male (n=132) | | | Main male (n=123) | | | | Main female (n=455) | | | Main female (n=137) | | | |
| | Men | Women | Both | Men | Women | Both | | Men | Women | Both | Men | Women | Both | |
| Farming | 87.1 | 0 | 12.9 | 97.6 | 0 | 2.4 | 90.5 | 0.2 | 9.2 | 99.3 | 0 | 0.7 | 0.003 | |
| Sowing seeds/planting | 85.6 | 0 | 14.4 | 98.4 | 0 | 1.6 | 88.1 | 0.4 | 11.4 | 97.1 | 0.7 | 2.2 | 0.005 | |
| Harvesting | 84.1 | 1.5 | 14.4 | 97.6 | 0 | 2.4 | 85.1 | 0.4 | 14.5 | 95.6 | 0 | 4.4 | 0.004 | |
| Drying out crops | 53.0 | 0.8 | 46.2 | 70.7 | 0.8 | 28.5 | 44.6 | 5.3 | 50.1 | 64.2 | 1.5 | 34.3 | 0.000 | |
| Shopping (clothes and daily necessities) | 74.2 | 0.8 | 25.0 | 88.6 | .0 | 11.4 | 66.8 | 1.8 | 31.4 | 81.8 | 1.5 | 16.8 | 0.003 | |
| Running small shop in the market place | 86.4 | 0.8 | 12.9 | 97.6 | .0 | 2.4 | 88.8 | 0.7 | 10.5 | 95.6 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 0.016 | |
| Running small shop inside house | 34.8 | 9.8 | 55.3 | 49.6 | 7.3 | 43.1 | 28.8 | 13.0 | 58.2 | 47.4 | 12.4 | 40.1 | 0.000 | |
| Looking after livestock | 5.3 | 36.4 | 58.3 | 6.5 | 48.0 | 45.5 | 3.1 | 47.7 | 49.2 | 3.6 | 60.6 | 35.8 | 0.021 | |
| Cooking | 3.0 | 77.3 | 19.7 | 0 | 95.1 | 4.9 | 1.3 | 87.9 | 10.8 | .0 | 96.4 | 3.6 | 0.014 | |
| Laundry | 0.8 | 80.3 | 18.9 | 0 | 94.3 | 5.7 | 0.9 | 85.7 | 13.4 | .0 | 97.8 | 2.2 | 0.001 | |
| Bathing children | 0 | 73.5 | 26.5 | 0 | 91.1 | 8.9 | 0.2 | 78.2 | 21.5 | .0 | 91.2 | 8.8 | 0.003 | |
| Sweeping (house and court yard) | 1.5 | 81.8 | 16.7 | 0 | 95.1 | 4.9 | 0.7 | 89.5 | 9.9 | .0 | 97.8 | 2.2 | 0.009 | |
| Making bed/organizing clothes | 1.5 | 82.6 | 15.9 | 0 | 94.3 | 5.7 | 0.4 | 88.1 | 11.4 | .0 | 97.8 | 2.2 | 0.003 | |
| Washing cooking pot | 3.0 | 90.2 | 6.8 | 0 | 98.4 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 92.1 | 6.8 | .0 | 100.0 | .0 | 0.003 | |
| | (4) | (119) | (9) | | (121) | (2) | (5) | (419) | (31) | | (137) | (3) | | |

13. Duration between getting ill and taking treatment for per cent of children under 18 (HH having both male and female children are included only)

| Duration | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------|--------------------|----------------------|---------|
| | Male (under 18) | Female (under 18) | p-value | Male (under 18) | Female (under 18) | p-value |
| Same day | 32.0 (16) | 40.9 (18) | 0.313 | 12.5 (1) | ,0 | 0.417 |
| 2-7 days | 56.0 (28) | 43.2 (19) | | 75.0 (6) | 100.0 (6) | |
| 8-30 days | .0 | 4.5 (2) | | | | |
| > 30 days | | | | | | |
| Did not go anywhere | 12.0 (6) | 11.4 (5) | | 12.5 (1) | | |
| | 50 | 44 | | 8 | 6 | |

*The figures in the parentheses indicate actual number

14. Gap between getting ill and seeking treatment per cent of children by diseases for children less than 18 years of age (HH having both male and female children are included only)

| Type of disease | Duration between getting ill and taking treatment | with GQAL | | p-value | without GQAL | | p-value |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------------|-------------------|---------|-----------------|-------------------|---------|
| | | Male (under 18) | Female (under 18) | | Male (under 18) | Female (under 18) | |
| Fever | Same day | 28.6 | 41.7 | 0.401 | 16.7 | .0 | 0.060 |
| | 2-7 days | 40.5 | 33.3 | | 66.7 | .0 | |
| | 8-30 days | .0 | 2.8 | | | | |
| | > 30 days | 31.0 | 22.2 | | 16.7 | 100.0 | |
| | n | 42 | 36 | | 6 | 3 | |
| Diarrhoea | Same day | 40.0 | 50.0 | 0.084 | | | |
| | 2-7 days | .0 | 50.0 | | .0 | .0 | |
| | 8-30 days | .0 | .0 | | .0 | .0 | |
| | > 30 days | 60.0 | .0 | | .0 | .0 | |
| | n | 5 | 4 | | 0 | 0 | |
| Abdominal pain and other pain | Same day | 40.0 | 50.0 | 0.676 | .0 | .0 | |
| | 2-7 days | 20.0 | 33.3 | | .0 | .0 | |
| | 8-30 days | .0 | .0 | | .0 | .0 | |
| | > 30 days | 40.0 | 16.7 | | .0 | .0 | |
| | n | 5 | 6 | | 0 | 0 | |
| Others | Same day | 33.3 | 40.5 | 0.407 | 10.0 | .0 | 0.396 |
| | 2-7 days | 37.5 | 30.9 | | 60.0 | 44.4 | |
| | 8-30 days | .0 | 7.2 | | | | |
| | > 30 days | 29.2 | 21.4 | | 30.0 | 55.6 | |
| | n | 48 | 42 | | 10 | 9 | |

Others: minor injuries, cold, pneumonia, skin disease, dental problem, cough, weakness, typhoid, urine infection, vision problem, stroke, appendix, tonsil, kidney problem, anaemia, gynecological problem

15. Gap between getting ill and seeking treatment (only HH having husband and wife are considered)

| Duration | with GQAL | | | without GQAL | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------|---------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| | Husband (%) | Wife (%) | p-value | Husband (%) | Wife (%) | p-value |
| Same day | 30.8 | 29.3 | 0.065 | 28.2 (22) | 29.0 (18) | 0.879 |
| 2-7 days | 40.8 | 49.5 | | 51.3 (40) | 48.4 (30) | |
| 8-30 days | 8.3 | 3.0 | | 5.1 (4) | 3.2 (2) | |
| > 30 days | 20.0 | 18.2 | | 15.4 (12) | 19.4 (12) | |
| n | 240 | 198 | | 78 | 62 | |

16. The places went for treatment (only HH having husband and wife are considered) (multiple responses)

| Type of treatment taken | with GQAL | | without GQAL | |
|-----------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| | Husband | Wife | Husband | Wife |
| MBBS | 24.2 (62) | 20.4 (42) | 23.8 (20) | 31.4 (22) |
| Traditional/ <i>Kabiraj</i> | 0.8 (2) | 1.9 (4) | 4.8 (4) | 8.6 (6) |
| Village doctor | 26.6 (68) | 29.1 (60) | 23.8 (20) | 17.1 (12) |
| Pharmacy | 44.5 (114) | 45.6 (94) | 42.9 (36) | 37.1 (26) |
| Did not go to any place | 3.9 (10) | 2.9 (6) | 4.8 (4) | 5.7 (4) |
| n | 256 | 206 | 84 | 70 |

17. Per cent of respondents having incidents of domestic violence at household level during the last one year

| | 2007 | | | 2014 | | | Diff in diff 7= 6-3 | Sig | 2007 vs. 2014 (p-value) | |
|--|------------|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| | Intvn 1 | Cont 2 | Diff 3=1-2 | Intvn 4 | Cont 5 | Diff 6=4-5 | | | Intvn. 1 vs4 | cont. 2 vs 5 |
| Type of violence | | | | | | | | | | |
| Take away income | 11.9 | 9.4 | 2.5 | 8.3 | 19.8 | -11.5 | -14 | 0.000 | 0.132 | 0.000 |
| Sell household assets without taking consent | 3.9 | 2.7 | 1.2 | 2.8 | 4.3 | -1.5 | -2.7 | 0.181 | 0.442 | 0.263 |
| Prevent from going parents' home | 5.8 | 6 | -0.2 | 4.7 | 10.6 | -5.9 | -5.7 | 0.000 | 0.534 | 0.042 |
| Prevent from going outside | 10.1 | 6 | 4.1 | 2.8 | 8.6 | -5.8 | -9.9 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.225 |
| Prevent from doing job | 7.3 | 2.2 | 5.1 | 2.1 | 0 | 2.1 | -3 | 0.339 | 0.081 | 0.091 |
| Not providing medical support during pregnancy | 27.6 | 6.5 | 21.1 | 0 | 2.7 | -2.7 | -23.8 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.352 |
| Threat to divorce | 8.3 | 8.7 | -0.4 | 5.2 | 8.1 | -2.9 | -2.5 | 0.410 | 0.134 | 0.814 |
| Stop verbal communication | 17.8 | 28 | -10.2 | 24.8 | 28.1 | -3.3 | 6.9 | 0.156 | 0.033 | 0.981 |
| Use slang language | 32.4 | 51.3 | -18.9 | 38.6 | 48.8 | -10.2 | 8.7 | 0.112 | 0.102 | 0.522 |
| Rebuke | 64.4 | 87.6 | -23.2 | 78.4 | 87.3 | -8.9 | 14.3 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.916 |
| Not providing medical support during illness | 8.5 | 3.4 | 5.1 | 3.4 | 7.7 | -4.3 | -9.4 | 0.000 | 0.006 | 0.021 |
| n | 324 | 320 | | 324 | 320 | | | | | |

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