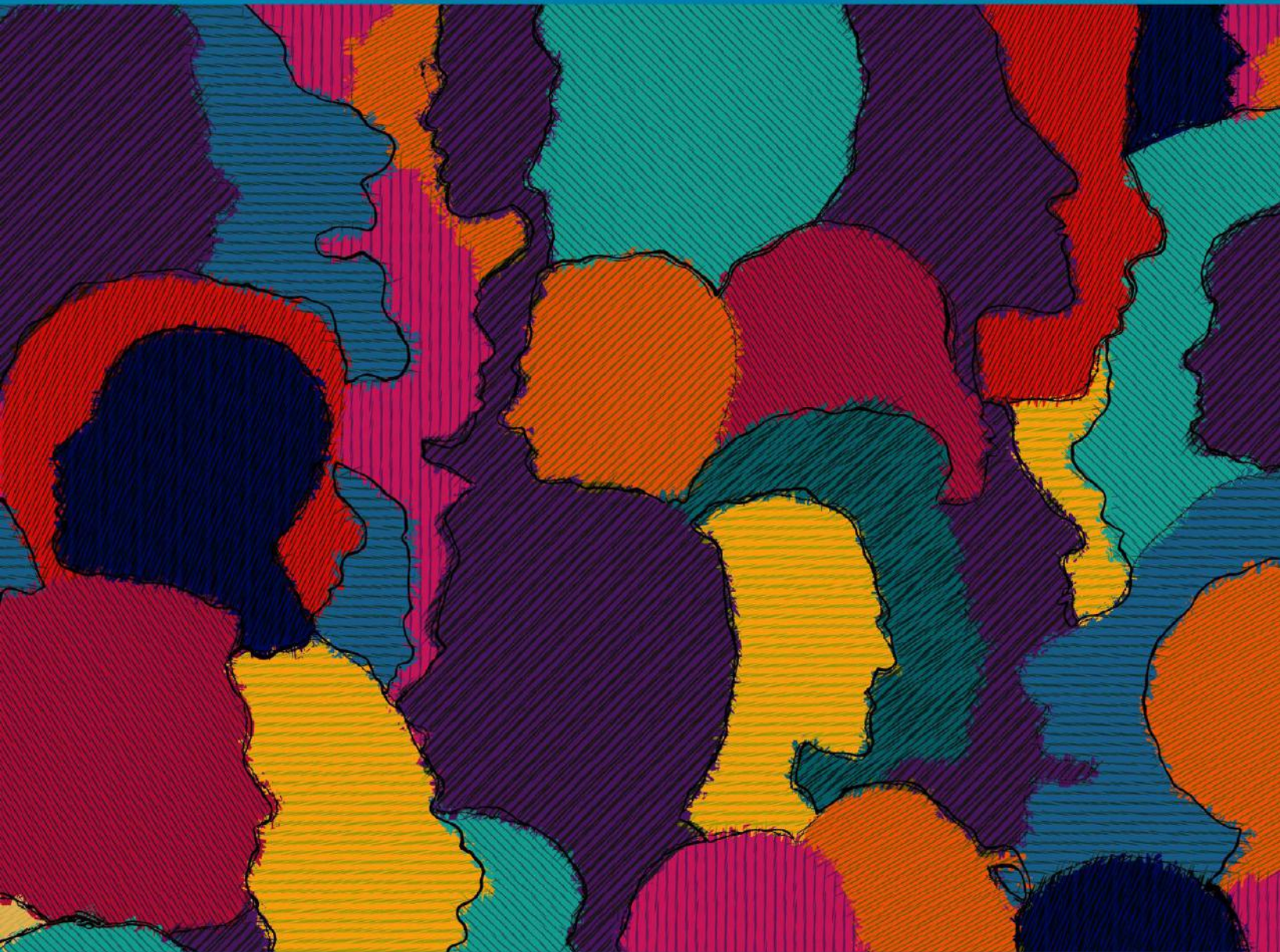


MASCULINITY, VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, AND JUSTICE-SEEKING IN NEPAL



ABOUT THIS STUDY

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in Nepal was a population-based, mixed method study carried out with men aged 18 to 60 years in two provinces. This study was produced by the Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) Component of the Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice (IPSSJ), managed by Palladium and supported by the British Embassy in Nepal. The study was delivered in collaboration with the Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities (CREHPA) and Equipundo.

Equipundo (formerly Promundo-US) and the International Center for Research on Women created the IMAGES approach in 2008 as a comprehensive, multi-country study on topics including men's and women's realities, practices and attitudes around gender norms, gender equality policies, household dynamics, caregiving and fatherhood, domestic violence, sexual diversity, health and economic stress. As of 2018, IMAGES and IMAGES-inspired studies have been carried out in more than 40 countries, with more studies planned or underway.

IMAGES is generally carried out together with qualitative research to map masculinities, contextualise survey results and provide detailed life histories that illuminate quantitative findings. The questionnaire is adapted to each country and region, while around two-thirds of the questions are standard across settings. For more information, see menandgendersurvey.org.

AUTHORS

Taveeshi Gupta, Senior Research Officer, Equipundo
Mahesh Puri, Co-Director, Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities
Karuna Onta, Social Development Adviser, British Embassy Kathmandu
Danielle Stein, Research Adviser, IPSSJ MEL Component, Palladium
Bipa Shrestha, Co-ordinator, IPSSJ MEL Component, Palladium
Kusum Wagle, Senior Research Officer, Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities (CREHPA)
Brian Heilman, Senior Research Officer, Equipundo

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Abbreviations

ADB – Asian Development Bank

CREHPA – Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities

FCDO – UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

GAGE – Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence

GBV – Gender-based violence

IPSSJ – Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice

IPV – Intimate partner violence

MEL – Monitoring, evaluation and learning

MOHP – Ministry of Health and Population

MoWCSC – Ministry of Women, Children and Senior Citizens

NDHS – Nepal Demographic Health Survey

NWC – National Women Commission

OCMC – One Stop Crisis Management Centres

ODI – Overseas Development Institute

UK FCDO – Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

UNOPS – United Nations Office for Project Services

VAWG – Violence against women and girls

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background. Despite the progress toward gender equality recorded in recent years, violence against women and girls (VAWG) is still widespread in Nepal. Women and girls in Nepal are exposed to several different forms of violence. Many of these are common to women and girls globally, and others are rooted in the national context. Among these, domestic violence, including intimate partner violence (IPV) is predominant. The 2016 Nepal Demographic Health Survey found that 22% of women of aged 15 to 49 have experienced physical violence at least once since the age of 15, and 7% of all women reported having experienced sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. Moreover, 26% of women who are or have been married have experienced physical, sexual or emotional violence by their spouse. As shown in the Global Database on Violence Against Women, these rates of IPV are similar to those reported in India but lower than reported in Bangladesh.¹ Several factors for this persistence of violence have been identified in the literature. These include legal subordination, economic dependency, cultural obligation and the social position of women, along with the social construction and reinforcement of male dominance and female subservience.

The Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice (IPSSJ), funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), has been working since 2015 to improve security and access to justice across Nepal, particularly for women, children and traditionally excluded people. Previous research carried out by IPSSJ found that women’s decisions about whether to report violence or seek justice are often influenced by men. Women generally looked to their husbands and other male members of their families when making decisions about whether to break the silence about violence they have experienced. Men, in turn, were generally influenced by other men. Other studies in Nepal have also shown that men are a particularly influential reference group and their opinions shape norms around violence and gendered power dynamics.

Although several interventions have sought to address social norms that are harmful to women, relatively few have done so with a specific focus on shifting masculinities, exploring the origins of harmful social norms or working towards shifting power relations. This study seeks to build on and deepen previous research on masculinities in Nepal. The objective is to understand how masculinity and masculine norms impact VAWG and help-seeking, and how these norms can be influenced externally. Given the information previously gathered on this topic, the study focuses on providing information that can be used to support the design of future programmes and to tailor bespoke interventions. It is also intended as a public good for interested stakeholders to better understand the environment for seeking to address VAWG in Nepal.

Methodology. This study was carried out in April 2021 in Province 2 and Sudurpaschim Province. It used a mixed-method design: 850 men provided quantitative data, while four focus group discussions (FGD) and 11 key informant interviews (KII) provided qualitative data. A stratified, multi-staged, cluster sampling approach was used to gather data on men aged 18 to 60, irrespective of their marital status. The research design builds on the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) methodology as well as the Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities (CREHPA)’s experience of conducting health and rights related research on masculinity and VAWG in Nepal.

FINDINGS

Social and gender norms.

Respondents in both provinces indicated high agreement with preserving family reputation, controlling girl's bodies, tolerating violence and overall devaluing women's rights. Qualitatively, across both sites, men stated that women hold the caregiver position with little room to do much else. In both sites, words like "polite", "loyal", "helpful", "caring", "one who fulfils her home and family duties", "one who follows orders", "has good manners" were used to describe the ideal woman, along with "disciplined", "diligent", "tolerant", "wholesome", "fruitful", "calm", and "respectful of elders". However, there was less agreement around gendered attitudes on children's behaviours.

Respondents also strongly agreed that within the community, decision making at home was male-dominated. More than 80% of respondents in both study sites agreed that decision making at home is done by men and at least a third of respondents did not think men in the community do household work.

Respondents also showed a high level of agreement with the idea that men should live according to strict traditionally masculine ideals. The highest level of agreement was for statements that associate "real manliness" with keeping matters related to violence private – perhaps based on the male ideal that family matters should be under men's control. The qualitative interviews validated these findings, with interviewees reporting that "real" men were "responsible", "leaders", "main member of the household", had a "strong body" and did "important tasks". Men were expected to uphold traditional notions of masculinity that value physical and emotional toughness and the provider role and that devalue vulnerability. On the other hand, lower agreement was seen mostly for statements on gendered expectations around boys' domestic responsibilities.

Social norms that justify and support violence were assessed, and the findings indicated that family reputation and tolerating violence functioned as common justifications of violence.

In terms of demographic variation, beliefs about gender and social norms did not differ significantly by age and employment status. On the other hand, education and wealth status were linked to social and gender norms in unexpected ways – men with lower levels of education and a middle level of wealth showed the strongest agreement with harmful gender and social norms.

Reported perpetration of violence. In some previous global studies, especially for physical violence, men's self-reports of carrying out violence were much lower than the levels of violence that females reported experiencing. This suggests that many men either do not see their actions as violence or are unwilling to say that they have committed such acts. In this study, almost half the respondents self-reported that they had perpetrated violence: 51% of men in Province 2 and 43% of men in Sudurpaschim reported they had committed violence against their spouse/partners ever in their lifetime. Of these, 27% of men in Province 2 and 23% of men in Sudurpaschim had done so in the past 12 months. Relationship control was also highly reported – more than three-quarters of men in both sites strongly agreed with statements that measure controlling behaviours.

Moreover, in terms of lifetime prevalence, emotional violence was the most frequently reported type of violence, followed by physical violence in Province 2. In Sudurpaschim, economic violence was followed

by physical violence. Almost one in five men in Province 2 and one in ten men in Sudurpaschim self-reported committing sexual violence.

In terms of 12-month prevalence, emotional violence continued to be the more commonly reported type of violence, but there were strong differences between the study sites. In Sudurpaschim, once again, economic violence remained high. Most key informants agreed that violence has decreased over the past ten years, though the COVID-19 lockdowns may have increased violence against women.

Understanding which groups of people were likely to self-report higher perpetration of violence is key to effective programming. This study found that having had a child marriage (i.e. married under 20 years of age) or living in a nuclear (as opposed to joint) family structure were not related to perpetrating violence. On the other hand, respondents who had a love marriage, had dowry during their marriage or reported that their partner was unemployed reported higher levels of different types of violence. Interestingly, education, wealth status and age were also linked to more violence: men with little education, of middle wealth status or in the 35 to 49 age group reported the highest level of violence.

Gender and social norms related to perpetration of violence. This study found a strong likelihood that respondents who held inequitable gendered attitudes (i.e. believed that men in the community behave in stereotypical masculine ways, held themselves to rigid standards of an unattainable masculine ideology and supported norms that justify violence) were also much more likely to perpetrate the various types of violence against women. This is also perhaps driven by the fact that those who support violence are willing to report it. Qualitative results complemented these findings in both study sites.

Nature of justice-seeking. Rigid expectations around how women should behave underlie much of what is expected of women during justice-seeking. Across all key informant interviews, the idea was expressed that a prerequisite for being a good woman was that women cannot speak out. Men also reported that their own manhood was at stake when a woman reports violence to anyone (community members or formal authorities). Qualitative interviews showed that reporting VAWG was increasing across the two study sites, though there is a preference around where women should go first when reporting violence. Both qualitative and quantitative interviews revealed that when asked to rank in order of who was most helpful when reporting violence against women, family members were ranked the highest, followed by community leaders, followed by police, judicial committee and the courts respectively.

There were both normative and institutional barriers to justice-seeking (according to men). Respondents who held strong beliefs about inequitable gender norms also did not support justice-seeking. Norms such as not allowing women to have a voice, valuing harmony and family reputation, seeing justice-seeking as an attack on one's manhood, and stigmatising divorce/separation all underlie why men do not support justice-seeking by women. There was a strong culture of backlash against justice-seeking: for women, for their family members, for men whose spouse/partner sought justice and for service providers in the justice sector. Institutional barriers include a view that formal bodies such as the police, judicial system, and municipality justice committee were not effective in resolving the violence cases reported to them. The qualitative interviews attributed this to gender insensitivity among these bodies. A lack of trust in the system due to biased delivery of justice, political interference and a belief that those in power are gender insensitive, is highlighted as the reason why women (according to men's perspectives) did not access justice services.

Recommendations: Based on these findings, this study puts forward several key recommendations for programmes to address the issues identified in this study:

- Provide localised messages at both country and local level. Formative research in the locations of future programmes can provide the basis for tailoring these messages.
- Engage with complex drivers of violence by developing an in-depth understanding of how they function within a community. Messages around men’s livelihoods especially need to be rooted within gender norms.
- Name harmful gender norms directly, identify which norms are most salient in programme sites and find opportunities to dismantle those that are already unstable.
- Use long-term engagement, with sustained follow-up, to ensure that programmatic results are achieved in the long term and that programmes do no harm. One such way could be to empower communities from within to ensure impacts remain over time.
- Focus on the life cycle: intervene specifically to help youth who have grown up witnessing violence to choose a different path for themselves, and/or to embrace and emulate the positive examples and role models of equality they may have had as children.
- Build a network of role models and influencers, leaning particularly on the social institutions most valued by beneficiaries.
- Ensure that men are given ideas and techniques to resist the pressures they face from norms of masculinity that harm everyone, women and men.
- Tailor messages to subvert common misunderstandings and unfounded biases, both among implementers and participants, and ensure that beneficiaries are targeted based on evidence, not assumptions.
- Increase work that focuses on building trust in formal justice systems and creates an environment that enables women to seek justice. Only when this legitimacy is built will the public trust and rely on them instead of more private means of addressing violence.
- Help women and men to better understand the reporting opportunities available outside the family, and what forms of support they may offer.

01

INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 The importance of studying male perpetration of VAWG
 - 1.2 Justice-seeking for VAWG in Nepal
 - 1.3 Situating this work in existing programming of IP-SSJ
 - 1.4 Present study
-

Introduction

1.1. The importance of studying male perpetration of VAWG

Violence against women and girls (VAWG)¹ has been researched heavily over the past three decades. Yet it remains highly prevalent in several countries globally. At the heart of violence against women lies gender inequality – the unequal power dynamics between men and women – and patriarchal norms that prescribe how men and women should be and act. This means it is not possible to study VAWG without considering the role that men and gender norms play. This study examines the nature of male perpetration of VAWG² in two distinct study locations in two different provinces of Nepal.

Despite the progress toward gender equality recorded in recent years, VAWG is still widespread in Nepal. Women and girls in Nepal are exposed to several forms of violence. Many of these are common to women and girls globally, and others are rooted in the national context. Among these, domestic violence, including intimate partner violence (IPV), is predominant. This is followed by:

- trafficking of girls
- physical/sexual abuse by men others than their partners
- social abuses and malpractices, such as allegation of witchcraft
- *Chhaupadi* (a form of menstrual taboo which prohibits women and girls from participating in normal family activities while menstruating, as they are considered ‘impure’)
- dowry
- *Deuki* (a custom in which a young girl is offered to the temple in the name of religion)
- *Jhuma* traditions (a tradition of offering the second daughter to the monastery or temple)
- child marriage.

The Nepal Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) 2016 found that 22% of women of aged 15 to 49 have experienced physical violence from a man at least once since the age of 15, and 7% of all women reported having experienced sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. Moreover, 26% of women who are or have been married have experienced physical, sexual or emotional violence by their spouse.ⁱⁱ Analysing intersections of inequality finds even higher levels of violence among women with disabilities, women of certain castes/ethnicities and those marginalised on account of their sexuality or sex-work.ⁱⁱⁱ

Several reasons for this persistence of violence^{iv} have been identified in the literature. These include legal subordination, economic dependency, cultural obligation and the social position of women, along with the social construction and reinforcement of male dominance and female subservience. Other factors noted to contribute to the risk of violence^v include women’s lack of autonomy, high economic dependency on their male relatives, men’s perceived entitlement to sex, lack of education and knowledge of sexuality, marriage practices, lack of family and legal support to women, and husbands’ use of alcohol.

¹The United Nations defines violence against women and girls as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."

² WHO categorises intimate partner violence (IPV) into different forms of violence: economic, emotional, physical, and sexual. Definitions of these types of IPV are given in Section 3.

Other studies in Nepal (including those conducted by the IPSSJ) have shown that men constitute a particularly influential reference group. Men's opinions, for example, that men dominate household decision making and are the majorities in political and economic life, shape norms around violence and gendered power dynamics. In 2014, Saferworld examined notions of masculinities and violence in the Eastern Terai. This study identified that men considered IPV to arise because of certain 'situations, pressures and expectations from society, which are themselves created by the idea of masculinity'. The study details these pressures and expectations, which are embedded in norms surrounding gender, and how they are shaped by Nepal's changing socio-economic context.^{vi}

Similarly, in 2012, a study among 1,000 men in Gorkha, Saptari and Dang revealed a strong preference for sons and clear patterns of gender unequal attitudes among men, and also identified the educational and demographic attributes that are associated with these beliefs.^{vii}

Additionally, an Overseas Development Institute (2017) study in the Terai and Kathmandu explored the drivers of male perpetration of GBV using multiple qualitative methods. It identified strong inequitable gender norms, including those related to traditional versions of masculinity, as a key driver of IPV. The study recommends that men be engaged as champions to combat IPV.^{viii}

Other studies have identified the changing nature of masculinities caused by international labour migration, highlighting both the shifting context as well as the fact that masculinities are fluid, rather than fixed.^{ix}

More recent work by Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) in Morang identified the harmful effect of patriarchal norms on men and boys, manifesting in pressure to meet social expectations. This work also highlighted the notions of 'guardianship' and control among men that shape support for early marriage and underpin violence against women and girls. Other key findings relate to the high prevalence of corporal punishment experienced by boys in Nepal – in school and in the home – which is generally considered a predictor of violent behaviour later in life.^x

1.2. Justice-seeking for VAWG in Nepal

Despite the widespread prevalence of VAWG and its well documented negative consequences on health and socio-economic status, a very limited number of women and girls who suffer violence actually seek help from legal and/or health services.

A 2013 study points out that 67% of women in Nepal who suffer violence did not seek help, and less than 4% sought legal support. These findings are consistent with the IPSSJ midline in 2018, which identified the major barriers to seeking support from formal service providers as long distances to access services, lack of awareness about formal proceedings and type of service providers, fear of retaliation, lengthy process and economic costs.^{xi}

The NDHS (2016) shows similar results: 66% of women who have experienced any type of physical or sexual violence did not seek any help or talk to anyone about how to resist or stop the violence they experienced.^{xii}

Qualitative studies also documented similar reasons for not seeking help and support, including misunderstandings about which institutional stakeholders have responsibility for preventing or managing cases of GBV.^{xiii}

The Government of Nepal has shown commitment to address the issue of GBV in general, and VAWG specifically. Since 2009, several laws and plans of action have been enacted to prevent VAWG, such as the Domestic Violence (Offence and Punishment) Act in 2009 and the National Plan of Action against GBV (in 2010, and then from 2013–2018). Furthermore, the 2015 Constitution of Nepal represents a significant milestone for gender equity and social inclusion, protecting some rights for women, the poor, GBV survivors and other vulnerable and marginalised groups. On 24 August 2018, the House of Representatives passed a four-point resolution on ending VAWG and created a high-level mechanism for ensuring its implementation.

Until recently, some limited funds have been available to address the needs of women who have suffered violence, though less has been available on actually preventing violence. In 2011, the Ministry of Health and Population piloted hospital-based One Stop Crisis Management Centres (OCMC) in seven districts. In 2021, the government expanded OCMCs to 76 districts and these are now functional in 79 hospitals.^{xiv} The National Women Commission, a constitutional body that also protects and promotes women’s rights and interests, addresses the problems of women who are victims of GBV. The government and other bodies mark the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence every year and in 2017 the National Women Commission launched a GBV helpline funded by the World Bank. Other civil society organisations are implementing initiatives supporting government aims to end VAWG. Under the new federal structure, the Ministry of Women, Children and Senior Citizens is responsible for co-ordinating policy and programmes concerning gender equality and the rights of women and ensuring their implementation across the country, while the provincial governments have responsibility for monitoring the implementation of plans to address GBV and have established gender focal points. The President’s Women’s Upliftment Program, launched in 2017, also aims to provide skill development and capacity enhancement training to women.

Despite these initiatives, many challenges remain, particularly in enforcing the laws and implementing these policies and programmes. A study mapping institutional, legal and policy responses for addressing GBV showed a generally supportive and protective legal and constitutional framework to uphold women’s rights but low institutional capacity. There were also no mechanisms for accountability, such as standardised monitoring and evaluation of GBV responses.^{xv} Moreover, among key stakeholders, there was a widespread misunderstanding of the institutional responsibility to actually prevent or manage cases of GBV. Finally, the country’s new federal structure, which devolves power to the provincial and local levels, has made effective co-ordination difficult. This means it is hard to assess the extent to which the right of women to be free from violence is protected throughout the country. Devolution also presents opportunities, particularly with some responsibility addressing cases of GBV devolved to local governments, but it remains to be seen how effective this is.

1.3. Situating this work in existing programming of IPSSJ

The Integrated Programme for Strengthening Security and Justice (IPSSJ), funded by the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), has been working since 2015 to improve security and access to justice across Nepal, particularly for women, children and traditionally excluded people. The programme brings together state and non-state security and justice actors to improve relationships, build trust and deliver integrated services. It includes a specific aim to prevent and respond to GBV, because this is the type of violence that mostly affects marginalised people.

GBV was assessed as one of the most significant drivers of insecurity in Nepal, especially for poor and marginalised women and girls, so IPSSJ was designed to bring together a FCDO-funded policing and a GBV prevention programme. Over time, the programme has increasingly adopted an approach that emphasises the importance of engaging with and shifting harmful social norms that drive this form of violence, including gender norms.

Over the years IPSSJ has worked through various implementing partners: United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS), Pahunch (a consortium led by Search for Common Ground), UNICEF, Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Governance Facility, the Nepal Ministry of Women, Children and Senior Citizens, SAFE Justice (a consortium led by CARE) and SAHAJ (a consortium led by VSO). The Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) Component is implemented via a consortium led by Palladium. The MEL Component provides FCDO and IPSSJ with high quality evidence and research to ensure accountability on programme delivery and continuous learning and programme improvement.

The MEL Component has carried out several thematic studies, including:

- 1) Exploration of people's experiences of security and justice, using the Reality Check Approach
- 2) Exploration of people's experiences of the 2015 Earthquakes in Nepal, using the Reality Check Approach
- 3) Social norms related to violence in the home and justice-seeking³
- 4) Experiences of those who have used security and justice services

This is the fifth thematic study and is intended to provide a deeper understanding of men's experiences and the implication of masculinity in the context of gender-based violence against women.

1.4. Present study

Previous IPSSJ work found that justice-seeking, and reporting of violence, is often influenced by men. Women generally looked to their husbands and other male members of their families when making decisions. Men, in turn, were generally influenced by other men.

Although several interventions have sought to address social norms that are harmful to women, relatively few have done so with a specific focus on shifting masculinities, exploring the origins of harmful social norms or working towards changing power relations. Now, as future iterations of IPSSJ are being considered, a deeper understanding of men's experiences and expressions of masculinity is necessary to shape future programming.

This study seeks to build on and deepen previous research on masculinities in Nepal. The objective is to understand how masculinity and masculine norms impact GBV, VAWG and help-seeking, and how these norms can be influenced externally. Given the information previously gathered on this topic, the study focuses on providing information that can be used to support the design of future programmes and to tailor bespoke interventions. It is also intended as a public good for interested stakeholders to better understand the environment for seeking to address GBV and VAWG in Nepal.

To fulfil these objectives, the study responds to the following research questions:

³ Justice-seeking in this report refers to reporting violence (formally and informally).

1. What norms are associated with masculinity in Nepal? How do these norms vary across locations, caste and ethno-linguistic communities? How are they reflected in the beliefs of men and women?
2. What are the drivers behind these norms?
3. How do these norms and notions of masculinity influence violence (and what kinds of violence do they influence)?
4. How do these norms and notions of masculinity affect justice-seeking?
5. Which among these norms is least stable, i.e. there a strong minority view or positive community sanction for following more positive norms? For these, which messages and actors may be useful entry points for those seeking to influence harmful norms?
6. What factors/individuals/experiences influence men's and boys' understanding and experience of masculinity? Does this differ from factors that influence girls' and women's understanding of masculinity?

02

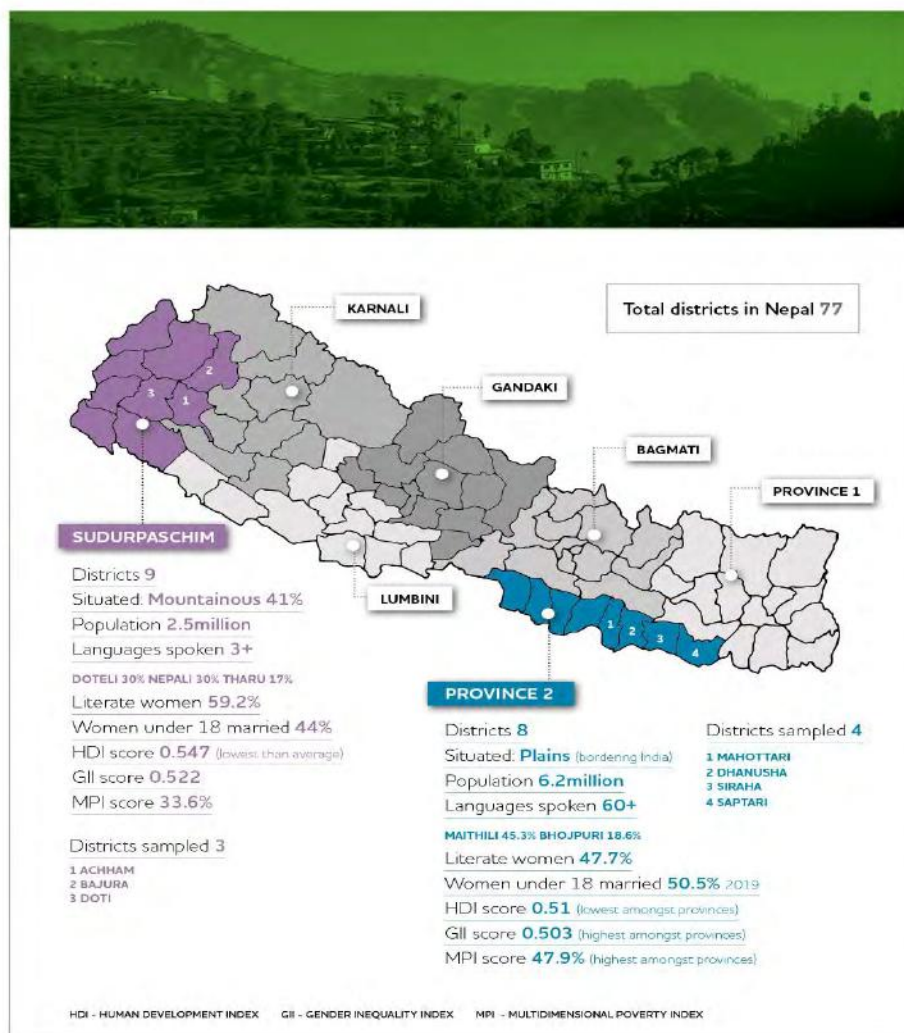
METHODOLOGY

- 2.1 Sites
 - 2.2 Sampling and collection
 - 2.3 Analytical plan
 - 2.4 Participants
 - 2.5 Limitations of data
-

2. Methodology

2.1 Sites

FIGURE 1
DATA COLLECTION SITES



As shown in Figure 1, this study was conducted in Province 2 and Sudurpaschim Province.

In Province 2, four districts (Dhanusha, Mahottari, Saptari and Siraha) were sampled. In Sudurpaschim Province, three districts (Achham, Bajura and Doti) were sampled.

Province 2 comprises eight districts and is in the plains of Nepal; most of this area is bordering with India. This province has a population of 6.2 million. Only 47.7% of women are literate and, in 2019, 50.5% of women were married before the age of 18. It has the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) score (0.51) compared to other provinces, and the Gender Inequality Index and Multidimensional

Poverty Index are the highest at 0.503 and 47.9% respectively. More than 60 languages are spoken with the majority speaking Maithili (45.3%) followed by Bhojpuri (18.6%).

Sudurpaschim Province comprises nine districts (out of 77) and about 41% of its area is covered by mountains. It has a population of 2.5 million. In this province, 59.2% of women are literate and 44% of women aged 18 to 49 were married before the age of 18. The HDI score of this province is 0.547, lower than the national HDI score (0.587). The Gender Inequality Index is 0.522 and multidimensional poverty index is 33.6%, lower than that of Province 2. The main language spoken is Doteli (30%), followed by Nepali (30%) and Tharu (17%). The largest ethnic group is Chhetri (41.4%) followed by Tharu (17.3%) and Brahmin Hills (13%) while the majority of the people follow Hinduism (97%).

2.2 Sampling and collection

The research design builds on the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)⁴ methodology (see Appendix A) as well as the Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities (CREHPA)'s experience of conducting health and rights related research, including studies on masculinity and violence against women and girls (VAWG) in Nepal.

Quantitative study: In this study, a stratified multi-staged cluster sampling approach was used. The primary sampling unit (PSU) was a ward of a rural/urban municipality having at least 200 households.

In the first stage, four districts in Province 2 (Mahottari, Dhanusha, Saptari and Siraha) and three districts in Sudurpachim province (Achham, Bajura and Doti) were selected. These locations were selected to capture varying levels of intensity and geographical diversity of existing IPSSJ interventions.

In the second stage, all municipalities where IPSSJ was implemented were looked at (but note that IPSSJ did not cover all the wards of each municipality). These were listed by alphabetical order, then for both provinces were separated by urban and rural municipality with their corresponding wards and their households and population. Following this, 17 municipalities (nine urban and eight rural) in each province (a total of 34) were selected using Probability Proportion to Size (PSS) technique, the size being the population in each sampling unit. A systematic random sampling technique was applied to the 34 selected sampling units. This method ensured that selection was unbiased and that both IPSSJ and non-IPSSJ areas were represented.

The new federal structure resulted in newly formed wards with a larger number of households, which made it challenging to create a complete listing. In order to interview 25 men aged between 18 and 60, each cluster needed to contain at least 200 households. Wards with more than 200 households were divided into segments containing at least 200 households and one segment was selected randomly.

Once sampling was complete, the research team made door-to-door visits and administered a short screening household questionnaire to the head of the household or the most knowledgeable adult person of the household (someone with good knowledge about the family members and the economic status of the household, who could make decisions and was over 18 years of age). This helped to identify a list of households containing eligible respondents (i.e. male and 18 to 60 years old). Using international standard procedures, a Kish grid table⁵ was used to randomly select participants if any households had more than one eligible person. Once the participant was selected, informed consent was obtained in writing (or thumb print if the participant was illiterate). If a household had no eligible respondent, it was replaced with an adjacent household. The questionnaire was administered by electronic tablet using the Kobo tool, a computer software application. Appendix A provides information about the fieldwork.

⁴ The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) is one of the most comprehensive household studies ever carried out on men's attitudes and practices – along with women's opinions and reports of their own experiences – on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. As of December 2020, IMAGES has been conducted in 43 countries.

⁵ The Kish grid or Kish selection grid is a method for selecting members within a household to be interviewed. It uses a pre-assigned table of random numbers to find the person to be interviewed. It was developed by statistician Leslie Kish in 1949.

As targeted, the quantitative survey obtained 850 completed interviews (425 each in two provinces of Nepal) with men aged 18 to 60, irrespective of their marital status. Only one person refused to participate in the study.

Qualitative study: Using a semi-structured guide, two types of qualitative data were collected – four focus group discussions (FGD) and 11 key informant interviews (KII). The KIIs were conducted with community level stakeholders including local elected officials, religious leaders, former ward chairs or community leaders. These respondents provided an insight into:

- norms around gender-based violence, violence against women, masculinity
- existing legal policies and frameworks around GBV and IPV
- patterns, prevalence and trends in GBV and IPV
- the kinds of justice services available, infrastructural and human resource capacity, co-ordination among stakeholders, the effects/impacts of services
- remaining needs and challenges at various levels

KIIs lasted from 30 to 45 minutes.

FGDs were held with men aged 18 and above, drawn from the quantitative data sample. These focused on:

- attitudes and perceptions about violence against women
- attitudes and perceptions around what it means to be an ideal man/son/brother/husband
- the role of social networks and peer pressure, among others, for influencing behaviours and identity
- for married men, questions related to their behaviour towards their wives, including what information they were given beforehand on how to behave, and who taught them and informed their views on this relationship.

FGDs lasted approximately one and a half to two hours.

KIIs and FGDs were conducted by two separately trained research officers with support from field supervisors. KIIs and FGDs were audio recorded, with consent from the participants.

2.3 Analytical approach

Quantitative analysis. This report presents descriptive statistics as well as results from bivariate and multivariate analyses (i.e. two variables or multiple variables). Data was analysed using the statistical software Stata 16.1. Factor analysis was used to construct composite variables and scales; these are explained in the relevant sections of the report. Statistical tests used include t-tests, analysis of variance, chi-squared tests and regression models, as appropriate.

Sample design weights used in this study derived from the sample selection probabilities of each household. The response rates for households and for individuals were normalised by dividing each weight by the average of the initial weights (equal to the sum of the initial weight divided by the sum of the number of cases) so that the sum of the normalised weights equals the sum of the cases over the entire sample. All analysis in this report uses weighted data.

Qualitative analysis: Audio recorded files were transcribed word for word in Nepali (the language used while collecting qualitative data) and translated into English. Each interview was read to develop a

thematic codebook using Microsoft Word. This codebook was then used to derive patterns and themes by reading and re-reading the interview transcripts using Microsoft Excel. Qualitative findings were used to complement and provide context for the quantitative results.

2.4 Participants

For the quantitative sample, 850 men in Province 2 and Sudurpaschim participated in the survey. FGDs (n=4) with men were also conducted in both provinces. Each FGD had 8 to 11 participants. KIIs (n=11) took place across both sites (see Appendix B for key background information of qualitative participants).












Table 1 provides a breakdown of the quantitative sample by several demographic factors based on weighted distributions, presented in reference to NDHS 2016 findings:

2.5 Limitations of data

While all efforts were made to maintain strong rigour in the study, some limitations must be acknowledged. First, the study aimed for broad geographic representation but budget and logistical constraints limited the quantitative sample to two provinces, meaning the survey is not representative of the entire country. Nevertheless, the PPS sampling ensures that there is enough randomisation within the sampling approach to be confident in the findings from the study.

Secondly, apart from some female key informants, this study only surveyed and interviewed men (because the goal was to understand how norms of masculinity reinforce violence against women). Given that men are likely to under-report violence – an act that is illegal in Nepal – the degree to which men state that they perpetrate violence must be taken with caution. At the same time, however, having an adequate sample of men in the survey and having only men in the FGDs allows this study to deeply understand how men act on and believe in stereotypical gender norms in their homes and in their communities. Moreover, given this is a correlational and cross-sectional study, we cannot say anything about violence over time nor can we establish causality in our findings. Finally, the qualitative sample only includes four FGDs, due to logistical and budget constraints. While focus groups were conducted in both sites, and meaningful responses and themes were found, future research could include more voices to continue to understand the complex nature of the norms discussed.

TABLE 1
SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE PARTICIPANTS

	PROVINCE 2 (present study)	COMPARED TO TO NDHS 2016 ^a	SUDURPASCHIM (present study)	COMPARED TO TO NDHS 2016 ^a	TOTAL (present study)
	AGE BREAKDOWN (N=850)				
	115 (24)	28	68 (18)	27	183 (21)
	131 (28)	30	103 (27)	33	234 (28)
	141 (30)	42	146 (39)	40	286 (34)
	85 (18)	-	62 (16)	-	147 (17)
	EMPLOYMENT STATUS⁷				
	403 (86)	76.4	341 (90)	75.4	744 (88)
	SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (owning assets such as land, farm equipment, large or small consumer durables, means of transportation etc)				
	5 (1)	26.3	246 (65)	61.6	251 (30)
	185 (39)	36.5	110 (29)	17.1	296 (35)
	282 (60)	37.1	22 (6)	21.2	303 (35)
	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT				
	55 (12)	16.6	22 (6)	8.4	77 (9)
	5 (1)	NA1	8 (5)	NA	23 (3)
	86 (18)	20.2	83 (22)	18.4	169 (20)
	284 (60)	48.5	227 (60)	50.3	511 (60)
	41 (9)	14.6	29 (7)	21.9	70 (8)
	RELIGION				
	0 (0)	1%	0 (0)	2%	0 (0)
	0 (0)	0.15%	1 (1)	2%	1 (0.2)
	460 (98)	84%	377 (99)	96%	837 (98)
	12 (2)	15%	0 (0)	0.72%	12 (1.8)
	CASTE				
	10 (2)	-	253 (67)	-	263 (31)
	46 (10)	-	12 (3)	-	58 (7)
	242 (51)	-	0 (0)	-	242 (29)
	11 (2)	-	0 (0)	-	11 (1)
	162 (35)	-	114 (30)	-	276 (32)
	TYPE OF FAMILY				
	190 (40)	-	123 (32)	-	312 (38)
	282 (60)	-	256 (68)	-	538 (63)
	PARTNER STATUS				
	363 (77)	-	332 (88)	-	695 (82)
	356 (75)	-	327 (86)	-	683 (80)
	HAD A CHILD MARRIAGE (N=699)				
	130 (36)	-	142 (43)	-	272 (39)
	MARRIAGE IS REGISTERED (N=694)				
	316 (87)	70%	258 (78)	71%	573 (83)
	HAS CHILDREN (N=694)				
	338 (93)	89%	309 (93)	90%	647 (93)
	471		379		850
	TOTAL # PARTICIPANTS^a				

03

REPORTED PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

- 3.1 Role of socio-demographic factors
 - 3.2 Role of childhood history
 - 3.3 Role of economic stress
 - 3.4 Role of inequitable relationships
 - 3.5 Role of alcohol
 - 3.6 Role of one's wellbeing
 - 3.7 Role of laws
-

3 Reported perpetration of violence against women and girls

Before examining how gender norms are linked to intimate partner violence (IPV), it is important to know the trends and patterns of violence in the study sites. At this point it is important to highlight once again that these are men's responses to whether or not they have perpetrated violence against their spouses/partners. Looking at previous global studies, in some cases men reported carrying out less violence than women reported experiencing, while in other cases rates were quite similar. In our qualitative interviews, many men either did not see their actions as violence or were unwilling to say that they had committed such acts. Furthermore, because some of these acts are illegal it is expected that some respondents may not have been willing to be fully honest with the interviewer.

Therefore, the numbers below on how severely and how frequently men use violence against their spouses/partners should be interpreted with caution. This is also reflected in the qualitative findings, where it is clear that "one or two slaps" are not considered violence. This is shown in the following quote:

"It is not okay to beat her every single day and ultimately leave her. It is a different thing to slap her one or two times if she crosses her limits."

– FGD 03, Ganeshmaan Charnath Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

A Sub-inspector in Province 2 describes the types of gender-based violence prevalent in the region:

"Verbal abuse, threat, forced eviction from house, acid attack, refusal to make citizenship, marriage certificate of wife and birth certificate of children, and murder are major types of domestic violence perpetuated on women in this province. We also receive complaints about physical, psychological, sexual and economic violence against women."

Similarly, and in line with the international literature on IPV, this study will examine four types of violence, assessing whether they were ever committed in a man's lifetime or committed in the past 12 months.⁶

When asked whether they perpetrate any type of violence, almost half of respondents self-reported that they did. In Province 2, 51% of men (n=183) and in Sudurpaschim, 43% of men (n=140) reported having ever committed violence against their spouse/partners. Of these, 27% of men (n=129) in Province 2 and 23% of men (n=88) in Sudurpaschim had done so in the past 12 months.

The figures below show rates of perpetration by the four types of violence (economic, emotional, physical, and sexual) committed ever or in the past 12 months.

⁶ Economic violence is defined as making or attempting to make a person financially dependent by maintaining total control over financial resources, withholding access to money, and/or forbidding attendance at school or employment. Emotional violence is defined as undermining a person's sense of self-worth through constant criticism; belittling one's abilities; name-calling or other verbal abuse; damaging a partner's relationship with the children; or not letting a partner see friends and family. Physical violence involves hurting or trying to hurt a partner by hitting, kicking, burning, grabbing, pinching, shoving, slapping, hair-pulling, biting, denying medical care or forcing alcohol and/or drug use, or using other physical force. Sexual violence involves forcing a partner to take part in a sex act when the partner does not consent.

FIGURE 2
% OF MEN WHO SELF-REPORT PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE EVER IN THEIR LIFETIMES



FIGURE 3
% OF MEN WHO SELF-REPORT PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE EVER IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS



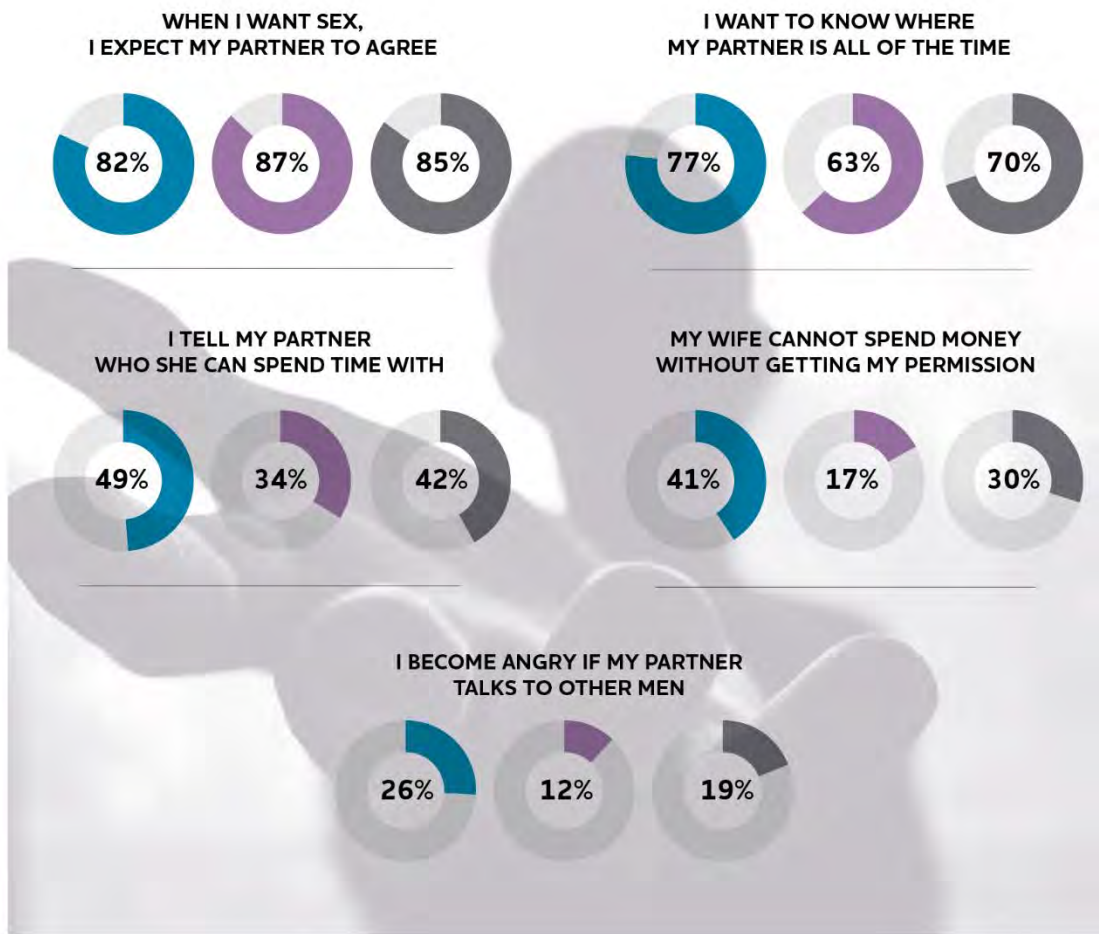
Figure 2 shows lifetime prevalence. In Province 2, emotional violence was the most frequently reported type of violence, followed by physical violence. In Sudurpaschim, economic violence was followed by physical violence. Almost one in five men in Province 2 and one in ten men in Sudurpaschim self-reported committing sexual violence. There were also high levels of economic violence, especially in Sudurpaschim.

Figure 3 (below) shows 12-month prevalence. In this case, emotional violence continued to be the more commonly reported type of violence, but there were strong province differences. In Sudurpaschim, once again, economic violence remained high.

Another type of violence that is increasingly acknowledged in the global literature is relationship control. Because control lies at the heart of all violence, this research studied controlling behaviours. In this study, 88% of men in Province 2 (n=318) and 78% of men in Sudurpaschim (n=257) reported high levels of relationship control, i.e. they strongly agreed with the statements in Table 2.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF MEN WHO AGREED/STRONGLY AGREED
WITH STATEMENTS ON RELATIONSHIP CONTROL

● PROVINCE 2 (N=472) ● SUDURPASCHIM PROVINCE (N=378) ● TOTAL (850)



The qualitative findings show that there may be differences between the two study sites regarding which types of gender-based violence are most common. For instance, a Programme Officer in Sudurpaschim stated that: *“in our community, we don’t have violence because of dowry system like that of Province 2.”*

The greater prevalence of dowry in Province 2 is also validated in the quantitative sample. Out of the men who have ever been married, 48% (n=173) in Province 2 reported that their marriage included dowry while only 18% (n=61) reported the same in Sudurpaschim. However, it is clear that violence also occurs in relationships that don’t involve dowry.

Key informants suggested that there had been a decrease in incidences of violence over the past decade, although the high rates reported in the survey are inconsistent with this. According to the KIIs, the reduction in violence is attributed to an increase in “education” among women and an increase in “awareness” because of programmatic efforts among women and men. That being said, previous IPSSJ

work and findings from this study indicate that simply having awareness is not enough to stop all violence: a Ward Deputy Chairperson in Sudurpaschim states that *“It is less frequent these days. Some people do not understand at all. They know it [violence] is wrong but they act like they do not know.”*

It is also evident that gender inequity in daily home life persists, even if it may not result in reporting violence. A KII with a Principal of a school in Sudurpaschim highlights this:

“There used to be cases almost every week or in every ten days. Men used to argue, discuss, create problem and even beat their wives after drinking alcohol. We can say that our country Nepal is a patriarchal society country. Male have been dominating their wives and in a way are restricting them. They show their power, compel women to do every work, don’t help women in any work and enjoy the fruit of women’s work. Such acts are still prevalent in villages and rural communities.”

– KII with Principal of a school, Sudurpaschim

BOX 1 COVID-19 AND ITS IMPACT ON VAWG



Despite the overall decrease in violence, COVID-19 and associated lockdowns are likely to have increased the incidences of violence. As we can see in the “past 12 months” data, there continues to be a high level of self-reporting from men about perpetrating violence (except for emotional violence in Sudurpaschim). The key informant interview with an Executive Director in Province 2 indicated a similar trend, i.e. national lockdown mandates increased violence and increased reporting:



In this lockdown time, it is increasing more. Because people are jobless now with no money and they still have to look after the family. They will be anxious and angry. What we realised after lockdown is, because of the closed roads and ways, the victims can’t even come to police station or our office.

Another interviewee said that the lockdown forced people to live together for longer durations which led to an increase in violence:



Before lockdown, people were not living together with their families but after lockdown, even the people living in cities have returned to their house and are living together. While living together the dissatisfaction in family increases that leads to disputes and rise in cases of violence. Along with violence against women, the family cases of land issues have also increased.

DEPUTY MAYOR, PROVINCE 2

3.1 Role of socio-demographic factors

Qualitative interviews suggested that several socio-demographic factors create environments where more violence against women takes place. Factors mentioned include men being younger, having lower levels of education, having had a child marriage (i.e. marriage before 20 years), being of Dalit caste and

having had dowry in their marriage. However, these biases and stereotypes are discriminatory in their nature, and not all hold up against the empirical data from the survey.

Province. For emotional violence, physical violence, sexual violence and overall relationship control as exhibited ever in men's lifetime, there is a clear geographical difference: men in Province 2 reported higher levels of all types of violence than men in Sudurpaschim. In the past 12 months, men in Sudurpaschim reported higher economic violence than men in Province 2.

Age. The qualitative and quantitative data show different trends with respect to age: in Sudurpaschim, a Deputy Mayor, a Priest and a Programme Officer at an NGO all believed that levels of violence against women are higher for men between the ages of 18 to 40. *"There are some elderly populations as well, but such group isn't much. Maybe there are about 5 to 10 per cent of elderly population who have become perpetrator, but majority are between the age of 18 and 40 years."*

Quantitative data on the other hand shows that men in the 18 to 24 age group self-report committing violence less than those between 35 and 49.

Education levels. While qualitative interviewees believed that having had no education is linked to high levels of violence, the quantitative data shows that male respondents who had little primary schooling are most likely to perpetrate economic and physical violence ever in their lifetimes as compared to male respondents who had secondary education. Previous analysis of IMAGES findings showed that higher educational attainment is associated with higher rates of violence – perhaps because more educational attainment leads to higher expectations and thus higher frustration when jobs are scarce. However, in this study, lower education levels are linked to more violence perhaps because there is less economic stability (a driver for violence) in the household with lower education levels.

Wealth levels. While many qualitative interviewees stated that poverty is related to higher levels of violence, the quantitative data shows a more complex trend. For emotional, physical, and sexual violence ever perpetrated by men, those in the middle wealth quintile reported higher levels of violence. For physical violence, the difference is only between the low wealth quintile and the middle wealth quintile and for emotional and sexual violence, the middle quintile group had higher reported violence than both low and high quintile groups.

Child marriage. Qualitatively, there was agreement that getting married early created a higher likelihood of violence. For example, an Executive Director of an NGO for example in a KII said:

"She gets married while she's too young. She doesn't even have any knowledge about the relationship between a man and a woman after marriage. The violence happens to establish that relationship. If we talk about the marriage age of a female here in Dhanusha, the girls are even married at 12 years of age. Getting married at 12 years of age, she won't even know what the family life is. As she enters the new family, she has to take that family onward. No one is there to support her when she doesn't know a thing, but there are many who beats her even when she does small mistakes and give her mental torture."

The quantitative data shows that there is no relationship between child marriage (i.e. marriage for male respondents below 20 years of age) and self-reported violence of any type committed ever or last year.

Dowry. Both types of data found a clear relationship between having taken dowry during marriage and an increased rate of violence. Those who have had dowry reported committing higher levels of any violence ever. It is possible that having had dowry in the marriage may create an expectation from men that women are likely to obey them.

Having children. Quantitative data shows that those men who reported having children also reported higher perpetration of any violence, and specifically emotional and physical violence, ever in their lifetimes.

Type of marriage. Contrary to the qualitative interviews, those couples who chose each other, i.e. had a “love marriage”, had the least amount of any violence compared to those who had an arranged marriage and didn’t get to choose their spouse.

Spouse employment. Women’s lack of financial independence was brought up in several qualitative interviews. Men who reported higher relationship control and emotional violence also had spouses/partners who they reported as not being employed (or having a job).

Caste/ethnicity. Qualitatively, some interviewees stated that violence is more prevalent among Dalit families; others expressed the view that caste has no bearing on levels of violence. The belief that certain caste groups are more likely to perpetrate violence is most likely to stem from discriminatory caste beliefs rather than any data source. Quantitatively, it was challenging to clearly identify the different caste groups, because someone’s subjective sense of caste identity can vary: no clear and clean relationship came out of the analysis. However, one trend is clear: Dalit-identifying men did not score the highest in their self-reported perpetration of violence. This suggests that casteist beliefs, unsubstantiated by evidence, continue to persist in both study sites.

Type of family. Neither qualitative nor quantitative data show any relationship between type of family (i.e. joint, nuclear or extended) and increased incidences of violence.

BOX 2 NATURE OF BIGAMY



Across both sites, there is evidence that bigamy is still practised and is prevalent. 80% of men in Province 2 and 93% of men in Sudurpaschim reported that when they were growing up, their father lived with another family. In the qualitative data, bigamy was often brought up in the context of justice-seeking, i.e. women seeking help from authorities when their husband married another woman.

Even though no connection was made between norms of masculinity and the practice of bigamy, men who engaged in it were frowned upon. For example:



the society excluding such men from the society saying that he cannot take care of his family. The society will contempt such men. He will not be able to sit in a group of four due to shame.

FGD 03, GANESHMAAN CHARNATH MUNICIPALITY,
DHANUSHA, PROVINCE 2

That being said, the interviewees did not say whether women seeking justice for this type of violence received justice or not. In Sudurpaschim, men stated that the one case of bigamy was solved because the wife decided to stay with her husband and the new wife. This suggests that maintaining familial harmony trumps any shame that men face.

A SUB-INSPECTOR IN PROVINCE 2 ALSO SHARED HOW CHILD MARRIAGE MAY BE A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR TO BIGAMY:



Girls and boys get married when they are 13 or 14 years old and when they are 20 years old, they would have given birth to two or three children. While women would be going through tough time caring for her children and family, men at 20 to 25 years of age feel like they are at marriageable age and don't find their wife attractive. Then they start looking for another girl and get married by eloping which is polygamy. So that's how child marriage leads to polygamy

3.2 Role of childhood history

Decades of developmental psychology literature has shown that childhood experiences shape adults' beliefs and behaviours. This is clearly highlighted in focus group participants and key informant interviews in this study. In Sudurpaschim, one participant in a focus group discussion shared that *"The teaching, values, norms and traditions gets passed on from one generation to another."* (FGD 01, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim).

The qualitative data highlights that mothers, fathers and society are the three main sources of learning. This section will show how growing up in gendered homes or witnessing violence – or being subject to violence themselves – as children are important predictors of committing violence as adults. These experiences are also likely to form one's beliefs about gender and social rules as an adult.

In both sites, there was strong agreement that men grew up in gendered households.⁷ Appendix D provides more detail on the gendered nature of respondents' homes.

Do childhood experiences of living in gendered environments, witnessing violence against their mother, or experiencing violence themselves lead to committing more violence as adults? The answer is found in both qualitative and quantitative data. The strong intergenerational transfer of violence was shared by many qualitative participants. For example:

⁷ Gendered households are defined by measuring whether male respondents grew up in homes where fathers or males participated in household work/unpaid care work and whether male respondents had different experiences from their sisters/ female cousins.

“A child's behaviour is usually similar to that of his parents. His demeanour and attributes are almost identical to theirs. There may be minor differences, but the child manages to adopt the majority of their characteristics. The shadow of the parents will fall on the children. He will grow up seeing what his parents do, hearing what his parents say. If his parents fight in front of him, he'll think to himself, ‘It was fine when my parents did it, so why shouldn't I?’”

– FGD 03, Ganeshmaan Charnath Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

Witnessing violence against one's mother doubled an adult male's likelihood of self-reported perpetration of emotional, physical, sexual and relationship control violence and increased his likelihood of carrying out economic violence by 1.5. The findings show that boys who have experienced violence are more likely to commit violence when they become adults

The men who reported experiencing some type of type of violence (physical, emotional or sexual) as a child are 2 to 6 times more likely to be violent as adults. Specifically, after controlling for age, education, wealth, province, child marriage and type of marriage, men who had experienced physical, emotional, or sexual violence in their childhood are:

- 2.2 times more likely to commit any violence ever
- 5.7 times more likely to commit economic violence ever
- 5 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever
- 3.9 times more likely to commit physical violence ever
- 3.8 times more likely to report perpetrating relationship control

3.3 Role of economic stress

For men, the burden of being a breadwinner was brought up as an underlying driver of intimate partner violence. A Deputy Mayor in Province 2 explained the intersecting connection between economic stress, masculine norms, and violence clearly:

“The violence happens mostly in the community where the only one member of the family is the single source of income, so the responsibility is more. What's established in the society is, only men go to work and earn the income, and women's work is to cook and manage the household. Because of this established tradition, only one member of the family does the earning. The violence occurs when he can't manage his family through his income. He thinks that his wife is enjoying and having fun. He only gives her money whenever he wants, but the money is needed to run a household. When she asks for money to her husband, he declines. And the violence occurs, beating happens, and so does stress.”

This was also echoed in the focus group discussions (FGDs) where several men in Province 2 believed that having too many children leads to economic stress and that this explains why violence takes place. Several key informants suggested that poverty explains why violence takes place. However, as noted in Section 4.6, those in the middle wealth quintiles reported higher levels of violence than those in lower or higher wealth quintiles. Clearly, income and wealth function in more complex ways, and this was also seen in previous IMAGES studies. Often, middle income households may experience greater economic stress to stay or remain middle class, because they have higher expectations and thus higher stress and conflict when they can't achieve it.

In this study, whether men are employed or unemployed had no bearing on whether they committed violence against their spouse/partners. In other words, employment status in itself is not related to perpetrating violence: it is the *stress* men feel as a result of their work situation that is a factor. In this sample, of the men who are employed, 47% in Province 2 and 63% in Sudurpaschim reported being “*frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work*”. Moreover, 51% of men in Province 2 and 74% of men in Sudurpaschim reported that their employment situation was mostly unstable. Being stressed as a result of one’s work situation makes men:

- 1.84 times more likely to commit any violence ever
- 1.7 times more likely to commit economic violence ever
- 1.6 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever
- 2.3 more likely to commit physical violence ever
- 2.5 times more likely to report perpetrating relationship control

3.4 Role of inequitable relationships

Inequality lies at the heart of the patriarchy and stereotypical norms of masculinity and trickles into how men and women often divide household and childcare work. In Sudurpaschim, one participant explained that:

“Nepal is a patriarchal society, because of this as well all the works inside the family/ household is usually done by women but all the works outside the household are usually done by men. All the responsibilities in the public domain are of men. And women mostly engage in activities within the household.”

– FGD 02, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim

This gendered breakdown was evident across the qualitative interviews. Women as mothers are expected to be “*the first teacher... the one who should teach good behaviour to her child*” (FGD 01, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim). This means it is likely that mothers who tolerate violence also teach their sons that violence is acceptable.

When asked who in their household performs childcare tasks, an interesting pattern emerges (see Table C in Appendix C). Overall, there are few activities for which fathers take on responsibility. For instance, providing daily care to the child, changing nappies or clothes, talking to children about their problems, feeding them and bathing rests mostly on the mother.

Homes where there are inequitable relationships are also homes where violence is likely to occur. Men who reported being less involved in caregiving, compared to men in more equitable caregiving relationships, are also:

- 2.4 times more likely to commit any violence ever
- 2.2 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever
- 3.3 times more likely to commit physical violence ever

3.5 Role of alcohol

Across all key informant interviews, the use of alcohol was noted as one of the strongest factors contributing to violence against women (though this is not entirely supported by quantitative data). Clearly, interviewees show biases, and presumptions about how violence happens persist. This shows a lack of understanding by even influential community members about the root causes of the issue.

FGD participants in Sudurpaschim stated that alcohol is an underlying reason for many occurrences of violence, suggesting that *“government should ban alcohol. Alcohol has led to many such problems. Alcohol is the triggering factor which increases women violence.”*

However, the data does not support these presumptions. When respondents were asked if they had committed violence against their partner because of drinking, only 3% of men in Province 2 and 2% of men in Sudurpaschim agreed.

Even when interviewees noted that alcohol consumption was high due to poverty or unemployment, the survey results showed no quantitative relationship between the three together, i.e. being in the lower wealth quintile, drinking alcohol and perpetrating sexual and physical violence.

The number of men in the quantitative sample who reported alcohol consumption is low. Only 29% of men in Province 2 and 37% of men in Sudurpaschim reported drinking alcohol more than once a month. However, 43% of men in Province 2 and 27% of men in Sudurpaschim reported drinking so much in the past year that they got drunk. The survey data does show that there is a link between alcohol consumption and perpetration of violence. When respondents drank so much that they got drunk in the past year, they were:

- 1.7 times more likely to have committed economic violence ever
- 2.4 times more likely to have committed emotional violence ever

3.6 Role of one’s wellbeing

While men’s mental health was not brought up in any of the qualitative interviews, it has been established that men who perpetrate violence are also likely to struggle with mental wellbeing.⁸ In this sample, more respondents were on the lower end of the distribution of depressive scores (i.e. almost 75% of men in Province 2 and 63% of men in Sudurpaschim agreed with statements that indicate being less depressed).

Across every type of violence, it is found that men who used violence also report higher scores on depression. This could mean that committing violence is linked to men’s poor mental health or that both mental health issues and use of violence are outcomes of childhood traumas.

3.7 Role of laws

There was an overall consensus in the qualitative interviews that laws against domestic violence exist, but no participant could say what the law is. Even when given materials with information about these laws, the FGDs participants said that they did not know much about what the law prohibits and what the

⁸ <https://www.equimundo.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/IMAGES-MENA-Multi-Country-Report-EN-16May2017-web.pdf>

consequences of breaking the laws are. Key informants said that the major barrier to law enforcement is not lack of knowledge about the laws but the lack of implementation by those who have to enforce them.

“We know there are laws, but don’t know what they are. We are also aware that violence shouldn’t be normalised or done. We also know that there are punishments for people who commit such crimes. More than that welldon’t know.”

– FGD 02, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim

KEY FINDINGS FROM CHAPTER 3



- ⊕ **Emotional violence was the highest form of violence self-reported by men in Province 2 while economic violence was the highest form of violence self-reported by men in Sudurpaschim.**
- ⊕ **Relationship control was also strongly reported – more than three quarters of men in both provinces strongly agreed with statements that measure controlling behaviours.**
- ⊕ **Having had a child marriage, or the type of family structure, was not related to perpetrating violence.**
- ⊕ **Respondents having had a love marriage, having had dowry during their marriage, having an unemployed spouse/partner and having children were more likely to perpetrate violence (though different forms of violence).**
- ⊕ **Education, wealth status and age were also linked to more violence. Having little education, being of middle wealth status and being in the 35 to 49 age group were linked to the highest level of self-reported violence.**
- ⊕ **Most key informants agreed that violence has decreased over the past ten years, though the lockdown because of COVID-19 was linked to an increase in violence against women.**
- ⊕ **Factors such as childhood history of experiencing and witnessing violence, alcohol use, poor mental health and having inequitable relationships were all linked to perpetrating more intimate partner violence.**
- ⊕ **Whether men are employed or unemployed had no bearing on whether they committed violence against their spouse/partner. Instead, it was the stress associated with men needing to be the provider that was associated with perpetration of violence.**
- ⊕ **There was little consensus on the role of bigamy on incidences of violence.**
- ⊕ **There was little awareness across all interviewees of laws against domestic violence.**

04

SOCIAL AND GENDER NORMS IN THE STUDY SITES

- 4.1 Gender equality attitudes and beliefs**
 - 4.2 Norms of masculinity: Social expectations around masculinity**
 - 4.3 Social expectation beliefs and perpetration of violence**
 - 4.4 Norms of masculinity: Personal normative beliefs about masculinity**
 - 4.5 Norms justifying or supporting violence**
 - 4.6 Demographic differences in social and gender norms**
-

4 Social and gender norms in the study sites

The unique contribution of this study to existing IMAGES studies, and other studies about violence against women in Nepal, is its strong focus on gender and social norms. We examined these in several ways.

4.1 Gender equality attitudes and beliefs

To understand respondents' overall gendered attitudes, the survey included a series of statements for which they must agree or disagree on a four-point Likert scale. This series of responses can be analysed together as the "Gender-Equitable Men Scale" (GEMS). This scale was developed by Population Council and Equimundo to directly measure attitudes towards gender norms.^{xvi} It has been widely used in IMAGES studies globally, is a strong measure of men's gendered expectations and shows high reliability⁹ ($\alpha = 0.86$).

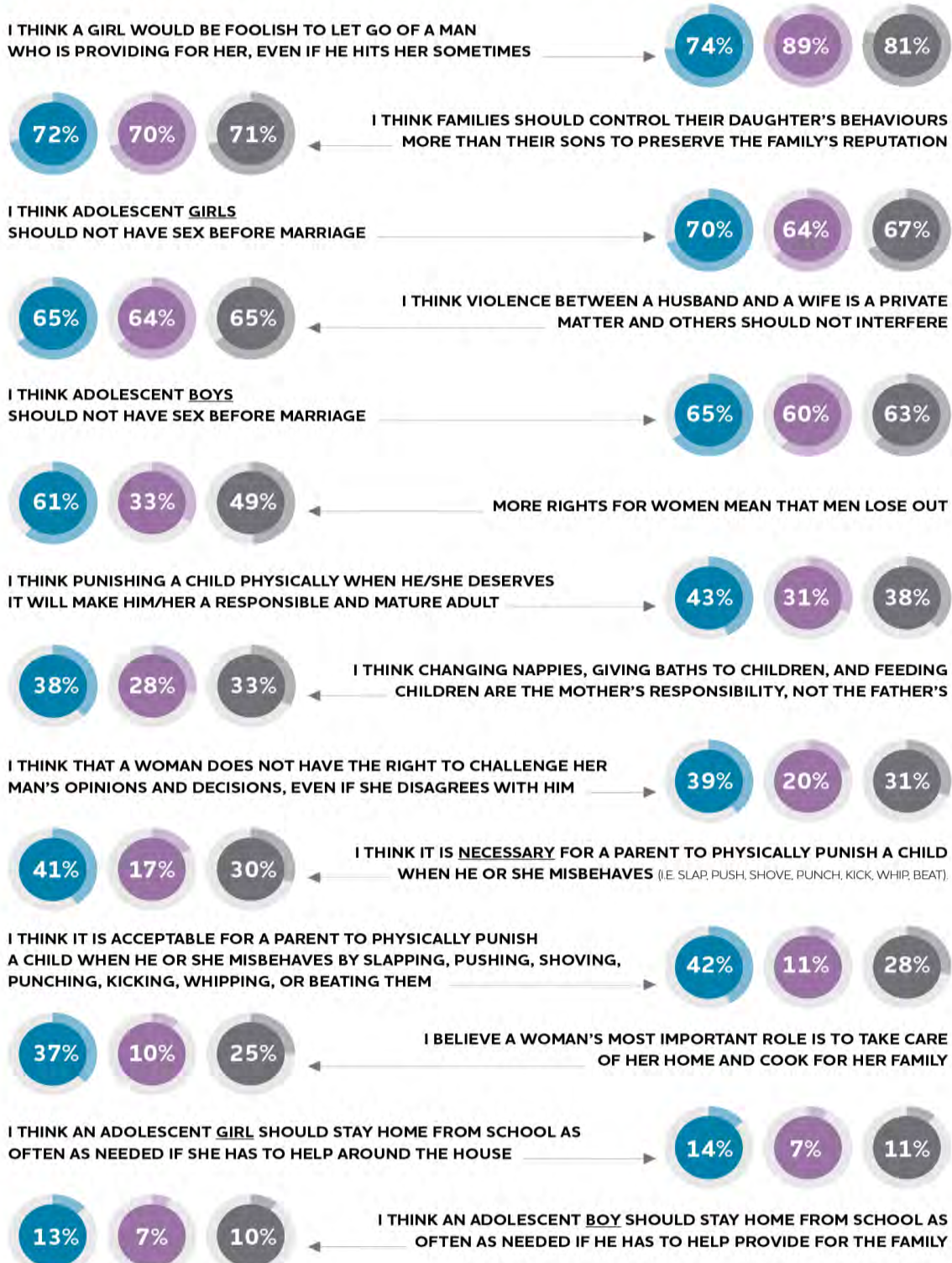
A total of 14 items, shown in Table 3 (next page), make up this scale. Of these, some highly agreed-upon norms in both survey sites include preserving family reputation, controlling girl's bodies, tolerating violence and overall devaluing women's rights. However, there are lower rates of agreement around gendered attitudes on children's behaviours.

⁹ Reliability is a measure to ensure that the scale will show similar results every time it is administered. It helps ensure that the scale being used is psychometrically sound.

TABLE 3

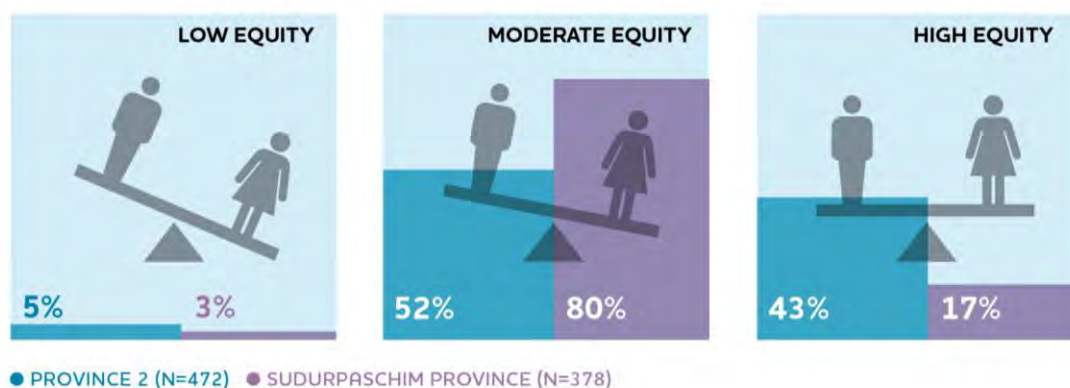
PERCENTAGE OF MEN WHO AGREED/STRONGLY AGREED WITH TRADITIONAL BELIEFS ABOUT GENDER

● PROVINCE 2 (N=472) ● SUDURPASCHIM PROVINCE (N=378) ● TOTAL (850)



We can divide the responses (by dividing a sum score into three equal parts) into low equitable beliefs, moderate equitable beliefs and highly equitable beliefs (see Table 4). This reveals an interesting picture: although few respondents self-reported as having low equitable attitudes, there are also very few respondents in the high equity category. This suggests that there is still much work to be done for men to self-report equitable gendered attitudes.

TABLE 4
CLASSIFYING MEN BY GEMS SCORE IN PROVINCE 2 AND SUDURPASCHIM ROLES



The qualitative data support the finding that restrictive ideas still persist about how women should behave and think. Across both sites, men stated that women hold the caregiver position, with little room to do much else. In Sudurpaschim for instance, one focus group discussion participant stated:

“Women are the housewives. The house doesn’t look attractive if there’s no housewife. Women are the one who looks after the house, makes food and feeds the family.”

– FGD 02, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim

Words like “polite”, “loyal”, “helpful”, “caring”, “one who fulfils her home and family duties”, “one who follows orders”, “has good manners” were used to describe the ideal woman in both sites, along with “disciplined”, “diligent”, “tolerant”, “wholesome”, “fruitful”, “calm” and “respectful of elders”. A participant from Province 2 shared the following comment, which all other participants in the group also agreed with:

“An ideal woman is able to keep everyone around her happy even when she is suffering.”

– FGD 03, Ganeshmaan Charnath Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

There was a pervasive belief among men that women cannot do “important tasks that require huge responsibility or leadership qualities” (FGD 01, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim). This might explain why respondents in Province 2 reported their partner’s education and employment to be very low (see Table 5). In other words, their perceptions of what women are capable of could be related to their report of their female spouse/partner’s education and employment status.

TABLE 5
MEN'S SPOUSE/PARTNER DEMOGRAPHICS

● PROVINCE 2 (N=472) ● SUDURPASCHIM PROVINCE (N=378) ● TOTAL (850)



A Sub-inspector in Province 2 stated that the main drivers of violence are norms: *“Orthodox beliefs, religious conditions, social attitudes and patriarchy promote violence against women”*. As seen throughout Section 0, it is clear that there are traditional gender norms prevalent in both study sites.

Gendered attitudes and beliefs and perpetration of violence. Key informant interviews indicated that the deep-seated belief that men and women have their own gender roles prevails even among those working in the field of gender equality. In Sudurpaschim, a Principal of a school expressed the belief that awareness of these roles is the way for women to avoid violence:

“Women need to be aware and this is the primary factor. One needs to know the roles of male and women in the society and also need to understand whether they can help each other in fulfilling the gender role or not. It is important to understand the roles and responsibilities of both male and women. Even though rights of both male and female might be the equal, there are several areas where male and female perform their own responsibility. Both male and female need to understand their responsibilities and work together to help and support each other.”

Quantitatively, the results show that these unequal gender attitudes and beliefs are linked to all forms of violence. Men who score high on GEMS (after controlling for age, education, wealth, province, child marriage and type of marriage) are:

- 3.5 times more likely to commit any type of violence ever
- 1.8 times more likely to commit economic violence ever
- 3.6 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever

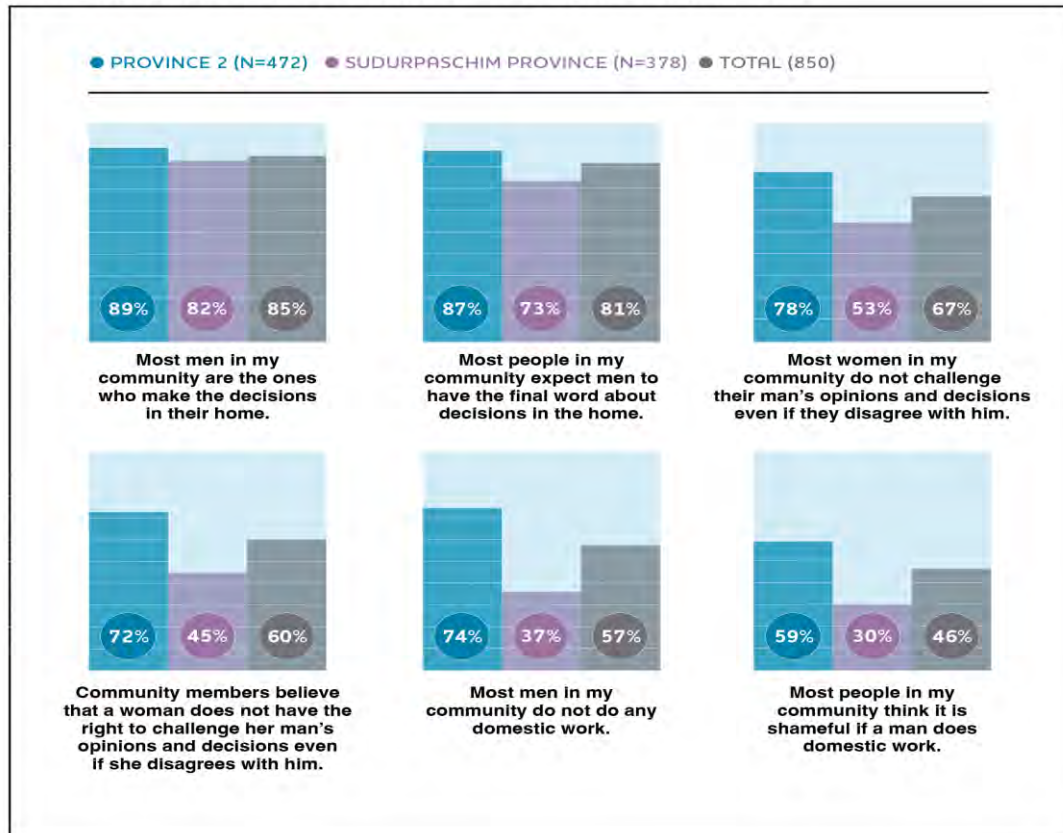
- 4.3 times more likely to commit physical violence ever
- 3 times more likely to commit sexual violence ever
- 8.3 times more likely to report perpetrating relationship control

4.2 Norms of masculinity: Social expectations around masculinity

To understand masculinity specifically, we drew from the social norms framework developed by Bichheri et al.^{xvii} This framework establishes and explores two types of beliefs held by men: what they think others do or believe (called *social expectations*) and what *they* think men *should* do or think (called *personal normative beliefs*). The distinction is important because there are often discrepancies between your own worldview (personal normative beliefs) and what you believe to be the “norm” in your community (social expectations). We will explore each in turn below.

Table 6 shows how many respondents agreed or strongly agreed with each statement on social expectations. A total of six items makes up this scale, which showed high reliability ($\alpha = 0.81$).

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF MEN WHO AGREED/STRONGLY AGREED
WITH STATEMENTS ON COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS FROM MEN



The table shows strong agreement that within the community, decision making at home is male dominated. More than 80% of respondents in both provinces agreed that decision making at home is done by men and at least a third did not think men in the community do household work.

4.3 Social expectation beliefs and perpetration of violence

Qualitative interviewees explained that men often engage in violence because they see others in the community doing so. In other words, modelling behaviours, or believing that certain practices are normal in the community, are strong drivers of violence. In Sudurpaschim, one FGD participant stated: *“I believe that in a society, a lot of conduct is learned after observing such behaviour. He might’ve thought to himself, ‘my friend beats his wife, nothing will happen if I do’. Such type of mentality might’ve caused him to be aggressive.”*

This shows it is crucial to understand how men think about masculine norms at community level.

Quantitatively, the results show that the belief that men in the community behave in traditionally stereotypical ways is linked to three types of violence. Men who believe this (after controlling for age, education, wealth, province, child marriage and type of marriage) are:

- 1.9 times more likely to commit any type of violence ever
- 1.8 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever
- 1.7 times more likely to commit physical violence ever
- 6.2 times more likely to report perpetrating relationship control

4.4 Norms of masculinity: Personal normative beliefs about masculinity

We also asked respondents about 16 items related to their own personal views around masculinity. From these 16, we built a scale using 12 items that showed high reliability ($\alpha = 0.83$). In the previous questions on social expectations about gender norms, respondents were answering about *other people*, but in this section they were reflecting their own authentic opinions.

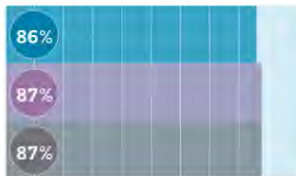
Items in the scale include expectations that men should be providers, emotionally stoic and physically tough, should uphold rigid gender roles to protect their honour and should be the head of their homes and their relationships. Table 7 shows how many respondents in each province agreed or strongly agreed for these items. The findings show a high level of agreement with the idea that men should live their lives according to strict masculine ideals. The highest level of agreement came for statements that associate “real manliness” to keeping matters related to violence private. This is perhaps based on the male ideal that family matters should be under men’s control. On the other hand, lower percentages are seen mostly for statements around boys’ domestic responsibilities.

The qualitative interviews validated these findings. In both provinces, there was a strong sense that “real” men are “responsible”, “leaders”, “main member of the household”, have a “strong body” and qualify as those who do “important tasks”. Throughout the qualitative interviews, it was clear that men are expected to uphold traditional notions of masculinity: those that value physical and emotional toughness and the provider role and that devalue vulnerability.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF MEN WHO AGREED/STRONGLY AGREED WITH STATEMENTS ON PERSONAL NORMATIVE BELIEFS OF MASCULINITY

● PROVINCE 2 (N=472) ● SUDURPASHIM PROVINCE (N=378) ● TOTAL (850)



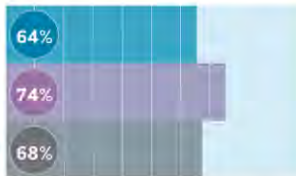
A real man should keep family matters private.



Guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside.



If a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time.



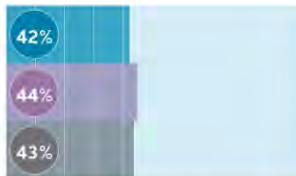
Men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help.



Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women.



A guy who doesn't fight back when others push him around is weak.



A real man would never say no to sex.



A man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage.



A man who talks a lot about his worries, fears, and problems shouldn't really get respect.



A man should not feel proud of the things bought in a home with their wife's money.



Men should use violence to get respect if necessary.



It is not good for a boy to be taught how to cook, sew, clean the house and take care of younger children.

Two quotes from each site show how deeply ingrained these beliefs are:

“Men are the ones that control the family. They take the decision about marriage, children and other household activities. Apart from that, they also discuss with the family members and involve everyone in conversation. They need to take such responsibilities and apart from that, their primary role is to take care of the family and feed them properly.”

– FGD 04, Sahid Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

“A real man is the responsible person of the household. After that nation’s pillar as well. And the one who plays front role in the society. He plays the role of how one should live and make family happy. He is a role model for the society.”

– FGD 01, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim

The qualitative findings show that there is a strong preference for sons in Province 2 which is not the case in Sudurpaschim. This strong son preference was also found in a 2012 study done in Nepal using a modified IMAGES survey.^{xviii}

“In our society, parents become happy if they give birth to a son. If they have a daughter, they stay happy but not as much as having a son. When a son is born in the family, they feel that they can now share the responsibility with them. If there’s a daughter, there is a feeling that she’ll get married and go to her husband’s house after someday. Parents also hope that son will look after them in their old age.”

– FGD 04, Sahid Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

Personal normative beliefs and perpetration of violence. There are several examples in the interviews that express hegemonic masculine ideals for men. For instance, one man in Dhanusha in Province 2 explained that *“more often, a man is considered as the responsible head of the family. He is also the income source of the family who fulfils all his family member’s wants and needs. He runs his household by earning income for his family”*. The interviewees also saw a link between the extent to which men believe they should be emotionally stoic, tough, aggressive, independent breadwinners and their committing violence. They often shared the view that these expectations create the conditions for men to perpetrate violence.

Quantitatively, the results show that strong personal normative beliefs about masculinity – believing that men do behave in stereotypic and hypermasculine¹⁰ ways – are linked to all forms of violence. After controlling for age, education, wealth, province, child marriage and type of marriage, men with these beliefs are:

- 3.6 times more likely to commit any violence ever
- 2.3 times more likely to commit economic violence ever
- 3.3 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever
- 3.4 more likely to commit physical violence ever
- 2.7 times more likely to commit sexual violence ever
- 9.3 times more likely to report perpetrating relationship control

¹⁰ Hypermasculinity is psychological term for the exaggeration of male stereotypical behaviour, such as an emphasis on physical strength, aggression, and sexuality.

4.5 Norms justifying or supporting violence

Global literature has found that norms justifying or supporting violence are often important drivers of violence. Table 8 shows how many men in each province agreed or strongly agreed with the statements around what men think others in their community do.¹¹

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGE OF MEN WHO AGREED/STRONGLY AGREED
WITH ITEMS ON NORMS JUSTIFYING OR SUPPORTING VIOLENCE



Family reputation and tolerating violence come to the forefront to justify why violence occurs.

In the qualitative interviews, when presented with hypothetical vignettes that show intimate partner violence, there was a general consensus that, overall, violence is bad. For instance, the following quotes show a range of responses where the focus group participants denounce violence:

¹¹ This 8-item scale showed moderate reliability ($\alpha = 0.77$).

“Not at all, he can’t use violence. He can’t beat no matter what. This is a derogatory act done by a husband to the wife. Even if the wife has some flaws or has done something wrong, the act done by the husband is equally bad and can’t be justified. The constant beating Hina is getting in the story is a sign that they don’t have mutual understanding and the husband is never ok with her thinking.”

– FGD 02, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim

“He should not have beaten her, there’re other ideas of solution, he should have divorced her. He should have gone in a legal way, should have given some chances. In my opinion, if he was constantly beating her, then he did wrong.”

– FGD 03, Ganeshmaan Charnath Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

At the same time, many men participating in FGDs justified violence in certain cases. The following exchange shows that men felt justified in using violence if there is suspicion that the woman is having an extra-marital affair:

“P1: It is not just at all. Well, Hina isn’t a bad person if she talks to another man. She might’ve been talking to someone for support. She might be seeking help from someone to deal with her husband’s abusive behaviour. We cannot label a person as good or bad just because they talk to someone with opposite gender.”

P2: Sir, that is completely wrong. Yadav’s behaviour is completely justifiable. The first that she should do is talk to her husband. If that doesn’t work, then there are administrative and female bodies. She should go there to seek support and help. Meeting other men and talking to them on the phone is completely inappropriate. If Yadav was beating her due to these reasons, then it is completely justifiable.”

– FGD 03, Ganeshmaan Charnath Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2

Gender norms are likely to be driving this kind of justification. For instance, the notion that women must obey their husbands is a theme that ran across both sites. Indeed, in Province 2, one participant stated that violence may be one way to get women to obey: *“Well, a person does not resort to violence directly. However, she also will not obey him if he doesn’t scare her. He should scare her. If she does not obey, she should be slapped a couple of times.”* In other words, gender roles and norms intersect with norms that justify violence.

Norms justifying or supporting violence. Quantitatively data shows there is a link between norms underlying the acceptance and justification of violence and committing violence itself. Men who report higher acceptance of beliefs that justify/support violence (after controlling for age, education, wealth, province, child marriage and type of marriage) are more likely to perpetrate all forms of violence, i.e. they are:

- 5.1 times more likely to commit any violence ever
- 2 times more likely to commit economic violence ever
- 5.7 times more likely to commit emotional violence ever
- 5.2 more likely to commit physical violence ever
- 3.6 times more likely to commit sexual violence ever
- 10.4 times more likely to report perpetrating relationship control

4.6 Socio-demographic differences in social and gender norms

The focus of this study is to understand which types of norms are most stable and which are amenable to change, so it is important to explore demographic differences in the types of norms just described.

Four main socio-demographic variables were tested: province, age, education wealth quintile and employment status.

Province: For all types of norms assessed (gendered attitudes, social expectations around masculinity, personal normative beliefs of masculinity and norms justifying or supporting violence), men in Province 2 reported stronger agreement with the more traditional and stereotypical norms that are typically harmful to women than men in Sudurpaschim (see Table A in Appendix C). On average, the mean score for Province 2 across all types of social and gender norms was higher than for Sudurpaschim. There may be several reasons for these differences, though it is important to be cautious about perpetuating stereotypes about the differences between Terai and hilly populations. Despite the differences, programming professionals and practitioners need to remember that there is always a local context for inequitable gender and social norms so it is important to understand why they persist in each locality.

Age: There are no age differences found across any type of norm, which suggests that norms are equally strongly or weakly held across men from all four age groups. This lack of age differences is particularly noteworthy, as it shows that younger men are not more gender equitable than the oldest men in any meaningful way. This suggests that greater equality is not just a matter of waiting out older generations.

Education. Analysis demonstrates there are differences by education status. The participants were categorised into no or little education (i.e. up to primary) and secondary education or higher. Men who had no or little education agreed with more gender inequitable attitudes and more stereotypic personal normative masculine norms. This association has been found in most other settings where IMAGES has been carried out.

Wealth: An interesting finding is that men in the middle wealth quintile reported the strongest agreement with all the inequitable norms assessed (see Table B in Appendix C). In other words, the gatekeepers of traditional and stereotypical gender and social norms are likely to be in the middle wealth quintile. It is difficult to speculate why this might be the case. However, most of IPSSJ's existing programming takes place with people in the lowest quintile, who are more likely to be migrating for work, and these drastic changes in living situations may create spaces where norms can be changed more easily. This could be partly because migration exposes people to new ideas abroad, or because men who migrate also have to "cede" control of household decision making to women, causing their ability to dominate the household to fade.

Employment status: There were no differences by employment status noted in any of the norms assessed. In other words, men who are employed or unemployed held beliefs equally strongly.

KEY FINDINGS FROM CHAPTER 4



- ⊕ **Although there were some differences between the study sites, moderate levels of beliefs in rigid and harmful gender norms persisted in both.**
- ⊕ **In both sites, men moderately to strongly agreed with statements that highlight the pervasive nature of inequitable gender and social norms. From men's perspectives, women are expected to be caregivers while men are expected to be decision makers and breadwinners.**
- ⊕ **Maintaining family reputation, controlling family matters, controlling women's movements, physical and emotional toughness for men, and men being breadwinners are the "sticky" norms that need shifting.**
- ⊕ **When it comes to gender socialisation of children, i.e. what boys and girls should do, there was less agreement with traditional gendered beliefs, suggesting that there may be room to create a ripple effect type of change.**
- ⊕ **This study finds a strong likelihood that holding inequitable gendered attitudes, believing that men in the community behave in stereotypical masculine ways, holding themselves to standards of an unattainable masculine ideology, and supporting norms that justify violence, are all linked to perpetration of intimate partner violence.**
- ⊕ **Age and employment status do not seem to change men's beliefs in gender and social norms. On the other hand, education and wealth status are linked to social and gender norms in unexpected ways – men with little education and in the middle wealth quintile showed the strongest agreement with harmful gender and social norms.**

05

NATURE OF JUSTICE SEEKING

- 5.1 Status of justice-seeking
 - 5.2 Normative barriers to justice-seeking
 - 5.3 Institutional barriers to justice-seeking
-

5 Nature of justice-seeking

A critical component of the IPSSJ research is to understand the nature of justice-seeking, in order to meet its goals of improving security and justice for women and girls in Nepal. The recognition that social and gender norms play an influential role in the acceptance and accessibility of justice-seeking is therefore a critical part of this study. This section of the report draws more heavily on the qualitative data in order to unpack the social norms that underlie justice-seeking behaviours.

5.1 Status of justice-seeking

Qualitative interviews indicated that reporting violence against women and girls (VAWG) is increasing across the two study sites. A Principal of a school in Sudurpaschim explained that:

“I think it has increased in compared to the past. In earlier days, there were no such provisions of reporting. In recent times, this trend has increased as several organisations generated awareness and informed people in the community about the legal provisions. Even though the trend as I said has been increase, there are very few cases that are reported in the justice committee.”

Indeed, most interviewees stated that it is not the incidence of violence that has increased but the reporting of violence.






As part of the shift to federalism, ward-level bodies such as judicial committees and ward level committees have been created and reporting has increased. This change means that people have more *“awareness”*, *“everything has become accessible”* and *“information is being distributed to encourage victims to report violence”*.

According to the key informants and the focus group participants, there are several places where victims of violence can go to seek help and report violence. The interview data show that men think women should be more comfortable reporting to some authorities than others. In order of expressed preference, women should report to the following authorities: elders in the community, neighbours, committees/groups formed in the village like mothers’ groups, women’s cells, public representative at the ward level, municipality office, police stations and judicial committees under the Deputy Mayor’s lead who appoint mediators to solve the disputes.

Across the 850 men sampled, there was a similar pattern. When asked to rank in order of who is most helpful when reporting gender-based violence, family members were ranked the highest, followed by community leaders, police, judicial committee and courts respectively. Table 9 shows the percentage of men who ranked the type of reporting body for that order.

After family level, the next most common option is *“villagers and neighbours”*. In the FGDs, when presented with a hypothetical story of a woman who reported her husband’s violence to the police, participants in both sites expressed the view that this was the wrong choice.

TABLE 9
WHO IS THE MOST HELPFUL TO REPORT GBV CASES TO?

RANKED 1 - 5				
01	02	03	04	05
				
FAMILY MEMBERS	COMMUNITY LEADERS	POLICE	JUDICIAL COMMITTEE	COURTS
% OF MEN WHO RANKED IT IN THIS ORDER				
69%	58%	40%	43%	77%

One participant said that the woman should have “searched for help from the local community instead of going to the police station first. Husband and wife are together. They have to try to solve the matter together. If this doesn’t get solved from family level and from the community level then they can go to the higher authority. That is how it should be taken.” (FGD 04, Sahid Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2)

In fact, there was consensus across all four FGDs that reporting to the police must be the last step because if a woman “went to file a case against her husband, he won’t accept her again as his wife”. (FGD 01, Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim)

Key informants validated the focus group discussion findings, stating that “If her husband is harassing her, she usually goes to the police as the last option or when she has no other options left... because if she goes to the police then she might get more harassed later.” (Health Assistant in Province 2)

5.2 Normative barriers to justice-seeking

An important aspect of this study is to examine the role of masculinities in shaping norms that affect the use of services by survivors of violence. Across all key informant interviews, the idea emerged that a prerequisite for being an ideal or a good woman is that women cannot have a voice. An overwhelming number of participants in Province 2 (74%) and in Sudurpaschim (88%) strongly agreed/agreed that a girl would be foolish to let go of a man who is providing for her, even if he hits her sometimes. The qualitative interviews also indicate that the expectation of a woman continuing to live with her abuser is strong.

Men’s belief that women should not report violence is clearly deeply seated in gendered expectations. Across both sites, men who reported stereotypic gender beliefs also reported more agreement that justice-seeking is bad (see Table 10, next page).

Moreover, reporting violence was considered shameful or embarrassing by men, who saw it as an attack on their masculinity: 44% of men in Province 2 agreed that it is shameful for a man if his wife/partner seeks help from the police, while only 26% of men in Sudurpaschim agreed with this statement. Intertwining breadwinner status with women’s inferior status in the household, a FGD participant in Sudurpaschim noted that “many people will consider the woman to be shameless for reporting her

husband for taking him to the police. Some may say her clothes are provided by her husband, her food and everything and she files a complaint against her husband. How will she live with him after this?"

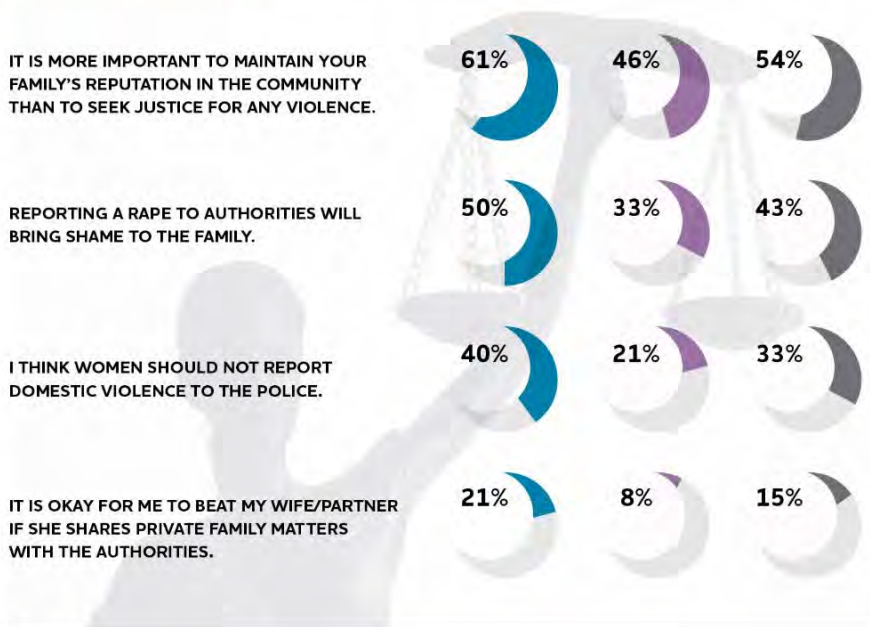
TABLE 10
NORMATIVE BELIEFS AND JUSTICE-SEEKING



As these are cultural beliefs, we examined whether there is a difference by caste in whether it is considered shameful to report violence. Across the 850 respondents, men who identify as Madheshi were more likely to believe it is shameful to report violence than men who identify as Dalit.

TABLE 11
PERCENTAGE OF MEN WHO AGREED/STRONGLY AGREED WITH NORMS AROUND JUSTICE-SEEKING

● PROVINCE 2 (N=472) ● SUDURPASCHIM PROVINCE (N=378) ● TOTAL (850)



To understand respondents' beliefs about justice-seeking, a four-statement scale (out of five items) was used to examine the prevalence of norms around justice-seeking. This scale had moderate reliability ($\alpha = 0.70$). Table 11 shows how many men in each study site agreed or strongly agreed with some of the items

asked. Men in Province 2 were significantly more likely to hold traditional norms that constrain justice-seeking than male respondents from Sudurpaschim.

Clearly, maintaining harmony in the family is an important value across both sites. Several qualitative interviewees themselves shared this view, even though they work with formal bodies that respond to violence against women and girls. In other words, the integrity of marriage as an institution is much stronger than the idea of justice for a survivor of domestic violence. Participants in both KIIs (Traditional Healer, Priest, Deputy Mayor) and FGDs all said that their first step in solving any violence related cases involves “reconciliation” and “suggesting women to stay in harmony with society”.

BOX 3
VALUING HARMONY
AND RECONCILIATION



The extent to which women are asked to keep the family together is highlighted in an anecdote by a priest in Sudurpaschim:



My nephew had gone to India. When he came here, he wanted to get married and asked what he could do. So, we agreed and got him married. Now nobody knows if he was already married in India. The girl he was going to marry here had a doubt and she came to ask us. She agreed on what we told her, they got married, she is home and is doing well. You see we cannot judge him without any proof. If we do that, we may not prove anything tomorrow. There was some violence. The couples were fighting with each other. But let us say we resolved it.

The pressure to maintain harmony, and strong taboos against divorce or separating the family, might also explain why keeping the family together affects whether women choose to report violence. FGD participants clearly expressed the view that separating husband and wife should be a last option.

As noted in section 5.1, maintaining harmony by staying together irrespective of violence also means that there is tremendous pressure on women to solve any violence-related conflicts within the family. A Principal of a school in Sudurpaschim noted that when faced with any reports of violence, his first response is “to talk to the woman and understand what is happening in the household”, following which he “will tell her to talk to her husband and solve the matter.” It is only after this that he would suggest any legal recourse as a next step. But the Principal reiterates that “if it can be solved through mutual dialogue, there is no need to seek for legal remedies.”

Similarly, a Traditional Healer in Province 2 stated that “if a couple had a fight for one or two days along with some physical abuses, we suggest them to talk to each other and solve the issue. If it doesn’t get resolved as such, we gather two or four people from the community to resolve it.” The reason why men believe that solving “within the family is the first step” is because they think that women who report violence may “feel uncomfortable” in their home afterwards. In other words, if the violence is not stopped immediately, they will continue to live with the perpetrator of violence in their home.

Out of the 850 men, 60% in Province 2 and 70% in Sudurpaschim reported that people in their community do not interfere when there is violence between the wife and husband.

The idea that regardless of whether they report or not, women are likely to come back to their homes, was reiterated through several interviews. The backlash that they will face as a result of reporting was also a strong theme in both sites. This expected backlash is likely to be a barrier to any increase in justice-seeking by women.

This has implications for making the justice-seeking process more streamlined and uncomplicated, as we will discuss in the conclusions.

Men in the qualitative interviews shared the view that beliefs that devalue the reporting of violence also create spaces for a backlash against women or family members who choose to report violence. This is brought up in several interviews where both key informants and focus group participants explained that women or service providers who report violence are likely to be at higher risk of more violence for reporting it in the first place:

“There are fears too. There’s so much violence these days, women are scared thinking that they might suffer from more violence if they go to lodge a complaint. They also have a fear of getting beaten up or even murdered if they file a complaint against violence. Victims go to the judicial system crying for help. Firstly, it’s a challenge to convince the victims. Secondly, there is a threat even to us [social service workers]; threat of being beaten up.” – Health Assistant in Province 2

“The main reason behind women not reaching to legal authorities is because they don’t have access over it. Even if they do, they fear to go there thinking it will escalate the conflict further or destroys her household environment. Also, if they make a decision to go, the society stops them because of prestige.”
– Principal of a school in Sudurpaschim Province

“We are aware of such incidents and have also heard of them. We have seen men beat their wife shamelessly without any guilt. We also try to intervene at times. It’s difficult for us also to talk in between such matters, whenever we try to involve ourselves, such perpetrators as men reply us with ‘Am I hitting your wife? No, so keep quiet. Is she your wife for you to be talking?’ We also need to face such circumstances.”

– FGD 02, Budiganga Municipality Bajura, Sudurpaschim

5.3 Institutional barriers to justice-seeking

Most interviewees shared the view that formal bodies such as the police, the judicial system and municipality-level justice committees are not effective in resolving domestic violence cases. They attributed this to gender insensitivity among these bodies. By this, they meant that often service providers do not view violence seriously, often promote harmony over justice or lack the legal knowledge to deliver justice effectively.

Among member of the women’s civil society committees, there is a belief that general inaction or biased judgement in cases of violence against women results in a general mistrust in reporting. At the police level, frequent transfers of authority figures means that enforcement of rules and regulations is ineffective.

“Women do report to Women’s Committee. Women’s Committee has been formed but may be because of their lack of interest and passiveness in conducting any activities, they are not working as they are expected. In my opinion, effectiveness is less than 30%. Because the person who does the violence, continue doing it even if they know the outcomes, due to which we can’t really see the effectiveness, but this will decrease slowly.” – Health Assistant in Province 2

“There are many file reports in the police but has not got any justice. They go there, give the letter, letters are stored, and they follow up for 1 or 2 days and then don’t care. Service seekers are usually ignored. It’s because of the main police authority ‘thanedaar’ that gets changed frequently. They follow up for 2–4 months then the police authority ‘thanedaar’ gets changed and starting all over again is something they don’t do. So, it gets stored.” – Traditional Healer, Province 2

“There’s a situation of reporting at judicial committee too. But the deputy chief of the justice committee is uneducated too, so they don’t know what their responsibilities are. I think that they cannot handle the physical violence problems, they can only look after the small reconciliations. For that, we need to go through women’s cell or can also be done by justice committee. Think people come more in women’s cell. But the implementation situation is not that good. Only 5% of them might get justice, but they still report.” – Executive Director of an NGO, Province 2

All interviewees, except three, stated that the current response systems (no matter which one they are) are “effective”.

“Two of them has been discussed and resolved. One of them could not be discussed and has gone to district office. It will reach court afterwards probably.” – Deputy Mayor, Sudurpaschim

“We have made this system. We, as in, people like us who are in the power and authority. The effectiveness depends on how this will be implemented by such people. So far I think the system has been effective. The cases have been addressed and people have been receiving justice in my opinion.” – Programme Officer at NGO, Sudurpaschim

However, there are still key institutional barriers which make reporting fraught with challenges. According to the key informant interviewees, the male focus group participants and the mostly male key informants, one of the biggest obstacles to women reporting their experiences of violence to formal authorities is their lack of trust in these authorities. There are several instances of key informants sharing that “women don’t feel that they will get a fair trial.” (Sub-inspector in Province 2)

Many reasons for this lack of trust were given. The first – mentioned frequently – is the fear that influential people, especially those in politics and those who are well off financially, might interfere in the case and bias the outcome towards the abuser.

Previous studies in Nepal have shown that emblematic high profile legal cases of GBV have higher chances of being more thoroughly examined and likely to have less bias in their judgements from formal service providers.^{xix} In this study, too, several interviewees, including a Sub-inspector in Province 2, stated that perpetrators of violence often get away with it because they are able to have someone with power to intervene in their case.

“Whoever is rich and whoever has links in higher places, using money they can prove right person wrong and wrong things right. It is going on.” – Priest, Sudurpaschim

“They are also pressurised by political parties. The leaders of political parties are the core for such problems. They appeal to the committee by saying that the perpetrator should be released because he is from his party. The appeal is then addressed, and judicial committee had to free those perpetrators.” –

Traditional Healer, Province 2

Honour at family level, village level and ward level seem to be driving the pressure on service providers to downplay the degree of violence, thus failing to provide fair justice, as seen in the following quote:

“Suppose some woman comes to me saying that she is suffering from violence, I can’t give her justice. I only can help her to reach to the judicial system. I can help her register her complaint and give some information. Then I will start getting calls. If her husband has a reach on political parties, he will threaten me saying that why did I take his wife to the police station, she’s his wife, so he has every right to do whatever he wants to do to her. He will warn me saying who am I to mediate between them. Sometimes the pressure comes from the family too. The mayor and ward chairperson also tell us to solve this matter saying that it’s about villages and ward’s prestige, and this issue should not be taken further. Threats also come after that.”

– Executive Director of an NGO, Province 2

Another barrier to seeking justice is that there is limited understanding of what constitutes violence in the first place. An Executive Director of an NGO in Province 2 explained that those in a position to deliver justice are themselves bound by their own beliefs around violence:

“The chiefs don’t do justice. They say to the woman that her husband only slapped her two or three times, this has been going on traditionally since a long time. We also beat our wives. Their justice is very biased.”

Indeed, men who devalue and justify violence in their community, by agreeing that most men in their community use violence, are 3.5 times more likely to believe that women should not report violence to anyone.

Lack of financial resources was also mentioned as a barrier for women to access formal justice. A Programme Officer of an NGO in Sudurpaschim shared that: *“Financial condition might create some problem. Women if they are poor might not be able to communicate with the authority. They might not even have mobile balance to call the authority. Also, as they are poor, they cannot afford any expenses related to the case.”*

However, there is no quantitative relationship between being of a certain social class and beliefs about seeking justice. In other words, beliefs about justice-seeking are the same for men who had more and men who had fewer financial resources.

It is important to examine whether men who hold stronger beliefs about stereotypical masculinity also believe that women should not report violence. Qualitatively, it is noted that some men believed that services that help survivors of violence are unfair to men. The quote below shows that the frustration expressed is with the NGO as opposed to the perpetrator of violence:

“What goes on nowadays is that, if a man slaps a woman four, five times, it is only him that shall be blamed. There are social organisations which are more fixated on punishing men. Instead of focusing on facts and what could be a better solution, they are fixated on torturing men.”

KEY FINDINGS FROM CHAPTER 5



- ⊕ **Rigid expectations around how women should behave underlie much of what is expected of women during justice-seeking. Across all key informant interviews, the idea emerged that a prerequisite for being an ideal or a good woman is that women cannot have a voice. Men also reported that their own manhood is at stake when a woman reports violence to authorities.**
- ⊕ **Qualitative interviews showed that reporting violence against women and girls is increasing across the two sites, though some authorities are preferred to others when it comes to reporting. Both qualitative and quantitative surveys reveal that when asked to rank in order of who is most helpful when reporting gender-based violence, family members are ranked the highest, followed by community leaders, police, judicial committee and courts respectively.**
- ⊕ **There are both normative and institutional barriers to justice-seeking (according to men). Respondents who hold strong beliefs about gender norms also do not support justice-seeking. Norms such as not allowing women to have a voice, valuing harmony and family reputation, seeing justice-seeking as an attack on one's manhood, and stigmatising divorce/separation all underlie why men do not support justice-seeking by women.**
- ⊕ **There is a strong culture of backlash against justice-seeking: for women, for their family members, for men whose spouse/partner sought justice and for service providers in the justice sector.**
- ⊕ **Most interviewees shared the view that formal bodies such as the police, judicial system, women's groups and municipality committees are not effective in resolving cases about violence. They attributed this to gender insensitivity among judicial, police and ward level committees. A lack of trust in the service providers, due to biased delivery of justice, political interference and a belief that those in power are gender insensitive, was highlighted as the reason why women (according to men's perspectives) do not access justice services.**



05

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

- Appendix A** More details on methodology
 - Appendix B** Qualitative participants information
 - Appendix C** Quantitative survey tables
 - Appendix D** Quantitative questionnaire
 - Appendix E** Qualitative interview guide
-

6 Conclusions and recommendations

This section sets out conclusions and recommendations for future programming in Nepal based on the findings of this study.

1. Provide localised messages at both country and local level. Formative research in the locations of future programmes can provide the basis for tailoring these messages.

This study identified clear and persistent restrictive gender norms and practices in both provinces where it took place. These norms persist, despite ongoing societal change and any programming efforts that may be taking place. That being said, there were also clear province differences, with men in Sudurpaschim self-reporting more equitable gender attitudes and lower perpetration of violence, and also having more employed spouses/partners (in both formal and informal sectors). However, this must not be taken to perpetuate stereotypes of Terai and hilly populations. Instead, it suggests that even within Nepal, a blueprint approach to programming is unlikely to work.

2. Engage with complex drivers of violence by developing in-depth understanding of how they function within a community. Messages around men’s livelihoods especially need to be rooted within gender norms.

This study highlighted that factors such as education, poverty/wealth status, how a partner was chosen, women’s income-earning status, child marriage and men’s employment status did not affect violence in simple ways. For instance, having some primary education, being in middle quintiles of wealth, having had an arranged marriage, or women’s higher income earnings than men – all of which are in the field generally considered “protective” factors against violence – were in fact strongly *associated* with men’s perpetration of violence. However, what may actually be operating is an issue of economic stress: men with more education, who report more economic stress, are precisely those men who face the most stress when they cannot achieve middle-class status. They are also the households where women are more likely to be earning money. This suggests that men with more aspirations may feel their traditional status and their traditional identity most at risk and therefore be more likely to use violence. This shows that blueprint approaches to programming might get the risks and protective factors completely backwards. In these sites, women’s higher income is not seen as an asset for the family but as a factor that prevents men from controlling women and their income. It is essential to uncover and take into account these nuances.

3. Name harmful gender norms directly, identify which norms are most salient in programme sites and find opportunities to dismantle those that are already unstable.

This study has shown that restrictive gender roles and inequitable norms, even if not universally held, are alive and well in the study sites. This is especially true for the way that household chores and caregiving responsibility are divided between men and women. The findings show that the most sticky masculine norms include keeping violence private, displaying emotional strength, men being breadwinners, and men controlling women’s sexuality and movements. From men’s perspectives, gender norms for women that are most sticky were that women must be caregivers in the household, must tolerate violence to protect the family’s reputation, and must obey their husbands. Several norms that justify and support violence

also persist, for example justifying violence in instances where women transgressed gender expectations and roles or believing that violence must be severe in order to count as “violence”.

It is not enough, however, to simply tell men to respect their wives. Even with a fair amount of existing “awareness” within the communities studied that violence is unacceptable, the reported rates of perpetration were quite high. This means that approaches above and beyond mere awareness should be pursued. These could include community campaigns, role models, group education, more research with men who show equitable/positive views and behaviours, or even pursuing emblematic high profile legal cases. These are all interesting avenues for which the global evidence may be further reviewed.

4. Use long-term engagement, with sustained follow-up, to ensure that programmatic results are achieved in the long term and that programmes do no harm. One such way could be to empower communities from within to ensure impacts remain over time.

Analysis of the individual statements used to measure gender equitable attitudes suggests that men have complex and paradoxical attitudes towards gender equality; they agree with certain egalitarian (free or open) values and also at the same time approve of rigid patriarchal attitudes. What is also interesting about men’s gendered beliefs is that even when men agree with egalitarian attitudes (such as how decision making should be equitably divided or that men in the community do not feel ashamed of doing household work), it does not translate into action in day-to-day life. The majority of decision making, household and childcare work is in fact divided in traditional gender-typed ways.

All of this shows that attitudes do not always perfectly match behaviours. This means that programming needs to be multifaceted and long-term, with a clear sustainability strategy. A one-off training or short awareness raising event may result in some subtle shifts in knowledge or attitudes but is unlikely to produce lasting behaviour changes. Having strong positive role models or champion couples can be an important way to ensure that the risk of retaliation by either perpetrators or others in the community is mitigated and support a sustainable approach.

5. Focus on the life cycle: intervene specifically to help youth who have grown up witnessing violence to choose a different path for themselves, and/or to embrace and emulate the positive examples and role models of equality they may have had as children.

Intergenerational transmission of gender norms is a powerful force. To disrupt this cycle, programme content must focus on gender socialisation by parents as well as how children internalise these lessons. Quite simply, men’s behaviour and attitudes towards gender equality are determined and shaped to a great extent by their experiences in childhood. Without intervention, too many men go on to repeat the harmful ideas and actions they absorbed as children because they’ve understood this to be normal. Yet many men, whether by meeting an influential teacher or mentor or simply by being determined not to repeat the traumatic things they have seen or experienced, decide to break this intergenerational cycle and live nonviolent, equitable lives. The crucial process of bringing your childhood experiences into adulthood is a vital entry point for programming, whether via those role models, parents, schools, religion or other means.

6. Build a network of role models and influencers, leaning particularly on the social institutions most valued by beneficiaries.

Qualitative participants had many ideas for the kinds of role models and influential institutions that could be particularly effective in shifting patterns of violence and justice-seeking. One suggestion to overcome fear of reporting is by using positive role models and celebrating women who have sought justice. Harnessing the media is another way forward, according to key informants who note that the media has already been a positive influence. Religious leaders are also thought to play a strong role in ensuring change happens. To do this, it is critical to understand which social institutions are influential in a person's life, and target those who they value and listen to on matters other than those related to gender norms.

7. Ensure that men are given ideas and techniques to resist the pressures they face from norms of masculinity that harm everyone, women and men.

Factors like economic stress, alcohol use and witnessing violence continue to be strongly linked to men's likelihood of using violence. Looking more deeply, the findings also show there are harmful masculine norms that create a feeling of pressure and burden on men that are most likely a partial explanation for why violence occurs. Men feel pressure to be breadwinners in a precarious economic climate and may feel that they've failed to live up to their societal expectations when in fact they're doing the best they can. Several factors that contribute to violence are in fact tied to feeling financial pressure: due to one's earning or having multiple children or having an unemployed partner or having general livelihood pressure.

Harmful messages about masculinity can also steer men away from close emotional connections with other men and from healthy ways to resolve their feelings and worries. Even though men benefit in some ways from a patriarchal world, these ideas of masculinity are a double-edged sword, bringing harms for men as well as benefits. The harms of rigid masculine thinking to men themselves and society in large is neither accepted, understood or openly discussed, leaving men without the tools to address them. For men, believing in all stereotypic gender norms was also related to higher alcohol consumption and poorer mental health. This is an essential and promising avenue for programme intervention: help men to see gender norms more critically and to see how they themselves, as well as their spouses, families, and children, can benefit from a more equal worldview.

8. Tailor messages to subvert common misunderstandings and unfounded biases, both among implementers and participants, and ensure that beneficiaries are targeted based on evidence, not assumptions.

In qualitative research, participants shared some familiar presumptions about the causes and sources of violence which were not substantiated in the quantitative evidence. Some respondents also held biased beliefs, for example that certain caste groups, those who had a child marriage or who were unemployed would be more likely to commit violence. These ideas also did not hold true in this study.

Programmes must correct this. In many cases beneficiaries won't lack knowledge about violence against women per se; instead they will assume they understand the issue very well but be mistaken in many of their beliefs. The work of "awareness raising" then must shift to "awareness changing". Part of this equation is also making programme *facilitators* themselves aware of their own biases. Facilitators must

deconstruct their own casteist, classist, patriarchal or other discriminatory mindsets and worldviews. Having gone through a change process, they can become role models for others.

9. Increase work that focuses on building trust in formal justice systems and creates an environment that enables women to seek justice. Only when this legitimacy is built will the public trust and rely on them instead of more private means of addressing violence.

A large aspect of this study was to understand justice-seeking patterns in the two survey sites. Despite growing awareness of justice-seeking systems, women seeking justice were largely not supported (irrespective of men's age, social class or employment status). Moreover, men's deeply gendered beliefs were also linked to devaluing justice-seeking. This highlights the fact that reporting violence is rooted in gendered expectations from women (and men).

While security and justice systems exist in both sites, they present numerous challenges. There is a strong issue of people "not trusting" the systems.

A major theme to improve justice-seeking is to ensure that all formal bodies are trustworthy, unbiased and effective. At present, people do not see government systems as unbiased and fair; instead, they view them as supporting the powerful and connected men in the community. Community members have also seen that cases which go to courts, police stations or ward level committees are influenced by the duty-bearers' own biased beliefs or by influential people.

Programmes should ensure that law enforcement leaders are educated and have had gender-sensitivity training. Key informants note that a cycle of mistrust and inefficiency ensues when leaders in these formal bodies of authorities lack knowledge about the laws around violence. For service providers there is a need to work on dismantling norms, and then – because they are duty-bearers – to also hold them to account for failing to implement laws that may contradict their own personal beliefs. Knowledge about laws, better implementation of laws and harsher punishment for offenders are other ways to improve the institutional response to violence against women.

10. Help women and men to better understand the reporting opportunities available outside the family, and what forms of support they may offer.

There is also a need to address and deconstruct the notion of harmony in the family. Often this "harmony" is invoked as a reason not to seek justice outside the home. And the family goes beyond the couple themselves; inclusion of extended family members in programming is an ask from the interviewees as well. Given the backlash (in men's own words) that women may face, there is a need to sensitively address the cyclical nature of violence. This also calls up the issue of restorative versus punitive justice. If men (and women) feel that reporting violence to the authorities only results in punishment they may view the criminal justice system as an outside "enemy". If the justice sector is seen as being able to help mitigate and provide counselling/restorative processes that improve relationships, they might be more supportive.

At present, violence continues to be considered a private and family matter. It is clear from the interviews that across all levels of justice-seeking services, harmony of the family is prioritised and marriage as an institution is rarely challenged. Marriage is seen as an institution that protects women and provides them with stability, but it should be a woman's own right to decide where and how she will feel the most stable and protected. A violent environment should not be considered stable and protective, yet that is very

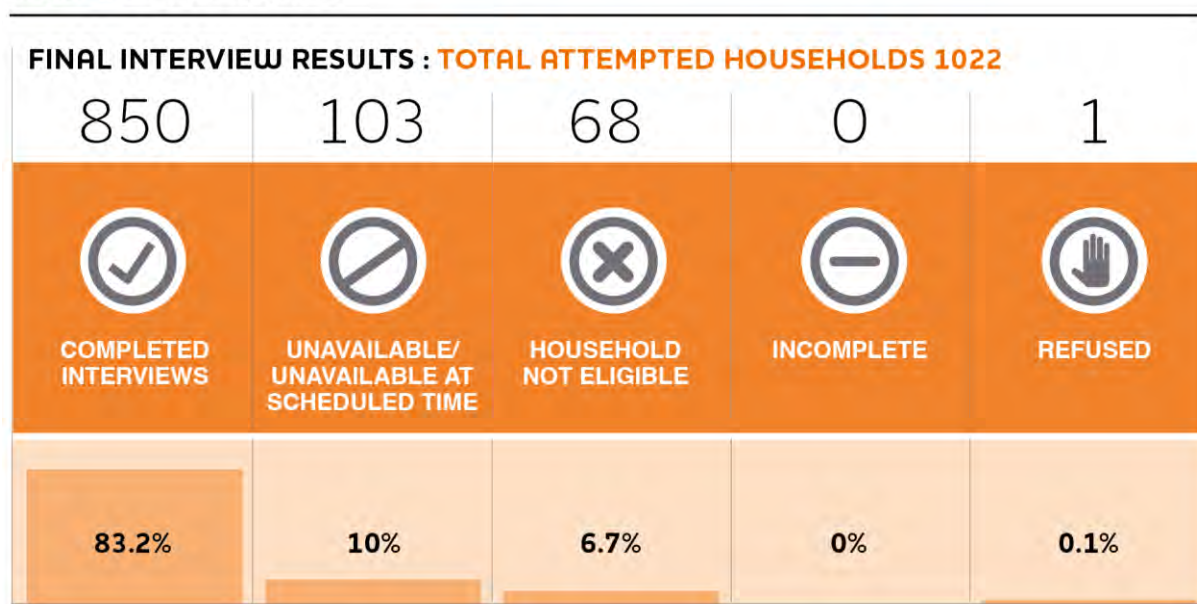
often the case. Divorce still carries great stigma as well, another norm that programmes would do well to explore.

Conclusions

This study has provided a rigorous exploration of masculinity and social norms related to VAWG in Nepal. By using the IMAGES methodology, it has provided concrete evidence on norms related to masculinity and perpetration of VAWG. These findings complement other studies on these topics in Nepal and globally. This underscores the importance of a continued focus on addressing harmful social norms through programming, along with the particular need to engage with men and boys. These findings clarify many of the factors associated with the perpetration of violence and provide clear entry points for programme interventions and messaging. While these findings are most relevant to future programming in Nepal, their insights may also serve as entry points for research and analysis on similar issues in other locations.

Appendix A – More details on methodology

TABLE A
SAMPLE PERFORMANCE



A step-by-step approach was followed that reflected the IMAGES methodology and was adapted to the needs of this study.

While the core IMAGES questionnaire is written to be as widely applicable as possible, there was a need for subtle adjustments to the content based on translation issues and cultural/contextual considerations. The team had several online meetings in January 2021 to adjust the questionnaire to meet the needs of the study and the country context. In parallel, a qualitative interview guide was developed in order to deeply understand the issues underlying this study. All partners and team members had several opportunities to input and revise both the tools. Once the tools were ready, they were translated into Nepali, then back translated and reviewed by Nepali team members to ensure the high quality of translation.

The next step included submitting the research protocol to the Nepal Health Research Council for ethical approval. Once approval was received, training of enumerators took place in March 2021. A total of 16 male field researchers (four supervisors and 12 enumerators) were hired and trained for the study. The training took place in Nepal, in-person, over five days. It included short lectures, mock interviews, role plays and a field trial. The training curriculum also covered ethical issues including mechanisms to confront and overcome researchers’ own biases, ways of administering specific questions and probing strategies. Part of the field training included pre-testing the tools. This pre-test was conducted on about 20 men in the outskirts of Kathmandu Valley and after this minor modifications were made to the research tools. Once training was complete, data collection began.

Appendix B - Qualitative participants information

TABLE A
PARTICIPANT DETAILS

TYPE	LOCATION	AGE	GENDER	DESIGNATION
KII 01	Bajura, Sudurpaschim	38 years	Male	Programme Officer at NGO
KII 02	Bajura, Sudurpaschim	44 years	Female	Deputy Mayor
KII 03	Bajura, Sudurpaschim	51 years	Male	Principal of a school
KII 04	Bajura, Sudurpaschim	45 years	Male	Ward Chairperson
KII 05	Bajura, Sudurpaschim	54 years	Male	Priest
KII 06	Dhanusha, Province 2	27 years	Female	Executive Director of an NGO
KII 07	Dhanusha, Province 2	55 years	Male	Social Worker
KII 08	Dhanusha, Province 2	39 years	Female	Deputy Mayor
KII 09	Dhanusha, Province 2	26 years	Male	Health Assistant
KII 10	Dhanusha, Province 2	60 years	Male	Traditional Healer
KII 11	Dhanusha, Province 2	40 years	Female	Sub-inspector
FGD 01	Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim	19 to 30 years	Male (N=9)	NA
FGD 02	Budiganga Municipality, Bajura, Sudurpaschim	31 to 52 years	Male (N=8)	NA
FGD 03	Ganeshmaan Charnath Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2	31 to 60 years	Male (N=8)	NA
FGD 04	Sahid Municipality, Dhanusha, Province 2	18 to 30 years	Male (N=11)	NA

This table provides relevant details of the participants for the qualitative data. Any identifying information has been anonymised.

Appendix C – Quantitative survey tables

TABLE A
MEANS ON TYPES OF NORMS BY PROVINCE




















	PROVINCE 2	SUDURPASCHIM
Gender equality attitudes	2.44	2.19
Social expectations of masculinity	3.07	2.56
Personal normative beliefs about masculinity	2.53	2.40
Norms justifying or supporting violence	2.80	2.67
Norms around justice-seeking	0.45	0.28

TABLE B
MEANS ON TYPES OF NORMS BY WEALTH QUINTILE

	LOW WEALTH QUINTILE	MIDDLE WEALTH QUINTILE	HIGH WEALTH QUINTILE
Gender equality attitudes	2.21	2.46	2.28
Social expectations of masculinity	2.57	2.98	2.93
Personal normative beliefs about masculinity	2.43	2.55	2.42
Norms justifying or supporting violence	2.69	2.83	2.71
Norms around justice-seeking	0.27	0.45	0.38

TABLE C
BREAKDOWN OF CAREGIVING TASKS IN BOTH PROVINCES

FATHER ONLY 	MOTHER ONLY 	SHARED 	PROVINCE 2 (N=472)			SUDURPASCHIM (N=378)		
								
 Providing the daily care of your child	4%	73%	23%	4%	41%	55%		
 Playing with the child or doing various leisure time activities	8%	49%	43%	20%	30%	50%		
 Scolding the child or using verbal discipline	21%	42%	37%	31%	21%	48%		
 Spanking or beating the child or using other physical discipline	25%	48%	27%	23%	27%	50%		
 Changing the child's nappies or clothes	1%	94%	5%	2%	67%	31%		
 Talking with the child about any personal matters (like stresses at work, worries about the future, financial stresses) in their lives	9%	58%	33%	24%	19%	57%		
 Helping the child with homework	31%	46%	23%	45%	17%	38%		
 Feeding or preparing food for your child	0.03%	97%	2%	2%	80%	18%		
 Bathing your child	1%	95%	4%	2%	77%	12%		

Appendix D– Quantitative questionnaire

1. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

First, we want to ask you some questions about your background, including a few questions about your home, your family, and the activities that you do. Remember that you can refuse to answer any question.

Module 1a: SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC INFO – ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
101	How old were you on your last birthday?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> years	
102	What is the highest standard or grade you have completed at school?	No formal education..... 0 Primary (1–5)..... 1 Secondary (6–10)..... 2 Higher secondary (11–12)..... 3 Bachelors level..... 4 Masters/university level and above..... 5 Informal education (adult literacy)..... 6 Don't know..... 99 Refuses to answer..... 97	
103	What caste/ethnic group do you belong to?	Chhetri..... 1 Brahman - Hill..... 2 Magar..... 3 Tharu..... 4 Tamang..... 5 Newar..... 6 Musalman..... 7 Kami..... 8 Yadav..... 9 Rai..... 10 Gurung..... 11 Other (Specify).....	

104	What is your religion?	Buddhist 1 Christian 2 Hindu 3 Muslims 4 Other (specify)..... Don't know..... 99 Refuse..... 97	
105	Do you reside in a joint, nuclear or extended family?	Joint 1 Nuclear..... 2 Extended..... 3	
106	What is your current marital status? NOTE TO INTERVIEWER – if married probe- if traditional or legal, if traditionally arranged or love, if has partner probe living together or not living together. If no relationship/single, please probe and confirm if he has a partner either living together or not living together or single.	No relationship/single 1 → 112 Married (traditional, arranged) 2 Married (traditional, love) 3 Married (legal, court) 4 Has partner, living together 5 → 111 Has partner, not living together 6 → 111 Separated/divorced 7 Widowed 8	

107	Is your current marriage registered?	Yes 1 No 2	
108	How old were you when you got married the first time?	AGE (YEARS) [][]	
109	Which of the following best describes how you came to marry your current or most recent wife?	We chose each other..... 1 Marriage was arranged but I could agree or disagree..... 2 Marriage was arranged but I could not disagree..... 3	

110	Did your marriage involve dowry payment? NOTE FOR INTERVIEWERS: Dowry is any form of money, land, car, or other assets that were given from the bride's family to the groom's family either directly or indirectly at the time of marriage wherein the marriage is contingent on this exchange.	Yes dowry..... 1 No dowry 2	
111	Do you have children (either current relationship or any previous relationship)?	Yes 1 No 2	

MODULE 1b: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS – ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
<i>Now I'd like to ask you about your household access to and ownership of a number of items that could be used to generate income</i>			
112	Does anyone in your household currently have any OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS?	YES NO 1. AGRICULTURAL LAND (PLOTS/PIECES) 1 0 2. LARGE LIVESTOCK (OXEN, CATTLE) 1 0 3. SMALL LIVESTOCK (GOATS, PIGS, SHEEP) 1 0 4. CHICKENS, DUCKS, TURKEYS, PIGEONS 1 0 5. FISH POND OR FISHING EQUIPMENT..... 1 0 6. FARM EQUIPMENT (NON-MECHANISED: HAND TOOLS, ANIMAL-DRAWN PLOUGH) 1 0 7. FARM EQUIPMENT (MECHANISED: TRACTOR-PLOUGH, POWER TILLER, TREADLE PUMP) 1 0 8. NON FARM BUSINESS EQUIPMENT (SOLAR PANELS USED FOR RECHARGING, SEWING MACHINE, BREWING EQUIPMENT) 1 0	

		<p>9. HOUSE OR OTHER STRUCTURES 1 0</p> <p>10. LARGE CONSUMER DURABLES (REFRIGERATOR, SOFA, TV) 1 0</p> <p>11. SMALL CONSUMER DURABLES (RADIO, COOKWARE) 1 0</p> <p>12. CELL PHONE 1 0</p> <p>13. MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION (BICYCLE, MOTORCYCLE, CAR) 1 0</p> <p>14. Jewellery 1 0</p>	
113	<p>Who provides the main source of income in your household?</p> <p>[Mark only one option]</p>	<p>Self 1</p> <p>Partner 2</p> <p>Self and partner about equally 3</p> <p>Parents (of self or partner) 4</p> <p>Son 5</p> <p>Daughter 6</p> <p>Daughter-inlaw 7</p> <p>Other, specify _____</p> <p>Don't know 99</p> <p>Refuse to answer 97</p>	
114	<p>Does remittance income support your household?</p>	<p>Remittances are our main source of income.....1</p> <p>Remittances are part of our income.....2</p> <p>Remittances are not part of our income.....3</p> <p>Don't know99</p> <p>Refuse to answer97</p>	
115	<p>What is/was your main occupation?</p> <p>[Mark only one option]</p>	<p>Professional (e.g. nurse, teacher, doctor)..... 1</p> <p>White collar (secretary, office worker).....2</p> <p>Blue collar (factory work, waiter, driver).....3</p> <p>Trading/business.....4</p> <p>Farming/fishing..... 5</p>	

		Manual labour.....6 House work..... 7 Student/unpaid apprenticeship..... 8 Unable to work 9 Do not work.....10 → Other, specify _____ Refuses to answer97	119
116	Do you usually work throughout the year, seasonally, once in a while or you've never worked?	Throughout the year.....1 Seasonally2 Once in a while3 Never worked4 Refuses to answer/Does not answer 97	
117	Please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: My work or employment situation is mostly stable (i.e., I feel sure that I will have this income next month).	Strongly agree 1 Agree 2 Disagree..... 3 Strongly disagree 4 Don't know 99 Refuses to answer/Does not answer 97	
118	Please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work.	Strongly agree 1 Agree 2 Disagree..... 3 Strongly disagree 4 Don't know 99 Refuses to answer/Does not answer 97	Q120

119	Now, I'd like to read a series of statements about your		
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	<p>unemployment. Please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with these phrases:</p> <p>a) I sometimes feel ashamed to face my family because I am out of work.</p> <p>b) I spend most of my time out of work or looking for work.</p> <p>c) I have considered leaving my family because I was out of work.</p> <p>d) I sometimes drink when I can't find work.</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>SA</th> <th>Agree</th> <th>Disagree</th> <th>SD</th> <th>Refuse</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>97</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>97</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>97</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>97</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	SA	Agree	Disagree	SD	Refuse	1	2	3	4	97	1	2	3	4	97	1	2	3	4	97	1	2	3	4	97	
SA	Agree	Disagree	SD	Refuse																								
1	2	3	4	97																								
1	2	3	4	97																								
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1	2	3	4	97																								
120	<p>How often can your household afford <u>basic items</u> (food or shelter)? NEVER, SOMETIMES, OFTEN, OR ALWAYS?</p> <p><i>INTERVIEWER: Please consider the frequency that the participant is unable to meet any particular need, not all needs. For example, if the participant has shelter but lacks food often, select "often".</i></p>	<p>Never 0</p> <p>Sometimes..... 1</p> <p>Often..... 2</p> <p>Always..... 3</p> <p>Don't know 99</p> <p>Refuses to answer/Does not answer 97</p>																										

2. CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

MODULE 2a: BASIC CHILDHOOD INFORMATION - ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

These questions will ask you about your life when you were growing up and the relationship you had with your parents or the people who cared for you before you turned 18.

[INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS: Please be sensitive in asking these questions to people who have been orphaned. Mark N/A where necessary to avoid asking upsetting questions.]

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
201	Who did you live with mostly growing up (before 18 years)?	Both mother and father1 Mostly or only my mother2 Mostly or only my father3 Parents and relatives4 Only with relatives5 On my own6 Foster home or orphanage7 Other96	
202	When you were growing up, how often was your mother at home? Would you say that your mother was never at home, rarely at home or often at home?	Never at home1 Rarely at home2 Often at home3 Not applicable97	
203	When you were growing up, how often was your father at home? Would you say that your father was never at home, rarely at home or often at home?	Never at home1 Rarely at home2 Often at home3 Not applicable97	} 205
204	Did your father live with another family?	No0 Yes1	
205	What is the highest standard or grade that your mother completed at school?	No formal education0 Primary (1–5)1 Secondary (6–10)2 Higher secondary (11–12)3	

		Bachelors level.....4 Masters/university level and above5 Informal education (adult literacy).....6 Don't know.....99 Refuses to answer97	
206	What is the highest standard or grade that your father completed at school?	No formal education.....0 Primary (1–5).....1 Secondary (6–10).....2 Higher secondary (11–12).....3 Bachelors level.....4 Masters/university level and above5 Informal education (adult literacy).....6 Don't know.....99 Refuses to answer97	
207	When you were a child (before 18 years), did your mother earn money for the household?	NO.....0 YES1 Don't know99 N/A98	
208	<i>[FILTER INSTRUCTIONS BY AGE]</i> Between the ages of 0–17 how many years did you live with your biological father?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> years I did not know him..... 90 He died before I was born91	

MODULE 2b: GENDER RELATIONS IN CHILDHOOD HOUSEHOLD – ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
209	Thinking about your childhood, who had the final word in your household about large investments such as buying a motorcycle, a cow, or land or gold?	Mother 1 Father 2 Both equally3 Elder brother (Dai)4 Father's elder brother (Thulo buba).....5	

	Self.....6	
	Father's sister's husband (Fupaju).....7	
	Grandfather.....8	
	Organisation/orphanage.....9	
	Grandmother.....10	
	Elder sister (Didi).....11	
	Other 96	
	Don't know 99	
	Not applicable 98	

*When you were a child, how often did **your father or another man in the home** do the following tasks: NEVER, SOMETIMES, OFTEN, or VERY OFTEN?*

		NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	DON'T KNOW	N/A
210	Prepare food	0	1	2	3	99	98
211	Clean the house	0	1	2	3	99	98
212	Wash clothes	0	1	2	3	99	98
213	Shop for groceries (food)	0	1	2	3	99	98
214	Take care of you or your siblings	0	1	2	3	99	98
215	Fetch drinking water	0	1	2	3	99	98
216	Care for you when you were unwell (e.g. take you to the health facility, get medicines for you from the pharmacy)	0	1	2	3	99	98

Between the ages of 13 and 17, how often did you do the following tasks: NEVER, SOMETIMES, OFTEN, VERY OFTEN?

		NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	DON'T KNOW	N/A
217	Prepare food	0	1	2	3	99	98
218	Clean the house	0	1	2	3	99	98
219	Wash clothes	0	1	2	3	99	98
220	Shop for groceries (food)	0	1	2	3	99	98

221	Take care of your siblings	0	1	2	3	99	98
222	Fetch drinking water	0	1	2	3	99	98
223	Care for your siblings when they were unwell (e.g., take them to the health facility, get medicines for them from the pharmacy)	0	1	2	3	99	98

MODULE 2c. GENDERED EXPERIENCE OF CHILDHOOD – ASK TO ALL RESPONDENTS.

<i>Now I will read some statements about how your childhood was different than your sisters'. If you didn't have sisters, think about other female relatives or neighbours who were about your same age. Please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.</i>							
Compared to my sisters or to girls in my neighbourhood...		STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	
224	...it was easier for my brothers and I to go outside the home.	1	2	3	4	99	
225	...my brothers and I had more free time because we were not expected to do housework like my sisters and other girls.	1	2	3	4	99	
226	...my brothers and I had less free time because we were expected to earn money for our family.	1	2	3	4	99	

MODULE 2d: CHILDHOOD DIFFICULT LIFE CIRCUMSTANCES – ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

<i>Now some statements will be read to you, and we would like to know whether and how often each of the following things happened to you before you when you were growing up. Did they NEVER happen, did they happen only SOMETIMES, did they happen OFTEN, or did they happen VERY OFTEN?</i>								
When you were growing up...		NEVER	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN	DON'T KNOW	Refuse	N/A
227	... there were times when you did not have enough to eat.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
228	... you saw or heard your mother being beaten by your father or her male partner.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
229	... you were insulted or humiliated by someone in your family in front of other people.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98

230	... you were beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
231	...did your father consume alcohol?	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
232	... you had sex with someone because you were threatened, frightened or forced.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
233	... someone did something to you sexually that you did not want.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
234	... you were beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98
235	... you were repeatedly made fun of, teased, intimidated, threatened or physically abused by other children in your school or in your community.	0	1	2	3	99	97	98

3. HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

The next questions are about your life now and the relationships you have. These questions are important for our study, and we thank you for your honest responses. Please remember you can skip any question that makes you uncomfortable.

[For interviewer: remember that a PARTNER is anyone that the respondent is in a relationship with, whether they are married or not, and have had sex or not.]

MODULE 3a: BASIC RELATIONSHIP INFORMATION – ASK MEN WHO ARE COHABITING, IN A RELATIONSHIP, OR MARRIED MEN (Do not ask if Q106 = 1 or 8)

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
301	How old is your current or ex-partner if no current partner? (Completed age)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> YEARS OLD	
302	What is the highest standard or grade your current or last partner has completed at school?	No formal education 0 Primary (1–5)..... 1 Secondary (6–10).....2 Higher secondary (11–12) 3	

		Bachelors level..... 4 Masters/university level and above 5 Informal education (adult literacy).....6 Don't know.....99 Refuses to answer.....97	
303	Do you and your current or last partner have the same level of education, or do you have more schooling, or does she have more schooling?	We have the same amount of schooling 1 I have more schooling 2 She has more schooling..... 3 Both are illiterate 4 Don't know 99	
304	What is/was your partner's main source of income/livelihood? [Mark only one option]	Professional (e.g. nurse, teacher, doctor) 1 White collar (secretary, office worker).....2 Blue collar (factory work, waiter, driver).....3 Trading/business 4 Farming/fishing..... 5 Manual labour6 House work..... 7 Student/unpaid apprenticeship..... 8 Unable to work 9 Other, specify _____ Don't know 99 Refuses to answer 97	
305	<i>In the past 3 months, was your partner...</i> <i>INTERVIEWER READ RESPONSE OPTIONS</i> [Mark only one option]	Professional worker (e.g. nurse, teacher, doctor) ... 1 White collar (secretary, office worker).....2 Blue collar (factory work, waiter, driver).....3 Trading/business 4 Farming/fishing..... 5 Manual labour6 House work..... 7 Student/unpaid apprenticeship..... 8	

		Unable to work 9 Other, specify _____ Don't know 99 Refuses to answer 97	
306	Do you and your current or last partner earn the same amount of money, does she earn more money, or do you earn more money?	We earn about the same amount 1 She earns more..... 2 I earn more 3 Don't know 99 Not applicable 97	

MODULE 3b: HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS. ASK ONLY COHABITING, IN A RELATIONSHIP, OR MARRIED MEN. (Do not ask if Q106 = 1 or 8)

Note to interviewer: if man has more than one partner, ask about PARTNER YOU MOSTLY LIVE WITH.

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
307	How would you characterise your relationship with your partner [current or ex] on the whole? Would you say it is VERY GOOD, GOOD, NEITHER GOOD NOT BAD, BAD, VERY BAD	Very good 1 Good 2 Neither good nor bad 3 Bad 4 Very bad 5	
308	Generally, you and your partner [current/ex] talk [or used to talk] about your worries and feelings.	Never 0 Rarely 1 Sometimes 2 Often 3	
309	Generally, you and your partner [current/ex] talk [or used to talk] about your partner's worries and feelings.	Never 0 Rarely 1 Sometimes 2 Often 3	
310	How would you describe your sexual relationship with your partner?	Very satisfying 1 Satisfying 2 Unsatisfying 3	

	Very unsatisfying	4
	Not Sexually Active	5
	Don't know	99
	Refuse to answer	97

MODULE 3c: FINAL SAY IN THE HOUSEHOLD. ASK ONLY COHABITING, IN A RELATIONSHIP, OR MARRIED MEN. (Do not ask if Q106 = 1 or 8)

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES					
		Yourself	Partner	You and partner jointly	Someone else	You and someone else	NA
	Who in your family or relationship usually has the final say on...						
311	How to spend money on large investments such as buying a MOTORCYCLE, or a COW, or LAND or gold?	1	2	3	4	5	98
312	How many children to have or the spacing of children?	1	2	3	4	5	98
313	Whether to use any contraception to avoid or delay pregnancy?	1	2	3	4	5	98
314	Whether it is appropriate to go to the police or judicial committee for reporting any legal/justice issues?	1	2	3	4	5	98

MODULE 3d: EMPIRICAL AND NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS - GENDER ROLES & HOUSEHOLD LABOUR. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

<i>Now I will read some statements about what you think other people in your community actually do. For the following statements, please state whether you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE.</i>						
#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
315	Most men in my community are the ones who make the decisions in their home.	1	2	3	4	99
316	Most men in my community do not do any domestic work.	1	2	3	4	99

317	Most women in my community do not challenge their man's opinions and decisions even if they disagree with him.	1	2	3	4	99
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*Now I will read some statements about what you think other people in your community expect others to do. For the following statements, please state whether you **STRONGLY AGREE**, **AGREE**, **DISAGREE** or **STRONGLY DISAGREE**.*

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
318	Most people in my community expect men to have the final word about decisions in the home.	1	2	3	4	99
319	Most people in my community think it is shameful if a man does domestic work.	1	2	3	4	99
320	Community members believe that a woman does not have the right to challenge her man's opinions and decisions even if she disagrees with him.	1	2	3	4	99

4. INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

The interview is going very well so far and we're making good progress. The next set of questions asks about things which happened in your relationships with your female partners. Remember that everything you share here will be kept confidential and used only for research purposes.

MODULE 4a: RELATIONSHIP CONTROL; FOR EVER-PARTNERED MEN ONLY, EXCEPT WIDOWED. (Do not ask if Q106 = 1 or 8)

Now I will read you some statements about your relationship with your current or last partner, even if you are currently single. Please tell me if you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE.

Instruction: IF THE RESPONDENT IS DIVORCED OR SEPARATED: ask these questions referring to their last relationship.

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
401	I have more say than she does about important decisions that affect us.	1	2	3	4
402	I tell my partner who she can spend time with.	1	2	3	4
403	I want to know where my partner is all of the time.	1	2	3	4
404	When I want sex, I expect my partner to agree.	1	2	3	4
405	I become angry if my partner talks to other men.	1	2	3	4
406	My wife cannot spend money without getting my permission.	1	2	3	4

MODULE 4b: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN; FOR EVER-PARTNERED MEN ONLY, EXCEPT WIDOWED

(Do not ask if Q106 = 1 or 8)

Generally, when two are in a relationship, they share good and bad moments. I would like to ask you some questions about your relationships. I would like to assure you that your answers will be kept confidential, and that you will not have to respond to any of the questions if you do not wish to do so. Can we continue?

407	In your relationship with your partner (current/last), how often would you say you argued? Would you say you argued NEVER, RARELY, SOMETIMES or OFTEN?	Never..... 1 Rarely 2 Sometimes 3 Often 4	
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		<i>How often has this happened ever?</i>				<i>Has this happened in the last twelve months?</i>		
		NEVER	ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES	YES	NO	N/A
408	How often have you prohibited a female partner from getting a job to earn money independently, going away from the home or farm to work, trading or earning money? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
409	How often have you taken a partner's earnings against her will? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
410	How often have you thrown a partner out of the house? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
411	How often have you kept money from your earnings for alcohol, tobacco or other things for yourself when you knew your partner was finding it hard to afford the household expenses? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
412	How often have you insulted your partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
413	How often have you done things to scare or intimidate your partner on purpose for example by the way you looked at her, by yelling and smashing things? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
414	How often have you belittled or humiliated your partner in front of other people? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98

415	How often have you threatened to hurt your partner or someone who is important to her? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
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416	How often have you slapped your partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
417	How often have you pushed, cornered, or pulled your partner's hair? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
418	How often have you hit your partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
419	How often have you kicked, dragged, beaten your partner? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
420	How often have you choked or burned your partner on purpose? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
421	How often have you threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against your partner? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
422	How often have you forced a partner to have sex with you when she did not want to? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
423	How often have you forced a woman who was <u>not</u> your partner to do something sexual that she did not want to do? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98
424	How often has your partner hit <u>you</u> when you were not hitting her/had not hit her first? If ever, has it happened in the last year?	0 ↙	1 →	2 →	3 →	1	0	98

	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
425	FILTER: ONLY FOR MEN WHO ADMIT ONE OR MORE FORMS OF VIOLENCE: We have asked about a lot of different bad moments. Did any of these acts take place in front of children?	No.....0 Yes.....1 Had no children at the time.....2 Don't know/don't remember.....99	
426	FILTER: ONLY FOR MEN WHO ADMIT ONE OR MORE FORMS OF VIOLENCE: Did you ever regret doing any of these acts?	No.....0 Yes.....1 Don't know/don't remember.....99	

Module 4c. JUSTICE-SEEKING. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

I will read some statements about your relationship with your current or most recent wife/partner, please tell me for each if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
427	I think women should not report domestic violence to the police.	1	2	3	4
428	Reporting a rape to authorities will bring shame to the family.	1	2	3	4
429	I would support my sister or any female cousin if she had to report domestic violence to the authorities.	1	2	3	4
430	It is more important to maintain your family's reputation in the community than to seek justice for any violence.	1	2	3	4
431	IF Q106 > 1 It is okay for me to beat my wife/partner if she shares private family matters with the authorities.	1	2	3	4
432	Rank the following in terms of most helpful when someone reports gender-based violence: Police Family members Community leader Judicial committee Courts Others (specify)	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____ 6. _____			

MODULE 4d. RAPE MYTHS. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

*Now I want to ask you some questions about things that might happen to women. Now, please feel free to answer in a way that reflects what **you** believe, there are no right or wrong answers. For the following statements, please state whether you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE.*

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
433	I think that when a woman (above 18 years) is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation.	1	2	3	4
434	I think that if a woman (above 18 years) doesn't physically fight back or oppose, it's not rape.	1	2	3	4
435	If a husband wants sex from his wife, it is not rape even if she doesn't want it that time.	1	2	3	4
436	I think that when a girl (if she is less than 18 years old) is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation.	1	2	3	4

MODULE 4e: EMPIRICAL AND NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS - VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, AND CONTROL & WOMEN'S SEXUALITY. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

Now I will read some statements about relations between men and women. Please tell me what you think other people in your community actually do. For the following statements, please state whether you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE.

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
437	Most men in my community beat their wives/partners.	1	2	3	4	99
438	Women in my community tolerate violence to keep their family together.	1	2	3	4	99
439	People in my community do not interfere when there is violence between wife and husband.	1	2	3	4	99
440	Most girls in my community who get pregnant before marriage get shunned, sent away, beaten or otherwise punished.	1	2	3	4	99
441	Most families in my community control their daughters' behaviours	1	2	3	4	99

	more than their sons' to preserve the family's reputation.					
442	Most people in my community think it is foolish for a girl to let go of a man who is providing for her, even if he hits her sometimes.	1	2	3	4	99
443	Most people in my community disapprove of men who don't beat their wives when they deserve it.	1	2	3	4	99
444	People in my community will not help a woman who reports domestic violence.	1	2	3	4	99

5. NORMS AROUND MASCULINITY

*Now we want to ask you a little bit about some issues in society, related to men, women, and relationships. **In this section, we want to know whether you, personally, agree with certain ideas.***

MODULE 5a: NORMS. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
501	In my opinion, a man who talks a lot about his worries, fears, and problems shouldn't really get respect.	1	2	3	4	99
502	In my opinion, it is not good for a boy to be taught how to cook, sew, clean the house and take care of younger children.	1	2	3	4	99
503	In my opinion, a guy who doesn't fight back when others push him around is weak.	1	2	3	4	99
504	In my opinion, guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside.	1	2	3	4	99
505	In my opinion, a real man would never say no to sex.	1	2	3	4	99
506	In my opinion, if you don't take dowry from your wife, your honour (marda) will be in question.	1	2	3	4	99

507	In my opinion, men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women.	1	2	3	4	99
508	In my opinion, men should use violence to get respect if necessary.	1	2	3	4	99
509	A real man makes sure his wife or girlfriend follows the tradition of chhaupadi.	1	2	3	4	99
510	In my opinion, men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help.	1	2	3	4	99
511	In my opinion, it is shameful for a man for his wife/partner to seek help from the police.	1	2	3	4	99
512	In my opinion, a man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage.	1	2	3	4	99
513	In my opinion, a man should not feel proud of the things bought in a home with their wife's money.	1	2	3	4	99
514	In my opinion, if a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time.	1	2	3	4	99
515	In my opinion, a real man should keep family matters private.	1	2	3	4	99
516	In my opinion, a man should feel ashamed if their wife earns an income for the household.	1	2	3	4	99

6. ATTITUDES ON RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

We are progressing well. This section will ask you about your views regarding various issues in society, including relations between men and women.

MODULE 6a: ATTITUDES. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

*Now I will read some statements about relations between men and women. These may sound similar to questions I have asked you before, but this time, I would like you to focus on what **you** believe. There are no right or wrong answers. For the following statements, please state whether you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE.*

#	STATEMENTS	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DK
601	I think adolescent <u>boys</u> should not have sex before marriage.					
602	I think an adolescent boy should stay home from school as often as needed if he has to help provide for the family.					
603	More rights for women mean that men lose out.	1	2	3	4	99
604	I believe a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.	1	2	3	4	99
605	I think changing nappies, giving baths to children, and feeding children are the mother's responsibility, not the father's.	1	2	3	4	99
606	I think that a woman does not have the right to challenge her man's opinions and decisions, even if she disagrees with him.	1	2	3	4	99
607	I think it is <u>acceptable</u> for a parent to physically punish a child when he or she misbehaves by slapping, pushing, shoving, punching, kicking, whipping, or beating them.	1	2	3	4	99
608	I think it is <u>necessary</u> for a parent to physically punish a child when he or she misbehaves (i.e. slap, push, shove, punch, kick, whip, beat)?	1	2	3	4	99
609	I think an adolescent girl should stay home from school as often as needed if she has to help around the house.	1	2	3	4	99
610	I think adolescent <u>girls</u> should not have sex before marriage.	1	2	3	4	99
611	I think a girl would be foolish to let go of a man who is providing for her, even if he hits her sometimes.	1	2	3	4	99
612	I think families should control their daughter's behaviours more than their sons to preserve the family's reputation.	1	2	3	4	99
613	I think violence between a husband and a wife is a private matter and others should not interfere.	1	2	3	4	99

614	I think punishing a child physically when he/she deserves it will make him/her a responsible and mature adult.	1	2	3	4	99
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7. PARENTING and MEN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILDREN

These questions are about your relationships with your children whether they are biologically yours or not. Please remember that the information you share with us will be kept confidential and will only be used for research purposes. If these questions don't relate to your situation, we will be able to skip to the next section very quickly. Thank you for understanding.

Let's think about the youngest child when she/he is or was living with you. Now I will ask you about the time you spent caring for this child and how you and your partner divided these tasks between you. Please tell me whether each task is almost always performed by you, usually by you, you and your partner share the task equally, it is usually done by your partner, almost always by your partner.

[Note for interviewer: *If the respondent does not remember, or if the current youngest child is too young for these activities, please mark N/A.] For the time use questions, if the activity does not apply enter 98, NOT ZERO.*

MODULE 7a: CAREGIVING NORMS. ASK IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN (Q112 = 1).

<i>If you disregard the outside help you receive from others, how do you and your partner divide the following tasks?</i>							
#	Activity	Almost always you	Usually you	Shared equally or done together	Usually partner	Almost always Partner	N/A
701	Providing the daily care of your child	1	2	3	4	5	98
702	Playing with the child or doing various leisure time activities	1	2	3	4	5	98
703	Scolding the child or using verbal discipline	1	2	3	4	5	98
704	Spanking or beating the child or using other physical discipline	1	2	3	4	5	98
705	Changing the child's nappies or clothes	1	2	3	4	5	98

706	Talking with the child about any personal matters (like stresses at work, worries about the future, financial stresses) in their lives	1	2	3	4	5	98
707	Helping the child with homework	1	2	3	4	5	98
708	Feeding or preparing food for your child	1	2	3	4	5	98
709	Bathing your child	1	2	3	4	5	98

Please, tell me if you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE OR STRONGLY DISAGREE with each of these statements.

STATEMENT		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know
710	I spend too little time with my children.	1	2	3	4	99

8. HEALTH AND QUALITY OF LIFE

This section includes some questions about health. Please remember that we appreciate the information you are providing very much. I can remind you that whatever you share with us today will be kept confidential and will only be used for research purposes and you can skip any question you would prefer not to answer.

MODULE 8a. SUBSTANCE USE – ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about alcohol use.

#	QUESTION	CODING CATEGORIES	SKIP
801	How often do you drink alcohol?	Never 0 A few times a year 1 Less than once a month 2 1–3 times in a month 3 Once or twice a week 4 Every day or nearly every day 5	806

802	In the past 12 months, how often did you drink so much that you got drunk?	Never 0 A few times a year 1 Less than once a month 2 1—3 times in a month 3 Once or twice a week 4 Every day or nearly every day 5	→804
803	Thinking about the last few times you had so much alcohol that you got drunk, please choose what was the reason for it. NOTE to interviewer: Tick all that apply	Because I was enjoying social company with friends.....1 I was stressed due to work.....2 I was unhappy at home.....3 I was frustrated with life.....4 Other (specify) _____	
804	In the past 12 months, how often did you fail to do what was normally expected of you because of drinking?	Never 0 Rarely 1 Sometimevois..... 2 Often 3 Don't know 99	
805	In the past 12 months, have you ever used violence against your partner because of drinking?	No 0 Yes 1 Don't know 99 Not applicable.....98	
806	In the past 12 months, have you ever used violence against your peers/friends because of drinking?	No 0 Yes 1 Don't know 99 Not applicable.....98	
807	In the <u>past 12 months</u> , have you experienced any of the following forms of violence <u>outside the home</u> ?	NO YES Been punched or hit.....0 1 Been threatened with a knife or other weapon (excluding firearms)0 1 Been threatened with a gun.....0 1	

		Have you ever been verbally humiliated or have had people say something unkind about you?.....0 1	
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MODULE 8b. MENTAL HEALTH – ASK ALL RESPONDENTS.

I would like to ask you some questions about how you have been feeling in the past two weeks. I am going to read out some statements and ask you to tell me how many days you have had particular feelings or ideas or whether you have not had them at all. There are four options: Not at all, several days, more than half the days, nearly every day

		Nearly every day	More than seven days	Less than seven days	Not at all	Refuse/DK
808	Little or no interest in doing things	1	2	3	4	98
809	Feeling down, depressed or hopeless	1	2	3	4	98
810	Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much	1	2	3	4	98
811	Feeling tired or having little energy	1	2	3	4	98
812	Poor appetite or overeating	1	2	3	4	98
813	Feeling bad about yourself/failure	1	2	3	4	98
814	Trouble concentrating on things	1	2	3	4	98
815	Moving or speaking so slowly that other people could have noticed. Or being fidgety/restless.	1	2	3	4	98
816	Thoughts that you would be better off dead, or thoughts of hurting yourself	1	2	3	4	98

Interviewer: We appreciate the time you have spent answering these questions. Your response and those of approximately 850 other men will give us an understanding of men’s roles in society today, information that could be useful in making the COUNTRY a healthier and better place.

If there are any of these issues discussed that you would like more information, such as where to go for health services in your community, we have prepared a list of such services.

- HAND RESPONDENT THE BROCHURE WITH LIST OF RELEVANT SERVICES IN THE COMMUNITY
- ASK RESPONDENT IF THEY HAVE ANY COMMENTS OR QUESTIONS
- THANK THEM FOR THEIR TIME

Appendix E – Qualitative interview guide

Focus group discussion guide

Notes for facilitators:

- When asking questions, let the participants answer freely, making sure everybody has a chance to respond if they wish to do so. Only after participants have talked freely on the question, should the facilitator move on to ask any prompts. You will see that many of the questions include “prompts”, or topics we would like to explore in more detail. Use prompts when you feel a question has not been fully answered but use your discretion to follow the natural flow of the conversation. It is not mandatory to ask every single prompt.
- Thank participants at the beginning and at the end of the discussion for their time and generosity in participating in the study.
- The focus group includes discussions of some topics that some people might consider sensitive. As such, this might result in participants disclosing incidents of violence or abuse. It is therefore critical that prior to the FGDs taking place, the facilitation team has identified support services and has contact details for those services, so they can refer the person to them.
- Questions should be reviewed and practised by facilitators prior to conducting any FGDs, to allow the facilitators to move confidently and efficiently through the discussion within the limited time available.

General layout/timeline of the discussions

1. Intro, informed consent, welcome, and optional ice breaker	15 minutes
2. Gender	30 minutes
3. Violence	25 minutes
4. Justice-seeking	20 minutes
Estimated total time of the discussion	90 minutes

1. Introduction, informed consent, welcome (and optional ice breaker)

Time: 15 minutes

- Good morning, and thank you very much for coming to this discussion today.
- My name is _____ and I will be facilitating our discussion. This is my colleague _____, who will be taking notes.
- We would like to have a discussion today about the experiences of men and women in your community.
- There are no right or wrong answers. We are most interested in getting your honest thoughts and opinions.
- Your participation is voluntary and you are free to leave at any time. However, we hope you will stay for the whole discussion because your opinions are important to us.
- What you say here will be kept confidential, which means that although we will share the findings from this discussion, your name will not be shared or associated with your opinions, and we will not share who participated in the group.
- We would like to hear from everyone. It is important that you share your ideas with the group, even if they are different than the other group members' ideas. If you agree or disagree with what other colleagues say, please tell that to the group, in respectful ways.
- We will be recording this session so that we can be sure to capture all of your thoughts, but it will be kept private. If at any point you would like us to turn off the recorder, we will do so. Once we have captured all of your comments on paper, we will delete the recording.
- You do not need to speak in order, but only one person should speak at a time. It is difficult for the recorder to understand more than one voice at the same time.
- My role is to help facilitate discussion: I am not an expert on these topics, nor do I have answers to these questions. The reason I am here is to listen to your thoughts and opinions.

Demographics to collect:

	Age	Education level	Marital status	No. of children
Participant 1				
Participant 2				
Participant 3				
Participant 4				
Participant 5				
Participant 6				
Participant 7				
Participant 8				

- Before we begin, let's start with a quick activity

[*time willing, do an icebreaker*]

- Now, let's all agree on a few basic ground rules to ensure a safe and respectful discussion. Here are three:
 - Respect and listen to each other's' opinions
 - Not interrupt each other
 - Not share what was said during this discussion with anyone outside the group
- Does anyone have additional ground rules to add to the list? [record additional ground rules]
- We expect this session to last approximately an hour and a half.
- Are there any questions before we start?
- We will begin recording now.

2. Gender

Time to be spent on this topic: 30 minutes

Objective: (Do not read out loud – for reference only) We want to understand what are the norms around being a good man and woman in the community. We want to learn who their role models are for an ideal man and woman. We want examples of people they consider real and ideal and why they think that way.

- In your opinion, what does it mean to be a man in your community? What qualities make a “real man”?
 - *Probe:* Are there examples of ‘real’ men in your community? What makes them real? Who tells or shows these messages to young boys? Who has influenced your views on this? Who is your role model for being an ideal man (public idol, in family, community)?
 - *Probe:* What happens to men who do not behave in the way that the community expects from them? What do you think about men like that? (*try to push for understanding what happens to men who don't adhere to stereotypical norms such as being aggressive, violent, drinking, emotionally stoic*)
- What does it mean to be a woman in your community? What are the characteristics and roles that all women should live up to?
 - *Probe:* Who tells or shows these messages to young girls? Who has influenced your views on this? Is there any ‘ideal’ woman in your community? What makes them ideal?
- How do you teach your children about being a ‘real’ man? ‘Real’ woman? [GET EXAMPLES]

3. Violence

Time to be spent on this topic: 25 minutes

Objective: (Do not read out loud – for reference only) We aim to understand how men think about violence against women, when do they justify it and how can men be ambassadors of gender-based violence (GBV) prevention.

Intimate partner violence

Vignette:

Heena is 37 years old, she is married and has five children – one boy and 4 girls. She went to school until class 4 but stopped after she married. Her husband, Yadav, who is educated until grade 12, is a daily labourer locally and does jobs when they are available like construction and harvesting. Since they have been married, he used to beat Heena on any occasion. Sometimes this left a bruise or made her bleed, and other times she did not have any serious injuries. He also used to force her to have sex against her will. He was always suspicious of her behaviour, checking if she was fulfilling her duties to her family and beating her if he had the slightest suspicion that she wasn't. This made Heena fear him very much.

- What do you think of this story?
- Why do you think the husband behaves like this?
- From the story we don't know about Heena's behaviour. Are there situations where you think this behaviour might have been justified?
 - Probe – talking to other men, infidelity, not doing housework properly, not having a son, when women do not respect men, etc.
- Are these situations (when this behaviour is justifiable) different for light vs. heavy beating?
- What do you think when you hear men treating women this way? What would you do if you heard this or saw it?
- What do others think when they hear men treating women this way? What would they do if they heard or saw it?
- Do you think the Yadav is influenced by anyone or anything? (*Can include childhood experiences, social norms*)
- Do you think his behaviour will have any effect on the son? What about the daughters?
- Is there anything that you think could change about Yadav's behaviour toward Heena?
- Is there anyone who you think could influence the husband on this issue? Who might he seek advice from [not looking for names, but roles in the community or relationships]
- In your opinion, what – if anything – should be done to encourage men not to hit women in your community?
 - Probe: By members of the community? By government? By you?

4. Justice-seeking

Time to be spent on this topic: 20 minutes

Objective: (Do not read out loud – for reference only) We aim to understand what men think of justice-seeking after violence occurs, whether they would do the same for their sister or mother, do they know about any laws related to violence against women, what they think should be done to improve the situation of violence in their community.

Let's go back to our story. Heena has decided she has had enough. She goes to make a formal complaint against Yadav with the police, in the hope that the violence will stop.

- What do you think of what Heena did?
 - *Prompt:* does reporting the violence make Heena a 'good' woman?
- What would you expect the police to do to her husband [name]?
- How do you think her husband [name] would react?
- Is there anything else that you think Heena should have done in this situation?
 - *Prompt:* judicial committee, community elders, religious leader, panchayat, mediators, political party, etc.
- What if Heena was your sister or mother? How would you help your sister or mother in this situation?
- Has any man in your community sought justice for any woman who faced violence from her husband?
 - *Prompts:* What happened? Who was it for? Would you approve of other men who do the same?
- Have you heard about any law against domestic violence in Nepal? What do you know about it?

It is about time to finish this discussion, is there anything else you want to tell us? Is there anything you feel is important for us to know? Thank you very much for talking to us today. Your time is very much appreciated, and your insights have been very helpful.

Key informant interview guide

Opening text: *Welcome and thank you for participating in this discussion. The purpose of our conversation is to inform a programme that will support happier and healthier families. We will ask you a few general questions about the village and the community's norms. This discussion will take approximately 30-45 minutes of your time and is completely confidential so kindly speak freely and honestly. Your responses are so important to ensuring the success of this programme. Before we begin, do you have any questions?*

Time to be spent: 30-45 minutes

Objective: (Do not read out loud – for reference only) To get an idea on what key informants think about gender norms around masculinity, social norms around violence against women, what is the reporting like, what happens to those who report violence.

Demographics to collect: Job title, name of organisation, education level

1. Perception on VAW

- To what extent does violence against women or gender-based violence occur in the community?
 - *Prompts:* What types of violence against women are most common and why? How often does it (do they) happen? (daily, weekly, monthly, rarely, etc.)
 - *Prompts:* Is the incidence increasing or decreasing? Why? How do you know it is increasing? Since when?

- What do you think are the major causes of violence against women in the area?
 - Prompts: Has it changed over time – in terms of frequency, forms of violence, new forms emerging?
 - What factors influence or continue to sustain violence? (*Probe*: e.g. poverty, low levels of education, certain cultural beliefs and values, alcoholism or drug use, exposure to media/poor role models, etc.)
 - Prompt: What do you think can be done by women to reduce VAWG? *Probe*: *Is the onus of the violence on women?*
- Who are the main perpetrators of violence against women? (According to age, gender, socioeconomic status, tribal grouping, etc.)
- What are some of the cultural beliefs and values that influence violence against women in this locality?
 - Prompts: Who perpetuates these cultural norms? Are they changing at all? What are your thoughts on how conflicts should be resolved between a couple?

2. Response to VAWG

- Where do people most commonly go to get help in situations of violence against women?
 - Prompt: How effective do you think these channels have been?
 - Prompt: What is the status of people reporting incidences of violence against women to the a) police, b) judicial committees, c) mediation, and d) women's groups?
 - Prompts: If yes, since when? Have the reports been increasing, since when and why? If no, why not?
- What are the barriers that prevent women from coming in contact with formal justice system (e.g. police, judicial committees) for help/support?
 - *Probe*: Why don't people access these formal justice systems?
- What barriers do you/your institution face while providing services to women who have faced violence?
- What do you think will encourage women to come to you for help/support/treatment regarding violence-related problems?
- What should be done to increase access to services against VAW?
- What should be done to build the level of trust in the formal justice system?
- Are members of the local community involved in violence against women prevention, response, awareness-raising, etc.? Are there community networks for preventing violence against women?
 - Prompts: Who is involved (age, gender, position)? What do they do? Who do they target? How effective are they?
- Who are the champions of change? (e.g. donors, NGOs, religious leaders, community groups, government agencies)? Who else? What sorts of challenges do they face?

3. Knowledge and attitudes regarding laws and polices related to VAW

- When a victim of domestic violence comes to you, what advice would you give her?

- Probe: local laws knowledge, if they have their own biases in implementation of the law
- What are your views on the adequacy of laws (national and local) relating to violence against women? What makes them adequate or inadequate?
 - *Prompt: What can be done to improve these laws?*
- In your opinion, what are the barriers (if any) to the enforcement of laws intended to protect victims of VAW?
 - Probe: with respect to barriers, think about notions such as irrelevance of the formal justice system, lack of trust of the formal justice system, corruption, political interference, strongly rooted cultural norms (i.e. the contents of the law do not reflect values held by people in the community), private family matter not involving the formal justice system)?

4. Suggestions for future improvement

- Do you think that there is a need for training for your staff to deal more effectively with VAW?
 - *Prompt: What types of further training are needed for your staff/colleagues?*
- To what extent have men or fathers been involved in reducing VAW? – both at household and community levels?
 - *Prompt: How can men and boys be engaged? What is stopping them from being change-makers?*

For religious leaders:

- Are there religious teachings/ sanctions around the perpetration of violence at home?
- Do men follow these? If not, why not?
- Who ensures that religious beliefs are followed up on? How do they monitor it?
- How has this changed/ evolved over time?
- Has the fragile environment led to an increase in religious beliefs/intensity? If so, why? How is this manifested?

It is about time to finish this discussion, is there anything else you want to tell us? Is there anything you feel is important for us to know? Thank you very much for talking to us today. Your time is very much appreciated, and your insights have been very helpful.

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