REPORT

Evaluation Study: Working with men and boys on prevention of GBV

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Rozan appreciates the participants of this study: the boys and men from the two communities - Rehmatbad, Union Council 80 and Qaidabad, Union Council 7 of Rawalpindi.

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Executive summary

Men as part of the gender equation have been almost invisible until recently when a theoretical shift followed by practice has occurred, in understanding gender more holistically. A few decades ago, most men’s engagement programs saw them as obstacles, as problems that needed to be addressed, or as a means to an end (i.e. a tool to improve women’s lives). It is now increasingly being recognized that men can be partners in violence prevention, gender equality and reproductive health and rights; that they do care what happens to their partners, their families and in their communities; and that men, like women, have their own needs and are complex individuals.

In the context of violence against women Pakistan portrays a bleak picture with ever increasing incidences of VAW and few working mechanisms in place, from family to state, to address the issue. A strongly patriarchal culture has resulted in structural and socio-cultural discrimination, which often manifests itself in violence and harmful traditional and cultural practices.

Rozan sees men and boys as an essential feature of its programme since its inception in 1998. Where some activities have sought to involve men as key allies, be it policemen or young male volunteers involved with the White Ribbon Campaign, others have addressed men’s vulnerabilities such as working with male survivors of child sexual abuse and the male youth that call Rozan’s counselling service, the youth helpline. In 2008, Rozan, in acknowledgement of the importance of working with men and boys, set up a separate program unit called Humqadam. It aimed at creating spaces for men and boys to engage on gender issues, with a special emphasis on involving men and boys in stopping violence against women.

The Humqadam Program set out to conduct a formative research on attitudes and perceptions amongst young men and boys on GBV and its link to masculine identity as its first project. The one-year research project aimed at expanding knowledge and understanding of masculinities within Pakistan. Findings from this study highlighted the connection between issues such as relationships, sexuality and most importantly violence. Based on the research findings, the program designed interventions with young boys and men in the research area, a peri-urban location in Rawalpindi. These included a series of sessions with a group of 100 young boys and men in the area, interactive community theatres, a ‘Stop Rape’ campaign, cross gender discussion forums, self-growth sessions with women and orientation sessions with professionals.

The program envisaged a systematic qualitative and quantitative evaluation of the interventions with the selected group of boys and men. The program used a 13 item quantitative tool comprising of attitudinal statements for evaluation. The tool was used to collect data from Control group (100 boys and men where no intervention was made) and intervention group (96 boys and men who participated in interventions over a period of time). For the qualitative side of assessment, in depth interviews with boys and men were carried out to validate or contradict changes in attitudes reflected in the quantitative tool. These in-depth interviews are compared with the interviews conducted before interventions for the research mentioned above. This report presents the findings of this evaluation and highlights the various comparisons of quantitative data including baseline.
comparison of intervention and control groups, baseline and end line comparison of intervention group and baseline and end line comparison of control group.

Findings suggest a significant shift (positive direction) in 7 attitudinal items out of total 13, one with negative change (relates to sexuality) and 5 with no significant change. The evaluation reflects changes in attitudes of boys and men in areas such as attitudes towards violence against women and domestic democracy.

There was an acknowledgement that beliefs are socially produced by religion and culture, and that individuals beliefs can be different. A distinct shift in the end line interviews indicates the participants’ ability to draw a line between what society/religion thinks and what their view is. This was often accompanied by questioning or criticizing these values and norms.

There was an increased willingness to recognize types of violence faced by women and children and the dynamics of power that shape who this violence happens to and why.

Compared to the baseline, within the end line data we found men and boys acknowledged women’s potential and the need for a more gender equitable male role in relationships with women. There were also examples of practice shared where young boys had taken action within the house to support sisters and mothers.

Areas that proved resistant to change included a strongly entrenched belief that men must stay providers and this quality was linked to being a real man. Many also continue to see themselves as brave, fearless and protectors of women.

The shifts mentioned above are promising. The ability of these young men to distance themselves from popular cultural and religious messaging on gender roles, and even at times to question them is a welcome sign. What had hitherto been accepted as the only way of being is cited after the intervention as ‘messaging’ which may not be valid in the current context, unhealthy or downright unjust.

A deeper understanding of the dynamics of violence and its link to power imbalance is another significant area of change. They can now identify the pervasiveness of violence and its many forms in the lives of women, how gender roles make women more vulnerable to violence and that this is not limited to physical violence alone. This is in sharp contrast to the baseline interviews where they either negated the presence and downplayed its seriousness or gave apologist explanations for men. The fact that some of them are willing to shift the burden of blame on themselves for eve teasing and sexual harassment is clear from the records of the end line interviews and survey results.

The boys are now also beginning to challenge the legitimacy of men’s violence against women by saying that a woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep the home together.
Change is also visible in more flexibility in the gender roles of women. Giving women the space to work is in sharp contrast to the baseline where some boys went on to equate any women’s work to ‘prostitution’, and men who allowed them to do this as ‘pimps’. Yet in the end line we have the example of a young man who has encouraged their sister to work. Giving more women the power to participate in decision making is another area where they are now more comfortable, questioning men’s unchallenged right to take all decisions within the household.

Areas that have proved harder to nudge are areas that deal with issues around their own perceptions of what a man should be, for example, a man should be the bread winner. This notion is still one they appear to hold onto and have more difficulty challenging, even though there have been some dents in the armour, where at least in the quantitative survey there seems to have been a positive shift in response to the statement that a man is born to earn. However this was not held up by a corresponding question where they still felt the pressure to meet all needs of the families. In the end line interviews many continued to think that a man must provide financially and if he was unable to do so, he was not a real man.

We find that changing attitudes towards issues are inextricably linked to our gendered identities as perceptions of self, power dynamics in relationships, sexuality is not a simple or a one step process. Any change that comes about in individual attitudes is tenuous and can be seen as but a beginning, needing to be constantly nurtured and rewarded. Having said that, it is also important to not underestimate the role awareness and critical thinking can play in an individual’s ability to reflect, challenge and contest values and norms that may have hitherto been unquestionably accepted as the truth, and how these reflections can become opportunities and sites of resistance and action.
1. The Context:

1.1 Men as Gendered Beings

In our traditional discourse on gender, the word ‘women’ is considered synonymous with the term ‘gender’; thinking of gender immediately brings to mind something related to women. One reason for this misperception can be the many disadvantages that women have within the gender equation making them more vulnerable to discrimination and abuse. Women suffer obvious disadvantages as a result of rigid gender socialization including gender based violence, marginalization in political participation and decision making, lower economic health and education status, poorer or exploitative livelihood opportunities, restrictions of mobility and individual freedoms etc. There is no question that women pay a bigger and more visible cost and this in turn has kept the attention on women, and some would argue rightly so.

Another reason may be that the invisibility of masculinity is the effect of male privilege. Men tend to not think of themselves as ‘gendered’ beings. The costs for men to adhere to gender roles and expectations are often seen within the deceptive haze of privilege and benefit alone. While this is true to a large extent, it blinds us to the totality of the picture. Existing gender hierarchies hinder men from thinking of their position in the genders ladder, just as not having to think about race is one of the luxuries of being a member of a dominant race.

“Men as a group are privileged in relation to women in economic, social and sexual life, and because of this powerful position men are not aware of the fact that their privilege is derived purely from being male”.¹

Duties of and expectations from women are socially defined in a particular setting, such as acceptable jobs, mobility and domestic chores etc. Men, similarly, are also influenced and governed by expectations from society.

“These social and cultural expectations about roles and responsibilities are taught and reinforced through social interaction and reproduced within social institutions such as the family, schools, religious settings and the workplace”.²

It is via these social constructions and adherence to socially accepted gender norms of masculinity and femininity that men and women establish norms of how to behave and what is acceptable for their gender in a given society, and often for men it translates into what is commonly perceived as privilege.

“For example, men are expected to embody an ideal of a ‘real man’, and across many societies the basic rules of masculinity are the same”³.

These involve being able to economically support their families, not show emotions/weakness, be strong, sexually potent and active, be aggressive and take risks.

Many men still feel they must live up to these stereotypes, and it is this perception of the need to prove their masculinity through enacting these ideals that can have a very negative effect on men’s, women’s and children’s lives.

A third reason could also be an inclination to treat men and women as homogenous categories and not take into account other markers of inequality that disadvantage both men and women, e.g., class, caste, ethnicity, economic status which can place men at the ‘powerless’ end of the spectrum.

1.2 Emerging Trends

As a result of the above until recently, men as part of the gender equation have been almost invisible, be this in academic research, development interventions, or policy formulation. A few decades ago, most men’s engagement programs saw them as obstacles, as problems that needed to be addressed, or as a means to an end (i.e. a tool to improve women’s lives). Not until the recent past have interventions on gender started looking at men more holistically. It is now increasingly being recognized that men can be partners in GBV prevention and RH; that they do care what happens to their partners, their families and in their communities; and that men, like women, have their own needs and are complex individuals.

Making men’s gender visible is the first step in challenging power relations and harmful gender norms that affect both men and women. Through this we pave the path to actively involving men in achieving gender equality.

Researcher and writer, Dr Michael Kimmel, speaking at the European Parliament on International Women’s Day in 2001 said,

“Simply put, I believe that these changes among men will actually benefit men, that gender equality is not a loss for men, but an enormously positive thing that will enable us to live the kinds of lives we say we want to live.”

In the past two decades there is a visible shift in theory and framing initiatives to address gender inequalities, as well as a growing realization that gender based violence and inequities cannot be prevented at all levels in society without efforts to directly engage men in the processes. This necessity was clearly reflected in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action.

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More recently, work seeking to engage men and boys has increasingly been seen as essential not only to empowering women and improving women’s and children’s health, but also to improving men’s own health outcomes. As a result of these developments, there has been a worldwide proliferation of programmatic efforts and interventions which have focused on providing boys and men spaces to locate, understand, challenge, and if required, reconstruct their role in their communities. Some promising evidenced based work such as Program H in Brazil, implemented by the Institute of Promundo during 2003-2004 and the Yaari Dosti Project by Population Council in India in 2007-2008, has been conducted.

1.3 The Case of Violence against women and Pakistan

The issue of violence against women in Pakistan is embedded in the larger picture of the low status of women and their physical and psychological disempowerment. A strongly patriarchal culture has resulted in structural and socio-cultural discrimination, which often manifests itself in violence and harmful traditional and cultural practices. Some statistics that reflect women’s disempowerment are as follows:

- A total of 8548 cases of violence against women (VAW) were reported in the print media all over Pakistan during the year 2009, which was 13% higher compared to the previous year. In 2009 the number of the cases of abduction and kidnapping were 1987 (23 %), of murder 1384 (16 %), of rape/gang-rape 928 (11%), of suicide 683 (8%) and of ‘honour’ killing 604 (7 %)¹.
- In a study carried out with women by the Community Health department by the Aga Khan University in 2007, the majority (80.0%) reported receiving beatings by their husbands and 57.5% had experienced such violence from their in-laws.²
- One hundred and thirty-five (135) women were reported as victims of stove burning in 2009³.
- Reported cases of domestic violence (including torture, beating, shaving, amputation, and murder attempts) cases shot up from 137 in 2008 to 205 in 2009⁴.

The figures stated above, although alarming in their own right, are also further compounded by the fact that such incidences are grossly underreported and that women who experience violence receive very little support from the state, their communities and/or their families. There are no specific laws on domestic violence, and where legislation does exist to protect women from violence and discrimination on the basis of gender, it is severely flawed or poorly implemented⁵. In most cases survivors are blamed and shunned (or worse) as both women and men are strongly

¹ Policy and Data Monitor on Violence Against Women by Aurat Foundation 2009
³ State of Human Rights 2009, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
⁴ State of Human Rights 2009, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
⁵ This is despite the passing of the Women’s Protection Bill which though removes some of the most dangerous provisions of the Hudood Ordinances, fails to recognize marital rape. Another example is the Criminal Law Amendment Act 2004, which although criminalized honour killings, but fails to address the issue of ‘waiver’.
influenced by the many myths, beliefs and stereotypes that exist within Pakistani society regarding the role and status of women and of men. These beliefs and values are embedded in traditional customs and structures (e.g., honour concept, dowry, sawara, etc). The most common perception within communities is that women are themselves responsible for inciting violence and that such violence is a private and personal issue, and outside intervention is unacceptable.

2. About Rozan

Rozan is an Islamabad-based non-governmental and non-profit organization working on issues of emotional and mental health and violence against women and children.

Rozan’s Mission

Rozan’s mission is “To have worked with all people, especially women, youth and children, to collectively strive for a society that is violence free, self aware and accepting of itself and others”. Priority concerns for interventions that have been selected by Rozan are emotional health, gender, violence against women and children and sexual and reproductive health.

Rozan’s Programmes

Rozan currently has four core programmes namely:

- **Aangan** (Children’s and Youth programme): works as a resource centre on the emotional health of children, focusing on child sexual abuse.

- **Zeest** (Women’s programme): works on the emotional health of women focusing on issues of gender and violence against women.

- **Rabta** (Police Training Programme): works with the Police to create capacity and ownership to deal with issue of violence against women and children.

- **Humqadam** (Men’s programme): research on masculinities and works with men and boys in the community to mobilize them against VAW.

Two support units work alongside programmes:

**Rozan Helpline**: Offers counseling through telephone, in person, e-mail counseling and counseling camps to children, youth and women.

**Munsalik (Media and Advocacy unit)**: Coordinates all advocacy activities of programmes and carries out media support and sensitization on Rozan issues.
Rozan’s Strategies

All Rozan programmes are structured around one or more of the three core primary strategies: awareness raising, psychological support and referral and capacity building and training. However the relative emphasis on each varies from programme to programme depending upon the needs assessed, emerging opportunities and programme’s maturity and capacity. Two new and distinct strategies are now emerging; these include research and advocacy.

Men and boys have been an essential feature of all Rozan activities since its inception in 1998. Where some activities have sought to involve men as key allies, be it policemen or young male volunteers involved with the White Ribbon Campaign, others have addressed men’s vulnerabilities such as working with male survivors of child sexual abuse and the male youth that calls Rozan’s counselling service, the youth helpline.

In 2008, Rozan, in acknowledgement of the importance of working with men and boys, set up a separate program unit called Humqadam. Aiming to create spaces for men and boys to engage on gender issues, with a special emphasis on involving men and boys in stopping violence against women, the program envisages three long term strategies.

1. Expansion of knowledge and resource base through research
2. Program intervention and evaluation in community settings
3. Transfer of learning and increased capacity in this area through networking and training

2.1 Understanding Masculinities: A Formative Research

The Humqadam Program set out to conduct a formative research on attitudes and perceptions amongst young men and boys on GBV and its link to masculine identity as its first project. The one-year research project aimed at expanding knowledge and understanding of masculinities within Pakistan. Findings from this study highlighted the connection between issues such as relationships, sexuality and, most importantly violence. Traditional notions of masculinity put men in a position of dominance where relationships are typically characterized by unequal power relations, and violence is often used as a tool for maintaining control. This control is at best fragile, in the face of rigid expectations from men regarding sexual virility and dominance as well as their role as primary providers for the family. These expectations are particularly unstable in the context of rapidly changing demographics with shifting gender dynamics, reduced livelihood opportunities, and an increased need for women to work and supplement family incomes.

2.2 Module for working with Young Men and Boys

The study has led to the development of a series of group education sessions for boys and young men that aim to:
1. Understand structural influencers in the construction of masculinities in our society.
2. Recognize the impact of socialization especially messages around masculinities on
   - sexual health and sexuality
   - relation between men and men
   - men relations with women
   - roles and responsibilities of men
3. Reflect on the self and better understand an individual’s role and power to bring about positive change in the society
4. Identify alternative ways of ‘being a man’, and provide a forum for healthier ways of practicing it.
5. Become sensitized, as men and boys, to recognize violence, its link to power and be mobilized to stand up against gender based violence at a personal and community level.

After conducting group education sessions with 100 boys and men aged 16 to 30 years residing in Rehmatabad, Rawalpindi, the sessions were documented in the form of a module. The module has been designed for use by facilitators and program planners who wish to engage young men in issues around GBV and masculinities, and comprises 15 sessions to be run with groups of 10-25 young men in community settings. It comprises four major thematic areas: 1) Gender, self and masculinities, 2) Sexuality, 3) Violence and 4) Life skills.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Thematic Area</th>
<th>Title of sessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gender, Self and Masculinities</td>
<td>Getting to know each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Self, masculinity and healthy society</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Looking back: messages from our childhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender and gender stereotyping in society</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>The roots of discrimination: Gender tree</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sexuality</td>
<td>Documentary Screening: ‘When Four Friends Meet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding sexualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Myths and facts about sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Life skills</td>
<td>Managing and expressing feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction to life skills: communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict resolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Violence and its impact in men and women’s life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beliefs about VAW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saying Good Bye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study also led to the development of a program assessment/evaluation tool which served as a baseline for the evaluation of the community intervention.

7 Mapping study of organization working with boys and men for gender equality – 2011, Rozan Islamabad.
3. Evaluation Study

3.1 Objectives

In Pakistan efforts for engaging boys and men in GBV prevention have been carried out in pockets with limited scale. A brief literature review of a number of selected NGOs and CBOs has shown that limited tools are available for systematic evaluations by measuring attitudinal change in men and boys who go through sensitization and capacity building initiatives. This study aimed to:

- Contribute to the existing body of knowledge around attitudinal change impacts of interventions engaging boys and men.
- Provide a model of an evaluated intervention/ approach and tools for working with men and boys in gender equality efforts in the context of Pakistan.

3.2 Project activities:

The intervention package in Rehmatabad consisted of numerous activities aimed at improving boys’ and men’s understanding of gender based violence and its link to masculinities. The activities were carried out in a peri-urban location of Rawalpindi known as Rehmatabad, which is situated in Union Council 80, near Benazir Bhutto Shaheed International Airport. A group of 96 young boys and men was involved in a series of activities including group sessions and an opportunity to actively engage with the issue by campaigning and discussions with community members. Other stakeholders such as local influential, young women and professionals also took part in the activities.

a. Series of sessions with boys and men:

A series of 15 sessions were run with groups of 96 boys (four groups, comprising 24 participants each) at Rehmatabad. The sessions were held on a weekly or bi-weekly basis depending upon mutual agreement from the groups keeping in mind their availability. The sessions were participatory and experiential and the content was delivered taking into account different levels of literacy among the group.

b. Interactive community theatres:

This activity had two tiers: a) a training on theatrical performances by Interactive Resource Center (IRC), Lahore and b) theatre performances in six districts of Punjab and KP. In the first step, 8 boys and men from the community showed an interest in theatre training and received 10 days training from IRC. The group developed 4 skits and an 18 minute performance on gender-based violence and the role of men. The performance was interactive and culminated as a dialogue on violence against women (VAW) with the communities. The theatrical performances were done in Chakwal, Manshehra, Muzaffarabad, Haripur, Balakot and Rawalpindi. Approximately 600 men and women attended the performances.
c. ‘Stop Rape’ Campaign:

The campaign focused on raising awareness on rape prevention for women by targeting young boys and men in communities and higher educational institutions like universities in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The campaign design consisted of a multi-layered intervention, allowing young men an opportunity to talk to other men about these issues. At the primary level, direct orientations were conducted with the community and university youth. At the secondary level, these participants were then required to take this further and orient other peers, who in turn were encouraged to participate at the tertiary level by talking to more people. A point scoring mechanism was introduced to record performance of every primary, secondary and tertiary participant. In a concluding ceremony ‘active’ participants (i.e. those who had more people down in their chain) were rewarded. Around 1850 young boys and men form Punjab were part of this campaign at the primary, secondary and tertiary level. Four hundred and forty seven participants attended direct orientations held at universities (Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, Arid Agri. University Rawalpindi, Asghar Mall College Rawalpindi) and communities (UC’s in Rehmatabad, Tamman- Sihala, Taxila).

d. Discussion forums:

This activity aimed at initiating discussion on gender issues at forums where men and women in Rehmatabad exchanged their thoughts in a respectful and safe environment. Issues around hurdles and facilitating factors in communication between the two genders in the domestic sphere, gender discrimination at domestic level and role of men and women were discussed.

e. Self-growth sessions with women:

Young women in the area were also involved in separate sessions focusing on building self-esteem, and confidence, organized with two groups of 40 young girls. The thematic areas covered during the session series were the importance of self, self-esteem and confidence, understanding gender and its impact on men and women, coping with anger and support mechanisms in cases of violence. These young women then went on to participate in the discussion forums with young boys and men.

f. Orientation sessions with professionals:

These sessions introduced the project to local professionals and sought their involvement in appropriate activities. The sessions were attended by the local Nazim, councillors, lady and male health workers, local CBO members and teachers. The participants took part in the identification of young boys and men for the series of sessions, invitations and participation in community theatres and discussion forums.
3.3 Methodology and Design

The study employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative tools to assess changes in attitudes and behaviors of young men and boys who participated in program interventions. Data was collected from two groups (intervention and control) at two points in time: pre- intervention and post-intervention. Data was collected through a questionnaire and in-depth interviews.

3.3.1 Data collection tools:

a. The survey questionnaire, developed in Urdu, consisted of three distinct parts. The first part contained questions about the general profile of the participants: name, age, marital status, education, address, contact details and the duration of his residence in the area. The second part consisted of questions about their social circle and activities: number of friends, common places where they spent time and use of drugs or other substances. The third and main part of the study consisted of 13 selected attitudinal questions where the respondent could agree, partially agree or disagree to a list of statements.

The International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), India assisted this study by rendering technical expertise. ICRW has used attitudinal questions in a similar study carried out in Mumbai with reference to gender and HIV and AIDS. Many of the questions included in the tool are part of Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale used by Instituto Promundo Brazil and ICRW, India, while others were developed based on the results of the qualitative research done by Rozan.

Introduction to the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Valid for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part I: Participant Profile</td>
<td>Name, age, marital status, education, employment, and duration of residence in the area, complete contact details, address, phone, email, referee’s contact.</td>
<td>Control and Intervention group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II: Social behavior</td>
<td>Number of friends with whom most time is spent, experiences of physical violence, teasing girls, drugs addiction, watching porn movies.</td>
<td>Control and Intervention group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part III: Attitudinal statements</td>
<td>Sexuality, violence, masculinity and relations.</td>
<td>Control and Intervention group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. In-depth interviews were conducted with a sub-set of 8 young men randomly selected after completing sessions in order to validate and compare the findings in quantitative data as attitudinal change initiatives have built in limitations due to the subjectivity of the matter. The earlier research mentioned above, titled “Exploring masculinities – a formative research in peri-urban location of Rawalpindi” served as a baseline for qualitative component of study. The same interview guide used earlier was used with additional
questions on interventions and the use of learning in men’s daily lives. Probes were used to gain information on any actions or behavioural change after being part of the interventions.

## Introduction to Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part I: Knowing the participant</td>
<td>Name, age, marital status, education, employment, caste, membership of any religious, political, sporting or any other group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II: Socialization, childhood messages, peer relations.</td>
<td>Differences in up-bringing, domestic chores, role of marriage, significant childhood experiences, first awareness, decision making in domestic life, familial responsibilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part III: Sexuality</td>
<td>Sexuality, violence, masculinity and relations, coping techniques for sexual anxiety,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par IV: Violence and Power</td>
<td>Expectation regarding male power, manifestations of power, masculinity, perceptions about violence,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part V: Gender Relations</td>
<td>Domestic chores and gender, expectations from women, defining ideal man and woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat VI: Evaluation of sessions</td>
<td>Learning, challenges and usefulness of the session content, behavioural change examples, content that needs to be changed or added.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.2 Intervention group:

Humqadam designed and implemented numerous awareness raising, sensitization and capacity building interventions with a selected group of 96 boys and men in Rehmatabad, UC 80. The ages of the participants ranged from 16-30 years, with the average age being 23 years. The population of the selected area is approximately 10,200 people and can be categorized as a low-income group. Prominent castes and ethnic groups in the area are Shiekh, Abbasi, Kashmiri, Rajput, Khawja and Pathan, and the population is predominantly Muslim.

### 3.3.3 Control group:

A hundred boys and men of the same age group and socio economic indicators as that of the intervention area were selected randomly from Union Council 7, Quaidabad, situated near Peer
Wadhai area of Rawalpindi as the Control group to compare changes in attitudes after activities in the Intervention group. No activities beyond data collection were carried out in this group.

### 3.3.4 Date collection process

Before the survey, each respondent was given information about the research and briefed about the potential benefits and harms of participating. Consent forms were then distributed to the participants to read and sign if they were willing to participate. For participants with limited literacy, consent was obtained verbally by reading out the forms and asking them whether or not they were willing to participate. Their responses were noted on the forms. Ethical considerations like confidentiality were followed stringently during the study.

Data were collected both before and after all the interventions.

The main selection criteria for both groups (control and intervention) were the same: age (16-30 years) and residence in Quaidabad or Rehmatabad. The Intervention group was additionally asked for a commitment to continue attending the series of sessions. The participants’ education and marital status were not controlled. The selection of young men and boys for interventions was made after holding individual and group meetings, visiting youth hang-outs in community like snooker clubs, academies, sports grounds and internet clubs and asking youth to bring peers to the sessions.

The following table shows the differences in collected forms in the baseline and end line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of tool</th>
<th>Quantitative</th>
<th>Qualitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total in Baseline (n)</td>
<td>Total in End line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervention</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.5 Data Coding:

All individual forms were assigned a unique code for future reference and data entry. Separate codes were assigned to control and Intervention groups. This was an important step and allowed
for ease of reference between the two sets of data: control and end line, and two data groups: control and Intervention group.

3.3.6 Data management and analysis of quantitative data:

Data sets were randomly checked and corrected for minor coding or other errors and data was further entered into CSPro package and SPSS. The analysis of data was carried out in SPSS which comprised the following three comparisons:

1. Baseline of Intervention group versus baseline of Control group
2. Baseline of Intervention group versus End line of Intervention group
3. Baseline of Control group versus End line of Control group

3.3.7 Analysis framework for qualitative data:

Drawing upon the objectives of the study, the analysis framework used in the initial qualitative research was modified to capture the impact of interventions. The research team* divided the data into four main domains namely, Masculinity, Violence, Sexuality and Relations. Two domains, i.e., Masculinity and Violence, were further subdivided as:

Masculinity: Traits, attributes and influencers (source of message)

Violence: Type of violence (Physical, non-physical or sexual), list of perpetrators and context /situations.

Evaluation: New learning, challenges faced, behavioural change examples, content in session that needs to be changed or added.

MS Excel spreadsheets were used to code and analyze the descriptive data.

4. Analysis and Findings:

The study applying a two-tier methodology required both qualitative and quantitative analyses to draw upon the conclusions and programmatic suggestions.

4.1 Comparison between Control group Baseline and Intervention group Baseline (Quantitative Data)

In the baseline there were 100 respondents while in the intervention area there were 96. A comparison between the two baselines provides a basis for further analysis and reflects the extent
The analysis framework was developed initially with support from International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) Asia Regional Office.

to which the groups are comparable in terms of attitudes towards violence, masculinity, sexuality and relationships. Each item is scored for the extent of gender equitable responses from the participants. Higher scores reflect more gender equitable attitudes. The analysis was performed in SPSS using the Wilcoxon Test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudinal Statements</th>
<th>No. of participants with CBL scores &lt; IBL scores (Negative)</th>
<th>No. of participants with CBL scores &gt; IBL scores (Positive)</th>
<th>Same value with CBL scores = IBL scores (No change)</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You don’t talk about sex, you just do it.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>Intervention group was higher on gender equitable scale than the Control group so it was not comparable in this particular question.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.621</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0.847</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not man’s responsibility to fulfil every domestic need.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.264</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won’t have sex with him.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>No significant difference, the groups are comparable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Men can take care of children just as well as women can. @ | 15 | 30 | 29 | 0.189 | No significant difference, the groups are comparable.

Men should not hide their sexual weakness from women.@ | 21 | 12 | 43 | 0.371 | No significant difference, the groups are comparable.

A man should be sexually powerful to keep his wife in control. @ | 18 | 8 | 50 | 0.107 | No significant difference, the groups are comparable.

Men get out of control due to women’s dressing and gait. | 11 | 10 | 52 | 0.760 | No significant difference, the groups are comparable.

A man is born to earn. @ | 23 | 9 | 41 | 0.017 | Intervention group was higher on gender equitable scale than the Control group so it was not comparable in this particular question.

In the second column of the analysis sheet titled No. of participants with CBL scores < IBL scores (Negative) shows the number of participants who have greater scores in Intervention baseline as compared to control baseline. The third column No. of participants with CBL scores > IBL scores (Positive) may be interpreted as No. of participants who have lower score in intervention baseline as compared to the Control group. The fourth column with the description same value with CBL scores = IBL scores (No change) mentions the number of participants with the same scores after performing difference between control base line and intervention baseline (Control group – Intervention group). P-value shows the level of significance of measured change, the lower the p-value the higher the significance of results.

For the two areas where the Intervention group has a tilt towards gender equitable norms, one explanation may lie in the qualitative research that preceded interventions. At least 19 (19.7%) boys and men who took part in the research were also involved in the interventions. As such these boys had some interaction and discussions on these topics with the team collecting data for the research.

Overall, both group were largely similar in their attitudes towards violence, masculinity, sexuality and relationships.

4.2 Comparison between Intervention group Baseline and Intervention group End line Data (Quantitative Data)

The table below compared the quantitative data of the baseline and end line of Intervention group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitudinal Statements</th>
<th>No. of participants with IEL scores &lt; IBL scores (Negative)</th>
<th>No. of participants with IEL scores &gt; IBL scores (Positive)</th>
<th>Same value with IEL scores  = IBL scores (No change)</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Conclusion (E-B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You don’t talk about sex, you just do it.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>In baseline participants were more gender equitable than in the end line. The shift is significant one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>The shift is positive and has a key standing in patriarchal norm. This shift reflects a rejection of the commonly accepted notion that men should take decision within the home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not man’s responsibility to fulfil every domestic need.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>The shift is positive and shows room for women to speak out for their rights and dignity at the domestic level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won’t have sex with him.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>The shift is positive and shows a rejection of the commonly held belief that a husband has control over his wife’s body and sexuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men can take care of children just as well as women can. @</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>No significant change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men should not hide their sexual weakness from women. @</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>The shift is positive. It shows that participants were willing to talk about feelings of sexual weakness or inferiority with women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man should be sexually powerful to keep his wife in control. @</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>This item has been adapted after qualitative research carried out in this community prior to interventions, thus it has importance in terms of its being indigenous. A positive shift in this way of thinking bears special significance as this masculine attribute was initially raised by the same community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second column of the analysis sheet titled No. of participants with IEL scores < IBL scores (Negative) shows the number of participants who have greater scores in Intervention baseline as compared to intervention end line. The third column No. of participants with IEL scores > IBL scores (Positive) may be interpreted as the number of participants who have a lower score in intervention baseline as compared to intervention end line showing positive shift in attitudes. The fourth column with the description same value with IEL scores = IBL scores (No change) mentions no. of participants with same scores after performing difference between intervention end line and intervention baseline (Intervention End line group – Intervention baseline). P-value shows the level of significance of measured change, the lower the p-value the higher the significance of results.

The table above shows a positive shift in 7 attitudinal items out of total 13, one with negative change (relates to sexuality) and 5 with no significant change.

### 4.3 Comparison between Control group Baseline and Control group End line (Quantitative Data)

Control group analysis plays a vital role in drawing conclusions during research with respect to the validity and depth of change. In the baseline there were 100 respondents aged 16-30 in Control group and same participants were contacted and surveyed after 1.5 years when interventions were carried out with the other group. The following table shows the comparison between the two surveys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>11</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>0.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Men get out of control due to women’s dressing and gait.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A man is born to earn. @</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The shift is positive again which reflects a busting of a popular myth amongst young boys and men where the burden of abuse and violence is put on women.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This item is based on qualitative research carried out in this community prior to interventions, thus it has importance in terms of its being indigenous. A positive shift in this way of thinking bears special significance as this attribute and its integral relationship to masculinity was initially raised by the same community.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal Statements</td>
<td>No. of participants with CEL scores &lt; CBL scores (Negative)</td>
<td>No. of participants with CEL scores &gt; CBL scores (Positive)</td>
<td>Same value with CEL scores = CBL scores (No change)</td>
<td>p-value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You don’t talk about sex, you just do it.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not man’s responsibility to fulfil every domestic need.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won’t have sex with him.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men can take care of children just as well as women can. @</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men should not hide their sexual weakness from women.@</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A man should be sexually powerful to keep his wife in control. @</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0.515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second column of the analysis sheet titled No. of participants with CEL scores < CBL scores (Negative) shows the number of participants who have greater scores in Control baseline as compared to control end line. The third column No. of participants with CEL scores > CBL scores (Positive) may be interpreted as No. of participants who have a lower score in control baseline as compared to control end line showing positive shift in attitudes. The fourth column with the description same value with CEL scores = CBL scores (No change) mentions the number of participants with same scores after a lapse of a certain amount of time during which the Intervention group underwent different activities. This is calculated by control End line group – Control baseline). P-value shows the level of significance of measured change, the lower the p-value the higher the significance of results.

Overall results depict no significant change in the attitudes of men and boys in control area. Higher p-values do not allow us to reject null hypothesis \( H_0 \); Control Baseline=Control end line. Interestingly, the analysis shows a downward shift in two items. The shift is away from gender equitable attitudes. Comparing the two items with Intervention group, we find that in one item there was a positive attitudinal shift and the other reflects no significant change. From this, it can be inferred here that had the intervention not taken place the change in attitudes of men in this specific item would have been negative.

4.4 Qualitative Data:

A comparative study of the qualitative content of the in depth interviews provides an insight into the lives of men and boys, bringing out the shifts in their thinking processes, understanding and, in some cases, practices. The analysis given below captures both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the data.

4.4.1. Acknowledgement that beliefs are socially produced by religion and culture, and that individuals beliefs can be different

A distinct shift in the end line interviews indicates the participants’ ability to draw a line between what society/religion thinks and what their view is. This was often accompanied by questioning or criticizing these values and norms. Their ability to recognize where these messages came from and also challenge them reflects that 1) they are able to distance themselves from it to an extent; and 2) they are able to challenge it, verbally at least. During the end line interviews, one of the respondents said,
“Now if we talk about earning...Islam says that it is man to who has to earn ...I don’t know exactly...but it is there. I feel that now a days girls are not less than anyone...they can do all what men should do ..Engineering, ..and one is pilot also ...they are earning...and it is right”

Talking about a stereotypical approach to the roles of men and women, one of the respondents in end line interviews said;

“If a decision is made by a woman in a family ...and they know it is better one ...they just decline it saying how can a woman take a decision for the family? I think a good decision should be acknowledged even if a woman is making it ...this is my thinking ..now to change peoples ...it will take time....”

Comparing this to the baseline interviews, respondents would often reinforce religious teachings or societal norms regarding gender roles For example, in a focus group one of the respondents said,

“Islam says that women should stay at home and men should go out to earn.....if women work ...for men it is a dishonour”.

In the baseline, it was evident in the discussion that having daughters invites criticism and taunts from family and community. One interviewee, for example, said

“..one daughter is enough ...when one after another three daughters are born,  a man gets hurt...(he thinks)...what has happened to me why not a son...the woman is also thought of as something else (bad, cursed).Others taunt the man, and friends pity him for having many daughters...”

In end line the respondent explained his personal view on the issue by saying:

“In our culture people believe that a son will be a support to the father ...daughters leave eventually (marriage)...some people think that having a daughter is a burden but I don’t agree...a daughter is also a child just like boy...everyone brings his/her Rizq”.

4.4.2. Acceptance of violence / no denial

In contrast to the baseline response, the end line the respondents accepted that violence takes place and that most of the times women and children are the victims. It is interesting to note that in the focus group discussions with unmarried young men as part of the baseline, the discussion around violence was minimal with only two unsolicited references to the topic. Moreover, violent acts
were described in a way that minimized them and, in fact mentioned them as ‘enjoyable’ moments for young boys and men. One of the baseline respondents, while talking about working women, said:

“Sometimes sexual desires are not in our minds (but) even the most noble person never misses a free opportunity (to tease girls)…it is normal…(laughing) ”.

In the end line interviews they were able to name these acts as ‘violent’, accept that they existed in homes and on the street and were, in fact common especially in married women’s lives. A respondent said:

“In domestic life men assert their power on women and compel them to think that women cannot do anything and they can do everything to women...”

“Boys do it forcibly with girls...they live their life peacefully and put girls in difficulty...”

“They express power by beating the weak...sexual violence is also included in this ....they tease girls, touch them forcibly ...it is very common in boys’ life...”.

Clearly the denial has lifted and they can now see the same events they had previously talked about lightly in the base line, as coerced sexual encounters.

As for quantitative data, when the participants were asked in the baseline and end line about the existence of violence at home and tolerating it, the following results emerged;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same value with EL scores = BL scores (No change)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of participants with EL scores &gt;BL scores (Positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of participants with EL scores &lt; BL scores (Negative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-one of 83 respondents have shown no change in this particular item, 48 have shown greater scores in the end line than in the baseline and 14 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in the
end line as compared to baseline. Lower p-value i.e 0.00 suggests this to be a highly significant change. Higher scores mean more gender equitable attitudes.

In the baseline more men from the Intervention group agreed to the statement, but much fewer did so in the end line. This shift reflects not only the recognition of domestic violence but also social permission to women to raise their voices against it.

4.4.3. Recognizing types of violence and the dynamics of power

A deeper understanding of why violence occurs in the home and the power dynamics involved was clearly expressed by some in the end line interviews. Whereas earlier reasons for violence shared were apologist explanations for men or cited as the woman’s fault, the focus in the end line interviews was now on the fact that violence occurs against the weaker groups as they cannot defend themselves and that it is unfair. Describing the phenomenon one of the respondents explained,

“More violence is inflicted upon women and children, because a woman, you can say, is weak, children are minors and they can’t do anything”.

The understanding of violence in connection to power as mentioned here bears significance, as it may help in understanding other manifestations of oppression beyond physical abuse. It indicates an increase in understanding of the different types of violence faced by women. For example in the end line identifying other forms of violence one of participants mentioned economic violence by pointing out that:

“They don’t give them (women) inheritance”.

4.4.4 The burden of blame

A commonly held belief around the sexual and domestic violence experienced by women is that they must have done something to provoke it. Men’s role and agency are typically downplayed and women are painted as temptresses, the ones that lead men’s astray. This view is deeply entrenched and has implications for any redressal that a woman seeks against this violence whether in formal justice systems or community opinion.

In the baseline qualitative interviews one of the participants said:

“Men are compelled to be involved in this (sexual harassment of women)...they( women) dress in such a way that one becomes out of control ...”

A similar viewpoint was shared in a focus group discussion:

“...you go to any multinational company’s office, WARID, ZONG ...or any NGO and you will find women in such dresses that ...Allah forgive us....their shirts are short and half the belly is naked from the sides ...what should a man do then...?”.

In the end line interviews one of the respondents said “...I have seen here in Ghareebabad ......if they look at some beautiful girl driving, .everyone would stare at her and say ... look at that yaar...she is driving! How do their parents give cars to them? Look her father is sitting beside her
and she is driving! I have seen this happening here ....but I say if she is driving, it is her right, she can do it, she has learnt it ...so what's a big deal? I think we should not do this ...girls can drive too...we shouldn’t stare at them like this and discuss them...we should mind our business ...if she is going ...let her go ...”.

A similar perception was noted in response to a statement in the questionnaire where a distinct shift was noted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12. Men get out of control due to women’s dressing and gait.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same value with EL scores = BL scores (No change)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of participants with EL scores &gt;BL scores (Positive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of participants with EL scores &lt; BL scores (Negative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above figure 22 respondents out of 80 have shown no change in this particular item, 47 have shown greater scores in end line than in baseline and 11 have shown a negative shift by scoring lower in the end line as compared to baseline. Overall the change is positive and lower p-value i.e 0.00 suggests this to be a highly significant change.

It seems that there has been some change in accepting men’s responsibility and agency in the violence that women face.

4.4.5. Acknowledging women’s potential and need for a more gender equitable male role in relationships with women.

During the end line interviews some of the participants mentioned and endorsed certain norms that run contrary to widely accepted gender norms. A respondent said,

“A woman is a harder worker than a man. My mother is a harder worker as compared to my father”

In another statement a participant says:
“Yes, men do domestic chores, like I give you my own example, we have no sister, my brother cooks and I bring groceries from outside”.

This example from his personal life implies that the participant has not only become sensitive to the segregation of responsibilities, but has also started looking into this split through a gender lens. The condition that he does not have a sister, though, defuses the extent of his wilful engagement in activities that are widely thought to be a woman’s role.

In the end line interviews while describing husband wife relationships, one of the respondents said,

“Husband wife relationships should be friendly, and there should be nothing hidden between them.”

This is in stark contrast to the lack of trust in women reflected in the baseline:

“A man’s best friend can only be a man. ...A woman can’t help you except verbally”
“... a man who has a sexual problem ...when his wife comes to know ...she dominates him and orders him ...do this ...do that ... and he cannot do anything but to accept orders....”
“...obviously if man could not satisfy his wife sexually ...she would look for other ways to satisfy herself (sexually)....”

“..There are certain things that cannot be shared with women ...let’s say there is a man who has a sexual problem ..his penis doesn’t become erect or he releases prematurely or ..something else ...do you think he should tell the girl about this ...NO ...Never ...he simply can’t...because if he does so... she would kick him and say go way you are a Namard (less than a man) ..

This clearly reflects a perception that friendship (a relationship based on trust) is only amongst men. The end line responses indicate a shift, which includes women in the circle of trust, which is a positive sign of change.

This is further supported by the response to the statement “A man should not hide his sexual weakness from his wife”, where the number of respondents who agreed are greater than in the base line.
In the above figure 31 respondents out of 84 have shown no change in this particular item, 41 have shown greater scores in the end line than in baseline and 12 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in the end line as compared to the baseline. Lower p-value i.e 0.00 suggests this to be a highly significant change. Higher scores mean more gender equitable attitudes.

Sexual control through sexual prowess is an important expression of power when it comes to men’s relationships with women and can be a source of serious anxiety in men. After participating in sessions a significant change is noted in the attitudes of men towards controlling women (i.e. their wives) through sexual prowess.
In the above figure 24 respondents out of 84 have shown no change in this particular item, 50 have shown greater scores in the end line than in the baseline and 10 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in the end line as compared to the baseline. Lower p-value i.e 0.00 suggests this to be a highly significant change. Higher scores mean more gender equitable attitudes.

Another important manifestation of stereotypical masculinity is the rule of single handed decision making by men in the domestic sphere. Women are specially kept out of it and the rationalization given is that they lack the courage and ability to take decisions. One of the quantitative measures suggests the following change:
In the above figure 28 respondents out of 82 have shown no change in this particular item, 43 have shown greater scores in end line than in baseline and 11 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in end line as compared to baseline. Lower p-value i.e 0.00 suggests this to be a highly significant change. A positive shift in this item underpins the inclusion of women in decision making processes at home.

Boys’ and men’s attitude that women earning was a challenge to men’s masculinity was a theme that repeatedly arose in the baseline study. For example, in the baseline qualitative focus group discussion with unmarried men one respondent said,

“Women have to take care of the home and it is a man’s responsibility to go out and earn”,

The same stereotypical male role was mentioned by respondents in different ways, for example:

“Without money/salary a man is nothing’...the ‘earning of a man is his potency’ ... ‘men who cannot [earn] are eunuchs’.

One of participant quotes,, “A man is born to earn” was included in the questionnaire. A comparison between the responses to this statement in the baseline and end line suggests a significant positive shift in the attitudes (figure given below).

In the above figure 25 respondents out of 82 have shown no change in this particular item, 41 have shown greater scores in the end line than in baseline and 16 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in end line as compared to baseline. Lower p-value i.e 0.001 suggests this to be a highly significant change.
4.4.6. Role of men in conflict

In the baseline study boys and men often reported an unwillingness to take responsibility for the settlement of disputes between their wives and own family members. Usual responses to conflict with the home were to leave the house or stop communication with the wife. One of the respondents shared in base line interviews

“...whenever we get into a fight at home...if she doesn’t agree with me... I ignore her...she starts talking too much... then what can I do... I go out of the house... spend sometime and then go back... by then she forgets everything ....”.In the end line interview, while discussing issues emerging post marriage, they emphasized that men can play a positive role in mediating in family issues. As one put it “A man should not opt for violence and solve issues through dialogue (with family members)”

Here using non-violent ways of addressing an issue is in contrast to hegemonic masculinity (aggressive, authoritative). This also links to the sessions conducted where conflict resolution through negotiations, collaboration and mediation was addressed as a non-violent ways of resolving them.

4.5 Practice Changes

An important area of investigation in this end line study was to assess the change in the behaviours of the participants after attending the session series. An example of this is a participant reporting the following change: “I gained confidence; I shared what I never did with any one before”.

The following narration also illustrates a change in behaviour:

“In middle of the sessions 3 boys from the group stopped attending the sessions. It was learned that they had been stopped by their parents from attending the sessions as the content of sessions like sexuality was not acceptable to them. Two of us agreed to visit the parents and clarify what they have been learning in the sessions and persuade them to permit the boys to appear in the sessions regularly. I went to Arif’s (Name has been changed to maintain confidentiality) father and spoke to him about the sessions, I also took with me a short detail of sessions and convinced him that the sessions are useful as we interact with others, discuss issues and learn about anger, communications and violence prevention.”
What a mother says about the sessions

The mother of a young man shared: “I can see a good change in the behaviour of my son. Before attending sessions he was very shy and reluctant to talk to others in a group specially women. He started attending the sessions and now I am very happy for him, he talks to people with comfort, says salaam to women guests visiting our home and is more respectful to his younger sister. I think more and more boys and men should be included in these sessions.”

A member also mentioned changes in his behaviour, narrating, “Before the sessions I always ordered my sister to do small things for me like getting me a glass of water, polishing my shoes etc. but now I do it myself and if she is busy studying I don’t order her to do these things ….”

Another participants honestly reflects “There are some changes and in some other areas they are not many changes ….there are things that we still do…it’s not that we have completely left those, but yes before the sessions we used to tease (harass) girls and now it has decreased …. And I don’t behave violently with my young brother and sister at home now.”

The intervention package also contained three sessions on life skills such as anger. One of the participants demonstrates how he now reacts differently: “One day at home my younger sister said she wanted to do a job. I started yelling at her that she can’t go out of the home for a job. She insisted and I just left home in anger. After sometime, I don’t know how it happened, I started thinking that I was wrong, she has every right to decide about her future, I went back home and apologized to her, told her that at the time I was angry. She is now doing a job and our relationship is good.”

4.6 What didn’t change

4.6.1 Men as providers

We found recurrent appearances of “earning” as a major expectation from men and a defining factor. In most of the baseline interview earning was mentioned as a prime masculine attribute. Where there seems to be a shift in attitude towards women’s earning and the right to do so, men’s responsibility as primary bread earner did not shift. The following figure from the survey results shows that no significant change has occurred in the attitude of participants regarding this attribute.
Thirty-five respondents out of 83 have shown no change in this particular item, 18 have shown greater scores than in end line in baseline and 30 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in end line as compared to baseline. Higher p-value i.e. 0.266 suggests this not to be significant change.

4.6.2 Men as brave, fearless and protectors of women:

Societal expectations of being “brave” and “fearless” encourages men to engage in risky behaviours such as violent and sometimes fatal conflicts, risky sports, unsafe sexual activities, etc. A respondent in the base line said, “We are from Hazara ... it is well known about us that we don’t spare our enemy ... even after 100 years ... we must take revenge ...”. He added “...In this last duel everybody used to tell me, ‘do not go outside’ but my reply was that we have to die one day, whether we die at the hands of a human being or because a dog bites us, or the angel of death comes to take our spirit, when our death is ordained it will happen.... After all everyone has to die anyways...”. The following figure shows a comparison between the base line and end line.
Twenty-two respondents out of 83 have shown no change in this particular item, 28 have shown greater scores than in end line in baseline and 33 have shown a negative shift by scoring less in end line as compared to baseline. Higher p-value, i.e. 0.743 suggests this not to be significant change.

Protecting the honour of women and, thus the home appeared in the baseline interviews. Men often ascribed the notion of honour to women (which includes a mohallah- gate keeping role) as expressed by one of respondents.

“...If we saw someone from outside e.g. young boy in our locality ...we talk to him once and then we don’t spare him ...how can someone come to our locality for girls ...protecting their honour is our duty...”

Often this is a reason cited for limiting women’s mobility, access to higher education, etc. Protection requires men and boys to be aggressive and violent in situations where the honour is at stake. This attitude remained unchanged in the end line.

4.6.3 Sexuality:

Another pertinent area where men are seen as uncontrollable beings is sexual desire. One of the participants hints at this in the end line by saying that

“Man cannot control his Nafs (self)”.

This echoes earlier statements suggested in the baseline:
“...They (women), themselves invite such things (sexual violence) by dressing up in a way that everything can be seen through...when they wear short dresses, sleeveless..and the way they look at boys and their way of walking ...everyone gets out of control by watching it .....”

Relating to an important component of sexuality that is linked to family planning, respondents showed no significant shift in attitudes. This was captured by the following statement in the questionnaire.

2. It is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.

Twenty-eight respondents out of 78 have shown no change in this particular item, 29 have shown greater scores in end line than in baseline and 21 have shown a negative shift by scoring lower in the end line as compared to baseline. Higher p-value i.e 0.393 suggests this not to be significant change.

Another item linked to sexuality is shown in the below figure:
Twenty-one respondents out of 84 have shown no change in this particular item, 29 have shown greater scores in the end line than in the baseline and 34 have shown a negative shift by scoring lower in the end line as compared to baseline. Higher p-value i.e 0.75 suggests this not to be significant change.

The above statement is reflective of a stereotypical masculine attribute about sexual prowess. In the base line interviews respondents mentioned that an ideal man has the “sexual power to satisfy more women”, and “have many girl friends”. No significant change shows that the attitude related to this attribute still holds.

4.6.4 Child sexual abuse and consensual sex/exploration with other men and boys:

In the base line study most men shared personal sexual experiences with other boys as they were growing up. A respondent narrated the following:

“We used to go to canal for bathing in summer and there we all did it (sex) ...it was common thing ...”.  

In most cases, where men shared experiences of having sex with men, they talked about being the penetrator as opposed to being penetrated. But there were also narration of instances where sexual experiences went beyond exploration and became coercive or violent. However, these boys failed to articulate them as violations.

During the discussion in the end line around sexual experiences with other men, it was found that confusion between understanding of consensual sex/exploration with other men and boys and child sexual abuse (CSA) continues to exist. Most of the time CSA was confused with first sexual...
exploration between peers, minimizing it from a violent act to integral part of men’s lives or what all men usually do in their early life, some of them calling it a mere experimentation in adolescence. This entails an important learning that there needs to be a detailed session on the definitions of CSA and consensual sex between men while working with boys and men.

4.7 Comments on Sessions

In the end line interviews, the men were asked to share which of the session they liked, and which they considered irrelevant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How were the sessions? (an overall opinion)</th>
<th>What topics did you like most? (specify sessions)</th>
<th>What topics were irrelevant? (specify sessions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. “..It was a very good learning opportunity …we usually don’t talk about these issues but I am happy to be part of this”  
2. “The discussions were in very friendly environment…we enjoyed it …”  
3. “I liked the way I was part of this …was very knowledgeable”.
  
4. “The sessions were very good …but it captured only boys and men…while in community theatres we were able to attract more people so that should also be focused …we need more theatres to reach more people…” | 1. “Myths around sexuality (specially the fact that it is a male’s sperm that decides the sex of offspring..so if a woman has daughters it is not her fault.. I have kept this written with me)”  
2. “Sessions on power and anger were very helpful in addressing daily life issues related to these things.”  
3. “Session on conflict resolution was very informative and the discussion on how to resolve it in home and community was very good.”  
4. “Tools of communication was a very good session …how we talk to others matters most ….” | 1. “One myth that still holds in our mind is that masturbation weakens men… I think these things should not be discussed”.

5. Conclusions:

The shifts mentioned above are promising. The ability of these young men to distance themselves from popular cultural and religious messaging on gender roles, and even at times to question them is a welcome sign. What had hitherto been accepted as the only way of being is cited after the intervention as ‘messaging’ which may not be valid in the current context, unhealthy or downright unjust.

A deeper understanding of the dynamics of violence and its link to power imbalance is another promising area of change. They can now identify the pervasiveness of violence and its many forms in the lives of women, how gender roles make women more vulnerable to violence and that this is not limited to physical violence alone. This is in sharp contrast to the baseline interviews where they either negated the presence and downplayed its seriousness or gave apologist explanations for men. The fact that some of them are willing to shift the burden of blame on themselves for eve teasing and sexual harassment is clear from the records of the end line interviews and survey results.

The boys are now also beginning to challenge the legitimacy of men’s violence against women by saying that a woman should not tolerate violence in order to keep the home together. Some have also gone on to at least conceptually challenge the commonly accepted right of the husband over the woman’s body and regard violence by the man as unacceptable if a wife refuses sex to her husband.

Change is also visible in more flexibility in the gender roles of women. Giving women the space to work is in sharp contrast to the baseline where some boys went on to equate any women’s work to ‘prostitution’, and men who allowed them to do this as ‘pimps’. Yet in the end line we have the example of a young man who has encouraged their sister to work. Giving more women the power to participate in decision making is another area where they are now more comfortable, questioning men’s unchallenged right to take all decisions within the household.

Areas that have proved harder to nudge are areas that deal with issues around their own perceptions of what a man should be, for example, a man should be the bread winner. This notion is still one they appear to hold onto and have more difficulty challenging, even though there have been some dents in the armour, where at least in the quantitative survey there seems to have been a positive shift in response to the statement that a man is born to earn. However this was not held up by a corresponding question where they still felt the pressure to meet all needs of the families. In the end line interviews many continued to think that a man must provide financially and if he was unable to do so, he was not a real man. While they may now recognize that this burden may be
unfair (that a man is NOT born to earn) they still feel they must perform this function to be a man. Sexuality myths such as needing more women being a sign of real manhood, and men’s innate inability to control their sexual drives, continued to be repeated in the end line interviews.

As such the analysis seems to suggest that where there are marked changes in men and boys attitudes towards women and their relationship with them, there is more resistance and contestation around their masculine identity and their own gender role.

Lessons are also to be drawn from the methodology and design of the initiative:

- Messaging was not limited to sessions alone and that other activities and opportunities for engagement (e.g. theatre trainings and campaigning), allowed for more positive changes.
- Masculinities are multiple, fragile and socially constructed hence closely dependent upon the cultural, class, economic, ethnic, religious, geographical and political realities of a particular setting. The interventions should address these realities and the relevance to their context may be maintained giving examples during the trainings and promoting activism.
- Working with young men and boys needs a special focus on keeping the interest of the group alive in the sessions. Extracurricular activities like going out on trip, having a cricket match or movie screening are important avenues to keep the discussion going and making them more contextualized within their setting and range of daily activities. Often these forays into everyday life beyond the session settings allowed for many learning moments and interesting discussions which helped to reinforce the messaging of the session themselves.
- It as a useful strategy to work with young women in the community. This allowed for some interesting exchanges in the interactive cross gender discussion forums that followed these sessions and also enabled some interesting feedback on out of session behaviour of the young men attending these sessions by their wives and mothers.
- The invisibility of gender to men can act as a barrier in creating spaces for self-reflection. The fact that the sessions were largely experiential and focused on the self, allowing men to reflect on their childhoods, relationships, experiences of power and powerlessness, expression of feelings like anger, helplessness and anxiety, expectations from society and stories of abuse and violation, helped forge stronger ownership of and connection to issues. Thus, where the module sought to develop critical thinking and an understanding of gender and masculinities, it did so with a constant anchor to the self as the core that must embrace change.
- A major lesson in this work is the realization that these newer insights are at best tenuous and must be nurtured through sustained opportunities for activism and the space for sharing challenges to their application challenges. Humqadam hopes to set up a community space, for these men and boys so that they continue to meet and discuss and stay connected with this process. This can include linkage development and exposure visits with other similar groups and organizations in the area, mobilizing men and boys to
campaign on relevant international days and national days, invitations to activism trainings and discussion forums/seminars, and acknowledgment and appreciation for voluntary work.

Changing attitudes towards issues as inextricably linked to our gendered identities as perceptions of self, power dynamics in relationships, sexuality is not a simple or a one step process. Ultimately, the messaging on gender equality and justice requires men and boys to challenge norms and values that have been socialized though powerful institutions like family, religion, culture and continuously being reinforced through popular discourse through media, education and peers and friends. Moreover, for men challenging masculine ideals means challenging an identity that is fragile at best, and which needs to be constantly reaffirmed by assertions, which are often violent and destructive. Unlike women, where the call to change can be rewarding or is at least a quest for more power, for men it often translates into an uncomfortable reflection of abuse of power and demands a shifting of power and privilege. As such any change that comes about in individual attitudes is tenuous and can be seen as but a beginning, needing to be constantly nurtured and rewarded. Having said that, it is also important to not underestimate the role awareness and critical thinking can play in an individual’s ability to reflect, challenge and contest values and norms that may have hitherto been unquestionably accepted as the truth, and how these reflections can become opportunities and sites of resistance and action.
6. Annex-A

**Questionnaire for measuring change in attitudes of men and boys after implementing capacity building and sensitization interventions**

**Item 1:** You don’t talk about sex, you just do it.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 2:** It is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 3:** A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 4:** A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 5:** It is not man’s responsibility to fulfil every domestic need.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 6:** If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 7:** A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 8:** It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won’t have sex with him.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 9:** Men can take care of children just as well as women can.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 10:** Men should not hide their sexual weakness from women.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 11:** A man should be sexually powerful to keep his wife in control.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 12:** Men get out of control due to women’s dressing and gait.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree

**Item 13:** A man is born to earn.
   1. Agree   2. Partially agree   3. Disagree