

AN ASSESSMENT OF MALE ATTITUDE TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

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PREFACE

Violence affects the lives of millions of women worldwide, in all socioeconomic and educational classes. It cuts across cultural and religious barriers, impeding the rights of women to participate fully in society. Like many women around the world, women in Bangladesh have had to face violations to their human rights year after year. Violence against women takes a dismaying variety of forms from public to domestic – rape, acid throwing, *fatwas* (religious decrees by Islamic scholars), violence due to non-payment of dowry, etc. The nature and the factors responsible for commitment of violence are undergoing changes with the changing socioeconomic structure of the society.

There are many women's organisations that document various forms of violence against women in Bangladesh. Most of the existing researches carried out by different organisations and individuals emphasized the analysis of violence against women from female respondents' point of views. There is hardly any data-based in-depth research undertaken on violence against women from males' perspectives. Therefore, in coordination with United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs has initiated a baseline study to identify and assess male attitudes, which influence violence against women, with a view to help designing effective interventions. The study has been designed to provide insight into male views on violence against women, the causes of violence to some extent, survey opinion on design of intervention programmes, and to identify areas for further research.

BRAC expresses its sincere thanks to UNFPA for providing the opportunity and support to carry out this work. BRAC is particularly grateful to Ms. Rabeya Rowshan, Research Coordinator, UNFPA for her continued support and assistance in carrying out this study. BRAC is also grateful to Ms. Suneeta Mukherjee, Representative, UNFPA and Ms. Janet E. Jackson, Deputy Representative, UNFPA for providing encouragement for this work. Special thanks are also due to the Ad Hoc Advisory Panel of this study for their valuable suggestions on designing the study and their comments after reviewing the draft report.

I would like to congratulate the study team for the sincere and hard work they provided in conducting this sensitive and stimulating study within a limited timeframe. The endeavor would be considered as a success if it generates new knowledge on violence against women and helps in identifying further areas of research on gender based violence and deriving more effective policies and actions for combating violence against women.

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The cooperation received from the research assistants of BRAC is thankfully acknowledged. Their cooperation greatly facilitated data collection and reporting of field notes. Thanks also go to Mr. Hasan Sharif Ahmed for editing the report. BRAC thanks all others who have helped directly and indirectly in this effort to finalize the report.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Violence against women is a global burden. In violence against women wives, mothers and daughters are battered, raped, verbally abused, neglected, deprived of human dignity and means to meet their basic needs. The cost of violence is not only monetary but also emotional and social. Violence against women is a human rights issue. It is deeply rooted in culture and religion; supported and in many cases, even institutionalized by patriarchal societies.

Enormous cost of violence along with the fact that it is man made problem justifies any effort in reducing violence against women. The recognition of the fact that violence against women is unjust and prevention of such violence is a precondition to development are the impetuses in taking initiatives in preventing violence against women in our society. As a first step to such an initiative the study was initiated.

The main objective of this study was to understand the psychosocial dimensions of the attitudes of men towards violence against women. Under this broad theme the study focused on several issues: analyze pattern of violence; assess men's attitude towards women in general, and their attitude towards violence against women in particular; and find out what it would take to stop violent behavior of men towards women.

The study revolves around two important concepts, i.e., male violence against women and their attitude towards it. Violence against women results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual and psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. This definition refers to four types of violence – psychological and physical assaults, and violence related to action and deprivation. Attitude refers to beliefs and feelings about a person or event and the resulting support or opposition to those. Taken together, favorable or unfavorable reactions – whether exhibited in beliefs, feelings, or inclinations to act – define a person's attitude towards something.

Methodology

An integrated approach combining both qualitative and quantitative methods was adopted in this study but with a tilt towards the former. The study was conducted based on information derived mostly from male respondents. Altogether five instruments – household survey, attitudinal scale, in-depth interview, case study, and focus group discussion – were used in this study.

The household survey focused on sociodemographic condition of the households, perception and awareness of male members therein on violence against women and issues related to it. The

study tried to fathom the attitude of male with the help of two attitudinal scales where selected statements were used in assessing attitude. The statements reflecting situations with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree.

- First scale reflecting the attitude of male towards female had three parts representing selected themes – attitude in general, attitude towards women's right and attitude towards discrimination against women.
- Second scale reflecting the attitude of male towards violence against women was divided into four parts representing types of violence – psychological, physical, deprivation and action related violence.

Respondents' attitude on each of these statements were captured in a four-point Likert scale – completely agreed, partially agreed, partially disagreed and completely disagreed. Each of the items was given a numerical weight. Higher score from a statement, reflected more favorable attitude towards woman. The objective of in-depth interview was to find out how respondents rationalized themselves in supporting or not supporting the statements with a special emphasis on decoding their cognition and affects in attitudes relating to the statements. Case studies were conducted keeping in mind that those might cover all four types of violence on women. Incidences of violence relating to dowry, deception, acid throwing, and rape were observed in detail in case studies. The focus group discussions were initiated to find out mainly how rural society visualized that the problem of violence against women could be solved or minimized.

Altogether 502 male from separate households were interviewed for survey. Of these 210 were in 15-29 age group, 150 in 30-44 age group, and the rest 140 in 45 and above age group. Altogether 100 in-depth interviews were done. The respondents were proportional in terms of age to those interviewed in the survey. Eight incidences of violence were purposively selected for case studies keeping in mind that those would be relevant for this study. Two focus group discussions were organized. Data were collected, both with semistructured and open-ended questionnaires from the villages in different parts in Mymansingh district.

Findings

Perception of male towards violence against women: Violence against women was not considered to be top most important problem to the villagers observed. It ranked at the bottom of the list of problems that existed in their village. Although violence against women was considered least important by the respondents they were fully aware about its nature and changing pattern over time. Of different types of violence against women, physical violence followed by psychological one was considered to be the most important in their society. Violence related to action was the least important of all violence to them.

Male attitudes towards women and violence against women: When all the parts (i.e., attitude in general, women's right and deprivation) of scale related to attitude of male towards women were taken together 47% of the respondents had less favorable attitude towards women as against 46% having more favorable attitude towards them. When all parts (i.e., psychological and physical violence and violence related to deprivation and action) of scale related to violence against women were taken together the majority of the respondents (51%) had an attitude less favorable towards violence against women. Only in the cases of deprivation and physical

violence those with less favorable attitude towards female were slightly more in number than those with more favorable attitude. Besides, 30% and 38% of the respondents in the cases of discrimination and physical violence respectively had attitudes neither more nor less towards the interest of women.

The attitude of the respondents' in terms of women in general, women's right, discrimination, deprivation and action varied with the change in their education. Similarly the attitude of respondents' in terms of psychological, physical and action related violence varied with their participation in NGO activities. Respondents' attitude on women's rights and action related violence varied in terms of their age and food security status of the household. When all parts were taken together both attitude towards women and violence against women were associated with respondents' education and participation in NGO activities. Year of education and NGO membership appeared to be the most important variables associated with male attitude.

Although number of correlation between the parts was statistically significant the correlations were not strong. Attitude related to discrimination against women was associated with the attitude towards psychological, deprivation and action related violence. Attitude towards discrimination was associated with the attitude towards physical violence, deprivation and action.

Rationalization of attitude by male: One of the most important attitudes towards **women in general** was that they should be respected. All women were viewed same as mothers thus it was believed that they should be revered in the same way as done to mothers. Women were also imaged of being helpless, weak, honest and kindhearted – other reasons why they should be respected. The image of motherhood viewed in all women was a strong belief mentioned repeatedly by respondents and had influenced their attitude towards violence against women. Respondents also had a mixed feeling about women. Respondents believed that all female should be respected in general and had an objective view about female in many cases, an attitude very much supporting the interest of female. On other hand, they held an attitude leading to a tendency to control the action of females and exert authority on them.

Respondents had positive attitude towards **women's rights** mostly based on knowledge on Islam and empirical observations. Such positive attitude discourages male in depriving female of their rights like bride-money and inheriting father's property. Girls' wellbeing in future whether economic or social was also a strong motivation in upholding women's rights. A good number of respondents with an attitude of not supporting women's rights were of the opinion that women should be barred from knowing about their rights to make it easier for men to control them. If women knew about their rights they would first demand and then force their husbands and fathers to meet the demands. Such an act would de-empower husbands and fathers. It was observed that denial of women's rights was synonymous to deprivation-related violence and could lead to action-related violence against women in many cases.

Male in general had an attitude very much against the **discriminations** in terms of basic needs like food, treatment, etc., towards women. Males were empathetic to agony of the discrimination and valued individual rights of the female. Those who opined that women might be discriminated did so based on belief that giving less food to women was not discrimination against them rather a practical adjustment during crisis. It was not a deliberate discrimination for

self-interest. In the process of decision making majority of the respondents had an attitude very much towards discrimination against women. Discrimination was influenced by respondents' perception on issues like who owned property in the family. Where it was believed that husband was the soul owner of the property wife's opinion in selling property was not valued; in contrast, when it was believed that property belonged to all the members of the family wife's role in decision making was also valued.

The image that female being weak and helpless developed an attitude in respondents that female were inferior to male, if not in all, definitely in many ways. In spite of having an attitude of motherly reverence towards all women respondents also had a belief that male had an authority over women, i.e., in deciding the role that women should play at all levels in the society and on their mobility. The roles and mobility of women were controlled by males' concept of *pardah*. Along with these, respondents believed that husbands had an authority to control wives' action. Such an attitude also reflects husbands desire to monitor their authority and control over wife which in turn could lead to violence related to action on them in particular besides other violence. A strong force in molding attitude of male towards female was the dictates of Islam relating to women. These dictates were popular beliefs in their societies. The interpretations influenced their attitude both in favor of and against women and was also the basis in developing attitude of male in relation to violence against women.

Respondents were aware of the basic rights of the females and were considerate to the fact that they would feel bad if such rights were violated. Although respondents were quite considerate to **psychological** state of mind of the female when they were deprived of their rights sometimes it was taken to their advantage. As the respondents thought that psychological pressure was an effective means to realize certain ends for men, e.g., dowry, they were almost indifferent towards the fact that women were likely to be psychologically tormented when their physical mobility were restricted by male.

In general male was against any serious **physical** violence towards women like lashing. It was believed that no one had right to females' body. Although it was believed that under no circumstances male had right to assault women, but to many, such violence was acceptable if female violates the dictates of Islam and the violation was considered to be a serious sin. Respondents did not consider such violence as violence rather as punishment or a measure to rectify the victim thus it was considered as 'normal violence'.

Although most respondents were not in favor of **depriving** female from food and basic material needs many of them were in favor of depriving female from sharing power with male. Depriving female in exercising power and sharing power with male was considered justified on the ground that male were superior to female.

Respondents were particularly against such **action** by women, which contradicted with traditional division of labor or such action not practiced in the society before. It was considered acceptable to force wives to take such actions like handing over their income to husband – an action that would make husband a gainer.

Respondents rationalized their position by emphasizing upon the consequences of violence against women. They were also empathetic to victims by thinking about the pain of violence that

women had to go through. Many of these respondents believed that violence against women would somehow affect them, their family, and even their society – consequences not desirable – so they were against any violence towards women. In this case their attitude was influenced by self-interest rather than an attitude supporting the cases of female on violence against them. Again in many cases respondents' attitudes were influenced both by the interest of the victim and that of selves.

Causes of violence: Although it was observed in the past that pinpointing the causes of violence against women was difficult the study isolated several causes of violence against women.

- Economic gain, e.g., dowry, was a strong impetus in violating against women. Wives were psychologically or physically violated and forced to an action for economic gain.
- Female became victim of violence due to self-pride, ego and uncompromising attitude of male.
- Marriage was thought to be license to control wives by husbands. Thus, husbands imposed their will and desire on wives in total disregard to those of the latter. The expectation that wife should comply to husband's desires formed a belief that they own their wives. Controlling wife was considered to be a right of husband. They disliked that wife should defy them as that would prove their lack of capability in controlling wife. They controlled wife even by becoming violent on them if required.
- Many violence against women were not considered as violence by the perpetrator particularly when they were husbands as because the violations were considered to be a measure to rectify the victim. In the name of rectifying them the perpetrators wanted the victim to behave as they desired.
- Male in many cases established relationship with female for self-interest. When the objective is achieved or felt that it could not be achieved male did not hesitate to terminate the relationship and even became violent on them if that was needed for the termination.
- In the case of rape sexual impulse appeared to be the driving force in perpetrating such violence. Proper opportunity when perpetrator would be safe in committing such violence was also a temptation in committing violence.

Number of male having an attitude against violence towards women after being motivated by self-interest, i.e., not actually sympathetic to the cause of women, is not small in our society. These males along with those whose attitudes are not so much against violence towards women constitutes a larger portion of the total male population in Bangladesh. Their size definitely testifies the intensity of problem relating to male attitude towards violence against women. To address the problem several recommendations related to changing attitude of male are made.

Recommendations

- Programs may be developed for physically/mentally hindered male to change their violent behavior and make them learn how to solve problems without violence.
- Since violence is socially determined young people may be taught to channel emotions through constructive means. Males may be educated to change social attitudes and beliefs that encourage male violence through 'reach out to man' program.

- An attitude leading to positive relationship between male and female both within and outside the family may be developed as such to reduce violence against women. In this context 'young couples program' may be introduced to draw on their knowledge and experience, to develop positive family relations and share responsibility in areas of parenting, division of labor within family, income generation, etc.
- Several cooperative programs may be undertaken where the development of positive attitude towards women and against violence on them can result as a byproduct of the program activities. For example, creating opportunities for women's employment and access to micro-credit program of NGOs empower women and thus reduces violence against them.
- Increase the capacity of women to identify and combat violence. For example, raise their communication skill and awareness on possible actions against male violence towards them.
- Efforts may be made to change male attitude towards violence within a shorter period through awareness building programs. Awareness may be built by increasing dissemination and exchange of information on incidence and prevention of violence.
- One of the important strategies in forming male attitude against violence towards women may start from the educational institutions. The education on attitude should focus on curriculum and the method of teaching so that those might inculcate values recognizing rights, justice and proper respect to women.
- Laws should be made precise for legal interpretation in the hierarchy of courts and there should be provision for adequate punishment of the offenders. Measures may be taken so that national legislation, once adopted, does not go unenforced. Promote mechanisms to monitor and protect human rights of women. Support legislative efforts that seek to redress gender-based power imbalances and civil rights.
- Further researches should be conducted on violence against women so that their findings might contribute in understanding the problem which in turn would help in taking effective measures to combat violence against women in our society.

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INTRODUCTION

Violence against women is a global burden. Violence affects the lives of millions of women worldwide, in all socioeconomic and educational classes. It cuts across cultural and religious barriers, impeding the rights of women to participate fully in society. Violence against women takes a dismaying variety of forms, from domestic abuse and rape to child marriage and female circumcision. All are violations of the most fundamental human rights. The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995 declared that “violence against women constitutes a violation of basic human rights and is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace” (UN 1995). The gravity of the problem can best be understood by looking at research findings and reporting on incidence of violence against women in different societies.

Incidence of Violence around World

Attitude towards violence: It should come as no surprise that contemporary social scientists in the United States and many other countries have observed that the marriage license was considered nothing other than the hitting license (Straus et al. 1980). Numerous surveys have emphasized the point that today in the United States some people still believe that under certain circumstances, it is perfectly appropriate for a husband to hit his wife. At the end of 1960s, the study conducted by US Commission found about one in five (21%) of those surveyed approved of a husband slapping his wife (Stark and McEvoy 1970). Just under-one in four wives and one out of three husbands thought that a couple slapping one another was at least somewhat necessary, normal, and good for the family (Straus et al. 1980).

Physical violence in general: At least one in five women around the world has been physically or sexually abused by a man at some time in their lives (WHO 1997). Around the world at least one woman in every three has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime.

2 Introduction

Between 4 and 6% of elderly people experience some form of abuse at home, and maltreatment in the institutions may be more extensive as is generally believed.

Increasingly, gender-based violence is recognized as a major public health concern and a violation of human rights. Approximately one-fifth of all women using emergency surgical services are suffering from the physical sequel of partner's abuse (Browne 1993). Gender-based victimization accounts for almost one in every five healthy years of life lost to women aged 15-44 in established market economies (Heise, Pitanguy and Germain 1993).

Most often the abuser is a member of her own family (UN 2000). Surveys reveal that 10-69% of women are being physically assaulted by an intimate partner at some point in their lives. This is often accompanied by psychological abuse and in a third to half of the cases, by sexual abuse. Levinson (1981) reports that wife-beating is the most common and frequent form of family violence, thus confirming the theory that women are generally considered the most appropriate victims of intimate violence. In Japan, 59% of 769 women surveyed said that they were physically abused by their partners (DVRG 1993). A Korean study found that 38% of the Korean women were battered by their spouses in preceding year (Kim and Cho 1992). A national survey on violence toward women conducted in New Zealand in 1994 indicated that 21% of the men surveyed were reported committing an act of physical violence against a partner in the previous year, and 53% reported committing an act of emotional abuse (Leibrich, Paulin and Ransom 1995).

The most severe violence tends to occur immediately after the breakup of an intimate relationship. Women are more likely to be victims of homicide when they are estranged from their husbands. The risk of homicide is greatest in the first two months after separation (Wilson and Daly 1993). Studies in 10 countries have found that between 17 and 38% of women suffered physical assaults by their partners.

Sexual Harassment

Available data suggest that in some countries one in four women were subject to sexual violence by an intimate partner, and up to one-third of the girls reported to face forced sexual initiation. At least one in three women and girls were beaten or sexually abused in their lifetime. Sexual abuse is also followed by unwanted pregnancies, multiple sex partners, and psychiatric problems (St. Bartholomew's Hospital 2001). About 20% of women suffered sexual abuses as children.

Hundreds and thousands more are forced into prostitution or subjected to violence in other settings, such as schools, workplaces and health care institutions. Sexual harassment in the workplace, is a growing concern for women. Employers abuse their authority to seek sexual favors from their female co-workers or subordinates, sometimes promising promotions or other forms of career advancement or simply creating an untenable and hostile work environment. Women who refuse to give in to such unwanted sexual advances often run the risk of anything from demotion to dismissal.

Rape: In the United States, a woman is raped every six minutes. More than one in every eight adult women in the United States is raped or sexually assaulted (NVC 1992). The fact sheet on gender violence reported that in every minute-and-a-half a woman is raped in South Africa

(Heise 1992). In Canada the government estimated that one in every four female children and one in every ten male children were sexually assaulted before they were adults (St. Bartholomew's Hospital 2001)

One in every eight women is raped during her four years at college, and a recent study found that 91% of college women raped by acquaintances did not report it to the police. For completed and attempted rapes, nearly 90% of the victims knew the offender, who was usually a classmate, friend, ex-boyfriend or acquaintance (NIJBJ 2001).

Global statistics on rape indicate that 40-60% rapes happen to women before the age of 15 years. According to the Justice Department, one in two rape victims is under 18; one in six is under 12 (CRV 1992). Girls who are raped before the age of 16 are more than three times more likely to experience domestic violence as adults and nearly three times as likely to be raped as adults.

Refugee women are especially vulnerable to rape. According to a report by the International Rescue Committee 26% of 3,803 Burundian refugee women who had been in Tanzania since 1993 experienced sexual violence ever since becoming a refugee. The perpetrators in the Burundian refugee camps were not only soldiers and policemen, but also fellow refugees, relatives, husbands, and, in one instance an NGO staff (Nduna and Goodyear 1997).

Murder: According to the World Bank, gender-based violence accounts for as much death and ill-health in women aged 15-44 years as cancer, and is a greater cause of ill health than malaria and traffic accidents combined (WB 1993). In 1993, roughly 1,300 women in the United States reported to have been murdered by partners or former partners, and this reported total figure is likely an underestimate since the relationship between victim and perpetrator is often not identified (BJS 1998). According to Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, in the 400 cases of domestic violence reported in 1993 in the province of Punjab, nearly half of the wives involved ended in death.

Abuse during pregnancy: In a review of US studies of prevalence of abuse during pregnancy, Gazmararian and colleagues noted a range of 0.9-20.1%; but in other studies a range of 3.9-8.3% was recorded. Prevalence of such abuse in other industrialized and nonindustrialized nations were similar: 2.5% overall in the UK (7.8% including threats), 5.5-6.6% in Canada, at least 6.8 in South Africa, 11% in Sweden (21% including symbolic violence and threats), and 13% in Nicaragua (Campbell 2002).

Domestic violence: Sixty-two percent of violence requiring institutional involvement for treatment occurs within women's own home. All sources revealed that women are more at risk of violence at the hands of men they know. Although women are raised with a fear of violence in the streets and dark alleys whereas studies found that they were imprisoned, isolated and tortured at home at the hands of men who they know most intimately (WHO 1997).

The 'victims of domestic violence' come from all walks of life, all cultures, all income groups, all ages, and all religions. In nearly 50 population-based surveys around the world, 10 to over 50% of the women surveyed were hit or otherwise physically harmed by an intimate male partner at some stages in their lives. Every minute in the United Kingdom, police receives a call

4 Introduction

from the public for assistance for domestic violence. Eighty-one percent of these are female victims attacked by male perpetrators (ESRCP 2000). In the United States, a woman is beaten every 18 minutes. Indeed, domestic violence is the leading cause of injury among women of reproductive age in the United States. Between 22 to 35% of the women who visit emergency rooms are there for that reason. In Peru, 70% of all crimes reported to the police involved women beaten by their husbands.

Physical violence in intimate relationships is almost always accompanied by psychological abuse, and in one-third to over one-half of the cases, by sexual abuse. For example, among 613 abused women in Japan, 57% suffered all three types of abuse – sexual, physical (excluding sexual), and psychological. Only 8% had experienced physical abuse alone. In Mexico, 52% of the physically abused women were also sexually abused by their partners. In Nicaragua, among 188 women who were physically abused by their partners, only five were not abused sexually, psychologically or both. Most women who suffer any physical aggression generally experienced multiple acts of violence over time.

Traditional practices: There are some unique types of violence against women supported by traditional practices. According to the WHO, 85-115 million girls and women undergone some form of female genital mutilation and suffer from adverse health effects. Every year an estimated two million young girls undergo this procedure. Most of them live in Africa and Asia – but an increasing number can be found among immigrant and refugee families in Western Europe and North America. In China and India, some women choose to terminate their pregnancies when found that they would give birth to daughters when expecting sons. A study of amniocentesis procedures conducted in a large hospital in Bombay found that 96% of the foetuses if identified as female were aborted, compared with a far smaller proportion of male foetuses.

Marriage is the ultimate goal for a woman's existence. Nonetheless, families do not allow women to make decisions even regarding this 'most important' aspect of their lives. The findings of a study showed that in the case of 311 (41% ever-married women) women the question of obtaining their consent never arose in their marriage ceremonies. This does not mean that women who did not consent to marriage were forced to marry against their will, but it does imply the attitude that women have to unquestioningly go with whatever their families decide for them. Less than one percent of the women mentioned that they actually did not consent to their marriages and were forced to marry against their will. Early marriage, especially without the consent of the girl, is another form of violation of human rights.

India has a problem of dowry-related violence, whereby husbands attack or often burn their wives as a means of extorting more dowries from their wives' families (Prasad 1994). On an average, five women a day are burnt in India due to dowry-related disputes. Many more cases are never reported.

Prostitution and trafficking: Most women initially victimized by the sexual traffickers have little inkling of what awaits them. They generally get a very small percentage of what the customer pays to the pimp or the brothel owner. Once they are caught up in the system there is practically no way out, and they find themselves in a very vulnerable situation. In Thailand, prostitutes who complain to the police are often arrested and sent back to brothels upon payment

of a fine. The extent of trafficking of women, girl, and children has reached alarming proportions, especially in Asian countries.

Migrant workers: In the Middle East and Persian Gulf region, there are an estimated 1.2 million women, mainly Asians, employed as domestic servants. According to the independent human rights group – Middle East Watch, female migrant workers in Kuwait often suffer beatings and sexual assaults by their employers. In many cases, women who reported being raped by their employers are sent back to the employer – or are even assaulted at the police station.

States: According to Amnesty International, thousands of women held in custody are routinely raped in police detention centers worldwide. Rape has been widely used as a weapon of war whenever armed conflicts arise between different parties. It has been used all over the world. Women and children from the great majority of refugee populations all over the world and are especially vulnerable to violence and exploitation. In refugee camps, they are raped and abused by military and immigration personnel, bandit groups, male refugees, and rival ethnic groups. They are also forced into prostitution.

Finding of Selected Studies from South and Southeast Asia

Table 1.1 summarizes the information available from small-scale studies on the prevalence of wife abuse in selected countries of Southeast Asian. The reported prevalence of wife-abuse ranges from about 3% in Myanmar to 40% among outpatients in central provincial hospital in Thailand and 76% among lower caste women in rural India.

Table 1.1: Prevalence of Domestic Violence in Selected Countries of Southeast Asia

Reference	Sample	Findings
Rao (1997)	177 women of childbearing age and 130 men in three villages in India	22% of women were physically assaulted; 34% of those physically assaulted required medical attention.
Ganatra (1996)	400 villages in western India (population 686,000) and seven hospitals	16% of pregnancy-related deaths in the community series and 13% in the hospital series were associated with domestic violence.
Mahajan and Madhurima (1995)	115 women from lower caste households in Punjab, North India	76% prevalence, two-thirds of whom reported regular beating.
Bhattacharya and Pratinidhi (1994)	42 childless married women aged 14-45 years, urban slum community in India	19% were physically assaulted because they were childless.
Seshu and Bhosale (1990)	120 cases of dowry deaths and 20 cases of intentional injury related to dowry identified in 50 district court judgments, 1987-89, Maharashtra, West India	Intentional injury included physical violence (59%), mental torture (28%), molestation by family members and perversion (10%), and starving (3%). Causes of death in women who died: burns (46%) and drowning (34%); 58% of the victims were childless and 22% had only female children.
Country profile for Myanmar (1999)	Two township of Yangon Divison (Insein and Kyauktan) in Myanmar	19% and 11% respectively reported mental violence.

Continued

Table 1.1

Sonali (1990)	200 low-income women convenience samples from Colombo, Sri Lanka	60% were beaten; husbands use weapons in 51% of the cases.
Hoffman et al. (1994)	619 husbands living, with at least one child in Bangkok, Thailand	20% reported hitting, slapping or kicking their wives at least once since marriage. Socio-economic status was negatively related to the occurrence of physical abuse of the wife.
GoB (1999)	7,860 women and children reported to be victims of violence during January – December 1997 in Bangladesh	Homicide (31%), rape (28%), and torture (26%) were the most common types of violence reported. There were 117 cases of 'acid throwing', and about a tenth were 'dowry' related violence. The others were cases of women and children trafficking.
Schuler et al. (1996)	1,305 women from four regions in Bangladesh (1990-1994)	38% were beaten.
Akanda and Shamim (1985)	270 cases of death in women, source - on torture from daily newspapers in Bangladesh. (1982-1985)	29% died due to beating. In 18% of these deaths sharp weapons were used.

Bangladesh

Personal accounts, newspaper reports, collection of records from human rights organizations illustrate the endemic nature of violence against women in Bangladesh. Murder, burning with acid, trafficking, spousal battery and torture for dowry, physical and sexual abuse among children, rape in peace and during war, rape in custody, violence and harassment at home and in the public sphere, and *fatwa*¹ against women are recurrent forms of violence perpetrated against women in Bangladesh. In 24 months (October 1995 - September 1997) 2,093 cases of violence against women were reported in the four national dailies, i.e., every month, on average, 87 cases of violence against women were reported (Azim 1999). The study also indicates that the most common forms of violence in Bangladesh are rape, acid throwing, prostitution, violence during pregnancy, dowry-related violence, bride burning, trafficking, and violence at home, also known as domestic violence (Schaumann 2001).

In August 1996, the Home Minister reported to the Parliament that all over the country a rape case was reported to the police every 12 hours and the rape of a minor was reported every 48 hours. The annual report of police department (1998) highlighted the fact that a case of acid throwing was reported every three days. In support to this report number of studies have shown murder of women as the most prevalent crime (Jahan 1994; MOWCA 1997; IDR 1998) and others have found rape to be the most common form of violence perpetrated against women (Kendra 1998). Of the 308 incidents of rape and attempted rape reported in the national newspaper in 2001, 74% were below the age of 18 years, while 46% among them were less than 12 years.

Sample of 7,860 cases of violence against women and children reported in Bangladesh between January-December 1997, about a fourth of their reported cases were dowry-related violence. One hundred and seventeen girls and women suffered burns and disfigurement of the face from acid throwing. The ages of the acid-burn victims ranged from 8-23 years. Domestic violence or

¹ It is an interpretation of an event followed by judgment if required based on Islam by scholars in the field.

battering by the husband as such did not feature this list of violence. About 60% of the adult married women in Dhaka city reported that they were physically hit by their husbands at some point during their marriages (GoB 1999). Findings showed that 72% percent of 1,691 women surveyed were severely beaten by their husbands. Of them only 11% filed cases against the perpetrator (Kendro 1998).

The male-female ration is 100:94 in Bangladesh. If the population of Bangladesh reflected women's rates of survival as they are in more egalitarian societies, there would be between 2.5 to 3.4 million more women in the country today. The disproportionate male population is an indication of the fact that there is excess mortality of women. The women's movement asserts that while many of these deaths are due to systematic discrimination, many are the results of violent attacks (Azim 1999).

Several studies in the eighties and the early nineties gave an overall picture of inequality and discrimination against women in Bangladesh. A study indicted that parents discriminate between boys and girls with respect to food, recreation, rewarding on various occasions and punishment (Khair 2001). Women in Bangladesh are under represented in all civil, political, social, cultural, and economic arenas of life but are over-represented in violence and discrimination. Women's movement asserts that gender hierarchy is maintained through actual and threatened violence against women and thus violence against women is a manifestation, rather than the cause of existing gender inequalities (Huq 1998).

Table 1.2 presents the most common forms of violence against women in Bangladesh and their changes over time.

Table 1.2: Most common forms of violence against women 1996-1998

Forms of violence	1996	1997	96-97 Rise	1998	97-98 Rise
Dowry-related	77	177	56%	239	25%
Rape	262	753	65%	1425	47%
Domestic	55	234	76%	273	14%
Acid Burns	27	130	79%	138	6%
<i>Fatwa</i>	22	28	21%	28	0%

Source: Ain O Salish Kendro (1999) Human Rights in Bangladesh 1998, p. 143. Dhaka: UPL

Justification for Conducting Study on Violence

Finding on the prevalence of physical and sexual violence by intimate partners varies greatly between studies. This variation can be attributed not only to the differences in the levels of violence between settings, but also to difference in research methods, definitions of violence, sampling techniques, interviewer training and skills, and cultural differences that affect respondents' willingness to reveal intimate experiences (Watts and Zimmerman 2002).

However, collectively the research certainly points out the existence of violence against women in many and varied cultures and societies. Gender violence threatens the general wellbeing of society by leaving half of society's population in physical pain or injury or mental anguish. It is an international phenomenon, which cuts across socioeconomic, racial and religious classifications in the society. Similarly discrimination against females extends to every aspects of

life. If women have been fed less, have poorer health and less education than males, and their contribution to society's production and reproduction is underestimated, it is no wonder that wide gender gaps between males and females would persist in human development indicators.

Gender violence also has developmental implications for all economies not only in terms of the cost of intervention and prevention, but also in terms of excluding victims from effective participation in the development processes in their countries. Like other hated crimes, violence against one woman terrorizes and intimidates the entire group of women. Gender violence should be seen as the final expression of patriarchal values of sexual domination in the society.

Looking at development from a human-centered gender perspective requires that development studies focus on women as a demographic category and that development indicators be recorded according to gender. For women to benefit from the development process, a greater emphasis must be placed on increasing women's self-confidence as well as their ability to participate in all aspects of the society. Violence against women is in direct contradiction to securing human-centered development goals. It disrupts women's lives and denies them of opportunities. It erodes women's confidence and sense of self-esteem at every level, physically and psychologically. It destroys women's health, denies their human rights, and hinders their full participation in society. Where domestic violence keeps a woman away from participating in a development project, or fear of sexual assault prevents her from taking a job, or force is used to deprive her of earnings, development does not occur.

But violence is not inevitable. Cross-cultural research shows that, although violence against women is an integral part of virtually all cultures, there are societies in which gender-based abuse does not exist (Sanday 1981; Levinson 1989). Such societies stand as a proof that social relations can be organized in a way that minimizes or eliminates violence against women. Even where violence remains endemic, strategic intervention by the state, the community, and women's organizations can save lives, reduce injury, and lessen the long-term effects of victimization on women and their children. (Heise, Pitanguy and Germain 1994)

Until 1993, most governments tended to regard violence against women largely as a private matter between individuals, and not as pervasive human rights problem requiring state intervention. The Secretary-general of UN in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing remarked that violence against women was a universal problem and to be universally condemned.

It is beyond controversy that the violence against women is widely prevalent, intensive and unjust. First and foremost the recognition to the fact that violence against women is against humanity and then to develop our society in which prevention of violence against women is a precondition are the impetuses to take initiatives in preventing violence against women in our society. As a first attempt to such an initiative UNFPA has commissioned out this study (Appendix 1.1). The main objective of this study was to understand the psychosocial dimensions of the attitudes of men towards violence against women. Under this broad theme the study focused on several tasks.

- Review researches on violence against women particularly in context to Bangladesh in the light of men's attitude and behavior.
- Analyze pattern of violence.

- Assess men's attitude towards women in general and their attitude towards violence against women in particular.
- Find out what it would take to stop violent behavior of men towards women.

The study revolves around two important concepts – male attitude and violence against women. Attitude has been highlighted in this study since it is an important ingredient of our psyche and the relationship between male attitude and violence against women had not been diagnosed in-depth. Although, attitude is one of the central piece in this study the chapter has exclusively dealt with violence against women just to highlight the intensity of the problem.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter dealt with three important issues relating to male attitude towards violence against women. The first section dealt with how attitude was formed and its relationship with action in general. The second one dealt with male perception towards violence against women and how attitude towards women was institutionalized. The last section dealt with causes of violence against women with particular focus on role of male's attitude towards such violence. The discussion in the latter two sections mainly concentrates to Bangladesh situation.

Formation of Attitude and its Relationship with Action

Formation of attitude: Parents are extremely important forces in development of our attitudes and values. In our early years, parents (or other persons who raise us) have control over two important aspects of our lives. They control most of our rewards and punishments. They can permit access to the things we like; they can force us to do things that we do not want to do. Their smiles indicating approval and their frowns of disappointment are of paramount importance to us. In addition, they control a sizable portion of the information that reaches us.

They begin the information flow, influences forming beliefs and attitudes about things in us. Categories are formed in our heads on the basis of early information. The extraordinary influence of parents in forming attitudes, beliefs, or values arises because they establish the initial categories that are resistant to change. Information provided by parents in the earlier stages of life is very difficult to undo. Erroneous and maladaptive attitudes molded from parental feedback have tremendous implications in the development of future personality of an individual (Sullivan 1950).

As we grow, the number of influences on our lives increases. Instead of viewing parents as the exclusive bearer of information, we begin to realize that the teachers at school, the neighbors, political parties, etc., all transmit information to us. One of the most important influences which we

come in contact with is that of our peers, who often serve as a reference group¹ against which our attitudes and values can be compared.

In the case of clash between the existing categories and any new information from a source is usually resolved more in the direction of assimilation than of accommodation. This may be due to two factors. Firstly, parents are particularly credible sources of information for a young child. Subsequent information, if provided by a different source, may not weigh as heavily because the source of communication may not be as credible as that of parents. Secondly, there is some good evidence that preexisting categories exert more influence on stimuli than the stimuli do on the categories (Myers 1993).

Relationship between attitude and action: In the beginning, social psychologists agreed that to know people's attitudes was to predict their actions. Attitudes are efficient ways to size up the world. When we have to respond quickly to something, how we feel about it can guide how we react (Breckler and Wiggins 1989; Sanbonmatsu and Fazio 1990). We so often act contrary to our expressed attitudes because our behavior and our expressed attitudes are both subject to other influences. One social psychologist counted 40 separate factors that complicate their relationship (Triandis 1982; Kraus 1991). If we could just neutralize other influences – all other factors being the same – might attitudes accurately predict behaviors? There are three conditions under which our attitudes predict our behavior:

- when we minimize other influences on our attitude and our behavior,
- when the attitude is specifically relevant to the observed behavior, and
- when the attitude is potent.

Our attitudes often lie dormant when we act automatically, without pausing to consider them. Our attitudes guide our behavior if they come to our mind. Attitudes that don't come readily to our mind are passed over when opportunities to act on them arise (Wood 1986; Krosnick 1989).

Although the attitudes we espouse are most potent when brought to mind other attitudes were not so proud of operate mostly without our awareness. Unconscious attitudes can also influence spontaneous behavior. Like other preconceptions, attitudes influences how we perceive and interpret events and, therefore, how we react (Fazio 1990). Finally, we sometimes acquire attitudes in a manner that makes them potent, sometimes not. An extensive series of experiments by Fazio and Zanna (1981) show that when attitudes arise from experience, they are far more likely to endure and to guide actions. Compared to attitudes formed passively, those forged in the fire of experience are more thoughtful, more certain, more stable, more resistant to attack, and better remembered (Sherman and Gorkin 1983; Watts 1967; Wu and Shaffer 1987).

In 1964, Festinger concluded with evidence that change in attitude did not lead to change in behavior. Festinger believed that the attitude-behavior relation working the other way around, with our behavior as the horse and our attitudes as the cart. A further blow to the supposed potency of attitudes came in 1969, when social psychologist Wicker reviewed several dozen research studies covering a wide variety of people, attitudes, and behaviors and offered a shocking conclusion: People's expressed attitudes predicted little of the variation in their behaviors (LaPiere 1934). All in

¹ A group toward which an individual orients himself. A person may or may not actually hold membership in the group but nevertheless it forms the basis of comparison for attitudes, values, and behaviors. The importance of reference groups in influencing attitudes and behaviors is enormous.

all, the developing picture of what controlled our behavior emphasized external social influences and played down internal factors, such as attitudes and personality. Social psychologists suspected three possible clues as to why action affects attitude. In this connection there are three competing theories.

- Self-presentation theory assumes that people, especially those who self-monitor their behavior hoping to create a good impression, will adapt their attitude to appear consistent with their actions (Leary and Kowalski 1990). The available evidence confirms that people do adjust their attitude-statements out of concern for what other people will think; and in this process some genuine attitude change occurs.
- Cognitive dissonance theory assumes that to reduce discomfort, we justify our actions to ourselves (Festinger 1957). This theory explains that attitude changes as we feel tense after acting contrary to our attitude. To reduce this arousal, we internally justify our behavior. Dissonance theory further proposes that the less external justification we have for an undesirable action, the more we feel responsible for it, and thus the more dissonance arises and attitude changes.
- Self-perception theory assumes that our actions are self-revealing (when uncertain about our feelings or beliefs, we look to our behavior, much as anyone else would (Bem 1972). The theory assumes that when our attitudes are weak, we simply observe our behavior and its circumstances and infer our attitudes. One interesting implication of self-perception theory is the 'over justification effect'. Rewarding people to do what they like doing any way can turn their pleasure into drudgery (if the reward leads them to attribute their behavior to the reward).

Evidence supporting predictions from these theories, suggests that each of them describes what happens under certain conditions. So it is now evident that, depending on the circumstances, the relationship between attitude and behavior can range from no relationship to a strong one (Kraus 1991). Such a relationship obviously points out to the fact that violence against women may or may not be influenced by attitude of the perpetrator. In spite of this observation studies have been conducted on the relationship between male attitude and their violence against women.

Development of Male Attitude towards Women and Perception towards Violence against Women in Bangladesh

Zaman (1999) in her study elaborately discussed how the discriminatory attitude towards women is formed and institutionalized, and how that in turn affects women's rights at different aspects of their life in Bangladesh. She observed that a woman experiences neglect and various forms of discrimination and violence from the very moment of birth. These practices are tacitly condoned and are legitimized through laws and customs in the name of cultural and religious practices that blatantly and systematically discriminate against women.

Ritualistic discriminatory practices begin right at the time of birth. For example, the birth of a male child is announced through *azan*², welcoming the person to the Muslim community. In contrast, no *azan* is given when a girl is born, and thus her arrival is not ritually recognized by the family and the community. In rural areas, the body of newborn male child is touched with a stick, whereas the newborn female child is touched with a glass bangle and a *lazzabati*³ vine. Metaphorically, this

² Muslims' call for prayer.

³ Mimosa, a plant whose leaves fold when it is touched.

ritual indicates the strength and unbendable quality of the male as opposed to the fragileness of the female, son creates joy and optimism for the family, whereas a daughter receives a half-hearted welcome.

In childhood, a girl is expected to have two important virtues, patience and modesty, to comply with the sociocultural values and practices that favor boys. For example, the best food is served to male members of the family, as men have control over the means of production by virtue of ownership of land or property. The economic deprivation of women and the patrilineal nature of property relations, including inheritance and ownership, render women exploited and susceptible to male domination, and to abuse in interpersonal and social relationships.

Men have control over women's sexuality and reproduction throughout their lives. Kabeer (1988) notes that a woman can be expected to be maintained by her husband as long as she is obedient, faithful and fertile. Due to patrilineality, the more sons a woman will bear, the more status she will earn in the house of her in-laws. This unequal gender relationship in social structure makes women vulnerable to subtle and overt forms of violence. A woman was expected to be escorted (particularly after sundown) by a close male relative, an elderly woman, or even a minor male child, for any visit outside the boundary of the home.

The inequality that women in Bangladesh face in nearly all aspects of life is legitimized and reinforced by the existing socioeconomic order and the state laws. Therefore, gender inequality and its resolution in gender violence is embedded in the socioeconomic and political structure of Bangladesh. In many instances, not only is gender inequality practiced but also demonstration of unequal power relations between sexes is encouraged in order to perpetuate the interest of the patriarchal order (Jahan 1983).

Social attitudes regarding women's position and role have effectively contoured the space provided for the implementation of women's rights. Constitutional guarantees of equality before the law and equal protection by the law are not applied in practice. In particular, the assurance of equal rights in State and public life is not generally interpreted as extending to the family. Moreover, the ideology that creates and sustains the subordinate position of women within the family continues to inform judicial understanding and is reflected both in criminal and family laws concerning violence against women. However, the underlying idea of the family as private, and the construction of women as weak, passive and needing of protection, has often succeeded in disguising or camouflaging acts of violence against women (Jahan 1983).

Prevailing social attitudes, cultural, and traditional norms relating to perception of women's inferiority and incapacity, as well as myths and prejudices about women's sexual and social role, continue to infuse and permeate judicial and legal understanding. These biases, attitudes and myths act as obstacles to women's obtaining fair or equal treatment and protection of law and inhibit their obtaining effective protection against violence.

Hossain and Imam (2001) observed that although people had specific attitudes or views regarding women's position in society many male were not sure whether female were subordinate to them or not in Bangladesh. Man who subordinates women was not aware of the manner, mechanism, or means of the woman's subordination. They thought such situations of women as normal, prescribed, and perpetual. Men's awareness was obscured with prevailing norms and mode of justifications.

Several studies were conducted on perception of male towards violence against women and related issues in Bangladesh. Hussain and Imam's (2001) study on 100 male respondents aged 16-30 in

Rajshahi shows that 63% of the respondents supported *pardah*⁴ while 33% did not. All respondents agree that parents discriminate between boys and girls in respect of food, recreation, rewarding on various occasions and punishment. Sixty-three respondents supported women's participation in politics. All the respondents agreed that domestic violence take place in our society. Of them, 93% mentioned about physical violence and 76% about mental violence. Thirty-eight percent opined that physical violence by their husbands was found most widely whereas 35% opined for mental violence. Twenty-six percent of the respondents believed that beating was most widely found form of violence on housemaids. In perception of harassment, 52% of the respondents mentioned the incidence of indecent comments and another 28% mentioned teasing young girls face outside domestic sphere was most prevalent. In the working place the means of harassment are mostly tempting (23%), seduction (20%), molestation (19%), cheating (14%), etc. Forty-one percent of the respondents considered molestation while 15% considered rape as most widely found violence in the society. Accordingly, 96% of the respondents were aware of under-aged female child rape by adult male. Seventy-two percent of the respondents opined that women were tortured for giving birth to female child in our society.

Khair (2001) conducted a study on male perception on 100 males aged 16-30 years in Dhaka city. She observed that sexual harassment was an aspect of the daily existence of women, which effectively impedes their mobility and frustrates their attempts to autonomy and independence. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents regarded acts comprising jostling, shoving and pushing as sexual harassment. Seventy-one percent of the respondents identified teasing as sexual harassment. Sixty-seven percent stated that indecent look constituted harassment whereas whistling was singled out by 62% of the respondents. Another 62% pointed out that making odd sounds towards girls was also offensive. Flirting was identified by 48% of the respondents as distinct form of sexual harassment. Five percent of the respondents stated that they also regarded rape as sexual harassment. A total of 96% referred to throwing of acid as an act constituting domestic violence while 94% stated that the act comprised beating. While 88% thought that the use of foul language constituted domestic violence while another 73% referred to scolding as an essential ingredient of such violence.

Causes of Violence against Women

Scholars from various disciplines like biology, psychology, sociology, criminology, etc. have persistently tried to discover the causes of violence and their solution. Thus number of theories had been developed. Depending on the mode of analysis and independent variables employed the theories of violence can be divided into four broad groups:

- Pathological – explaining in terms of biological attribute or deformity of perpetrator.
- Psychological – explaining in terms of psychological characteristics of perpetrator.
- Sociostructural – explaining in terms of lack of resources within the family.
- Sociocultural – explaining in terms of overall social relations between the sexes.

These theories, in general, are unidisciplinary as scholars have viewed the problem from their own professional background and general in nature – thus limited in scope (Popenoe 1996). Attitude, the central piece in this study, appears to be an important component in violence against women. No matter what is the compelling or risk factor in violence the perpetrator always has an attitude towards

⁴ A practice according to which a female does not physically attend other than selected males, e.g., father, husband, brother, without covering all parts of the body accepting her face, foot, and wrist.

violence perpetrated. The attitude is supposed to influence such a behavior of the perpetrators. A few studies have been done on attitude in relation to women and violence against them in Bangladesh.

Sociologists Owens and Straus (1975) found that experience of violence, as a child was one of the most powerful contributors to attitude that approved of interpersonal violence. Many studies have emphasized only on victim's precipitation and individual psychopathology as causative factors in male-female violence (Hanmer and Maynard 1987). Personality or attitude of the abuser is generally perceived to be the root cause of violence against women. The public overwhelmingly believes that all forms of violence against women should be reported. Studies show that deviant and conventional values (Kobrin 1957), poor emotional adjustment (Cassel 1959), and a host of demographic variables such as sibling position, education, occupation and ecology (Stephen 1976; Nye 1958) are associated with aggression and violence.

Hossain and Imam (2001) observed that the reason behind the subordination of women in our society was not a single one. Seventy-five percent of the respondents in this study found patriarchy, lack of physical, mental and intellectual capability of women, social and economic dependency on men are responsible for these subordination of female in our society. Sixteen percent thought that existing social system was responsible for torturing/humiliating women. Respondents found the reasons for acid throwing to women, especially to young girls, was the deprivation of love to the offenders. Recently the violence has become widespread in Bangladesh. Twenty-four percent believed that it happened when offenders' marriage proposals were refused. Respondents found some general reasons that provoked males' violence on women. These include provocative dressing (58%) and free mixing (24%) by the victims. Fifty-three percent of the respondents considered sexual perversions of the offenders was the most important cause for female child rape. Participation of women in different places such as government, private, agro-based industries, etc., have increased the chance of harassment and violence on women compared to that of 30 years before.

Khair (2001) found the causes of harassment being the perversion of the male population and natural instinct of wanting to attract the attention of the opposite sex, lack of civic sense, no respect for women, and nonconservative dressing by women. Respondents felt that deteriorating social values and a lack of respect for women acted as catalysts for sexual harassment. Thirty-six percent of the respondents asserted that male perversion was a primary factor in sexual harassment. Fifty-four percent of the respondents were of the opinion that women were largely responsible for inviting acts of harassment through provocative and indecent dresses.

Khair also observed that women were doubly victimized, first, by the act itself, and then again by prevalent social and legal attitudes that held them personally responsible for their plight. Trivialisation of violence against women which was commonplace in Bangladesh might be attributed to the failure to recognize women's fundamental rights to life, liberty, and security.

Studies on attitude towards education (Begum 1985; 1991) show that students whose fathers had higher educational qualifications had significantly more favorable attitudes than those whose fathers were of lower educational qualifications. Begum also observed that the students who reside mostly in the urban areas had more favorable attitude towards women than those who lived in the rural areas.

The lower-class male were less in favor of women employment in office and factories (Ahmed and Begum 2001). They have less favorable attitude for providing higher education to women. The lower-class individuals showed more conservative attitude towards women whereas middle and

upper class individuals showed more liberal attitude towards women. The latter ones are in favor of women's participation in different economic activities.

Begum and Begum (1993) suggested that deprivation of love and affection, lack of proper guidance along with rejection, and domination and unnecessary punishment from the parents might have created an uncongenial family environment or an unfavorable social climate for fulfillment of psychological needs and a healthy development of moral and social values in male. Poor socioeconomic background of the aggressors was likely to have fostered such a social climate. Consequently, the young aggressors had not been able to develop better social insight or to adjust to live a normal social life and had chosen deviant peers as models. All these factors, social and psychological in nature, had made them to take negative endeavor in fulfilling psychological needs in the form of violent acts.

Begum and Rahman (1998) explored some personality characteristics, adjustment pattern, and values of the aggressors committing violence like rape, acid throwing, and murder. The study revealed that most of the perpetrators (58%) came from low-income group (average monthly income is less than Tk.2,500) living in densely populated areas of urban slums. Majority of the aggressors (66%) came from large families having 6-12 siblings and none had less than 3 siblings. Most of the aggressors (62%) were middle-born, a few (38%) were first-born and none was last-born. The study further observed that the aggressors had poorer insight into their action than others not involved in violent acts against women. On further analysis of this aspect personality, they were found to be more withdrawn, less cooperative, more competitive, and more aggressive than the nonaggressors. The study further showed that the aggressors committing gender violence had poorer home adjustment and weaker masculinity than the nonaggressors.

The poor socioeconomic environment in which they were brought up might have made them to develop such characteristics like poor social insight and adjustment problems. These personality characteristics, in turn, might have prevented them from trying to excel themselves in socially desirable tasks. Alternatively to prove their self-worth they have chosen aggressive behaviors like rape, acid throwing, etc. on women who were physically weak as targets. Since weaker objects are safer to aggress upon, the male aggressor often chooses a female who is in a weaker position in this male dominated society. Thus a woman or a girl child becomes victim of gender violence mostly because of her lower status.

The study (Begum and Rahman 1998) unfolded some of the underlying psychological characteristics of aggressors those have presumably been acquired through their life experiences from parents, relatives, neighbors, peer groups, and many others. These characteristics predispose the persons to express their frustrations or means of fulfilling their needs and desires in violent ways and it is women whose security and other basic human rights are violated. It must be noted with due emphasis that this study explored only a few personality characteristics of the aggressors. There are many more aspects of personality and attitudes that are yet to be explored. Besides, there are many situational factors that need to be studied in order to explain gender violence.

Summary

The original thesis that attitudes determine actions was countered during the 1960s by the antithesis that attitudes determine virtually nothing. The surprising finding that what people say often differs from what they do prompts social psychologist scurrying to find out why. Indeed, the mental

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aftereffects of our behavior appear in a rich variety of experimental and social situations. When we step into some new role a new behavior is demanded with this new attitude substantiating new role (behavior) was formed.

Although people do or do not engage themselves in violent acts according to their attitudes, values and personality characteristics, one of the major restraints against aggression comes from one's strong religious and moral values. It was observed that the aggressors committing violent acts against women were significantly weaker in moral and religious values compared to non-aggressors. Obviously the weak moral and religious values have made them less inhibited in engaging themselves in violent acts. This finding justifies why a study on attitude should be done to control violence in any society. A study on attitude may start with the diagnosis of how the attitude is formed. The issue has been addressed to some extent by believing that molding or changing the attitude of male could be a solution to the problem of violence against women.

Surveys indicate that males were quite knowledgeable about violence against women prevailing in the society. Although males have specific attitudes or views regarding women's position in the society the majority were not sure whether female were subordinate of male or manner, mechanism or means of their subordination in the society. This is true even when discrimination against women is profoundly institutionalized in our society.

The studies concerned with causal explanation of violence against women can be grouped into two. Some depends upon the respondents of the survey for causal explanation and the other established the association among the variables with the help of statistical techniques and reasoning. In most of these studies males' attitude was considered to be one of the determinants of their violence against women. None of these studies have singled out exclusive contribution of attitude among other determinants in the violence against women. Some of these studies have used feminist theory in explaining violence against women in Bangladesh. According to this theory, subordination of women, a necessary condition of the patriarchal society, is maintained through economic and social processes and violence as an instrument of ensuring the maintenance of this order.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Etymologically, the word violence originates from Latin *violentia* which in legal terms refers to exertion of physical force considered with reference to its effect on another than the agent itself (Jahan 1994). Defining violence is extremely difficult. As because the difficulty in defining what acts are violent and what acts are physical but not violent, is due to varying cultural and subcultural views on whether certain behavior is acceptable or not. It would be far too complex to have a proper definition depending on the situation the behavior was used in, the size of the offender, the size of the victim, and the reactions of those who observed or heard about the behavior.

Violence

The World Health Organization defines violence as, “The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation.” (WHO 2002, 4). The definition views violence as an act carried out with the intention or perceived intention of causing physical pain or injury to another person. The physical pain can range from slight pain, as in a slap, to murder. To deal with the commonsense assumption that spankings should be viewed differently from using weapons against wives or children, it is useful to consider two categories of violence, ‘normal’ violence and ‘abusive’ violence. Other definition of violence emphasized unlawful exercise of physical forces. It conveys heated and vehement expression of aggressive feelings to victims and onlookers. It is characterized by a deliberate attempt to do serious physical harm to the victim (Berkowitz 1962). In other words violence is defined as ‘an unlawful exercise of physical forces’ (Buss 1971). Ramazanoglu (1987) in dealing with the phenomena concentrates on the insults, leers, sneers, jokes, patronage, bullying, vocal violence, and sexual harassment, which are the common experiences of working women.

Violence against women: Ideally any discussion on gender-violence should use a broad definition encompassing a wide variety of the hosts of oppression and abuse suffered by women (Barry 1979). In 1978, Hanmer argued for the first time that definition of violence should not only be based on the perspective of the victim, but also it should cover a wide spectrum of abuses: a sociological definition of violence needs to include both the use of force and its threat to both compel or constrain women to behave or not to behave in given ways. It was observed that in some cases, perpetrators consciously use violence as a mechanism for subordination. For example, violence by intimate partners is often used to demonstrate and enforce a man's position as head of the household or relationship thus Watts and Zimmerman (2002) emphasized the fact that violence against women was not only a manifestation of sex inequality, but also served to maintain this unequal balance of power. To others violence against women, broadly defined, should involve use of force/coercion with an intention of perpetuating/promoting hierarchical gender-relations in all social structures (APWLD 1990). This definition would include any violation of a woman's basic rights on grounds of gender as an act of violence¹.

In response to these concerns the UN General Assembly defined violence against women as “... any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual and psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (UN 1993).

Types of Violence: In order to have a working definition violence against women has been categorized by emphasizing on variety of factors linked with such violence like nature of violence, victim and perpetrators, objective of violence, the place of violence, etc.

Most popularly, violence has been categorized in terms of six recognized forms of abuses – physical, sexual, verbal, social, economic, and spiritual abuse². The World Health Organization divided violence into three broad categories, according to who commits the violent act: self-

¹ Baron (1977) conceived aggression as “any form of behavior directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment”. This definition is more of interpersonal or social in nature and emphasized upon three aspects, viz., (1) aggression is a goal directed behavior, (2) intention of injuring another persons is there, and (3) it involves a victim motivated to avoid such treatment by an aggressor.

Violence is usually differentiated from aggression in terms of the severity of the injury. To summarize, while aggression is a more general term implying intent of inflicting injury to others, violence refers to the severe overt application of force resulting in the injury or destruction of persons or property or reputation as well as overt severe threat of injury that may result in trauma. Violence causes damage, often to a person, but sometimes only to property. Aggression involves the entire range of 'assertive, intrusive, and attacking behavior. Aggression thus includes both overt and covert attacks. In other words, violence conveys the heated, the vehement expression of aggressors' feelings to victims and onlookers.

² Physical violence: striking, punching, pushing, shoving, throwing objects, and smashing precious collections.

- Sexual violence: forcing, hurting, forcing unwanted forms of sex, rape.
- Verbal violence: shouting, rage, put downs, comparisons with previous spouse.
- Social violence: isolation from friends, confining to house, smothering, constant telephoning to check up on another.
- Economic violence: keeping a spouse poor so spouse has to ask for essentials, keeping total control of finances.
- Spiritual abuse: selective use of scriptures, e.g., 'wives be submissive to husbands' without regard to it's context, namely, submit yourselves to one another and 'husbands' love wives.'

directed violence, interpersonal violence, and collective violence (WHO 2002). To others, violence against women encompasses but is not limited to the following:

- Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, nonspousal violence, and violence related to exploitation.
- Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution.
- Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, wherever it occurs. For example sexual abuses of female prisoners and dependants.

Some people again categorized violence against women and girls as physical, sexual, psychological, and economic abuse.

Based on the objective of violence it has been categorized as normal versus abusive violence. **Normal violence** is the commonplace slap, pushes, shoves, and spankings that frequently are considered normal or acceptable part of raising children or interacting with a spouse. These are the acts many people object to call 'violence'. This is especially true of spanking. These and other arguments, typically advanced by those who do the hitting, all focus on the physical acts that we consider normal violence. **Abusive violence** is the more dangerous acts of violence are referred to as abusive violence. These acts are defined as the acts that have high potential for injuring the person being hit. Included in this definition are punches, kicks, bites, choking, beatings, shootings, stabbing, attempted shootings or stabbing etc.

The controversy in normal versus abusive violence is that it does not take into consideration what actually happened to the victims of the violence. Although ignoring consequences, this definition is much broader than the more narrow definitions of child or wife abuse, which typically require that some diagnosable harm be inflicted. The reason for not including consequences in the definition was as because criminologists have consistently found that the things that differentiate injurious violence from that causes no harm are typically random phenomena such as aim or luck (Pittman and Handy 1964; Pokorny 1965; Wolfgang 1958).

Intimate violence: Another important type of violence against women and also considered relevant to this study is intimate violence. Often referred to as 'wife-beating', 'battering', or 'domestic violence', intimate partner-abuse is generally part of a pattern of abusive behavior and control rather than an isolated act of physical aggression. Partner-abuse can take various forms including physical assault such as hits, slaps, kicks, and beating; psychological abuse, such as constant belittling, intimidation, and humiliation; and coercive sex. It often includes controlling behaviors such as isolating a woman from her family and friends, monitoring her movements, and restricting her access to resources. Physical violence is not the only form of harm that family members and intimate relations experience, nor is the most harmful form of intimate victimization. Researchers and clinicians have found that the effect and consequences of emotional or psychological violence are greater and more profound than the consequences of physical victimization alone (Straus and Sweet 1992; Vissing et al. 1991). Sexual abuse also has significant harmful consequences (Browne and Finkelhor 1986).

Table 3.1: Category of Violence Considered in Study and their Definitions

Category	Definition
Action	Violence related to action can be divided into two parts. First, it includes preventing the victim in taking rightful action as desired. Second, it includes unlawfully forcing the victim in taking action which the victim does not intend to take.
Deprivation	Divest the victim of something, e.g., privilege, commodity, etc. rightfully owned or enjoyed.
Psychological assault	Verbal attack using hostile language psychologically traumatizing the victim. It may include threat or attempt to inflict offensive physical contact or bodily harm on a person (as for example lifting a fist in a threatening manner) that puts the person in immediate danger of or in apprehension of such harm or contact.
Physical assault	Assault related to body. Includes inflicting of offensive physical contact or bodily harm on a person. The harm can range from minor wound to killing the victim in its extreme form.

The UN definition of violence against women explicitly and implicitly refers to four types of violence – related to action and deprivation, psychological assault and physical assault. The analyses in this study have been done in terms of the typologies relating to normal and abusive violence and intimate violence in places. Table 3.1 presents the working definition of the violence typologies. In reality violence may involve more than one type or may not be categorized without doubt. The type of violence that the perpetrator intends to inflict determines the leveling of the violence.

Attitude

Two disciplines that worked most with attitude are sociologists and psychologist. But the disciplines viewed the concept differently.

Sociologists defined attitudes to be more or less enduring predispositions to action toward determinate objects or values. Attitudes are implicit responses or predispositions, or states of readiness to act in a characteristic manner to objects, persons, ideas, values, or situations in the social environment. In short, attitudes are subjective reactions, state of consciousness within the individual human being, with relation to objects e.g., love, fear, etc., (MacIver and Page 1949).

On the other hand, attitude to psychologist refers to beliefs and feelings about a person or event and the resulting support or opposition. Taken together, favorable or unfavorable evaluative reactions – whether exhibited in beliefs, feelings, or inclinations to act – define a person's attitude towards something (Zanna and Rempel 1988). In assessing attitudes, three dimensions may be tapped:

- cognition (thoughts): the mental process characterized by knowledge, thinking, learning, and judging.
- affect (feelings): an outward manifestation of a person's feelings or emotions.
- behavior (action): a particular response, i.e., favorable or unfavorable, towards specific object.

The definition takes care of tendency for a person to act in a way that corresponds to his or her cognitive and effective combinations.

The definitions have considerable overlaps but with some variations. The concept of attitude is used extensively and technically in psychology but more loosely in sociology. When psychologists are more concerned with different components of the attitude the sociologists emphasize on the genesis of the formation of the attitude, the rationalizations in upholding an attitude, how attitude affects behavior in a social context, etc.

That is to say, an attitude is a preparatory activity; it involves anticipation, trial response, incomplete adjustment, a state of readiness. Hence, once the attitude is expressed or the desired adjustment is made, it ceases to have any 'actuating effect' upon the individual, although it may remain in the individual's memory or become his/her permanent or habitual set. When the preparation and execution coincide, the result is a completed act, the adjustment of an individual to an object or value.

An attitude is not, therefore, an isolated disposition but as mentioned earlier, the preparatory phase of a psychological continuum of which adjustment is the end product. Attitude has number of characteristics having a bearing on any action like violence against women (Sherif and Cantril 1947). Attitude always involves the relations of the individual to specific situations in his/her environment. These may consist of 'objects', such as one's automobile; 'persons', such as oneself or another; groups, such as the family or norms, formed or conditioned in the individual's contact with his/her environment such as capitalism or socialism.

- Attitudes are formed or conditioned in the individuals' contact with his/her environment.
- Attitudes have affective properties. These are affectively charged because they are usually held in connection with such important values as the home, church, nation, etc. These are affective as because many of them are bound up with an individual's status and role in the community such as worker, employer, or professor.
- Attitudes are relatively enduring states of readiness. They tend to be enduring because they are learned.
- Attitudes are numerous and varied as the stimuli to which they refer.

Attitudes are acquired in interaction with others in accordance with the principles of social learning. Every social relationship involves an adjustment of attitudes on the part of those who enter into the relationship. When individuals feel affected in one way or the other towards an object they display an attitude towards it. The object itself, as it is affected by their attitudes, is called interest.

It follows that social relationships, e.g., violence against women, must 'involve both attitudes and the interests to which they are related.' To understand actual behavior we must know both objective interests and subjective attitudes of the participants. Our own external behavior is an expression of our attitudes and interest, and consequently it is possible to classify the types of social relationships which emerge from them. These may be summarized as follows (MacIver and Page 1949):

- Different individuals or groups may have a similar attitude to the same object. Again different individuals may have different or opposed attitudes to the same object. Some may love, others may hate the same thing or persons; or some may desire to get an object, while others may desire to leave it.

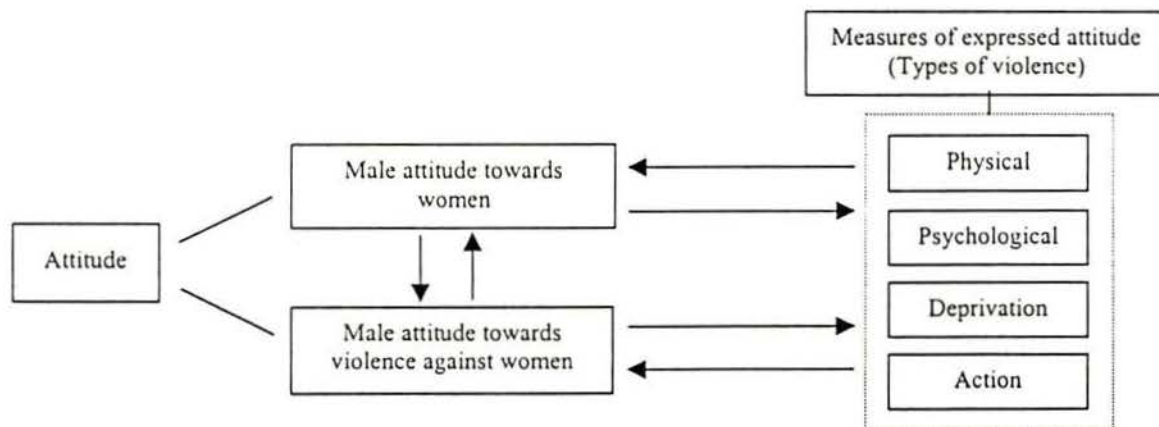
- The attainment of the objective may require joint action, supplementary and undifferentiated, as join in an attack on a woman to rape. The joint action may be complementary and differentiated, as in specialized division of labor. A social relationship thus involves an adjustment of attitudes, on the part of those who enter the relationship.
- The nature of the objects or ends also affects the character of the personal relations. If the objects are diminished by use and affected by scarce supply they may provoke competition or strife between individuals and groups. This is often the case in the field of economic activity. But the sharing in noncompeting interests, like art, religion or other spiritual goods, tends to promote cooperation.
- There are objects which affect all individual alike while others have a limited or specific appeal. This affects social relations.

All social relationships involve both subjective attitudes and objective interests. Every social experience is a relation, an interaction, between the persons who experience the subject, and the object which is experienced, the interest. It always involves 'adjustment between the attitudes and interests of two or more persons.

Frameworks Used in the Study

Our attitudes determine how we react to people and objects in our environment. To some extent, they determine our behavior in social situations. In addition, our attitudes are very much affected by our environment. The structure of social situations often determines the way in which our attitudes are formed and whether there is any possibility for change. The directions of influence

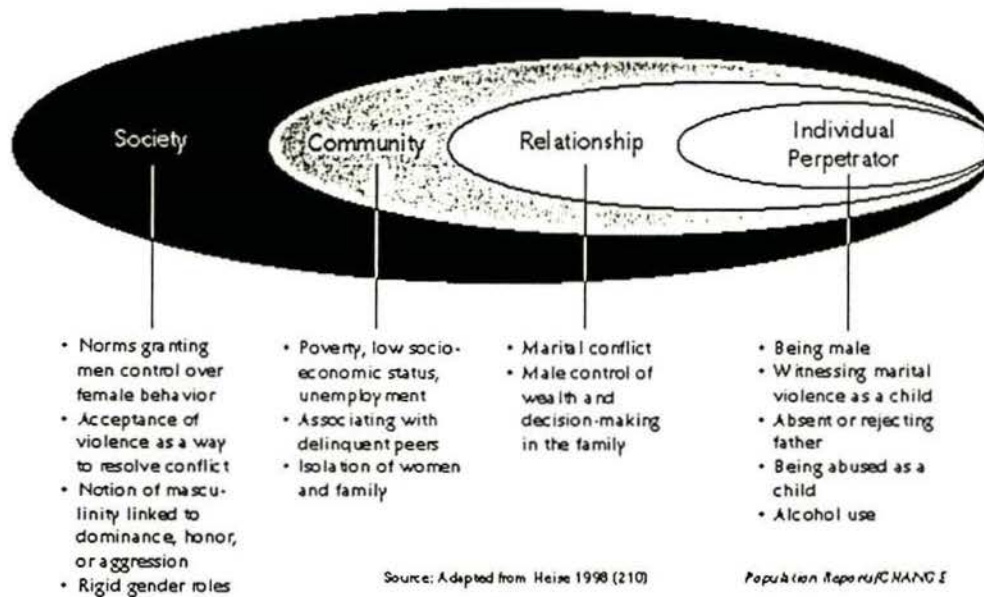
Figure 3.1: Nature of Association between Male Attitude and their Violence against Women



between male attitude and action (i.e., violence against women) as discussed in this and previous chapters, was taken as the framework for analysis in this study (Figure 3.1). Although there is reciprocal relationship between attitude and violence it must be noted that whole rang of other

factors like economic, political, cultural, etc., can lead to male violence against women independent of attitude. The investigation of such a causality is beyond the scope of this study.

Figure 3.2: Ecological Model of Factors Associated with Violence against Women



The 'ecological framework' developed by Heise (1998) to understand domestic violence against women was also used in this study (Figures 3.2). Heise argues that no one factor alone causes violence rather a number of factors combine to raise the likelihood that a particular man in a particular setting may act violently towards a woman. The framework hypothesizes, social and cultural norms – such as those that assert men's inherent superiority over women – combine with individual-level factors – such as whether a man was abused himself as a child – determine the likelihood of abuse. The more risk factors are present the higher the likelihood of violence. The framework also highlights the interactive nature between the factors at various levels that can create a violence trap.

The framework can best be visualized as four concentric circles where several factors at each of these circles increase the likelihood that a man will abuse his partner. The innermost circle represents the biological and personal history that each individual brings to his or her behavior in relationships. The second circle represents the immediate context in which abuse takes place – frequently the family, other intimates, acquaintance or relatives. The third circle represents the institutions and social structures, both formal and informal, in which relationships are embedded – neighborhood, workplace, social networks, and peer groups. The fourth, outermost circle is the economic and social environment including cultural norms. The factors likely to trigger violence at each of these circles are also included in the figure.

METHOD

A four-member team including sociologists and a psychologist undertook this study. On the other hand UNFPA formed a six-member multidisciplinary Ad hoc Advisory Panel to assist the study team. The team chalked out a detail plan in operationalization of the study. Some of the important methods of this study are discussed below.

Instrument

The study was conducted based on information derived mostly from male respondents and in few cases from females. Altogether five instruments – household survey, attitudinal scale, in-depth interview, case study, and focus group discussion – were used in this study; each being considered more effective in generating different types of data and analysis done in this study.

The **household survey** focused on sociodemographic condition of the households, perception, and awareness of the male members therein on violence against women and related issues, and intention of males to resolve violence against female. Information was collected through semistructured survey questionnaires. The questionnaires were field-tested for their perfection.

The study fathomed the attitude of males using two **attitudinal scales**¹. The scales measured males' attitude towards women and their attitude towards violence against women with the help

¹ Attitude scales consist of sets of standardized statements with which people are asked to agree or disagree. Scaling assumes that an attitude will have various aspects that in their totality constitute the attitude being measured. It also assumes that people can be ranked along a continuum representing varying degree of 'strength' or 'intensity' with which an attitude is held. The sets of standardized statements are selected from some larger pool of items that cover the relevant aspects of the attitude, selection being based initially on exploratory research in which people respond to all statements, or on the judgement of a panel of evaluations. The intensity or strength with which people hold the various aspects of the attitude is measured by rating scale items by asking respondents how much they agree with a statement (often on a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree') or by asking them to choose between a number of different statements or each item. Attitude scale produces a single score for each

of selected statements. The statements reflected situations with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree². The statements were selected after field test. The face validity of the scales were checked by the Panel (Table 2.1). The reliability of the scales could not be measured for time constraint.

- First scale reflecting the attitude of male towards female has three parts representing selected themes – attitude in general, attitude towards women’s rights, and attitude towards discrimination against women. The groups/themes together included 12 statements.
- Second scale reflecting the attitude of male towards violence against women was divided into four parts representing types of violence – psychological, physical, deprivation, and action related violence. The groups/themes together included 16 statements.

Respondents’ attitude on each of these statements were captured in a four-point Likert scale – completely agreed, partially agreed, partially disagreed, and completely disagreed. Each of the items was given a numerical weight – four for ‘completely agree’ to one for ‘completely disagree’. Higher score from a statement, related to attitude towards women, meant more favorable attitude towards women similarly higher score in the case of statement, related to violence against women, meant an attitude more against such violence. Total score for each respondent was computed by summing the responses against each statement. Cumulated score from the groups represented men’s attitude towards women and their attitude towards violence against women. In the case of attitude towards women and violence against women possible scores for a respondent ranged from 12 to 48 and 16 to 64 respectively.

Table 4.1: Statements for Attitude Measurement

Attitude towards Women	
Attitude in general	All women belong to mothers’ race so they should not be tortured by any man.
	<i>Purdah</i> of women is affected if they work and loiter outside the house.
	In case a close relative of a woman is seriously ill, she may visit the patient without permission of her husband if he is not present at home.
	When a woman keeps on giving birth to female children one after another, it leads one to believe that she must have some problem.
Women’s rights	Women should lead their life according to the advice of male person, it is therefore all the same whether they are aware or not aware of their rights.
	Married women have got the right to receive their bride money.
	Only the son should have the right to inherit father’s property.
	Politics involves lot of hassle and bustle; even then the women should not refrain from it.

Continued

individual that is constructed out of this multiplicity of items, so that each respondent can be placed somewhere long the attitude continuum. The most commonly encountered attitude scales are Guttman, Likert and Thurstone scale.

² It may be indicated that attitude on violence can also be studied ethnographically. Use of such a time consuming techniques was beyond the scope of this study. On the other hand assessment of attitude in terms statement has been proven quite effective. When an individual is asked to pass their opinion on a situation not personal to them it was observed that they did not distort or underreport in presentation of their opinion.

Table 4.1

Discrimination	Czory and Babul are brother and sister to each other. Czory works at home with her mother and Babul works with his father in the field. Babul and his father always should be given more food to eat.
	When both husband and wife are very sick treatment for both of them should be started at the same time.
	Only the husband's opinion should be honored in selling or dispersing family properties.
	As at present women are taking part in work outside home, men also should take part in household work like washing clothes, cleaning dishes, etc.
Attitude towards Violence against Women	
Psychological	Women should have freedom of movement in the society
	It is natural that the male will remain hotheaded due to wants in the family. In spite of this they are not supposed to scold or beat women in the family.
	Father always wishes well of his daughter, he therefore may marry his daughter to a guy against her will.
	During marriage a part of the dowry promised was paid. Later on husband or other male members of the family can put pressure on the wife to pay rest of the dowry.
Physical	Jolly gave word to marry a guy but she later on changed her mind. At this the guy may become angry and can throw acid on her.
	There were varieties of <i>futwahs</i> for women. It is not justified to lash a woman by giving a <i>futwah</i> .
	If a woman attracts a man by her gesture even then it will not be proper for him to violate her psychologically or physically.
	According to religion male has right to bit women.
Deprivation	As male is the head of the family it should run according to his decision.
	Shafique and Rahella are brother and sister and they both go to school. They are very poor so their father decided that only Shafique should go for higher education.
	Both Rahim and Karimon work together in earth cutting. At the day end Karimon is paid less.
	A woman has left her husband. Even then her husband will have to support her.
Action	Due importance of the opinion of both husband and wife should be given in deciding on family planning.
	Women should not be allowed to work outside even though there are wants in the family.
	Women are less intelligent so they cannot spend money properly. Thus they should hand over their income to male member of the family.
	According to religion wife should always consent to husband, so much so that husband even can have sex with wife against her will.

In-depth interview focused on the diagnosis of male's attitude towards women in general and violence against them. The same set of statements, used in attitudinal scale, was also used in in-depth interview. The objective over here was to find out how respondents rationalized themselves in supporting or not supporting the statements with a special emphasis on decoding their cognition and affect behind holding attitudes in relation to the statements. The exercise was conducted with the help of unstructured questionnaire where interviewer tabbed above mentioned information through long conversation with the respondents on each of the statements.

Eight **case studies** were conducted keeping in mind that those might cover all four types of violence on women – psychological, physical, and those related to action and deprivation. Incidences of violence relating to dowry, deception, acid-throwing and rape were observed in detail in case studies. The perpetrators and victims of violence and others related to or knowledgeable about the incidence were also included in the case studies. Special attention was given to fathom attitude of perpetrators in the process of committing violence. The findings from case studies supplemented the analysis based on in-depth interviews.

The **focus group discussions** were initiated with an objective that the findings from these would give an insight on how rural society visualizes the problem of violence against women and thinks about how the problem could be solved or minimized. The information was mainly used in writing the recommendations.

Sampling

Statistical representation was not a consideration in deciding the sample size in this study rather a size that would provide sufficient data to have adequate understanding of the attitude of male on violence against women was the prime objective in deciding the sample size.

As a first step in data collection two field offices of BRAC (i.e., area office) – Tarakanda and Fulpur – in Mymensingh were purposively selected for fieldwork. The catchment of an area office is eight kilometers in radius centering the office. A village with about 300 households within the catchment area was selected from each area for data collection. Number of households present in the selected village was determined by asking knowledgeable villagers, BRAC area office staff, and consulting documents on village census available in Union Pasrishod office. The villages were selected as such so that those were located away from town, major road, and cinema halls thus the villages did not have any major urban influences. Thus two villages, each from an area office, were initially selected for observation in the study.

Altogether 502 males from separate households were interviewed for survey. Of them, 210 were in the 15-29 age group, 152 in 30-44 age group, and the rest 140 were in 45 and above age group. Altogether 100 in-depth interviews were done. Forty-two of these interviews represented 15-29 age group, 30 represented 30-44 age group and 28 represented 45 and above age group. Number of respondents interviewed from each of the age groups, both in the survey and in-depth interview, were proportional to their representation in total male population of Bangladesh according to 1991 census.

Altogether 251 and 50 respondents had to be interviewed for survey and in-depth interviews respectively from a village. Initially it was decided that for survey a male member from each household, from each age group mentioned earlier, would be interviewed. In the case of large village the households for interview would be randomly selected by using cards bearing particulars of the households prepared with the help of the villagers. Next, out of these 251 households selected for survey in a village 50 would be randomly selected for in-depth interview. One member from these households, who was not interviewed before, would be interviewed in-depth. These policies could not be followed in full.

Koyrakanda a village with 325 households in Tarakanda upazila (sub-district) was selected for data collection. The village had 10 *paras* (sub-village). Since the village was not very large in size the households for survey interview were not randomly selected. Rather the households were interviewed from one end of the village to the other by excluding every third house to ensure that those interviewed were spread evenly throughout the village. In the case of in-depth interview the houses covered in the survey could not provide required number of respondents from all the age groups. Therefore the required quota had to be met from the households not covered in the survey.

Another village, Kuripara with 307 households in Fulpur upazila was selected for data collection. The village had five *paras*. Over here the households were also interviewed from one end of the village to the other similarly as was done in Koyrakanda. The total households in the village failed to provide required respondents for in-depth interview. The quota had to be met by interviewing members from a neighboring village Nogua with 173 households. As only 13 in-depth interviews had to be done in Nogua these households were randomly selected.

Cases were purposively selected from Legal Aid Clinic³ records of BRAC. The records included the nature of violence involved and the location of the perpetrator and the victim. These information provided an important clue in selecting appropriate cases for this study and getting in touch with them. Altogether eight case studies were done from the catchments of Churkhai, Fulbaria, Haluaghat, Muktagacha, and Nandail area offices in Mymensingh district.

Two focus group discussions were organized, one with the males and other with the females in Mymensingh district. The male group included eight selected elite from Doliakanda village and the female group included seven villagers who were aware of the violence against women in Koyrakanda. The members of the groups were purposively selected with the help of BRAC area office in Tarakanda.

Quality Control

Maintaining the high quality of the study was the topmost priority both for BRAC and UNFPA. The study team met with the Advisory Panel four times at different stages of the study to report its study plan and progress and in turn received the Panel's advices and suggestions to improve the quality of the study. Special attention was given to ensure quality while collecting data from the field.

A five-member team was formed to conduct the survey and in-depth interviews in a village. The case study team included two males and two females for discussion with males and females related to the case respectively. The case study team included a fifth member who was responsible to organize and transcribe field notes into the sequential documents.

³ Many of the conflicts and problems can be solved through local arbitration (*shalish*). However, many of the cases cannot be resolved without restoring to legal procedures. The poor are not usually in a position to pay for such services. In recognition of the above situation BRAC, in cooperation with Ain O Shalish Kendro, a legal aid organization, started its legal aid program in 1998. This program provides legal training and services to both the members and nonmembers. The legal aid clinic provides services every Sunday between 8 am and 5 p.m. at the area office to the villagers.

Intensive 3-day training including classroom and field sessions was given to the field workers. At the end of each day of fieldwork the workers exchanged the filled questionnaires with each other for scrutiny. In the case of errors and missing links those were ironed out by revisiting the interviewees if required. The filled in questionnaires were finally checked by the team leader. In the case of case studies the team member crosschecked the information received from different sources for triangulation and corroboration. The notes from a case study was then organized sequentially. After the case has been organized each member of the team went through it to find out whether any information was missing or got misrepresented in the process of organizing the case. Field work was continuously supervised by the research team in rotation. Besides UNFPA research staff frequently visited the field sites.

Problems in Conducting Fieldwork

Understanding someone's attitude towards an issue is always difficult no matter what technique is used. Collection of data in this study on attitude was not free from such a challenge. Besides, the respondents were reluctant in cooperating with the interviewer for two reasons. Firstly, the subject matter of this study, i.e., violence, made respondents suspicious about the hidden motive of the interviewers particularly at a time when intensive army operation was going on in the villages after explosion of bombs in a cinema hall in Mymensingh town. A temporary police camp was set up in one of the villages selected for interview. Many respondents at the beginning believed that the interviewers might report their responses to army or police, which in turn, might bring problems for them. As a result, they refrained from cooperating with the interviewers. Secondly, field work was initiated during the winter harvest. The villagers who were mostly farmers were reluctant to give time for the interview. In many cases the whole interview could not be completed in one sitting and had to be taken in the agricultural field. However, these problems did not affect the quality of data.

The case study also faced problems. The Legal Aid Clinic documented incidence in such a way that the victims might have an advantage in the court thus deviated from the reality as required in this study. As a result some of the cases selected from the document after being considered appropriate for this study had to be dropped at a later stage after finding these not appropriate. Again, in many cases perpetrators as documented did not confess that they had committed any violence whereas victims were accusing that they had been violated by the perpetrators.

Analysis Plan

An integrated approach combining both qualitative and quantitative methods was adopted in this study but with a tilt towards the former. The analysis based on each of the instruments have been presented in separate chapters and all of them centering around attitude of male towards violence against women. The findings were cross-referred where considered necessary. The analyses have been done in reflection to the models, discussed in previous chapters, where those were found appropriated. The concluding chapter presented a short summary of the findings and recommendations along with some justifications as to why the recommendations could be instrumental in changing the attitude of male towards women and violence against them.

PERCEPTION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

This chapter deals with three connected issues supposed to have an influence on the attitude of male towards women in general and violence against women in particular. The first issue deals with the selected socioeconomic characteristics of male. The second one deals with the perception of male on violence against women as a problem. The third issue looks at how male correlates different categories of women to types of violence and selected issues related to their perpetration. Data provided in the bi-variate tables are based on respondents' opinions and assumptions derived from the survey. The opinions of the respondents may vary from realities. Data on the opinion and assumption are more importantly related with attitude including one on violence against women.

Sociodemographic Characteristics

The sociodemographic variables dealt with age, education, food security, marital and NGO membership status, and occupation of the respondents. The section also includes rationalizations as to how these variables could directly or indirectly influence the attitude of male towards violence against women in a limited form.

Table 5.1: Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Respondents (%)

Age group	Respondent	Education	Respondent	Food security status	Respondent
15-29	42.0 (211)	0-2 years	59.6 (299)	Always deficit	9.4 (47)
30-44	30.1 (151)	3-9 years	30.9 (155)	Occasional deficit	41.0 (206)
45 and above	27.9 (140)	10-16 years	9.6 (48)	Breakeven and Surplus	49.6 (249)
Total (n)	502		502		502

An individual increasingly gains experience and knowledge with increasing age until at the later part of the lifecycle when s/he loses physical and mental capabilities (Table 5.1). It has also been observed that generally individuals at younger age remain more dynamic, progressive and receptive to new ideas but with age they gradually lose these attributes and become more conservative. Thus, lifecycle by itself and for factors associated with it was likely to mold one's attitude. Majority of the respondents (42.0%) observed was of younger age group considered to be dynamic (Table 5.1). In next two age groups (30-44 and 45 and above) almost equal number of respondents (30.1% and 27.9%) were observed.

Respondent's education was assessed based on number of years that they took to complete the last grade they attended assuming that they did not spend more than a year in one grade. For example, if a respondent had Higher Secondary Certificate it was considered that he had 12 years of education. A few respondents went to religious schools, e.g., *madrassa*; others attended public/private schools/colleges providing modern education. It was assumed that the respondents with less than three years of education could not make any practical use of their education and it did not play any role on the formation of their attitude. Number of years spent in education was likely to have positive association with attitude. Almost 60% of the respondents had no or less than three years of education (Table 5.1). It was believed that the respondents with 1 or 2 years of education were neither in a position to make use of their education nor their education in any way influenced their attitude. In contrast, about 10% of the respondents had 10-16 years of education.

At the household level, food security is defined as sustainable access of the household to sufficient quantity and quality of food to ensure adequate dietary intake and a healthy life for all members therein (FAO 1992). The food insecurity of a household can be chronic or transitory. Chronic food insecurity is a persistent inadequacy of diet resulting from the continual inability of households to acquire required food from production or purchase. Chronic food insecurity is rooted in poverty. Transitory food insecurity, on the other hand, is a temporary decline in a household's access to required food due to factors such as instability in food prices, production, or income.

Table 5.2: Marital and NGO Membership Status of Respondents

Marital status	Respondent	NGO membership status	Respondent
Unmarried	19.9 (100)	Member	2.4 (62)
Married	79.5 (399)	Not member	84.9 (426)
Widower	.6 (3)	Ex-member	2.8 (14)
Total (n)	502		502

Respondents provided information on the food security status of their families. The food security has been assessed based on the perception of respondents; who were asked to provide structural responses on the level of

food security of their households by making a self-evaluation on the food produced, food available, and their purchasing power during the last year¹. Studies have indicated that respondent's subjective perception on food security matches with objective economic indicators

¹ However, the amount of calorie intake, quality of food, or intrahousehold distribution of food consumption did not receive consideration in assessing the overall food security of the households. To keep the picture simple such nutritional aspects were not covered in this study.

on food security. It has also been observed that food security status was positively associated with economic status. About 50% of the respondents had surplus or no food deficit round the year (Table 5.2). In contrast, about 10% of the respondents had food deficit round the year.

Marital status can lead to variation in attitude towards women. After marriage a male comes into a close relationship with a wo-man. The relationship involves mutual responsibility, author-ity, dependence, accountabil-ity, affection, love, etc., very different from what male enjo-yed with any female prior to marriage. These factors associated in the married life might change or develop attitude of the male very different from what he had before. About 80% of the respondents observed were married (Table 5.2).

An overwhelming number of NGOs involved with socioeconomic development in Bangladesh emphasizes upon the empowerment of women. Accordingly they have programs to aware their members of the injustice and disparity that the women are subjected to in our society. Such programs are likely to have an effect on the attitude of its members towards women. Overwhelming majority of the respondents (84.9%) were in no way directly associated with any NGO; in contrast about 15% of the respondents were in the past or are at the present members of NGOs like BRAC working in their area.

The activity in which respondents claimed to have spent most of their time for livelihood or in preparation, e.g., education, in a typical day was considered to be their occupation. Farmers in

Table 5.3: Respondents' Occupation (%)

Occupation	Respondent
Farming	36.3 (182)
Day labor	23.7 (119)
Business	15.9 (80)
Service	5.0 (25)
Rural transportation	8.4 (42)
Study	5.6 (28)
Others	5.2 (26)
Total (n)	502

the list of occupations included self-employed agricultural workers conducted in own or contracted land. Day-labor included respondents involved in both agricultural and nonagricultural sectors. They were paid as per agreement either in cash and/or kind at the end of the day's work. In some cases these day-laborers were in long-term contract with their employers. The respondents with business were mostly small-businessmen having shop in local town or in own village, selling commodities as vendors,

etc. Service included respondents both with white- and blue-collar jobs in private or government sectors salaried at the end of the month. The respondents in rural transportation included drivers of both mechanized and non-mechanized vehicles like tempo², bus, rickshaw, bullock-cart, etc. Students included those who were studying in higher level of high schools or in colleges. Others included mainly those who were not in a position to have an occupation like the retired, sick, and the old. The group also included a small number of beggars.

Most of the respondents were involved in farming or in day-labor (Table 5.3). Although a good number of the respondents were in the age group 15-29 a few of them were involved in education. Only 5.6% of the respondents were involved in education. Occupation of a male can influence his attitude towards women particularly if the occupation promotes some kind of values towards female or if it involves female colleagues. The occupations that the respondents

² Motorized three wheelers.

were involved with expected to have a little influence in molding the attitude of respondents towards women or violence on them.

Perception on Violence against Women as a Problem in Society

This section investigates how male ranks violence against female as a problem in context to other problems in the society, types of violence against female they visualized, the importance they attach to different typed of violence against women, and their perception about the changes in the problem over time.

Respondents were asked to name the most acute problem in their village. They were most

Table 5.4: Most Important Problems Considered Present in Village by Respondents (%)

Problem	Respondents
Education	36.3 (189)
Poverty	32.3 (168)
Unemployment	13.8 (72)
Infrastructure	9.2 (48)
Health service	5.4 (28)
Violence against woman	2.9 (15)
Total (n)	502

concerned with the economic problems. The problems, either related to poverty or opportunity for employment, were considered to be the most burning problems to 46% of the respondents (Table 5.4). Next to it, lack of facilities for secondary education and to some quality education was the second most important problem in the village. Respondents also felt that their villages were not well-connected with outside, did not have good

roads within the village, and did not have adequate health facilities. These factors were also considered to be great problems to some. Violence against women was a cornerstone in the list of problems to the respondents as only about 3% of them considered it to be one of the problems in their villages.

Table 5.5: Most Important Problem Considered Present in Village by Respondents' Age, Education, and Food Security Status (%)

Problems	Age (in years)			Education (in years)			Food security status		
	15-29	30-44	45+	None	3-9	10-16	Always Deficit	Occasional deficit	Surplus/ Even
Education	5.2	4.6	7.1	4.7	4.5	14.6	4.3	6.8	4.8
Poverty	41.2	36.4	33.6	40.5	34.8	29.2	38.3	33.5	41.0
Unemployment	27.5	35.8	40.0	34.1	32.9	31.3	44.7	38.4	27.3
Infrastructure	14.2	12.6	16.4	12.0	14.2	29.2	8.5	14.1	15.7
Health service	11.4	10.6	5.7	8.7	13.6	2.1	-	7.3	13.3
Violence against woman	4.3	4.0	-	2.0	4.5	4.2	4.3	1.9	3.6
Total (n)	211	151	140	299	155	48	47	206	249

Table 5.5 represents the respondents' perception about the most important problem in their village in terms of their age, education, and food security status. Of the small number of respondents who considered violence against women was the most important problem were mostly from the younger age group. It was not considered as a problem at all by any respondents above 44 years of age. More respondents with higher education considered it to be a problem compared to those with lower education. No trend of any kind was observed when these

respondents were divided in terms of their food security status; although a small number of them did consider it to be a problem in the village.

Respondents had misunderstanding about what was meant by violence against women. A good number of them considered illegitimate sexual relationship as violence against women. The respondents developed their perception on the violence against women based on experience and observations. In case of physical and psychological violence respondents were quite specific with what they meant by violence. Besides assault in general, respondents visualized rape, acid throwing, murdering by poison or burning as some of the physical violence done on women by male. By psychological violence, the respondents took into account mostly passing bad or obscene comments to school/college-going girls, and spreading slanderous remarks about them. Insulting, rebuking and hurting women when they disagree with a male member in the family were also considered some other kind of psychological violence against them. In specific terms by deprivation the respondents meant depriving female of food, support, education, etc. Deceiving, taking away something from them by force, not recognizing their contribution in work, and taking away their rights and freedom were some of other deprivations that respondents took into account in visualizing violence. Action-related violence included forcing wife to get dowry from her parents, to move around without *pardah*, do something not allowed by Islam, and return back to parents after marriage. Some of the respondents had a broad perception of what was meant by violence against women by believing that depriving them of their freedom was the most important violence against female. It was done by controlling them as a result they could not do anything at their own will or by imposing male's will on them like forcing them to do too much work after marriage.

Respondents' perception of what is meant by violence against women ranged from being very specific emphasizing or selected issues to being very broad. Although the respondents took into consideration two different dimensions of violence as considered in this study none of them could visualize all the dimensions together.

Respondents were asked about the types of violence against women by male present in their village that flashes in their mind (i.e., top of mind awareness) when they think about it. Table 5.6 provides list of violence that flashed in their mind. Mental torture included rebuking women or saying something to them which psychologically hurt them and keep them confined in a room to create psychological pressure on them. Physical assault included all assault other than those caused by rape and hurling acid on them. Action-related violence included forcing women to work outside without *pardah* or forcing them to observe *pardah*, not allowing them to move outside freely, forcing them to pay dowry, etc.

Most of the respondents mentioned about physical assault (81.3%), followed by obscene remarks to girls (77.3%) (Table 5.6). As a whole, physical violence flashed most against none for action-related violence in the mind of the respondents. When respondents' visualization was segregated in terms of their marital status it was observed that for all categories of violence unmarried respondents had higher percentages than those who were married (Table 5.7).

Visualization of different types of violence by the respondents in terms of other variables – their age, education and food security status – did not show much variation among the categories for each of the variables or any trend but in few cases (Table 5.8). The respondents aged 30-44 years

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visualized mental torture as violence much less than other age groups. In the case of obscene remark, physical assault, acid throwing, and rape, increasingly lesser number of respondents from higher age group visualized it as violence prevalent in their village. Mental torture and deprivation of rights were visualized to be violence by a much higher and moderate number of respondents with 10-16 years of education respectively compared to those in preceding educational groups. Increasingly more number of respondents visualized acid throwing as a violence with the increase of their education. More number of respondents with surplus/even food security status visualized obscene remark and throwing acid as violence against women compared to respondents in preceding food security categories. Only deprivation of rights was increasingly viewed as violence against women with the betterment of food security status of the respondents.

Table 5.6: Types of Violence against Women Visualized Most by Respondents*

Types of violence	Percentage
Obscene remark	77.3 (388)
Mental torture	5.0 (25)
Physical assault	81.3 (408)
Hurl acid on body	7.6 (38)
Rape	62.2 (312)
Deprivation of rights	31.5 (158)
Action related	7.0 (35)
Total (n)	502

*Multiple response

Table 5.7: Types of Violence against Women Visualized Most by Respondents by their Marital Status*

Types of violence	Married	Unmarried**
Obscene remark	76.7 (306)	79.6 (82)
Mental torture	4.5 (18)	6.8 (7)
Physical assault	78.4 (313)	93.2 (95)
Hurl acid on body	7.0 (28)	9.7 (10)
Rape	61.7 (246)	64.1 (66)
Deprivation of rights	30.3 (121)	35.9 (37)
Action related	6.5 (26)	8.7 (9)
Total (n)	399	103

*Multiple response **Includes unmarried and widower

Table 5.8: Types of Violence against Women Visualized Most by Respondents by their Age, Education and Food Security Status (n= 502)

Problems	Age			Education (in years)			Food security status		
	15-29	30-44	45+	0-2	3-9	10-16	Always deficit	Occasional deficit	Surplus/Breakeven
Obscene remark	82.0	75.5	72.1	78.9	82.6	50.0	68.1	69.4	85.5
Mental torture	6.2	3.3	5.0	4.3	3.2	14.6	4.3	2.4	7.2
Physical assault	88.6	84.1	67.1	78.6	87.7	77.1	80.9	77.7	84.3
Hurl acid on body	8.1	8.0	6.4	6.4	8.4	12.5	4.3	3.4	11.7
Rape	64.0	62.9	58.6	58.2	69.0	64.6	63.8	65.1	59.4
Deprivation of right	29.4	28.5	37.9	27.8	27.1	68.8	19.1	30.1	34.9
Action related	6.6	8.0	6.4	4.0	5.8	29.2	4.3	4.9	9.2

Respondents were asked to provide a list of three types of violence against women considered to be most severe in their village. The evaluation of the severity of a violence was done subjectively by taking into consideration how prevalent was the problem in the village and how intensive was the affect of the violence on the victim. The violence mentioned was self-

explanatory. Since all violence referred to by the respondents had been added up the violence with higher frequency in Table 5.9 necessarily was considered to be most severe female related violence in their village. The physical violence was referred most followed by psychological violence. These violence were followed by those related to deprivation and action of women in order.

Table 5.9: Violence against Women Considered to be Most Severe in the Village and their Variation in Last Five Year (n = 502)

Violence	Status of Violence					Total
	Increased a lot	Increased a little	Did not change	Decreased a little	Decreased a lot	
Psychological						
Pass obscene remark	23 (15.5)	48 (32.4)	76 (51.4)	1 (.7)		148
Rebuke	54 (23.0)	91 (38.7)	89 (37.9)	1 (.4)		235
Physical						
Physical assault	81 (33.9)	88 (36.8)	70 (29.3)			239
Acid throw	74 (32.3)	105 (45.9)	50 (21.8)			229
Rape	180 (73.2)	35 (14.2)	30 (12.2)	1 (.4)		246
Deprivation						
Does not provide food	15 (15.0)	35 (35.0)	50 (50.0)			100
Does not provide money & cloths	19 (25.0)	32 (42.1)	25 (32.9)			76
Does not provide medical care	5 (17.9)	12 (42.9)	11 (39.3)			28
Does not provide more education	12 (30.8)	19 (48.7)	7 (17.9)		1 (2.6)	39
Take control of wife's income	9 (20.9)	7 (16.3)	26 (60.5)	1 (2.3)		43
Action related						
Prevent attending social ceremonies outside home	6 (27.3)	5 (22.7)	11 (50.0)			22
Forced to over work in house	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	3 (50.0)			6
Present NGO participation			2 (100.0)			2
Does not allow out of home employment	9 (22.5)	10 (25.0)	21 (52.5)			40

A small number of respondents believed that any of the violence on women considered severe had decreased within the last five years (Table 5.9). In contrast rape not only was referred second highest number of times but also had overwhelming number of respondents (73.2%) considered that it increased in the last five years. In the case of other violence – rebuke, physical assault, acid throwing, not providing money, clothes, medical care, and education – majority of respondents believed that either they increased a lot or a little within the last five years. Against this trend a majority of the respondents believed that violence related to taking control of wife's income and not allowing female to go out of home remained same over time. For other violence – male not providing food, preventing in participation of social ceremonies outside home and forcing female to over work in house – same number of respondents referring to problem believed that these violence either remained same or increased in the last five years. In a nutshell, majority of the respondents believed that physical violence had increased in the last five years whereas violence related to action had not changed or decreased over time.

Selected Correlates of Violence on Women

This section concentrates on the association between predominant categories of women present in the village and violence on them and issues related to violence.

Based on observation the respondents identified significant categories of women present in their village and evaluated the level of violence on them (Table 5.10). These categories were grouped by their age, marital status, pregnancy status, health condition, and occupation, etc. The young, orphan and aged females were dependent on a family or particular member within it for their subsistence. They were not in a position to work either inside or outside home. Young married women are to stay in close contact with their husbands. Such close contact of a wife can increase their chance of being violated. The spinster, separated, divorced, and widow in most cases remain associated with their families though their membership in the family may not be desired. These women may remain dependent or contributing to the family with which they are attached. Sick referred to seriously ill whether physical or mental were also dependent and needed others' services for their maintenance - very natural that service provided would not enjoy in providing such services. Girls working as maidservant and pursuing education had in many cases a higher chance of being violated as because of their greater exposure to males unrelated. The unemployed were also dependent though capable of working and were expected to work outside for an income. All these factors, besides other, might have made these women more vulnerable to violence by male.

Table 5.10: Incidence of Violence on Category of Female

Category of female	Level of violence			
	Very high	High	Less	None
Child	2 (.4)	38 (7.6)	239 (48.0)	223 (44.0)
Orphan	6 (1.2)	43 (8.6)	152 (30.2)	301 (60.0)
Aged	2 (.4)	24 (5.0)	125 (25.0)	350 (70.0)
Young married female	10 (2.0)	46 (9.3)	250 (50.3)	191 (38.4)
Spinster	8 (1.6)	40 (8.0)	238 (47.6)	214 (43.0)
Separated	3 (.6)	55 (11.0)	201 (40.0)	242 (48.3)
Divorced	5 (1)	68 (13.6)	203 (40.5)	225 (45.0)
Widow	6 (1.2)	36 (7.2)	172 (34.4)	286 (57.2)
Sterile	12 (2.4)	104 (21.0)	267 (53.2)	119 (24.0)
Pregnant	5 (1.0)	35 (7.0)	79 (16.0)	380 (76.0)
Physically sick	4 (.8)	27 (5.4)	130 (26.0)	340 (68.0)
Mentally sick	2 (.4)	29 (6.0)	172 (34.3)	298 (59.5)
Student (school/college)	12 (2.4)	112 (22.3)	304 (60.0)	74 (15.3)
Maidservant	38 (7.6)	145 (29.0)	216 (43.3)	99 (20.0)
Unemployed	4 (.8)	23 (5.0)	171 (34.0)	303 (60.5)

More than half of the respondents believed that the aged, orphan, pregnant, widow, physically and mentally sick, and unemployed women were subject to violence in their village (Table 5.11). Similarly, more than half of the respondents believed that young married women, sterile and girls attending school/college were subject to lesser number of violence by male. Only a small number of respondents opined that any of these categories of women were subject to very high

level of violence by male in their village. In the context it may be noted that about 21%, 23%, and 29% of the respondents believed that sterile, girls attending school/college and working as maidservant respectively were subject to higher level of violence.

Like female in the village the perpetrators inflicting violence on them were also categorized. Respondents believed that there was some relation between the types of perpetrators and the category of female being violated. They came to such opinion from empirical observation in most cases but also based on information from secondary sources like friends, TV, etc. Most of the respondents were of the opinion that number of female categories – child, orphan, aged, widow, physically sick, maidservant, and unemployed – were violated mostly by their relative including parents. On the other hand, spinster, separated, divorcee, and girls attending school/college were violated mostly by male neighbors or friends. Young married female and sterile were believed to be violated mostly by their husbands. Pregnant and mentally sick women were violated mostly by strangers.

Table 5.11: Relation between Category of Women Violated and Perpetrator (n =502)

Category of female	Violator			
	Stranger	Neighbor*	Relative**	Husband
Child	97 (19.3)	106 (21.1)	109 (21.7)	2 (.4)
Orphan	50 (10.0)	81 (16.1)	93 (18.5)	1 (.2)
Aged	5 (1.0)	28 (5.6)	118 (23.5)	11 (2.2)
Young married female	23 (4.6)	57 (11.3)	119 (24.0)	177 (35.2)
Spinster	44 (9.0)	136 (27.1)	161(32.1)	-
Separated	49 (10.0)	100 (20.0)	89 (18.0)	64 (13.0)
Divorced	41 (8.2)	115 (23.0)	156 (31.1)	16 (3.2)
Widow	31 (6.2)	100 (22.4)	113 (22.5)	-
Sterile	7 (1.4)	45 (9.0)	148 (29.5)	319 (63.5)
Pregnant	3 (22.4)	9 (1.8)	50 (10.0)	82 (16.3)
Physically sick	3 (.6)	26 (5.2)	108 (21.5)	46 (9.2)
Mentally sick	82 (16.3)	58 (11.5)	59 (12.0)	25 (5.0)
Students (school/college)	166 (33.1)	309 (61.5)	34 (7.0)	5 (1.0)
Maidservant	39 (8.0)	48 (9.6)	91 (18.1)	8 (1.6)
Unemployed	8 (1.6)	35 (7.0)	127 (25.3)	53 (10.5)

Note: Multiple responses

* Includes friend. **Relative included parents and all other relatives.

The perpetration of violence on women requires favorable environment where it may be conducted. The favorable environment may vary from place to place for different types of violence. Respondents observed that some violence were committed mostly in house whereas others were committed mostly outside the house. Threat, physical assault and deprivation through deception were some of the violence done mostly within the house (Table 5.12). As committed within the house it was likely that they were done by male members of the family like husband, father and relatives. On the other hand, psychological violence like whistling, passing obscene remark, and harassment were done outside the house by nonrelatives (Table 5.13).

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Tables 5.12: Type of Violence Male Usually Perpetrates on Female within Family* (n=100)

Type of violence	Percentage
Threat	30.4 (381)
Force confinement	9.7 (121)
Physical assault	33.2 (416)
Rape	1.8 (22)
Allure	5.9 (74)
Deceive (hoax)	19.0 (238)

*Multiple responses

Tables 5.13: Type of Violence Male Usually Perpetrates on Female outside Family* (n=100)

Type of violence	Percentage
Whistle/obscene remark	25.6 (361)
Wink	27.6 (388)
Disgust/harass	28.3 (398)
Acid throw	11.4 (161)
Rape	4.7 (66)
Allure	2.4 (34)

*Multiple responses

Summary

As discussed demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the respondents were likely to bring some variation in the attitude of male towards women in general and violence against them. It was also observed (table not present) that some of these variables like education and food security status were positively associated with each other. Similarly in a higher level of education and participation to NGOs were concentrated in certain occupations.

One of the important findings was that the violence against women was not a big concern as a problem probably not at all to the respondents. They ranked it at the bottom of the list of problems that exist in their society. Although it had least importance that did not mean that they were least informed about it. They were fully aware about its nature and changing pattern over time. Of different types of violence against women, physical violence followed by psychological one were considered to be most significant problems in their society. Violence related to action was least important to them. There was some difference between the types of violence that flashed in the mind of the respondents when they thought about it and the types considered most acute in their society. This is probably because the image closest to one's past experience is first to flash in his mind. Respondents also had good ideas about the categories of women in their society and how they have been differentially victimized by male in violence against them. The respondents were also aware of certain characteristics of the perpetrators and how different types of violence vary in different location.

ATTITUDINAL SCALE

This chapter fathoms the attitude of male with the help of two attitude scales. First scale measures attitude towards women. It has three parts representing selected themes – attitude in general, attitude towards women’s rights, and attitude towards discrimination against women. The parts altogether included 12 statements. Second scale measures attitude towards violence against women. This scale has four parts representing types of violence – psychological, physical, deprivation, and action related violence. The parts altogether include 16 statements.

Respondents’ attitude in each of these statements were captured in a four-point Likert scale – completely agreed, partially agreed, partially disagreed, and completely disagreed. Each item (i.e., part) was given a numerical weight – four for completely agreeing to one for completely disagreeing. Higher score from a statement related to attitude towards women meant more favorable attitude towards woman. Similarly higher score in the case of statement related to violence against women meant an attitude more against violence towards them. Total score of each respondent was computed by summing up scores from their responses against each statement. Scores above mean were considered to have represented an attitude more favorable towards the interest of women and violence against women than those below the mean. The scores were computed for each of the parts and two scales representing male attitude towards women and violence against them. The scores were cross-tabulated against respondents’ age, education, and household food security, marital status, and NGO membership statuses. The associations between attitude and these variables have been assessed by using analysis of variance.

Attitude of Male towards Female

Attitude of male towards women, as mentioned before, was observed in terms of attitude in general, attitude towards women's rights, and attitude towards discrimination against women. Each part included four statements. The possible score for each part and attitude towards women ranged from 4-16 and 12-48 respectively.

Attitude in general

Table 6.1: Attitudinal Scores on Women in General (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	6-16
Mean	11.8
Median	12.0
Mode	13.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	43.4% (218)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	40.6% (204)

Table 6.2: Attitudinal Scores on Women in General by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	11.9	1.9	.54	.58
	30-44	11.9	1.1		
	45 and above	11.7	2.0		
Education	0-2	12.0	2.0	3.0	.07
	3-9	12.0	2.0		
	10-16	12.5	2.0		
Food security status	Always deficit	12.0	2.0	.6	.56
	Occasional deficit	12.0	2.0		
	Surplus and even	12.0	2.0		
Marital status	Unmarried	12.0	2.0	1.3	.28
	Married	12.0	2.0		
	Widow	13.3	3.0		
NGO membership	Non-member	12.0	2.0	.0	.93
	Member/ex-member	12.0	2.0		

On one hand, about 43% of the respondents had favorable attitude towards women against slightly smaller number, i.e., 41%, who had less favorable attitude towards them (Table 6.1). Sixteen percent of the respondents were between these two groups, i.e., neither more nor less favorable attitude towards women in general (Table 6.2). Year of education of the respondents was significantly associated with their attitude towards women in general. With the increase in respondents' education their attitude in general became more favorable towards women.

Women's Right

In general male had more supportive attitudes towards the rights of female. About 54% of the respondents were with more favorable attitude towards women's rights as against about 33% of the respondents who had less favorable attitude (Table 6.3). The difference between these two groups was considerably high (21%). About 13% of the respondents were with neither more nor less favorable attitude towards women's rights (Table 6.4). Age and education of the respondents were significantly associated with women's right. As they aged and became more educated they became increasingly more considerate towards the rights of women.

Table 6.3: Attitudinal Scores on Women's Rights (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	4-16
Mean	12.3
Median	13.0
Mode	13.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	53.6% (269)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	32.9% (165)

Table 6.4: Attitudinal Scores on Women's Rights by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	12.3	2.2	4.3	.01
	30-44	12.0	2.0		
	45 and above	13.0	2.0		
Education	0-2	12.2	2.1	6.0	.00
	3-9	12.3	2.0		
	10-16	13.3	2.0		
Food security status	Always deficit	12.5	2.0	1.3	.26
	Occasional deficit	12.2	2.0		
	Surplus and even	12.5	2.3		
Marital status	Unmarried	12.5	2.0	.4	.69
	Married	12.3	2.0		
	Widow	13.0	3.0		
NGO membership	Non-member	12.2	2.1	.2	.62
	Member/ex-member	12.3	2.0		

Discrimination

Table 6.5: Attitudinal Scores on Discrimination against Women (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	7-16
Mean	12.9
Median	13.0
Mode	13.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	35.9% (180)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	34.4% (173)

Table 6.6: Attitudinal Scores on Discrimination against Women by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	13.0	2.1	1.8	.15
	30-44	13.0	2.1		
	45 and above	13.1	2.1		
Education	0-2	13.0	2.0	11.0	.00
	3-9	13.1	2.1		
	10-16	14.0	2.0		
Food security status	Always deficit	13.1	2.0	2.0	.13
	Occasional deficit	13.0	2.2		
	Surplus and even	13.0	2.0		
Marital status	Unmarried	13.1	2.2	2.1	.12
	Married	13.0	2.0		
	Widow	15.0	2.0		
NGO membership	Non-member	13.0	2.2	.1	.82
	Member/ex-member	13.0	2.1		

The proportion of respondents with more favorable attitude towards discrimination against women (35.4%) was almost of similar to those with less favorable attitude (Table 6.5). About 30% of the respondents were with an attitude in between these two groups, i.e., having neither more nor less favorable attitude towards discrimination. Education of the respondents appeared to be significantly associated with their attitude towards discrimination against women (Table 6.6).

Summary of Attitude of Male towards Female

Attitude of respondents towards women was calculated by adding up their scores obtained in attitude towards women in general, women's rights, and discrimination against them. Almost similar number of respondents had more favorable attitude towards women (46%) as those with less favorable attitude towards them (Table 6.7). Small number of respondents (6.8%) was with an attitude neither more nor less favorable towards women. F-test indicates that the attitude of the respondents did not vary significantly for all variables considered other than in the case of the change in respondents' education and food security status (Table 6.8). With the increase in education and betterment of food security status of the respondents their attitude towards female became more favorable.

Table 6.7: Attitudinal Scores of Male towards Female (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	25-48
Mean	37.1
Median	37.0
Mode	36.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	45.8 (230)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	47.4 (238)

Table 6.8: Attitudinal Scores of Male towards Female by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	37.1	4.3	1.7	.176
	30-44	36.7	4.3		
	45 and above	37.6	4.4		
Education	0-2	36.6	4.1	11.6	.000
	3-9	37.2	4.4		
	10-16	39.7	4.4		
Food security status	Always deficit	37.1	3.2	2.3	.095
	Occasional deficit	36.6	4.3		
	Surplus and even	37.5	4.4		
Marital status	Unmarried	37.5	4.3	2.2	.107
	Married	36.9	4.2		
	Widow	41.3	7.6		
NGO membership	Non-member	37.0	4.7	.00	.931
	Member/ex-member	37.1	4.2		

Attitude of Male towards Violence against Women

Attitude of male towards violence against women was observed in terms of psychological and physical violence and violence related to deprivation and action. Each part included four statements. The possible score for each part and attitude towards violence against women ranged from 4-16 and 16-64 respectively.

Psychological violence

About 51% of the respondents had more favorable attitude against psychological violence towards women compared to about 44% of the respondents whose attitudes were less favorable towards the same (Table 6.9). Only 5% of the respondents had neither more nor less favorable attitude towards psychological violence against women. Table 6.10 indicates that only respondents' participation to NGOs made a significant variation in their attitude towards psychological violence against women.

Deprivation

Slightly more than half of the respondents (52.2%) had more favorable attitude against deprivation towards women as against 38% of the respondents who had less favorable attitude towards the same (Table 6.13). About 10% of the respondents had a balanced attitude – neither more nor less towards deprivation against women. Respondents' education made significant variation in terms of their attitude towards deprivation against women (Table 6.14).

Table 6.13: Attitudinal Scores on Deprivation of Women (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	4-16
Mean	11.4
Median	12.0
Mode	13.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	52.2% (262)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	38.0% (191)

Table 6.14: Attitudinal Scores on Deprivation of Women by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	11.5	2.4	.66	.51
	30-44	11.3	2.5		
	45 and above	11.2	2.3		
Education	0-2	11.0	2.5	14.4	.00
	3-9	12.0	2.3		
	10-16	13.0	2.0		
Food security status	Always deficit	11.5	2.4	1.6	.20
	Occasional deficit	11.1	2.5		
	Surplus and even	11.2	2.4		
Marital status	Unmarried	11.6	2.6	.8	.45
	Married	11.3	2.4		
	Widow	10.3	3.0		
NGO membership	Non-member	11.1	2.4	.9	.34
	Member/ex-member	11.4	2.4		

Action

Table 6.15: Attitudinal Scores on Action Related Violence against Women (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	7-16
Mean	11.7
Median	12.0
Mode	10.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	38.8% (195)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	49.8% (250)

Table 6.16: Attitudinal Scores on Action Related Violence against Women by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	12.0	2.0	1.5	.22
	30-44	11.5	2.1		
	45 and above	12.0	2.0		
Education	0-2	12.0	2.0	4.7	.00
	3-9	12.0	2.0		
	10-16	12.6	2.4		
Food security status	Always deficit	12.0	2.1	6.7	.00
	Occasional deficit	11.3	2.0		
	Surplus and even	12.0	2.0		
Marital status	Unmarried	12.0	2.2	1.5	.22
	Married	12.0	2.0		
	Widow	14.0	3.2		
NGO membership	Non-member	11.1	2.0	5.9	.01
	Member/ex-member	12.0	2.0		

About 50% of the respondents had less favorable attitude against action related violence compared to about 39% of the respondents who had more favorable attitude (Table 6.15). A little more than 11% of the respondents had neutral attitude towards action related violence against women. Table 6.16 indicates that the respondents' attitude towards action related violence against women varied significantly with the change in their education, and food security and NGO membership status.

Summary of Attitude of Male towards Violence against Women

Table 6.17: Attitudinal Scores on Violence Against Women (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	33-58
Mean	46.5
Median	47.0
Mode	48.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	51.6 (259)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	41.4 (208)

Table 6.18: Attitudinal Scores on Violence against Women by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	46.9	5.0	1.6	.192
	30-44	46.1	5.2		
	45 and above	46.1	4.9		
Education	0-2	45.9	5.1	5.2	.006
	3-9	46.9	4.9		
	10-16	48.2	4.4		
Food security status	Always deficit	46.4	3.5	2.9	.055
	Occasional deficit	45.8	5.2		
	Surplus and even	47.0	5.0		
Marital status	Unmarried	46.7	5.4	0.8	.410
	Married	46.4	4.9		
	Widow	50.0	7.5		
NGO membership	Non-member	45.5	4.4	2.3	.124
	Member/ex-member	46.6	5.1		

Attitude of the respondents towards violence against women was calculated by adding up their attitudinal scores from psychological violence, physical violence, and action and deprivation related violence. About 52% of the respondents had an attitude more favorable towards violence against women compared to about 41% of the respondents who had less favorable attitude towards such violence (Table 6.17). About 7% of the respondents were in between more and less favorable attitude. Respondents' attitude towards violence against women significantly varied with the change in their education and food security status of their household (Table 6.18).

Table 6.19: Pearson's Correlation among Parts of Attitude towards Women and Violence against Women (n=502)

Definition of parts	Parts						
		X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆
Attitude in general	X ₁						
Women's right	X ₂	.233**					
Discrimination	X ₃	.219**	.289**				
Psychological violence	X ₄	.006	-.026	.065			
Physical violence	X ₅	.060	.100*	.117**	.156**		
Deprivation	X ₆	.105*	.311**	.386**	.045	.149**	
Action related violence	X ₇	.264**	.331**	.305**	.063	.115**	.403**

*p<0.01; **p<0.05

Table 6.9: Attitude Scores on Psychological Violence against Women (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	6-12
Mean	10.7
Median	12.0
Mode	12.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	51.4% (258)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	43.6% (219)

Table 6.10: Attitudinal Scores on Psychological Violence against Women by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	11.0	1.5	2.2	.11
	30-44	11.0	1.5		
	45 and above	10.4	2.0		
Education	0-2	11.0	1.6	.3	.72
	3-9	11.0	1.5		
	10-16	10.5	2.0		
Food security status	Always deficit	11.0	1.5	.8	.42
	Occasional deficit	11.0	2.0		
	Surplus and even	10.4	1.5		
Marital status	Unmarried	11.0	2.0	.1	.90
	Married	11.0	1.6		
	Widow	11.0	2.0		
NGO membership	Non-member	11.0	1.3	4.0	.04
	Member/ex-member	11.0	2.0		

Physical Violence

Table 6.11: Attitudinal Scores on Physical Violence against Women (n=502)

Statistics	Result
Actual score range	4-16
Mean	12.7
Median	13.0
Mode	13.0
Respondents with more favorable attitude	29.9 (150)
Respondents with less favorable attitude	32.3 (162)

Table 6.12: Attitudinal Scores on Physical Violence against Women by Selected Variables (n=502)

Variable and group		Attitude score			
		Mean	SD	F	Sig.
Age	15-29	11.5	2.4	.59	.55
	30-44	11.2	2.5		
	45 and above	11.2	2.3		
Education	0-2	13.0	2.1	.55	.57
	3-9	13.0	2.3		
	10-16	12.4	2.0		
Food security status	Always deficit	13.0	2.2	.5	.58
	Occasional deficit	13.0	2.2		
	Surplus and even	13.0	1.5		
Marital status	Unmarried	13.0	2.0	1.8	.16
	Married	13.0	2.2		
	Widow	15.0	2.0		
NGO membership	Non-member	12.2	2.3	3.0	.08
	Member/ex-member	13.0	2.1		

About 30% of the respondents had more favorable attitude towards physical violence against women compared to 32% of the respondent who had less favorable attitude (Table 6.11). It must be pointed out that about 38% of the respondents had a balanced attitude – neither more nor less favorable towards physical violence against women (Table 6.11). Respondents' participation to NGOs made significant variation in their attitude towards violence against women (Table 6.12).

IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS ON ATTITUDE OF MALE TOWARDS WOMEN AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The chapter assessed the attitude of 100 respondents towards women and towards violence against women in terms of selected statements through in-depth interviews. The respondents were asked to provide their reactions to the statements, thus reflecting their feelings and cognition on the issue that the statement was concerned with. These two components of attitude have not been presented under two separate heads in the discussions of the statements as because the components were not distinctly separable in many cases. The discussions have included the rationalization for holding the attitude in relations to the statements. Such information was considered important in taking strategies in changing the attitudes. The assessments of attitudes over here are cross-referred with cases on violence presented in next chapter (Chapter 8). The attitude of 502 respondents on each of these statements were also captured in four-point Likert scale – completely agreed, partially agreed, partially disagreed and completely disagreed. Tabular distribution of the respondents in terms of the scale for each of these statements have been placed in the appendix and referred to in this chapter.

Male Attitude towards Female

Attitude of male towards women was observed in terms of attitude in general, attitude towards women's rights, and attitude towards discrimination against women. Each part included four statements.

Attitude in General

Statement: **All women belong to mothers' race so they should not be tortured by any man.**

In evaluating the statement the respondents in most cases took into account physical torture done on the female. Physical punishment to wife by husband or daughter by father was also viewed synonymous to physical torture. Ninety-seven percent of the respondents completely agreed to the statement (Appendix 2.1). Respondents considered it to be a taboo to assault mother physically or otherwise. As it was believed that all women belonged to mother's group the reaction to the statement reflected whether women in general should be treated with same reverence by male.

Respondents' support for the statement was substantiated by variety of beliefs and arguments. Women give birth to them therefore it should be men's obligation to respect them. An insult to any of them was believed to be the same like insulting one's own mother. Moreover, according to Islam it would be sin to oppress a woman, in context, Hadith indicates that heaven for the son lies under the feet of her mother. So mother's race should be respected.

Women were believed to be innocent, simple, well behaved and helpless to the extent that they could not protest to any injustice done to them. Respondents were considered to the fact that after marriage wife had to move to husband's house and to make it of her own by adjusting to a new environment. In doing this she goes through lot of psychological pressure. On top of this, if she was tortured it would only add to her existing agony and she would not have any place to go to.

If a woman commits an offence they should be rectified and pardoned. This was thought to be correct approach to the belief – Women belongs to mother's race. In case they keep on repeating the offence they should be convinced not to do the same. In the case of failure in convincing a wife they could be divorced but under no circumstance they should be oppressed or physically assaulted.

The negative consequences of oppression on the victim were also some of the considerations for supporting the statement. Respondents felt that torture on women would make them stubborn. Thus, it would make them repeat the same mistake again for which they were tortured before. Again as a reaction to oppression they might stop eating, would remain in bad mood, thus not work for the family and even might commit suicide. In all these cases family was bound to suffer, such as children would not be properly brought up and socialized. Respondents also believed that families where women were tortured did not prosper and it always remained unhappy. Besides, when a grown-up girl is punished it gives an impression to others that the girl is bad. Such reputation for a girl might make it difficult to get her married.

Box 1

After rapping Sabina Shahid was ashamed of moving around in the village. He does not feel like going anywhere. He always suspects that people are making objectionable comments about him in his back. It hurt him and he felt very depressed. The society does not take him in good grace and the neighbors do not accept him as theirs. He has to always keep his head down.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 7

Respondents believed that no family would prosper if its female members were tortured and unhappiness would always prevail in such families. Besides, such family would be considered a bad one by the society. It is illegal to torture a woman, the victim might react to the oppression by filing a case in the court of law. In this case perpetrator would have to spend lot of money to save himself.

Society's reaction against torture was a consideration to some respondents in supporting the statement. Besides, some believed that women should not be oppressed as because perpetrator was thought to be characterless, stupid, and bad person by the society (Box 1). They observed that society did not respect a person who oppressed women. Women were weaker than men, so oppressing a woman was considered to be a cowardly act.

Against these attitudes some of the respondents believed that women might be punished for their crime (Box 2). It was mentioned that if women did not listen to men they might be beaten lightly with a pillow. Some mentioned that women might be beaten if they go out without *pardah*. These should be done only after they were asked not to do so.

The statement reflects the image of man that they hold towards women in broad. To mention again, all women were visualized to be same as mother. Thus, they should be revered in the same way as done to actual mother. But this attitude, to a great extent, was motivated by self interest that is, the negative consequence that they would have to face due to torturing on women.

Box 2

Khokon beat his second wife Hena to make her understand that she did something wrong. He used to torture Hena with a belief that he was punishing Hena for her rectification. She used to drink, smoke, gossip and move around with other men which the villagers spoke ill of and that was why he assaulted her physically.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 3

Statement: ***Purdah* of women is affected if they work and loiter outside the house.**

Purdah was considered to be a constraint on women's freedom as it limits their movement, coming in contact with others and in dressing in a way that women should not prefer. Respondents had different opinion as to how women should maintain *pardah*. To some, women were always expected to wear *borkha* while getting out of the house and not to come in front of any male without wearing it as suggested by Islam. In contrast, others believed that women should maintain *pardah* by keeping certain parts of body covered as expected in the society. Even to some, just covering head with part of sari (*achal*) was sufficient to maintain *pardah*. About 70% of the respondents completely agreed to the statement indicating that they were in favor of limiting women's freedom in the name of *pardah* (Appendix 2.2).

Respondents with an opinion that *pardah* of women is not affected if they work and loiter outside their home believed that women's participation in labor market and going out of home for a justified reasons were beneficial to them, their families, and community at large. A section in the group was particular in mentioning that the visits should be done by covering the body as desired by the society. Others mentioned that there was nothing wrong if women dressed well and used cosmetics during their out of home visits. They believed that *pardah* was a personal matter depending on honest intention of the individual. Women had equal rights as men so they

should go anywhere they would like to go. World was moving fast; to get rid of backlogs and catch up with the modern world both male and female should work equally and in all places by giving up the bigotry of *purdah*.

Again to a big majority the objective of coming out of house determines whether a woman loses *purdah* or not. It would not amount to violation of *purdah* if women go out to work or to educational institutions with bodies reasonably covered, and visit doctor accompanied by their husband. To this group coming out of house for no reason, e.g., loitering around in the village even if their bodies remained covered would mean violation of *purdah* by them.

Respondents fully agreed to the statement that *purdah* is affected if women work and loiter outside the home. They believed that women should never get out of house under any circumstance as doing so would mean breach of *purdah* irrespective of how they covered their body. To others a woman would lose *purdah* if she goes out of house without the permission of husband.

These respondents rationalized their position by pointing out why women should not participate in labor market and get out of house from Islamic interpretation of division of labor. Islam categorically mentioned what kind of work women should do. Their activities were confined within the house, meaning that they did not have any scope to work out of their home. Thus, participation of women in extra domestic work and even stepping out of house for other reasons like social visits, etc., would be a sin. They also believed that according to Islam men were not supposed to look at women. If women were around men, they argued, it would tempt men to look at them. This would also be a sin on the part of men. The violation of the dictates of Islam even partly would withdraw God's grace from the family and the society along with the women who would violate the dictates.

A group against women's participation in work and going out of house emphasized on the consequence of such activities on women. They believed that the presence of women at work or in public place with provoking dress would lead males to make fun with them and tempt male to make undesirable move towards such women. Thus, the male would pass bad remarks to these women and harass them. Also these male might get into some type of undesirable social relationship with these women, the male might even molested these girls in case they got a chance to do so. All these happenings would harm the girls and would bring bad name to their families. These incidences would make difficult for parents to marry off these girls.

Some believed that if women went out of house and work outside it would empower them. They would argue and fight with their husbands, as a result it would become difficult for male to keep these women under control.

As mentioned earlier male attitudes on *purdah* for women have lot of implication on the rights of women, particularly in terms of their movement and playing of a role in the society. In the name of *purdah* if such rights are denied it might lead to violations in terms of action and deprivation.

Statement: In case a close relative of a woman is seriously ill, she may visit the patient without permission of her husband if he is not present at home.

The statement implicitly accepts subordinate status of women as it indicates that wife is expected to take permission of his husband when he is present. Within such a hierarchy the statement intends to reflect on the extent men would think wives are equal to them or has freedom in special circumstance, that is when they are not present. Respondents viewed the statement in terms of husband and wife in a family. About 60% of the respondents partially or completely agreed to the fact that wife might visit ailing relatives without husband's permission if he was not around (Appendix 2.3).

Respondents in one extreme believed that wife might visit her ailing relative without anybody's permission. Particularly if the patient was her parent and if it was believed that the patient would die before husband returns back. Some believed that wife might make a visit without the permission but should wait for some time before the visit so that wife might have a ground for not taking husband's permission.

There were three factors that prompted respondents to believe that wife might visit ailing patient without husband's or other's permission. Firstly, wife had some honor, status and they were subject to some freedom. If these were given to them, manifested in their visit to relative, it was likely to make them feel good. If denied they would be depressed, in turn it would affect their household activities. Secondly, there might not be anybody to look after the patient, even if they had, it was believed that it was wife's responsibility to look after close relatives when they were ill, as was also suggested in Islam. If wife failed to fulfill this responsibility others, both within and outside the family, might say bad words about her. Besides, she would feel bad by thinking that she did not have a chance to take care of close relatives or have a last look at the patient before death. Finally, if the patient dies wife would blame husband that because of him she could not see the patient at the last moment. Also others would say bad about her husband.

According to others wife might make a visit after informing any member of the house about the visit. In majority cases wife might visit relatives after discussing and taking permission of important elders in the house like father/mother-in-law. In no circumstances wife could visit without permission. Some emphasized that wife should take a reliable relative with her or should maintain *purdah* during the visit. In all these cases respondents emphasized that wife was expected to inform her husband about the visit and explain under what circumstance she was compelled to do so, so that husband might not take such a visit as an offence. According to a respondent, besides giving explanation wife should beg for forgiveness of her husband for the visit without permission.

Box 3

Samad complained that his wife Amina used to visit her parent's home frequently and she never asked him to accompany her. Once Samad forbade Amina to visit her parents, but Amina did not pay heed to him. She wanted to go there with her cousin. Samad forbade her cousin not to take her alone. For that Amina showed temper to Samad then he slapped Amina. He consulted with his mother and at last allowed Amina to go to her parent's house. Samad took her to a bus by which she went to her father's house.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 2

In extreme cases, respondents with the opinion that *pardah* would be affected if female work and loiter outside the home believed that wife should wait until husband returns back, take his permission and then make a visit. Variety of arguments was given in support to this stand. These respondents believed that according to Islam wife should not go out of house without husband's permission. Others believed that as husband was the head of the house, it would be an insult to husband if wife had gone out of house without his permission. People would consider wife as disrespectful to husband, might think that wife was of loose character. Husband might become suspicious of wife's activities by thinking that she had an extramarital relationship. Wife would be considered disobedient. Husband would gradually loose control over wife. Wife's visit would affect routine activities of the house where she had a role to play. All these were supposed to effect relationship within the family. Besides, if both husband and wife remained away from the house it might face a loss due to theft and wife would have to explain for the loss.

Most of the respondents were considerate to the desires and rights of wives in terms of wives' visit to ailing relative but for different reasons. Some emphasized on the interest of wife whereas the others for the interest of husband. Irrespective of the attitude of the respondents most emphasized that wife should take permission before the visit (Box 3). This indicates male's belief on the subordinate status of wife not only to that of husband's but to many others within the family. Along with this husbands had authority to control wives' action. Such an attitude also reflects husbands' desire to establish their authority and control over wife, which in turn, could lead to violence related to action on female in particular.

Statement: When a woman keeps on giving birth to female children one after another, it leads one to believe that she must have some problem.

All respondents believed that a child was born because of sexual intercourse between a male and a female. Birth of a male child was socially desired over the female as because, according to some, father would have to pay dowry during daughter's marriage. Moreover lineage was drawn through male descendents. Respondents evaluated the statement in terms of child born within the family by a husband and a wife.

Most respondents (88%) opined that there was no fault of wife if female child was born in a row though male child was wished (Appendix 2.4). It was believed that the sex of a child was decided by God. It was the will of God, and was in one's fate whether wife would give birth to son or daughter. Some remarked that the sex of a child was not determined by wife rather by husband. Wife had no role whatsoever in determining the sex of child born so she should not be blamed for the birth of a female child. Respondents were fully considerate to the fact that wife would be mentally hearted if she was blamed for birth of children on which she did not have any control. Thus, it would be an injustice to hurt wife for birth of female children. Some of the respondents considered it to be an offence if husband divorced wife or remarried on the ground that male child was not born of the present wife. These acts were not only considered as social crimes but also as a sin.

Respondents further indicated that instead of blaming wives for the birth of daughter husbands should accept it as their fate. They should be happy with a newborn baby, whether it was a boy

or a girl, and patiently wait so that the next one might be a male child. A few believed that female child might be born because of certain disease or defect in wife. Even then they should not be blamed for it because it was not as per their decision to have disease or defect by themselves.

Accepting above statement as correct indicates the presence of tendency of blaming women for not achieving the desired objective where joint effort of male and female were required. Such a blaming could lead to different types of violence. In contrast not blaming women for not giving birth to male child, as it was overwhelmingly observed, indicates a neutral and objective attitude of husband towards wife. Such an objective attitude/attribute was likely to deter husband from any violence on wife based on subjective judgement and emotional impulses.

Attitude of male towards women in general provided a mixed sign. In one hand the respondents believed that all female should, in general, be respected and hold an objective view about female in many cases, an attitude very much supporting the interest of female, but on other hand, had an attitude supporting the intention to control the action of female and exert authority on them.

Women's right

Statement: Women should lead their life according to the advice of male person, it is therefore all the same whether they are aware or not aware of their rights.

In evaluating the statement respondents took into account wives' rights within the family. About 40% of the respondents completely agreed to the statement as against about 27% completely disagreeing to it (Appendix 2.5).

Respondents not supporting the statement believe that women had same and equal wisdom as men. It was emphasized that women should uphold their rights by themselves. First prerequisite in doing so was that they should know about their rights. They should have access to information on their rights. It was believed that if women knew about their rights they would be able to exercise this of their own and would take preventive measures when their rights were violated. Also when everybody in the family would know about their rights they would not have any undue expectation. Thus, the probability of any misunderstanding in the family from such an expectation would be reduced.

Secondly, after marriage wife usually moves to husband's house. She had to make husband's house as if her own. This sense of ownership develops if she becomes aware of her rights at her new residence. It was believed that more she would learn about her rights and see that it was being met over there more particular she would become in fulfilling her responsibilities within the family and type to develop an intimate relation with the members of the family.

Thirdly, some of the respondents believed that women were equal to men therefore former should know about their rights simply because men know about theirs. As husband has rights over wife similarly wife must have rights over husband. Unless women know about their rights they would not become equal to men.

Respondents who thought that it was all the same whether women were aware or not of their rights believed that it was okay for women not to know about their rights, viewed women's rights in relation to the role husbands play in the society and their obligations towards their wives. As husbands were viewed as bread earners in the family their roles were considered to be most important, difficult and much superior to that of the wife. Wife was expected to stay at home and do all household chores. It was also expected that women should lead their life according to the will of husbands and particularly should take care of their husbands. Husband in return should meet all of wife's needs – a process believed would fulfill all the rights of a wife. Others in the groups believed that the wisdom of women was useless and men were more intelligent than women. Because of this inherent superiority husbands had the right to control wives and in turn wives should listen to their husbands. From these expectations and thoughts respondents concluded that there was no need for wife to know about their rights.

Another group was of the opinion that if women knew of their rights they would be empowered. As a result, men would not be able to take advantage of their ignorance on rights thus deprive them of the property after death of their husbands. These respondents believed that women should be barred from knowing about their rights in order to make it easier for men to control them. If women knew about their rights they would demand more and force their husbands and fathers to meet the demands. Such increased demand not only would de-empower husband but also would demean him in front of others when demand would not be met.

Statement: Married women have got the right to receive their bride-money.

Overwhelming majority of the respondents (96%) believed that women had right to bride-money and wife should never be deprived of it (Appendix 2.6). Support to the statement was influenced by variety of beliefs and considerations. Firstly, the support for the statement was mostly influenced by the dictates of Islam. According to Islam bride-money was considered to be one of the basic rights of a married woman and paying of the same to her was one of the most important duties of her husband after marriage. As believed according to Islam a husband after marriage was not allowed to touch his wife unless he had paid bride-money to her. In case husband was not in a position to pay bride-money he might take time from wife and beg of her forgiveness for the delay. Only after these he might touch her. Unless these conditions were met a husband would remain accountable to God and also to his wife. Violation of these dictates was considered to be a sin on the part of husband. Therefore, respondents strongly agreed to the statement. In fact, Islam honored women by making it mandatory for husband to pay bride-money.

Secondly, some of the respondents believed that it was a moral obligation for husband to pay bride-money to wife as the payment was promised to wife before marriage. Others believed that it was a law of Bangladesh that the bride should be paid in a marriage and if the law was violated wife might file a case in the court, thus husband would be in problem.

Thirdly, wife moves to husband's family, makes herself a part of it, and takes care of the family for the rest of her life. Paying of bride-money in such a situation increases confidence of wife on her husband from the very beginning of their married life. On the other hand, husband's honor for his newly formed relatives from wife's side through marriage increases if bride-money was paid in the marriage.

Fourthly, wife keeps the bride-money with her and retains the right to use it in any way she likes. She can invest the bride in productive sector. In such case she would have a return from the investment. In turn it would bring prosperity to family and would empower her in the family. It was also observed that if bride-money was used for buying asset children usually would take better care of their mother hoping that they would inherit asset from her at a later time. In fact, the system increased the importance of wife in the family.

Fifthly, bride-money works as an insurance against divorce by husband. In such cases where bride-money has not been paid husband intending to divorce wife always get discouraged in doing so by thinking that he would have to pay the bride-money if he divorces his wife. In the cases where husband divorced his wife she could use the money to support her after separation.

And finally, some of the respondents emphasized on the negative consequence of not paying the bride-money by thinking that it would demean husband to his relatives as it would be considered a breach of promise. Wife would be hurt and would remain mad on husband. This reaction might have a bad effect on the family.

Respondents developed positive attitude towards payment of bride-money mostly based on knowledge from Islam, empirical observation and related thinking. Such a positive attitude was likely to discourage male in depriving female of their rights thus reducing violation related to deprivation in many cases.

Statement: Only the son should have the right to inherit father's property.

About 93% of the respondents disagreed to the idea that only male should inherit father's property but under different considerations (Appendix 2.7).

Some disagreed to the statement by believing that Islam recognized the rights of daughter to inheritance of father's property (Table 6.8). It was considered alright if daughter surrenders her share of property to others, otherwise father should be strict in handing over her shares as he would do it to his sons. If father deprives daughter of her share he would remain accountable for such an injustice in the day of final judgement. A few in this group emphasized that daughter might get only the portion as suggested by Islamic law of inheritance.

Some disagreed to the statement after being motivated by the idea that women had equal rights as male. Over here it was emphasized that Bangladesh was a democratic country where everybody had equal rights including right to inherit father's property by daughters. It was considered not just to believe that son only had right to inherit father's property. Both son and daughter were father's children. Both of them were born and raised in the family. Both of them should be equal in the eyes of parents. So it was expected that daughter and son should get equal share of father's property. It was therefore considered that it was a duty of father to distribute his property equally to his sons and daughters.

Some emphasized on economic benefit of inheriting property by daughter. Wife could use inherited property in generating extra income in her newly formed family after marriage. It would make the family economically solvent. Such an income could also be used for different purposes like daughter's education. Inheritance was considered important for economic

wellbeing of the family where only husbands' income was not sufficient for the families. Inheritance of father's property was considered particularly important for daughter if her husband divorced or abandoned her. It could become a means for supporting herself and her family.

Respondents observed that wives were often oppressed for dowry by their husbands (Case 2). In this situation inheritance could come as a relief to such wives. As inheritance would be considered equivalent to dowry so husband would remain satisfied with it. It was also observed that the status of a girl upgrades in the family and community if she inherits property from parents. If wife had property her husband and children would take good care of her and attach more importance to her thinking that one day they would inherit her property. Also it becomes easier to marry a girl by her father if inherits some property.

Some of the respondents disagreed to the statement believing that if daughters were deprived of inheritance conflict could start in such a family as everybody would claim daughters share of the property. Eventually family suffers from strained relationships among the members resulting from the claim

Some considered that daughters would be hurt if they were deprived of their share of inheritance. A father should give her share of property to daughter in consideration of her future. If she is deprived of her due inheritance wherefrom she would get property which would make her stand on her own feet.

Variety of attitudes was reflected in not supporting the statement. To some it was the right of women. The implication of owning father's property by daughter motivated some respondents to oppose the statement. Girls' wellbeing in future both economic and social was also a strong motivation for not supporting the statement. But to others it was their own interest that they would not be sinned if they allowed daughters to inherit property being major consideration for supporting the statement.

Statement: **Politics involves lot of hassle and bustle; even then the women should not refrain from it.**

In responding to above mentioned statement, respondents differentiated participating to vote from participation in politics. By participation to politics some of the respondents gave importance to the fact that one might become candidate in election and hold an office after winning the election. About 62% of the respondents strongly disagreed to the statement by believing that female should not participate in politics as against about 19% who were in favor of their participation in politics (Appendix 2.8).

Respondents supporting the statement by believing that all citizens of Bangladesh irrespective of whether male or female had right to participate in politics, as they have right to vote. In supporting the argument it was mentioned that women had an intention to help others and were more honest so they did not have just right to vote but it was their obligation to participate in politics. Others argued that both male and female should work hand to hand in the development of the country. Therefore, they should get into politics. It had been proved that women could run the country and do politics as efficiently as men. Women did not understand less than man rather

in many cases they understood more than men. So, there was nothing wrong for women to be in politics.

Some believed that women should get into politics for their own interest. Their participation in politics would give them a higher status and prestige in the society. They would become conscious about their rights.

Women should demand for their rights and get it established. When a right of women contradicts with the interest of men it was likely that they would not do anything to establish such a right. In such case women should come forward to establish their own right. Women could do that by involving themselves in politics. If women did not come in politics it would keep them behind and dependent on men. This would keep them away from advantages and privileges that they could legitimately deserve from the society. Some mentioned that their participation in politics would empower them. As such, the male would not dare to do any injustice on them. Also through involvement in politics women would be able to take care of their problems.

Some of the respondents believed that only those women who were educated, rich and had competence to do politics should get into politics. Again others indicated that women might participate in politics only by observing *pardah*.

Some of the respondents believing that women should not participate in politics considered that it was okay if women participate in vote but their involvement in politics was thought to be against Islam as their *pardah* would be affected. The society does not expect that women should get involved in politics as it was men's job. Society does not accept women's participation in politics. People say that bad women get into politics. Women were supposed to take care of their family. Instead if they got involved in politics their responsibility in the family would be affected. This was likely to bring some inconvenience in the family leading to its break up in extreme case.

It was also believed that women did not understand politics nor did they have the quality to do politics. Thus, if they were placed in charge of administration as a result of their participation in politics the society or country would not benefit much from their service. It was remarked, "What men can do is not possible by women."

Politics involves lot of risk. In politics the leaders might be insulted and assaulted by the opposition. Cases were always filed against them and they were often subject to police harassment. Besides, political leaders had to do lot of sacrifices and face losses. It was believed that women would not be able to go through all these adversaries. The family members of these political women might feel bad by seeing how their relative was suffering for their being in politics. These respondents who were in favor of restricting women's participation in politics took the stand to save them from bigger violence.

Denial of women's rights can be synonymous to deprivation related violence and can also lead to action related violence in many cases. Male supporting the statements were quite considerate to such rights of female, but in general may not support such rights in view of traditional division of labor in the society.

Discrimination

Statement: Czory and Babul are brother and sister to each other. Czory works with her mother and Babul works with his father in the field. Babul and his father always should be given more food to eat.

Respondents evaluated the statement and believed that there was scarcity of food in the family: a situation where giving more food or amount as required by male would mean giving less to the female members than what they needed. In the cases where there was no scarcity the situation included giving better food to the male than to the female. About 74% of the respondents completely disagreed with the fact that male members of the family should be given more food than female members (Appendix 2.9).

A good number of respondents emphasized on the nature and importance of job male performed in justifying why father and son had right to more food than females in the family. They believed that the works that male did were very labor intensive. Moreover these works were done under adverse conditions like under strong sun or rain. These works, e.g., farming were time bound, if not done in time there would be a big loss. Therefore male could not take rest in the course of their work. These conditions, as believed, made male working in the farm very hungry thus they needed more food to acquire required energy and to keep them going. In contrast domestic work done by female were less labor intensive and not done under an adverse condition and had lot of flexibility. Work in the field was considered to be more important than that at home. The former brought an income for the family but the latter did not. Less food for male would mean less work by them, in turn it would lead to less income for the family. Based on these beliefs respondents opined that giving more food to son and father compared to daughter was okay.

Some mentioned that if there was sufficient food for the family it should be given equally to both male and female but in case of scarcity son and father should be given more food than female counterparts.

Majority of the respondents believed that daughters should get same amount of food as son and father in the family (Appendix 2.9). In justifying the position they emphasized upon the belief that both son and daughter should have equal rights in the family. Both son and daughter are children of same parents, it would not be just for their parents to give more food to one only for being son and less food to the other for being daughter. They also took note of the recommendation of Islam as believed in context - both son and daughter are equal and should be treated equally in the family. Giving less food to female as because they were female were considered unjust by these respondents. Act of giving less food to girls would be a kind of violence against women.

These respondents also negated the argument by saying that the work that the male did was more labor intensive or important than that done by the females, instead the work that female did were equally difficult to that done by the male. As work in both cases were equally difficult, therefore, same amount of food would be needed by both male and female. Thus, both should be given equal amount of food. According to these respondents it did not make sense that women should

be given less food as they work at home. Amount of food one should be given depends upon their requirements.

Some respondents disagreed to the statement by becoming empathetic to the impact of such discrimination on women. To them giving less food to women was neglect to them. Because of this discrimination girls would become weak and become sick. They would feel bad about the discrimination all the time (Case 3). As a result daughter would lose confidence on parents and would think that they were unlucky to be born as girls. Such a feeling would agonize them at all moments.

The respondents with the opinion that father and son should be given more food at the cost of females in the family believed that giving less food to women was not discrimination against women rather a practical adjustment under given condition. It was not a deliberate discrimination for self interest. Those who opposed the statement were empathetic to agony of the discriminated and miss-valued individual rights. The statement in most cases reflected that men were against discrimination towards women.

Statement: When both husband and wife are very sick treatment for both of them should be started at the same time.

In evaluating the statement respondents assumed that the decision to provide treatment to both husband and wife together or one after another lies with the husband. The choices between the alternatives were to be made in a family where there was shortage of money for the treatment.

Most respondents (90%) believed that the treatment of both wife and husband should start together even if the family did not have means to treat both of them together (Appendix 2.10). In the case of the shortage of money loan could be taken or some properties could be sold so that the treatment of both of them could be started at the same time. Such an attitude emanated from variety of beliefs related to the fact that both male and female are equally prone to sickness.

Firstly, both husband and wife were human beings with equal rights in the family including the right for treatment. In this context it was mentioned that Islam suggested that both male and female should be treated equally. It was further mentioned that treating husband before wife or husband at the cost of wife would be a discriminatory injustice to wife. Besides, these would also be considered as negligence to wife. She would be disheartened, unhappy and would lose confidence in her husband. It would be an insult to wife.

Secondly, lack of treatment for wife might further deteriorate her condition and she might even die because of no or delayed treatment. Thus they preferred that both should be treated together so that both of them might live together and one could take care of the other in the family. If wife dies due to lack of or timely treatment what is there for the husband to remain alive. Family does not have any meaning if there is no wife in it.

Thirdly, it was a concern to some of the respondents that if wife's condition got worse or if she died due to delayed or no treatment he would be accused by their children and relatives. His community would consider it as a negligence on the part of husband. Somebody might file a case

against him with a charge of violence against women. In this case he would be in a bigger problem.

Fourthly, both husband and wife are supplementary to each other in the activities within the family. The contribution of one cannot be substituted by that of the other. Therefore, if wife remains sick or dies the gap could not be repaired. All the household work that she performs would remain undone or would not be done properly – food would not be cooked, children would not be raised properly, they would be deprived of mother's love and affection, etc. All these would very much affect husband and his family.

Finally, condition of wife might get worse due to delayed treatment and the treatment at that stage would be more expensive. Therefore, some of the respondents were of the opinion that it would be better to treat her along with the husband. Moreover, to some respondents if wife dies husband would have to marry again which would be more expensive.

Few respondents believed that in the case of shortage of fund the treatment of both husband and wife might mean treatment for none of them. They believed that husband should be treated first. Husband had a bigger potentiality to earn money than the wife. If he was sick the family would be deprived of his earning. Therefore, he should be treated first so that the family could maintain its income, and if needed could earn extra money for wife's treatment. It must be mentioned that a good number of those supporting the statement did that not so much on moral ground rather by thinking how her sickness would negatively affect husband's life and his family.

Statement: Only the husband's opinion should be honored in selling or dispersing family properties.

Although the statement referred to all members of the family the respondents in most cases took into consideration wife's role in taking decision on selling family property.

About 28% of the respondents did not agree to the statement (Appendix 2.11). They believed that as all of them have liabilities and responsibilities to the family it was not only husband, but in fact all members of the family had right to family property. Members were accountable to each other differently depending upon their status within the family. Therefore, all important members of the family including wife in particular, should be consulted in selling family property. Some remarked that if it was not done that would be depriving them of their rights.

Besides right, if wife were consulted and her opinion was valued it would make her feel more honored. Wife would get a chance to express her opinion and prove her wisdom. It would be recognition of her right. Family members would cooperate in selling the property. In contrast if wife was not consulted she would think that she was ignored in the family and would be disheartened. Such a feeling might develop a bad relationship between the couples.

Respondents gave importance to the opinion of wife by considering the risk involved in selling property. A husband might make bad deal in selling the property and run into a loss by doing it by himself. In this case family members would accuse him for the loss. If family becomes poor in course of time because of such a loss the members would blame husband for the sale and would neglect him at his older age. Respondents believed that if it was done in consultation with wife the couple could come to each others help and guard against any loss in the process of

selling the property. This participatory approach would enhance cooperation and harmony in the family.

Some respondents believed that there were certain situations when husband could sell property without any other's consent or his decision should be upheld – to face an emergency, repay a debt as it was considered important to do so before his death, problem in meeting family expense and if the family had abundant wealth where selling would not affect families economic condition.

There were more respondents (72%) who agreed to the statement (Appendix 2.11). They believed that husband was the head of the family and family should run according to his will. Not only that he was the sole owner of all properties used by the family. All these gave him the right to sell property of his own will without consulting with others or against the will of wife or any other grown up family member. Some remarked that it was husband's personal business so he should not be opposed from selling or donating family property. Such a stand was rationalized by indicating that husband always wanted good of his family so his decision or selling property should not be opposed for the overall interest of the family. A respondent believed that husband's opinion on selling property should be respected, as it would make him pose like a man with strong character.

The statement reflects the attitude of male on the participation of female in decision making along with male. In the process of decision making women were discriminated and it was based on their perception as to who owned property in the family. Where it was believed that husband was the sole owner of the property wife's opinion in selling property was not valued. In contrast when it was believed that property belonging to all members of the family wife's role in decision making was valued.

Statement: As at present women are taking part in work outside home, men also should take part in household work like washing clothes, cleaning dishes, etc.

Most of these respondents opined that both husband and wife should work outside for income. Some of the respondents did not take the statement literally that husband should wash clothes and clean dishes rather they took into consideration any household chores to be done by husband considered to be wife's responsibility. About equal number of respondents (32%) completely agreed and disagreed to the fact that husband should and should not take part in household chores respectively (Appendix 2.12). More than 28% of the respondent partially agreed to the statement.

Respondents supporting the statement believed that wives were over loaded with work. They came up with variety of reasons why husband should help wife in her household work. Firstly, family belongs to both husband and wife. If husband helps wife it would benefit all members of the family. Secondly, Hadith recommends that husband should cooperate wife in her work. Thirdly, as employed women were helping their husbands in earning money so their husbands in turn should help them in domestic works. At the end of the day these women remains tired thus it becomes difficult for them to do all household work by themselves. So, it should be an obligation

for husband to help wife at home. It was also considered that it would be an injustice on wives if they were not helped by their husbands.

Some of the respondents emphasized on the positive consequences of husband's helping wife. First and foremost it relieves wife from heavy burden of household work. Wife would be happy about it. Cooperation within the family would increase and save some of her time for other activities within the family. All these would turn the family into a happy one.

Some again indicated that husbands might help their wives in household chores only in special situations irrespective of whether their wives were employed or not. They argued, wives might be helped when they failed to complete their household chores, in an emergency or any other situation when not helping wife would mean a loss for the family. For example, if wife was sick or away from home husband should do household works like cooking to keep family going. Husband should help wife to relieve her from occasional overworks as it might make her sick and if she fell sick household work would be affected.

Respondents not agreeing to the idea that men should take part in household work also had logic and emotions supporting their position. These respondents emphasized upon the traditional division of labor based on the differences between men and women. Because of these differences male and female are good in different work. Accordingly they did different work as they were proved to be more effective in their respective works. Cooking and cleaning dishes were some of the works women were better fit for and therefore they only should do those. If man starts doing household work like cooking and washing dishes they would not be able to do it effectively. In course of time societies have developed an expectation what men should do and what women should do. Cooking and washing dishes were some of the works expected to be done by women therefore society would not say good if men start doing those. Such work by male would be demeaning for them and it would affect their self pride.

It was the responsibility of male to earn for the family and it was her responsibility to do all household works. Because of such expectations respondents questioned - why male have to work for them at home after hard work for the whole day. Work that male did was more laborious than that done by female. Male have enough work for themselves thus they did not have any extra time to help wives. If they work at home their work outside home would be affected.

Some believed that according to Islam male were supposed to do work outside home and female inside home. If male work at home female would have to work outside. In that case their *purdha* would be affected so male should not work at home.

Discriminatory attitude of male towards female was assessed in terms of basic rights of female that is access to food and treatment and decision making. Willingness to take part in household chores by male reflects their attitude towards cooperating female in their responsibilities and differentiating male responsibilities from that of females.

Attitude of Male towards Violence against Women

Attitude of male towards violence against female was observed in terms of psychological and physical violence and violence related to deprivation and action on female. Each of these parts included four statements.

Psychological Violence

Statement: **Women should have freedom of movement in the society.**

Above statement refers to an environment where women have freedom to physical movement to meet material and immaterial needs in a way not harmful to others. The needs of female in some cases are similar to those of man but in others different as because there are some biological and psychological differences between the two. When movement of women are impeded not only they fail to get their needs met but they are also tormented psychologically (Box 4). About 51% of the respondents completely disagreed to the idea that women should have freedom to movement in the society as against 28% who were completely in agreement with their movement in the society (Appendix 2.13).

Box 4

After marriage Halima did not have any freedom of movement at her in-laws house. She could not talk to anybody independently. She even could not purchase her clothes at her own will. Once brought to husband Halima was not allowed to go to her father's house.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 1

Respondents who believed that women should have same freedom as men argued that women have equal rights so they have equal rights in movement. Some were more precise in mentioning the rights of women, i.e., equal rights to education and occupation. These rights were contingent upon the rights to movement, otherwise they would not be able to achieve education or take up job. Respondents also believed that if they did not have freedom to movement that would be a violation of their basic rights as citizen of Bangladesh besides the violence against women. A few mentioned that if women were not given freedom to mobility they would be psychologically depressed by believing that their rights had been violated. Thus, they would lose self-esteem.

Some believed on conditional movement of women. They might have freedom to movement for education and job but not for other reasons and might go out of house to meet any of their needs only after taking permission from husbands or guardians. To other respondents they might go out of house to do something only when there were no male around to take care of them. Again according to some women might move around but that should always be done with *purdah*. These remarks although indicate that male were in favor of giving conditional license to women in their movement in fact projected an attitude/intention of male to control women by regulating their movement.

These respondents supporting the statement also emphasized that the whole society would be benefited from women's mobility besides they themselves. It was believed that their mobility would allow them to become more educated. As a result the literacy rate would go up in Bangladesh. They would also be able to participate in jobs, which in turn would contribute to the development and prosperity of the country.

Respondents who were against the freedom of women's movement justified their position based on the interpretation on women's mobility according to Islam. They believed, as instructed in Islam, that women should remain at home so it would be a sin if they move around everywhere they would like.

Others opposed the statement by thinking about what could be the negative consequence of women's mobility on themselves, others and society. If women had right and freedom to go anywhere they liked beside their *purdah* being affected they would become daring, would not care for anybody, argue and fight with outsiders, would not respect parents, hang around with boys, would have affairs with them, and even they might develop undesirable physical relationship with them. As a result people would say and think bad about them. In this context respondents remarked that as women belonged to mother's race, nobody wanted that they should be called bad. If they moved around and talked freely with young men they might get seduced and would make wrong moves on these women which not only would harm the women but also the guys. The chance of women being violated would increase. All these were supposed to bring unhappiness in the family and disorder in the society.

Some were worried by thinking that the freedom of movement of female would take them out of the control of male – something not desired. They considered it to be an insult for man. It was questioned why freedom for women? Their safety should be ensured first. To give freedom to women means giving them up in the name of God.

Irrespective of whether supporting or not supporting the statement, respondents were almost indifferent to the fact that women were likely to be psychologically tormented when their mobility to movement were obstructed. Respondents reaction to the statement reflects their intention to maintain control over women, make female behave in a way so that it fits to male's thinking about female.

Statement: **It is natural that the male will remain hotheaded due to wants in the family. In spite of this they are not supposed to scold or beat women in the family.**

Respondents viewed the statement in terms of the relationship between husband and wife in the family. They also agreed that husbands always remain in bad mood when there were wants in the family. In this situation when wife comes with a legitimate demand to spend for some basic needs for the family husband often reacts to the demand by misbehaving with wife (Box 5). Again husband often accuses wife for shortage of income in the family or blames her for spending excessively for it or for herself. Such behaviors from husband were unanimously believed that would hurt wife psychologically. Occasionally these reactions from husband turn to physically assault on wife.

Ninety-two percent of the respondents opined that in no way wife should be blamed by husband for wants in the family (Appendix 2.14). They justified their stand based on their perception of division of labor in the family. They believed that it was the responsibility of husband to earn money for the family. If there were wants in the family it was because husband failed to earn enough for the family needs. Similarly it was considered to be husband's responsibility to ensure balance between means and ends in family budget. In neither of these cases (i.e., wants and excess spending) wife should be blamed or misbehaved by their husbands. If it was done that would be a crime. Some emphasized that family belongs to both husband and wife. Wants in the family were not for man only rather it was due to all the

Box 5

Nazrul confessed that at times without trying to know the actual matter he slapped his wife Halima.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 1

members therein. If wants could not be avoided it should be taken as part of life. It was mentioned that when wife was scolded or beaten they were tormented by believing that injustice had been done on them. Such a behavior would psychologically hurt wife.

If wife talks behind her husband for his misbehavior that might turn into a fight between husband and wife. She might react to this by noncooperating in family activities, which in turn would add further to wants in the family. Scolding or beating wife on this ground was considered to be violence against women. Wife could take help of law. Also Islam does not allow such a behavior as it would be considered as oppression against women thus a sin. In extreme cases she might leave her husband or commit suicide. All these would bring shame and bad name to family.

Statement: **Father always wishes well of his daughter, he therefor may marry his daughter to a guy against her will.**

The statement is on the selection of life partner for girls. This was considered to be one of the most important decisions by girls as it relates to their wellbeing. Thus, the response to the statement reflected the extent male would like to control the decision making on an issue related to girls' life. Most respondents (86%) agreed to the opinion that father should not compel daughter to marry a guy against her will (Appendix 2.15).

The respondents had a set of rationalizations in support to the statement. Firstly, respondents gave importance to the fundamental rights of women in selecting their life partners. It was considered natural that girls would have an opinion. As it was their marriage their opinion should be honored. Besides, Islam dictates that the consent of both bride and bridegroom should be taken in their marriage. In response to such considerations respondents also believed that girls should not be married off against their will. It was also believed that girls were much more educated and conscious than before. They were in a position to decide what was good for them and what would make them happy. Therefore, they were in a better position to decide about their marriage, nobody should interfere in that.

Secondly, respondents supported the statement by believing what could be the bad consequences if girls were married against their will. Girls would be tormented for rest of their lives. It would debar the development of an intimate relationship between the couples thus leading to families with loose binding. Family would not function properly, members would not carry their responsibilities properly, they would differ from each other in all ways. In extreme case family might break up. If such a family breaks up or if wife remains separated from husband in most cases she would become a burden to her parents.

Respondents with a view that father may arrange marriage of his daughter with a guy against her will believed that father always wanted good of this daughter. Father, because of his long experience, was in a position to make better selection of a bridegroom than his daughter deciding by herself. Daughter might select a guy out of emotion, but father would select a bridegroom based on his long experience considering pros and cons of many factors relating to his daughter's life. Father's selection was bound to be better one for his daughter particularly when these considerations were matched with good wishes of father in the selection. Some believed that according to Islam it was the responsibility of father to marry his daughter. It would be a sin for

the father if he remained indifferent in fulfilling his responsibility. Moreover, if father dies before girl's marriage she would be in problem in arranging her marriage by herself. These considerations made respondents believe that father had right to force her daughter to get married according to his choice and reject a marriage selected by the daughter. These respondents also believed that the forced marriage was not a violation of women's right rather it was better for controlling family members, and father had right to do so. Some of the respondents in this group agreed that forced marriage would agonize daughter psychologically, but that would be temporary. It would go away as the positive aspects of the marriage gradually would become visible to the daughter.

Respondents were respectful to certain basic rights of girls. When they deny these rights it might be a violation in the freedom of action of the daughter but the violation was motivated by the desire to protect daughter from a harm or loss which might happen to them from the selection of a wrong mate in the marriage.

Statement: During marriage a part of the dowry promised was paid. Later on husband or other male members of the family can put pressure on the wife to pay rest of the dowry.

Pressure over her refers to one done verbally. Constantly asking wife politely or rudely to get dowry from her relatives who negotiated the marriage. The demand by itself along with the way placed was supposed to create some psychological pressure on her (Box 6). About 66% of the respondents completely disagreed to the statement whereas about 30% of the respondents completely or partially agreed to the statement (Appendix 2.16).

Box 6

Within a short time after marriage Amina realized that expecting dowry after marriage from the wives' parents was a common practice by the male members of her in-law's house. Thus, she was always scared as Samad often asked Amina to bring money from her parents. Within three days of the wedding Samad started misbehaving with Amina. Her in-law's though did not do any physical torture, but created mental pressure by accusing and blaming on her all the time.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 2

Respondents against the idea that wife might be pressurized for dowry emphasized that failure to keep word in paying dowry during marriage was an indication of the incapability of wife's relatives to meet the demand. Wife should not be pressurized upon for other's incapability. It was likely to torment her. Besides, her relatives would also be under similar pressure if their girls were pressed for dowry. If dowry was demanded persistently her relatives might be forced to sell their property to meet the demand. In this case they would be in economic hardships.

The demand was likely to develop bad relationship not only between husband and wife but also among the relatives from both sides (Box 7). The demand was also likely to develop an unhappy family as the wife would not like her husband. Wife might leave her husband and in extreme case she might commit suicide. Even the neighbors would say bad of such a husband. So, the respondents believed that such demand should be given up for the sake of their relationship and family.

Some of the respondents mentioned that taking or giving dowry whether during or after marriage was prohibited by law in Bangladesh. Besides, Islam suggests that it was a sin to practice dowry. By considering these dictates some opposed the statement.

Respondents also took into consideration how the demand would hurt wife's relatives. These respondents believed that paying dowry in marriage was same as buying husband by wife and her relatives. In marriages where dowry was paid wife did not show sufficient respect to her husband. Most importantly, in this case, husband did not have sufficient authority and moral right on wife. He cannot place his opinion on wife or make her to obey him. He remains weak to all relatives from wife's side. Thus, from these observations, respondents developed an attitude against payment of dowry both during and after marriage. The respondents opposed the statement not for the sake of wife rather by believing that the practice affects their authority and patriarchy.

Box 7

On demand for dowry Samad and his family members did not behave well with Amina's family members while they visited her. Once Amina's uncle went to her in-law's house with some food but they insulted him by throwing away all the stuffs. Amina tolerated all these treatments because she wanted to stay with her husband. After listening to Amina's words her parents tried to convince Samad to behave well with her but it did not work.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 2

Some of the respondents were of the opinion that husband and his relatives could justly create pressure on wife to realize dowry since it was promised during marriage. These respondents believed that the promise once made should be fulfilled; as because, to some, Islam dictates to honor promises.

To some getting dowry in marriage was more important than getting a companion through marriage. It was commented – Love without dowry is fake. A guy marrying for dowry would not have married that particular girl if it was known to him that he would not be paid the remaining portion of dowry at a latter stage. If it was known he would have married somebody else where he would get a better deal. The respondents with such an attitude considered not paying the remaining portion of dowry after marriage as promised not only was a breach of promise but also making the guy a loser. Therefore, these respondents believed that husband or somebody on their behalf had right to put pressure on wife to avoid such a loss for husband.

Others believed that dowry was the most or very important part of marriage and argued that when wife's relatives would know that wife had been pressured for dowry they would feel bad and would meet the promise on dowry that was made. These respondents thought that psychological pressure was an effective means to realize dowry from wife's relatives after marriage. A small number of the respondents believed that dowry as promised should be demanded as because it would add to the wealth of the family thus bring prosperity to the family

To most of the respondents psychological trauma of women was the consideration in accepting or rejecting the given statement, but to others it was some other considerations influenced their decisions.

Physical violence

Statement: **Jolly gave word to marry a guy but she later on changed her mind. At this the guy may become angry and can throw acid on her.**

In context to the statement respondents visualized of a situation where a guy and a girl had love affairs. In the course of their affair the girl gave word to the guy to marry him. It was not a marriage engagement where the date and other decisions relating to marriage were taken by the guardians of the marrying partners. About 92% of the respondents strongly believed that the girl should not be assaulted for not keeping her words as against small number of respondents (6%) who had different view on the issue (Appendix 2.17).

Respondents believed that marriage should take place based on mutual liking and agreement. If the girl breaks her promise that does not give right to the guy to through acid on her. In this situation some believed that the guy should try to convince her or give up the idea of marrying her. Others believed that he should accept the reality and get married somewhere else. Again it was mentioned that marriage partners are decided by God. In this case the guy should console himself by thinking that it was God's decision that they should not be partner to each other. So he should look for marriage elsewhere. But under no circumstance he should throw acid on her. This would be considered as an act of vengeance.

Respondents gave much importance to the consequences of throwing acid on her in this situation. If acid was thrown she would never be able to marry and have a family. The guy should realize that if acid was thrown her face, in fact her life would be ruined and he did not have the right to do so with her.

A good number of respondents emphasized that the girl, at that stage, had right to change her mind of marriage for any reason. Over time she might have lost attraction towards him, found something in the guy not to her liking or made her believe that it would not be good for her to marry the guy. It could also so happen that the girl gave word to the guy out of emotion or under pressure. These were thought to be some of the grounds when a girl might change her mind and the girl could legitimately do that. Thus, the girl could not be blamed for that.

Respondents also disagreed to the statement by thinking what would be the consequence of the guy if he threw acid on her. Throwing acid was not acceptable under any circumstances. He would be condemned both by his family and the community. It would bring shame to his family. He would loose respect and his reputation in the community would be affected. Girl's parents can file a case against this illegal act. If proved guilty he would be sentenced to even death as per law. These rationalizations indicate that personal harm to the assailant was also a factor that made respondents disagree to the statement.

A small number of the respondents believed that the guy had right to throw acid on the girl as a punishment for breach of her promise. They believed that the girl should have thought seriously before giving word to the guy. The guy had right to punish her for breaking her promise as it was likely to cause some losses to the guy. Based on her words he might have taken some preparation, invested money and time, in view of their future relationship. All these would go wasted. His heart would be broken. It was taken quite seriously by the respondents as remarked – Breaking somebody's heart is same like breaking a mosque. The expectation of the guy would be

shattered as a result he would be very much frustrated. Out of frustration he could become violent and throw acid on her. Respondents in explaining the cause for violence implicitly justified the action. Besides, they indicated that it could be done as a punishment to the girl.

Statement: **There are variety of *fatwas* for women. It is not justified to lash a woman by giving a *fatwa*.**

Fatwa is an interpretation of an event followed by judgment based on Islam by scholars in the field. In the village *fatwa* is given by local religious leaders on an offence considered to be serious by them or community at large. It includes severe punishment like public lashing and in rare cases even stoning to death. Although about 69% of the respondents completely disagreed to the idea of lashing a women after *fatwa* quite a good number (24%) completely or partially agreed to the idea (Appendix 2.18).

Respondents against the idea of implementing *fatwa* against women believed that it was likely that women would do offence and was expected that they should be rectified. There were varieties of ways to rectify them, punishment was one of the ways, and surely lashing was not the most effective way of rectifying a woman. Rather it was considered important to know why women committed an offence. After knowing it decision on punishment should be taken only by the lawful authority and as per provision of law. Under no circumstance she should be lashed. Lashing women being punitive system did not match with modern values. There were provisions of punishment for all offences in state laws. The punishment of an offending women should be decided accordingly. Lashing women was illegal, therefore doing it to a woman would be a crime.

To some if a woman commits an offence her husband or other guardians in the family could punish her. Women were mother's race, so they should not be insulted. It would be an insult to them and definitely a mistake if an *imam*¹ from the community gives a verdict that offending women should be lashed in public. Others believed that beating a woman for whatever reason was not allowed in Islam. Therefore, they also believed that lashing a woman in public was not allowed and it was an offence.

Respondents also gave importance to the effects of lashing in supporting the statement. They believed that lashing would have tremendous impact on the victim. Besides being physically hurt, the victim would also get psychologically affected. After lashing she would be treated with neglect and often insult by the community. She would remain ashamed to show her face to others; her family would dislike her; it would be difficult in getting her married. These tortures might make her do something very serious like committing suicide. In other cases she might become disparate by thinking that she had nothing to loose, so might commit same offence again for which she was lashed before.

The victim's family also would not remain unaffected. The family would lose face for their girl being lashed. The family would loose status in the community. As *fatwa* is illegal in Bangladesh the *imam* giving *fatwa* could also be in problem if the girl files a case against him.

¹ Literally it means leader. Usually imam is referred to as the person who leads prayer in the mosque.

The respondents in favor of lashing believed that women should be lashed only when they have extra marital or premarital sexual relationship. It was further reported that Islam have prescribed such a punishment for offending women. One of the respondents remarked that according to Islam if an unmarried woman develops a sexual relationship with a man she should be given hundred lashes. No mercy should be shown to her. Since it is in Islam we must follow it. Respondents justified their stand by saying that the punishment to the offender had some merits. The offender would be rectified and her punishment in the next world for the offence would be reduced. Others would not dare to commit same offence by believing that they would also be punished similarly if they had committed the crime. As a result the level of crime in the society would remain low.

Statement: **If a woman attracts a man by her gesture even then it will not be proper for him to violate her psychologically or physically.**

Gesture here refers to a motivated action done by a female to attract a male. Violation in relation to gesture included imposed sexual response and harassing or punishing her for making the gesture, which she was not willing.

Most of the respondents (79%) were of the opinion that a woman should not be bothered in any of these above ways for her gesture (Appendix 2.19). Of course, even if the female made a mistake by such a gesture that did not mean that male should also make a mistake in response to that. It was mentioned that Bangladesh recognized freedom of action so long it did not hurt others. It was her business, so nothing should be said to her. Female had right to move around in any way she liked, so she should not be violated for her gestures. The women by her gesture did not harm any male. If a female violates a law by her gesture police and the court of law should take care of that, but taking advantage on her because of her gesture was believed to be a violation against that female.

Box 8

One day Sabina was raped by her cousin Shahidul when her father went out to work and her mother went to the hospital to visit an ailing relative. Only two of her younger brothers and she were at home. Sabina was in the kitchen cooking afternoon meal. She was casually dressed. Taking advantage of the absence of her parents away from home Shahid came straight where Sabina was. Sabina asked Shahid to leave the house calling him by bad words. But Shahid did not leave the place as a result Sabina was very scared. Shahid then forcibly unclothed her and made her lie down on the floor, tied hands and gagged her, and then raped her.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 7

Some looked at the statement from Islamic and legal perspectives. As indicated, according to the Koran it was wrong to violate women psychologically or physically under any circumstances. So it would be a sin if she was assaulted for her gesture. Also such an action would be against our social norms. Girls might have made the gesture by mistake. So, one was not expected to take advantage of such a situation (Box 8).

Respondents also viewed that such a female should not be violated by thinking that all of us had mothers and sisters. How would we feel if they were violated. It was the image of mother present in all women made the respondents support the statement.

Violating such a female was believed to have variety of consequences at different levels. It also worked as a deterrent for not supporting the statement. Firstly, the act was considered to be a sin according to religion. The violator would feel guilty to his conscience. The girl might put him in a problem like taking advantage of the incidence and blackmailing him by filing a case. If the incidence becomes known to others he might be punished. His reputation would be affected, as he would be considered characterless in the community. Secondly, the female would also be equally if not more affected. Community would say bad of her. Because of carrying a bad reputation it would become difficult for her parents to marry her particularly in a good family. Thirdly, parents would be hurt when they would learn about the role of their children. Finally, based on the incidence bad relationship might develop between girl's and the guy's families. Others living in the community might come to their support thus grouping would develop in the community. Fight might start based on the issue. All these consequences were thought not good for a healthy society.

Of course, not taking advantage of the gesture by a woman on the belief that it would be a violation against her does not mean that male would not react to her behavior. Respondents emphasized on self-control in this situation. It was recommended that men should keep themselves under control against such a gesture. If male fails to control himself that would be his fault. Most effective way to control oneself was to avoid her. In doing so, it would be proper not to look at that female, as God advised – protect your eyes. No matter how a girl moves around they should not be looked at. If nobody looks at her she would realize that her behavior did not attract anybody, so she would stop behaving in the same manner again. A few respondents mentioned that the girl should be asked to observe *pardah*. It was also mentioned that her guardians should be informed of her behavior, and it would be their responsibility to control her. Her guardians might also be told that their girl might get hurt by somebody if she did not rectify herself.

A few respondents believed that when a female was molested for seducing a man by her dress or behavior the fault lay with the female. They neither considered that the man had done anything wrong nor that the girls were violated.

Statement: According to religion male has right to hit women.

Respondents viewed this statement in terms of the relationship between husband and wife and in between father and daughter within a family. About 48% of the respondents were of the opinion that husband, according to religion, had right to hit wife while 26% of the respondents completely differed with the idea (Appendix 2.20).

Some of the respondents disagreed with the statement by believing that it was not allowed in Islam, socially condemned and was an offence according to the law of the country. They considered it to be violence against women no matter what was the reason for beating. Respondents believed that wife should not be beaten under any circumstances. If husband fails to rectify wife she should be abandoned rather than beaten. They emphasized upon such a doctrine by believing that it was the instruction of the Koran.

Some disagreed with the statement under the impression that all women belonged to mother's race. As we do not beat our mother it would be wrong to beat wife. They were subject to respect. They had equal rights as men. As wife did not beat her husband for his fault it could not be other way round.

Some of the respondents condemned beating wife mainly because of the negative consequences attached to it. Because of beating wife might be seriously hurt. So husband would have to spend lot of money for her treatment. She might divorce husband and in extreme case commit suicide. In all these cases husband would be in big problem like he might have to end up in jail. Beating wife for whatsoever reason was likely to bring unhappiness to the family. It was believed to have an impact on the children. They would learn it and would do it in turn when they would have their families. Above all, neighbors would say bad about the husband for beating wife. Support for the statement indicates that respondents were more concerned about the interest of husband and totally indifferent to wife's rights and justice due for her.

A good number of respondents from both the groups – supporting and not supporting the statement – were of the opinion that there should be a procedure of beating wife or daughter. Before beating wife an effort should be made to convince her through discussion in order to stop her from repeating the offence. If it does not work he might be threatened and deprived of privilege she were enjoying. All these steps should be followed as corrective measures. Beating as a last resort should be applied when corrective measures failed and offence committed was very serious.

A good number of respondents believed that husband had rights to beat wife and it should never be done for no reason. These respondents came to such a conclusion from their belief that husbands were more knowledgeable and rational than their wives. Husbands have been given the right to control their wives by the Koran as because of their superiority over women. Some respondents believed that husbands had the right as they earn and run family. These factors justified husband's rights to control wife even by beating her if needed. Some justified their stand of beating wife by explaining how it would be benefiting to wife being punished, their family and even the community at large. For example, if wife was beaten for a mistake she would refrain from committing it again, so family would be saved from a loss.

Respondents specified the situation when wife could be beaten. Wives were expected to listen to their husbands. If they did not do so if required, they might be beaten to make them comply to husbands' instructions and desires. There are women who were in the habit of not listening to their husbands (Box 9). It was argued that disobedience by wife should never be tolerated and they should definitely be beaten if they talked back to their husbands when they were instructed to do something or listen to husband. Secondly, some were serious about the fact that wife should show respect to certain members of the family like husband and elderly in-laws. Wife might be punished when they were not willing to do so. Thirdly, following the dictates of the Koran was very important to some respondents. They believed that wife could be punished when they did

Box 9

After some time of marriage, however, Khokon rented a house for Hena at local town. The changing of the residence did not bring any behavioral change in her. Here as well Khokon did not give her food regularly and beat her often.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 3

not practice the fundamental obligations of Islam like praying five times daily, not to go out for no reason particularly without *purdah* or without the permission of husband. Over here, the objective of punishing them was to bring them in the right path. Finally, wife should be beaten if they make mistake for which the family had to face serious loss or commit offence like extramarital affairs.

About 30% of the respondents had an attitude more favorable towards physical violence against women. In contrast, slightly bigger number of respondents (32%) had an attitude less favorable towards physical violence against women. It must be pointed out that 38% of the respondents had a balanced attitude – neither favoring nor disfavoring physical violence against women (Appendix 2.20).

Deprivation violence

Statement: **As male is the head of the family it should run according to his decision.**

In evaluating the statement the respondents did not take into account the decision on routine activities of a family where family members' role had already been decided. Most of the respondents viewed the statement in terms of the decisions considered to be important for the family. About 35% of the respondents completely agreed with the idea that male head might run family according to his will as against about 41% of the respondents who completely disagreed with the statement (Appendix 2.21).

Respondents believing that family should not run as per the decision of husband were of the opinion that family belonged to both husband and wife, both of them had equal responsibility for it, so wife had right to decision making as much as the husband had. Family should run according to the decision of both of them. If wife's decision was not taken it would be depriving her of her rights. It was further believed that taking advice of wife in family decision making was the best way of honoring them, recognizing their equal status with man and making them happy. If a wife was deprived of the right she would not feel good about it. She would always accuse husband for depriving her of the right and blame him if a decision taken by husband alone brings any loss to the family.

Some opined that wives were not inferior to husband. Wives were equally sensible, wise, intelligent and capable of giving a decision, particularly if they were educated. So, joint input of husband and wife in decision making was likely to be better than that taken by husband alone. It would minimize the chance of taking a wrong decision; as a result the family would gain most from such a decision. Because of such a decision family would prosper. In contrast, if family faces a loss because of wrong decision taken by husband alone everybody in the family would accuse him for the loss. Family would run better if ideas of both husband and wife were taken. There would be lesser problem and family would develop more. In contrast, if a family was run according to the decision of husband only and if there was difference between husband and wife it might lead to conflict in the family. Consequently wife would have psychological problem that was bound to affect the family.

Others believed that although in most cases husband should run family according to his decision but if he wanted he could take wife's suggestion when considered necessary. They were of the opinion that there was nothing wrong if husband had taken wife's advice. Husband might be good in taking decision in certain aspects like business similarly wife was likely to be good in taking decision in other aspect like daughter's marriage. So decisions should be taken both by husband and wife depending upon the area where they were most effective. Her advice in business might not be needed, but to take a big loan or to purchase a land her advice should be taken.

Opposing the above opinion a good number of the respondents believed that husband had sole right to take decision for the family. They justified their stand and urged that society desired it. If family does not run according to husband's decision people say bad about it. It was also the recommendation of Islam that husband being the head of the family should run it according to his decision. In this connection one of the respondents mentioned that according to Islam advice of three groups of people should not be taken in running a family – adolescent, insane, and woman as their suggestions never produced good result.

Some believed that husband was responsible for running the family. His position as head of the family comes with the authority to run it of his own will. As all organizations in the society have a head who runs it based on his wisdom and experience. Same was true in the case of husband running the family. If there were any problem husband would have to solve it.

Other in the group justified their position in terms of superiority of man over women. Husband was considered to be more intelligent, experienced and capable of taking decision in the family. As women stay at home they were believed to be not capable of understanding the good and bad of the family. Women were not up to the standard of giving any advice in the family as they were not capable of using their intelligence correctly. In support of this attitude a respondent mentioned when guests visited a family wife failed to decide what food items should be bought for the guest from the market. The knowledge of husband was believed to be wider than that of wife's so family should run according to husband's instruction. While male could use his brain in running the family female fails to do that. As husband was more intelligent than wife, he alone should take all decisions for the family.

Statement: Shafique and Rahella are brother and sister and they both go to school. They are very poor so their father decided that only Shafique should go for more education.

About 33% of the respondents believed that in resource constraints son should be preferred for education to daughter against 59% of the respondents who believed that both son and daughter should have equal preference to education in such a situation (Appendix 2.22).

Respondents supporting equal education for both son and daughter argued that both of them deserved equal preference from parents as their children. Parents did not have any scope to discriminate son over daughter. Education was needed to girls as much as it was needed to boys. If only one was given education the other would feel bad about it. She would accuse parent of

injustice being done on her. If son was given priority in education it would be amounting to depriving daughter of her rights.

It was also mentioned that even in the case of shortage of resources parents should give same level of education to both son and daughter by cutting down family expense in some other sector. If that was not possible the level of education for both son and daughter should be of same level. To others same amount of education was not important rather neither boys nor girls should be deprived of required levels of education. It was also mentioned that according to Islam both boys and girls should be given education in such a way that they might not have to remain dependent to others.

Respondents believed that girls had right to education. Educated girls are asset to family, they bring fame for parents. It becomes easier to marry educated girls. They could easily be married to educated and good guys, and in good families. Educated girls could earn money for the family. Besides contributing to her own family income, she might also give part of her income to her parents. Respondents mentioned that education was the backbone of a nation. If girls were educated they would be able to educate their children better.

Respondents supporting preferential status of son over daughter in education emphasized on the bad consequences of education on daughter. These respondents were, however, not against educating girls but their education should not be more than the level considered needed for them to run family after marriage. They believed that if grown up girls went to school for education, they might hang around with boys in school/college, they might fell victim to an incidence which would give a black spot in their career. Thus it would be difficult for them to get married. The educated girls would not normally listen to anybody, would go to tow for job. Such behaviors of girls, due to education, would be a shame for their fathers. They also believed that more dowry would be needed to marry educated girl. One even believes if girls were given education disorder in society would increase.

Respondents supported the statement by comparing the use value of boys to that of girls. They believed that father would become proud of educated son, his education would bring good name to family. They believed that son remain attached with the family and would eventually take charge of the family. An educated son would get job and earn money. That would add to family resource. Son would take care of parents when they would grow old. Sons would usually bear funeral expenses when they would die. Son, it was considered, would never dissert and would stand by them during their sorrows and happiness. In contrast, girls were viewed differently and more as a liability. They believed that girls would make a limited use of education in their life, as remarked - what else she will do with education after marriage than cooking for husband hardly need any education. These respondents saw spending on girl's education was a wastage of resources. Once girls were married off they would move to husband's or in-law's house, as a result their parents would loose control on them. These girls would not be in a position to help their parents in any way, particularly from the return of their education. Thus, there was no benefit in educating girls. Comparing the return from educating daughter with that of son the respondents believed that in the case of scarcity only sons should be educated. Of course girls should be given education on the Koran and Hadith so that they might lead a pious life and general education to a level so that they could be married.

Statement: Both Rahim and Karimon work together in earth cutting. At day end Karimon is paid less.

Most respondents (92%) believed that both male and female when doing same work should be paid equally (Appendix 2.23). Respondents came up with several justification why women should be paid equally as man and in some cases even more than man. If women were paid less that would be depriving them of their due share, it would be a disparity thus an injustice on them. Such an action was considered illegal according to law of Bangladesh and more importantly in the eyes of Islam. It was mentioned that as per Islam one should be paid according to his/her due share and employer would remain accountable to God if that was not done. Therefore the respondents suggested that both male and female should be remunerated equally for same labor.

Secondly, respondents observed that Rahim and Karimon did similar job for equal number of hours meaning that they put same amount of labor in the job. So, they should be remunerated equally. They believed that there was no difference between male and female. If women were paid less that would be undervaluing them. This reflected an attitude favoring equal shares both for men and women in the society.

Thirdly, both of them have families and same needs for money. Probably when women go out for work it was because they had more pressing need for earning than men. A girl would work outside home as a last choice when she ran out of all supports and options. A woman had to come out of home to work with lot of pain. Over and above this if she was paid less she would not say anything but hurt besides becoming an economic loser. She would think that to be born as a woman was a curse. Therefore, she would lose incentive to work. If they work same like men and were paid equally they would be able to run their family and educate their children.

Finally, price of different commodities was not less for women. Why then they should be paid less? Physically they were weaker than men. Even then they labored same number of hours as men and with equal seriousness. So, they should be paid equal to men if not more for the adverse condition under which they had to work.

A small number of respondents were of the opinion that women should be paid less than men even when both of them were doing same work. In support to such an attitude they remarked that God sent women to earth by making them weaker. How they could compete with men? How they want same wage as men? Women were less productive than men. A man's work was equal to two women's in a job. Men's work was neater than that of women. Above these women could be hired at a lower rate than men, so they would be paid less. Observation on productivity in work influenced respondents to take this stand.

Statement: A woman has left her husband. Even then her husband will have to provide support to her.

Sixty percent of the respondents completely disagreed to the idea that husband should provide support to wife during their separation while 20% completely agreed (Appendix 2.24).

Respondents supporting the statement emphasized that a man and a woman get married to each other as God decided them to be couple. After marriage wife moves to husband's or in-law's

house in most cases. For rest of life both psychologically and physically she becomes part of it and makes it as her own. She realizes that her wellbeing lies in it so she dedicates herself to its prosperity. In spite of having such a mindset and dedicated contribution to the family if she leaves the house, according to respondents, it was in a situation where she was compelled to do so. Respondents believed that wife left husband when she was tortured unbearably for a long time, husband was of loose character or she was forced out of the house. In all these situations the causes for wife to leave the house lie with the husband. Therefore, husbands were expected to pay for all expenses of wife and children if they accompany her for future days to come.

Irrespective of whose fault it was, some believed that, husband should provide support to wife even after her departure. If support was provided wife's relative would take initiative in cementing the relationship through negotiation between them. Also she would be less stubborn in changing her mind. Thus, marriage could be saved. Others opined that if wife left husband that did not mean that she divorced him, so it still remained as a responsibility of the husband to support wife and children no matter where they were living and what was the cause for separation. Under this condition wife could demand support from husband. Even if wife had left husband of her own will and there was no fault of husband for her departure, respondents believed that, it should be husband's responsibility to make an effort to convince and bring her back before he should decide to divorce her. During the time until divorce support should be provided to wife. A few respondents mentioned that the support should be provided for three months and thirteen days as per provision of Hadith.

Respondents with an opinion that support should not be provided to departed wife believed that the fault for leaving husband lied with wife, so she should not be supported after her departure from husband. A group of these respondents emphasized that after marriage wife was supposed to move to husband's house for rest of her life. She was expected to stay there even some injustice was done with her no matter how difficult was her life over there. If she failed to stay with her husband it was considered to be her problem, and it was a crime for her to leave husband. So, these respondents concluded that husband was not obliged to support a departing wife. As she was not providing any service to the family after her departure the question of providing support to her did not arise.

Wife was supposed to have respect and love for the husband. Wife was expected to behave according to the will of husband. It was her duty to take care of her husband and others in the family. Moreover, in the event of wife's leaving husband it would be a shame and insult for him and his reputation would be tarnished. Thus when wife leaves husband of her own will it proves that she did not have any love or respect for her husband. Therefore, the question for supporting wife does not arise. Of course, if she had taken children with her support for children might be provided.

Respondents supporting the statement emphasized upon the responsibilities of husband and the importance of saving the relationship. They did not give much importance to the right of departing wife and it would be deprivation to them. In contrast, respondents who were not in favor of providing support to departing wife, as they looked at providing support, as if, it was in exchange of service she was to provide to the family. As all of them mentioned that as wife left the house at her own will there was no need to provide support to such a wife.

Action related violence

Statement: Due importance of the opinion of both husband and wife should be given in deciding on family planning.

The statement emphasized upon not only the opinion of wife but also that of husband in family planning. By the word 'family planning' respondents meant reducing family size by controlling natural birth. Besides family size, they also took into consideration birth spacing and sex of the children. Of course sex of offspring was beyond the control of couple, but sex of a child can influence the decision on number of children a family might have.

About 96% of the respondents completely agreed to the idea of joint decisions of both husband and wife in family planning (Appendix 2.25). Of these respondents, a good number also mentioned that the question of giving importance to wife's view in family planning did not arise as because it was against Islam thus should not be practiced.

All the respondents agreeing with the statement indicated that family planning might become successful due to a joint effort of both husband and wife. Device used for birth control could be of liking or disliking by husband and wife and could have negative impact on them. Thus the device that might be adopted should be discussed among them. For example, pill has a side effect so it should not be imposed on her. Her health should also be an important consideration in family planning.

Number of children and their sex were important expectations might vary between husband and wife. They also believed that wife had right to decide on these issues. Both have liking and disliking. In the case of difference of opinion on these issues if the decision of one was imposed on the other the imposed would feel bad and might complain about it. Such a grievance could lead to dispute and unhappiness in the family.

Number of children and their sex were likely to have far reaching implication on all members of the family as those influenced economic condition, inheritance, socialization of children, etc., within family. Since the decision had implication on both husband and wife the respondents believed that, such a decision could not be exclusive right of husband or wife in the family. They believed that when such decision was taken alone it was likely to bring no good to the family, instead when it was taken jointly. It was also mentioned that if wife did not understand what was the purpose of family planning, first they should be explained about it and then joint action should be taken.

If family planning was done based on mutual understanding they would not be able to blame each other. If husband decides on family planning of his own the wife could be angry about it. One could be happy with number of children but with the sex of the children so both of them should consult about it amongst themselves.

Respondents considered that wife should not be forced for family planning thus respect their freedom of action because they honored wives' liking and disliking in certain crucial aspect of the family, and most importantly joint actions of both husband and wife were needed to make family planning successful.

Statement: Women should not be allowed to work outside even though there are wants in the family.

The evaluation was done in terms of family whether wife should or should not take up out of home employment in case of need. Such out of home employment traditionally done by them like participation in agricultural work in the field was not taken into consideration, by the respondents. About 65% of the respondents completely agreeing with the idea of wives' outside home employment against about 26% who were partially or completely disagreeing to their such participation (Appendix 2.26).

Respondents supporting the idea of wife's out of home employment believed that if one was hesitant to allow wife to work outside by thinking that others would say bad about it when there was shortage at home that would not bring food to family (Box 10). Family with shortage of food would have to work outside to earn money. It would be wiser to make wife work outside than die without food. These respondents believed that it was the responsibility of both husband and wife to run the family. As family belongs to both of them so in an odd situation, when husband's income was not sufficient to run family, both of them should take up the responsibility. If wife works along with husband there would be no shortage in the family.

Respondents emphasized on the positive side of such participation to work. They believed that love and good relation between husband and wife would increase if wife participate in labor market during family crisis. Children would get their due share. If wife did not work the family would not be able to meet their needs, as a result the family members might have to commit crime. To avoid such an undesirable incidence wife should be allowed to work.

Some respondents in the group emphasized that work could be done by observing *purdah*. Islam has granted equal rights to both male and female. To meet the need of the family they can work outside home. It was remarked begging was prohibited in Islam, but not working. They also believed that women could work outside preserving their honor and respect. On the other hand, some respondents thought opposing wives' participation in labor did agree to the fact that they might work if husband was sick, incapable and there was nobody else to work for them. Of course she would have to take permission from husband before going to work.

Box 10

After six months Khokon stopped paying rent of the house where Hena was staying. So, she was compelled to go back to her mother's house where she worked at other's land. One day Khokon caught her at local market; dragged her to his brother's house and beat her with a chain, as because, she worked at other's land.

Source: Chapter 8, Case 3

Respondents who were against wife's participation in outside home employment gave more importance to *purdah* of women, then a shortage in family. They opined that if women go out of home to work their *purdah* would be affected. So, they were against any such employment for wife under any circumstances. Such an idea was aided by the belief that Islam prohibited out of home employment of women thus, it would be a sin if they did it. They were mainly supposed to take care of home. There might be wants in the family but that did not mean that wife should be allowed to go out for a job. It was remarked, "God is responsible for providing food thus God

will make an arrangement.” If women visit house to house for work, “there would be no religion.”

In supporting the statement respondents were also influenced by traditional division of labor in the society – male would be bread earner and wife would cook and take care of family at home. Thus it was remarked, “It is husband’s responsibility to get read of wants not hers.” In the case of scarcity man should work more. They believed that it would be a disgrace and shame for husband if wife had to work due to wants in the family. Wives working outside would be a proof of husband’s incapability to support family, thus it would be an insult to him. Therefore, it was believed no matter how severe was the wants husband would have to meet the need. If needs could not be met both husband and wife should suffer but under no circumstances wife should be allowed to work outside home.

Others believed that if women go out to work people would look at them and pass bad remarks would think bad about them. People might give bad proposal to these working women to deviate them to wrong path, consequently they might become subject to violence. When these women were out they might get attracted to others to develop undue relationship with them. As a result they would lose character. All these were supposed to devalue working women. Their relationship with husbands would not remain honest and fair. People would say bad about them. All these were likely to affect peace and harmony of the family. Some disagreed to the statement by thinking that if she was working outside there would be nobody in the family to cook, and take care of children. Children would not be properly brought up. This was also believed to affect others in the family.

Respondents in favor of wife’s participation in outside home employment believed on equal responsibility of both husband and wife and freedom of action in carrying out the responsibilities. Respondents who were against wives’ taking out of home employment argued from traditional division of labor and interpretation of Islam. Besides, such a stand was also taken from a conviction to protect wife from the dangers of outside but such a concern was blended with the dimension to control their action.

Statement: Women are less intelligent so they cannot spend money properly. Thus, they should hand over their income to male member of the family.

Respondents took the scenario in terms of family where wife had an income from outside employment or had an income from activities within the house considered to be her exclusive enterprise. Forty-two percent of the respondents completely agreed that wife should hand over her income to husband against 29% who completely disagreed (Appendix 2.27). Respondents were also distributed in other categories of attitude (i.e., partially agreed and partially disagreed) in the appendix.

The respondents who believed that wife should not hand over her income to husband mentioned that there was no difference between man and woman. Women nowadays understand same as man. It was remarked that women who could earn could also calculate and judiciously spend money for the family. Besides, it was emphasized that even if wives were less intelligent that did

not mean that they should hand over their income to husband as because wife earned the money that gave them the right to keep it or spend it in the way they liked.

Some emphasized that wives might have some personal expenses like paying for her father's treatment. Also a wife could be divorced by her husband. In these cases saving from wife's income could be used in meeting her personal needs and in continuing herself with children. Also husbands do not always remain at home. During his absence if there was a need to make an important purchase or pay for a crisis wife could use her fund to handle the situation provided it remains with her.

Others mentioned that wife would not feel good if her income was taken away by husband, particularly if she did not have any say on how that money would be spent. If this continues over time she would lose incentive in earning by thinking that she had been deprived of her earning. If the income was taken by force she would feel that an injustice had been done on her with a possibility that bad relationship would crop up in the family.

Although the respondents believed that wife should hand over her income willingly to her husband, but there were situations when they should not do it, like when husband was not capable of spending money properly for the family or was likely to spend it in socially undesirable ways such as gambling or drinking.

Considerable number of respondents believed that wife should hand over her income to husband because of inherent superiority of men over women. Firstly, women were believed to be less capacity of budgeting money for family needs. It was remarked that women did not have enough brain to run family and in many cases not capable of counting money even, they could not decide on the commodities that should be bought or prioritize those for family needs. And when they buy a commodity it was always of an inferior quality or at a higher price than it should have been. In contrast, male were believed to be more capable of running family within the budget. Secondly, it would be better if her earning could be used to increase family income rather than keeping it idle with her. Wife does not have enough intelligence or other competence for such an investment. Finally, one earns to spend it. As women were less mobile they might have problem in purchasing the commodities needed. Again if they go out to market for a purchase their *purdah* would be affected and others might say bad about them. Considering the strength of male and weakness of female in making proper use of an income the respondents concluded that wife should hand over her income to husband for its effective use.

Others emphasized that the authority and responsibility of running family lie with husband. Therefore, wife should hand over her income to husband. These respondents questioned, "If husband gives everything to wife what she would do by keeping income with her. Husband would spend her income for meeting household needs."

It was also believed that if wife contributed her income to common family fund the family would have bigger purchasing power leading to its greater satisfaction. As recognition of her contribution to the family her importance within it would increase. A good relationship among the family members would develop in such case. In contrast, if she keeps her income with herself it was likely that the relationship among the members would deteriorate.

The statement portrays a situation when wife was favored to take action by surrendering her income. It is an action-related violence and in many cases could also be violence related to deprivation. Respondents not supporting the statement believed that the money that woman earned was her right, she had the right to spend it the way she liked. In contrast, those who supported the statement justified their position mentioning by inherent superiority of male over female.

Statement: According to religion wife should always consent to husband, so much so that husband even can have sex with wife against her will.

Most respondents (90%) were of the opinion that husband might not have sex with wife against her will (Appendix 2.28). They also thought that as because she was wife it did not mean that husband had right to have sex with her any time he desired. As wife was not supposed to do anything against the will of husband similarly he should not do anything against the will of wife. To have sex first she should be convinced. In justifying their position most of them emphasized that sex was for pleasure. It could be enjoyed best when both the partners were willing. It should not only be the pleasure of husband but also equally that of wife. These respondents disagreed with the statement also by becoming respectful to the rights of women. They believed that a wife had right to her body and as to how she might use it. She also has psychological attributes like desire, liking and disliking. Respondents believed that these aspects of wife should be recognized and respected by her husband in having sex with her. If not done it would be an insult to her. Based on these premise respondents opined that husband should not force wife to have sex against her will. If done that would be violation against her and would be illegal. In support to such an attitude some of them pointed out that according to Islam sex done against the will of wife would be considered torture on her, thus it would be a sin.

Others disagreed with the statement by considering the physical problem that wife might be having as cause for noncooperation for sex. She might be going through menstruation or through a time when there was a higher chance of getting pregnant, physically ill or depressed. These factors might discourage wife to have sex with husband but he was not supposed to know about all these. Wife might think that circumstantial environment was not up to the mark to ensure privacy in sex or it would affect some of her important work later on. It was believed that husband should consider these factors and should respect to her unwillingness to cooperate for sex.

Respondents also emphasized upon the consequence of forced sex on wife. First of all, wife would be hurt mentally. She would feel that she was raped. Her husband did not understand her problem. She would lose respect for him. A sense of hatred towards husband would develop in her, which in turn might lead to unhappiness in the family.

Respondents also opined that husband might have sex with wife against her will. To them sex was an important aspect of marriage, and a man marries a woman so that he might have sex with her whenever he likes. So, wife does not have right to say no to his desire. By referring to Hadith these respondents mentioned that if husband wants to have sex with wife it was the duty of wife to cooperate to his desire. If not done it would be an unforgivable sin on the part of wife. Also husband would be offended and it might lead to unhappiness in the family. These respondents

also mentioned that under certain condition wife might noncooperate with husband in having sex like in the month of Ramadan.

Summary

This chapter presented the rationalization of respondents for supporting or not supporting some selected statements. In the process of rationalization they have reflected their attitude on the subject matters of the statements.

Attitude in general: One of the most important attitudes towards women, in general, was that they should be respected. Women were viewed same as mothers, thus it was believed that they should be revered in the same way as done to mothers. Women were also imaged of being helpless, weak, honest, and kindhearted – other reasons why they should be respected. The image of motherhood viewed in women was a strong belief mentioned repeatedly by respondents and had influenced their attitude towards violence against women. Respondents also had a mixed feeling about women. In one hand respondents believed that all female should be respected in general and had an objective view about female in many cases, an attitude very much supporting the interest of female, on the other hand, they held an attitude leading to a tendency to control the action of females and exert authority on them.

Women's rights: Respondents had positive attitude towards women's rights mostly based on knowledge on religion, empirical observations and related thinking. Such positive attitude discourages male in depriving female of their rights like bride-money and inheriting father's property. Girls' wellbeing in future whether economic or social was also a strong motivation in upholding women's right. Respondents with an attitude not supporting women's rights were of the opinion that women should be barred from knowing about their rights in order to make it easier for men to control them. If women knew about their rights they would first demand and then force their husbands and fathers to meet the demands. Such an act would de-empower them. It was observed that denial of women's rights was synonymous to deprivation-related violence and could lead to action-related violence against women in many cases. In general, male had an attitude supporting the rights of female.

Discrimination: Male, in general, had an attitude very much against discrimination in terms of basic needs like food, treatment, etc., towards women. Males were empathetic to agony of the discrimination and valued individual rights of the female. Those who opined that women might be discriminated did so based on the belief that giving less food to women was not discrimination against them rather a practical adjustment while in crisis. It was not a deliberate discrimination for self-interest. In the process of decision making majority of the respondents had an attitude very much towards discrimination against women. Discriminatory attitude was influenced by the respondents' perception on issues like who owned property in the family. Where it was believed that husband was the sole owner of the property wife's opinion in selling property was not valued. In contrast, when it was believed that property belonged to all members of the family wife's role in decision making was also valued.

The image that female being weak and helpless also developed an attitude in respondents that female were inferior to male, if not in all cases but definitely in many ways. In spite of having an attitude of motherly reverence towards all women respondents also had a belief that male had an authority over women, i.e., in deciding the role that women should play at all levels in the society as well as on their mobility. The roles and mobility of women were controlled by males' concept of *pardah*. *Purdah* in this case determined the places that females could visit, the persons they might communicate with and the ways they should cover their bodies. Moreover, respondents believed that husbands had an authority to control wives' actions. Such an attitude also reflects husbands desire to monitor their authority and control over wife which in turn could lead to violence related to action on them in particular besides other violence. A strong force in molding attitude of male towards female was the dictates of Islam in relation to women. These dictates were popularly believed in their societies. Respondents accepted these interpretations of Islam without scrutinizing their authenticity. The interpretations influenced their attitude both in favor and against women and also developed the basis in forming attitude of male in relation to violence against women.

Psychological violence: Respondents were aware of the basic rights of the female and were considerate to the extent that they would feel bad if such rights were violated. Although respondents were quite considerate to psychological state of mind of the female when they were deprived of their rights sometimes it was taken to their advantage. As respondents thought that psychological pressure was an effective means to realize certain ends for men, e.g., dowry. Respondents were almost indifferent towards the fact that women were likely to be psychologically tormented when their physical movements were obstructed by male.

Physical violence: About same number of respondents (38%) had an attitude neither more nor less favorable towards physical violence against women. In general, male was against any serious violence against women like lashing. It was believed that no one had right to females' body. Although it was mentioned that under no circumstance male had right to assault women, but to many, such violence was acceptable if female violates the dictates of Islam and the violation was considered to be a serious sin. Respondents did not consider such violence as violence rather as punishment or a measure to rectify the victim thus was considered 'normal violence'.

Deprivation and action-related violence: Although most of the respondents were not in favor of depriving female from food and other basic needs a good number of them were in favor of depriving female from sharing power with male. Depriving female in exercising power and sharing power with male was justified on the ground that male were superior to female. Respondents were particularly against such action by women, which contradicted with traditional division of labor or such action not practiced in the society before. It was considered acceptable to force wives to take actions like handing over their income to husband, an action would make husband a gainer.

A good number of these respondents rationalized their position by emphasizing upon the consequences of violence against women. They were also empathetic to victims by thinking about the pain of violence that women had to go through. Many of these respondents believed

that violence against women would somehow affect them, their family, and in many cases their society – consequences not desired by them. So, they were against any violence towards women. In this case their attitude was influenced by self-interest rather than an attitude supporting the cases of female on violence against them. Again in many cases respondents' attitudes were influenced both by the interest of victim and that of self. The study was not designed to differentiate respondents in terms of these finer considerations.

A good number of respondents with an attitude supporting violence against women, as mentioned earlier did not consider their actions as violence at all. Rather those were considered as measures to correct them and male had the authority to do so. Others held attitude, favoring violence against women mainly to establish authority, power, control, etc., over women. In this case actions have molded attitudes of male towards violence against women.

CASE STUDIES

Eight case studies, two on each issue, are presented in this chapter. The issues are on dowry, deception, throwing acid, and rape. The victims, in most of these cases, experienced multiple types of violence, i.e., psychological, physical, and violence related to deprivation and action. The case studies have given special emphasis in tabbing the causes of perpetrating violence and analysis those in the light of ecological model as well as the attitudes of perpetrators. Ecological approach to violence argues that no one factor alone causes violence, rather a number of factors combine to raise the likelihood that a particular man in a particular setting may act violently towards a woman. The statements of the perpetrators have been placed separately at the bottom of the cases followed by short analysis of the cases. In many of these cases related females collaborated with the perpetrator in violating the victim and in all cases BRAC helped the victims. Highlighting the role of female collaborators or the role of BRAC was not the objective of this study, rather their roles came naturally in narrating the incidence. In number of incidences perpetrators completely denied of their involvement in violence although their involvement were confirmed by multiple sources.

Case number 1: Dowry

About three years back Halima Begum at age 13 got married to Nazrul Islam and were living in Haluaghat since then. Before marriage Halima's father promised to give Tk.3,000 and a few articles to Nazrul as dowry. Halima's father fulfilled his promise during the registration of marriage. On the other hand, Halima did not receive any present from her in-laws during marriage.

After marriage Halima was left to live with her father and for the next two months nobody from her in-law's house contacted with her. This sort of treatment disturbed Halima a lot as it made her believe that she was being neglected. After this her husband and in-laws started complaining that she had elevated teeth and dark complexion, thus looked ugly. Such remarks hurt Halima

and her parents very much. Her in-laws claimed Tk.10,000 as dowry again to her parents as a condition to take Halima to their house for being ugly. Halima's father was a poor man thus it was impossible for him to pay dowry of such a big amount. He requested Nazrul's father several times to come to his house to settle the issue, but of no avail. At this Halima's father reported the case to Soleman, a member of the union parishad. Soleman compelled Nazrul's father to take Halima to his house as bride after nine months of her marriage. During these nine months Nazrul did not take care of Halima in anyway. In fact Nazrul's father received Halima as a bride only with a hope that the dowry demanded might be given by her father. He also bore in mind that if his expectation was not met he would look for a second marriage of his son.

Next two to three months Nazrul and Halima were agreeable to each other and thus having somewhat peaceful conjugal life. Nazrul had stepmother who raised him and his sister since childhood. Gradually a misunderstanding developed between Halima and her stepmother-in-law leading to a problem in the family. Halima's stepmother-in-law was a bad tempered women, she quarreled with Halima off and on for no reason. As soon as Nazrul returned home after work, she complained to him about Halima. In reaction to this Nazrul beat Halima. They even tortured Halima in her pregnancy. She was compelled to overwork. If Halima stopped working due to her pregnancy, her stepmother-in-law scolded her. She was not given enough nutritional food as needed. In many occasions she was given only once or two meals a day. Halima did not have any freedom of movement. She could not talk to anybody independently. She even could not purchase her clothes at her will. Once brought to husband Halima was not allowed to go to her father's house.

When the things became unbearable for Halima she returned back to her father's house at an advanced stage of her pregnancy. Nazrul did not take any care of Halima there. When Halima was having labour pain, she wanted to see Nazrul. Halima's father informed her in-laws about it but nobody from their side came to see her. Only after giving birth to a daughter, Nazrul visited Halima for a while. He gave her two kilograms of flour and two pieces of soaps for her use. Halima's father had to spend a lot of money during her delivery. Halima complained by mentioning that the responsibility of providing clothing, medicine, food, and other necessities of a wife lies with the husband, but Nazrul had deprived her of all of these. Nazrul rejected such an accusation by saying that during Halima's pregnancy he carried out his due responsibilities as husband.

Once again Halima returned to Nazrul with her child just to have worse experience. One-day she served rice to her father-in-law, but forgot to give him drinking water. For this her father-in-law became angry and started rebuking her in filthy words. Halima not being able to bear it went to the next door. After sometime when Nazrul returned back home, his father complained about the incidence to him and asked him to fasten Halima by a chain. Since Nazrul was trying to do that, without investigation of the situation, Halima tussled with him to get herself freed. At one stage her father-in-law called Khokon, elder cousin of Nazrul living next door to help Nazrul. Khokon came with a bamboo stick and beat up Halima with it.

Khokon while describing his role in the incidence tried to show that he woke up from sleep hearing all kind of noise coming from Nazrul's house, ran to their house and found Halima firmly holding Nazrul's penis and Nazrul almost unconscious. Observing that Khokon got angry

and attacked Halima with a stick. Later he realized that he did wrong, he regretted and begged of Halima for his fault.

Halima was seriously injured. Her lips bled for the hit and her whole body started paining due to injuries. After the incidence Halima was very much depressed mentally as she felt wrecked of her honor to the villagers.

Halima's uncle-in-law informed this incident to her parents. At this, her mother came to visit her. Halima told everything in details to her mother and expressed her desire to go back with her mother to their house. She feared that she might be killed if she would stay there longer. Halima left her in-law's house for her natal home. But her aunt-in-law stopped them on the way; she tore Halima's hair and dragged her back to Nazrul's house. Then Halima's mother-in-law kicked at her chest twice or thrice; as a result she fell senseless on the ground. When she came back to sense she found that whatever ornaments she was wearing had been taken away from her body and her father-in-law was carrying her daughter. She tried to take back her baby but her father-in-law refused. Halima's mother tried to take the baby from him but her aunt-in-law slapped her. Halima returned in vain to her father's house. Afterwards they sent the baby to Halima failing to control the baby. Halima filed a complaint with BRAC against Nazrul. BRAC made a compromise between Nazrul and Halima explaining to him what could be the consequence to a husband for battering wife. Then there was no problem between them and they were having a happy conjugal life.

Halima felt that if her father could give dowry to her father-in-law she would not have to face these physical and mental tortures. She also felt that nobody in her in-law's house wanted to accept her as member of their family, so they tortured her so much for nothing. In spite of all these Halima always wanted to stay with Nazrul and never thought of divorcing him.

Statement of perpetrator: Nazrul argued that Halima used to talk too much and quarrel unnecessarily. She cannot tolerate her mother-in-law. Halima used to spend money of her own will, which he did not protest. Whenever Halima wanted to go to her father's house, he allowed her to do that. Nazrul has been working in a tea stall in the market close to his house. He had to stay daylong outside the house. Rather after whole day work when he returned home Halima did not serve food to him. Even he had to take drinking water by himself. Nazrul believed that doing household work is only women's responsibility, as it needs less labor. After returning home he needed mental peace, rather he had to listen complain against his wife and mother from each other.

Nazrul added that Halima's father proposed him to stay at his house as a *gharjamai*¹ because his economic condition was better than that of Nazrul. But Nazrul did not agree. He felt a woman should go to in-laws house after her marriage. This issue created misunderstanding between Halima and him. Moreover, Halima used to quarrel with her mother-in-law on this issue. She also warned them that she would go to her father's house.

Nazrul's uncle was very poor and used to live next to his house. Nazrul often used to go to his uncle's house to visit his cousin sisters and sometimes he bought them soap, oil, and so on.

¹ A man who lives in in-law's house after marriage.

About this Halima remarked that when Nazrul cannot feed his own family properly, how could he afford to give gifts to his cousins. She suspected that there might have been some untoward relation between them and she often complained about Nazrul's behavior. These incidences often made Nazrul violent and led him to assault Halima.

Nazrul confessed that at times without trying to know the actual matter he slapped Halima. He believed that according to the religion a man could perpetrate psychological and, if necessary, physical violence on his wife to mend her behaviour. Even though Nazrul told that he was very repentant after beating Halima as she used to cry and stopped speaking with him. After beating her every time Nazrul promised to her that he would not beat her again but just to break his promise.

Discussion: Nazrul's repentance after perpetrating violence indicated that he might have an attitude not supporting violence against women, but the desire for dowry undermined such an attitude. However, all the factors of ecological model were more or less interactive in the case of Nazrul though the risk factors at relationship level gave better understanding on his violent attitude. At individual level deprivation of maternal affection due to having stepmother perhaps influenced in shaping the attitude of Nazrul towards Halima. At the level of relationship marital conflict due to helping cousin sisters as well as bad relationship between Halima and her stepmother-in-law increased the risk of Halima being perpetrated by Nazrul. Moreover, Nazrul was offered to stay in his in-law's house due to his low socioeconomic status that produced unsatisfactory relationship between two families. It also tormented his male ego, as it was a demeaning practice in his community. At society level norms and values influenced him to expect Halima accomplishing her defined gender roles like serving food to family members properly and speaking less as a woman was executed to do. It also provoked his action to perpetrate different sorts of violence on Halima.

Case number 2: Dowry

Amina Begum got married to Abdus Samad, son of Abdul Gafur of Churkhai about three and half years back. The marriage took place with the help of a matchmaker and was registered according to the law. After the marriage was registered Abdul Gafur requested Amina's father not to attend the *boubhat*² with too many guests. Amina's father did not agree to the proposition; the refusal offended Abdul Gafur very much. Amina's father gave some gold ornaments to her in the marriage. Even though nobody from Gafur's house demanded a dowry in the marriage but they had an expectation that as a part of culture in the village it would be given to Samad in the form of gifts. Offering no gifts offended Samad very much as he mentioned to Amina that she would have to suffer a lot for that. With this view Samad decided not to allow Amina to visit her parent's house. Again Abdul Gafur complained that Amina's father and others in the family were inconsiderate in giving proper honor to his son what he deserved as a bridegroom.

All these were the starting point of the problems in the married life of Samad and Amina. Within three days of the wedding Samad started misbehaving with Amina. Amina's in-laws though did

² Reception party of bridegroom at her in-law's house.

not do any physical torture on her, but created mental pressure on her by accusing and blaming her all the time. Within a short time after marriage Amina realized that expecting dowry after marriage from the wives' parents was a common practice by the male members of her in-laws house. Male members of Samad's family were not at all sympathetic to the fact that the wives felt bad when they were violated for dowry. Thus, Amina was not spared as Samad often asked her to bring money from her parents but she refused to do so, as her father was not economically well off.

Samad and his family members did not behave well with Amina's family members as well while they visited her. Once Amina's uncle went to her in-laws house with some food but they insulted him by throwing away the food. Amina tolerated all these treatments because she wanted to stay with her husband. After listening to Amina's words her parents tried to convince Samad to behave well with her but it did not work. At one stage Amina's brother Md. Taizuddin mentioned that Samad beat and kicked Amina frequently. Samad's family deprived Amina of her right and did not allow her free movement. These according to Taizuddin were done though Amina did not have any fault.

After six months of their marriage Samad asked Amina to go back to her father's home. By then she was pregnant for five months. Amina did not agree to the proposal for what Samad slapped her. He compelled her to go back to her father's house alone. While at father's house neither Samad nor anybody from his family contacted Amina. Instead, Samad demanded one lac taka from his in-laws as dowry. Meanwhile, Amina's brother lied to local people that they had given Tk.30,000 to Samad as dowry. The lie made Samad very angry and he informed Amina to bring money from her father otherwise she would not be allowed to come back to her in-law's house. Samad's mother also became angry for this. Samad accused Amina's father for not giving all the gold ornaments as promised during the marriage and also for not sending all the gifts that Amina and Samad received from the guests at Amina's place.

When her baby was born, Amina's father sent the news to Samad's family but they did not come to visit the newborn. It was very shocking for Amina. After a long time Samad's maternal uncle came to take Amina back home. But her father did not let her go. Amina was staying at her natal home without any support from her husband and in-laws. Amina's family tried to settle the matter in different ways but Samad did not show any positive response. For all these odd incidents Amina suffered a lot, she was mentally upset and the members of her family were also suffering. Amina's husband neither wanted to recognize her as his wife nor he wanted to divorce her.

At this Amina's family requested the matchmaker of the marriage to take initiative in solving the problem. When the matchmaker asked Samad about his dispute with Amina, he replied that he did not consider Amina as his wife anymore. Amina's father asked for justice from the *matbor* (headman) of the village in this regard. The village committee called a meeting. Where Samad denied the baby that grew in Amina's womb as his and left the place. Amina was shocked to hear such a lie and was very much disheartened. Her father became angry listening to Samad's statement and proposed for a divorce and paying bride money along with all the expenses he bore in the marriage.

Being desperate Amina took help of the Legal Aid program of BRAC. She claimed her *denmohor* (bride money) and *bhoronposhon* (subsistence allowance) from her husband. BRAC sent notice to Samad twice asking him to visit BRAC Legal Aid Clinic but he did not go there. At this Amina was compelled to file a case against Samad in the court for not paying her any money as per *kabinnama* (marriage deeds). After getting the notice from the court Samad got worried and came to Amina's father's house to bring her back home. Amina then withdrew the case from the court. Samad paid the money that Amina's father spent for filing the case, and thereafter Samad took Amina back to his house. Amina, on the other hand, felt that if her father had treated Samad in a special way he would never put pressure on her to bring money from her father.

Statement of perpetrator: Samad complained that Amina used to visit her parent's home frequently and she never asked him to accompany her. Once Samad forbade Amina to visit her parents, but Amina did not listen to him. She wanted to go there with her cousin. Samad forbade her cousin not to take her along. At this Amina showed temper to Samad for which he slapped Amina. He consulted with his mother and at last allowed Amina to go to her parent's house. Samad took her to a bus by which she went to her father's house. After a few days, Amina's brother came to Samad's place and accused them for sending Amina alone to her parent's house. He used filthy words to rebuke Samad's parents. He mentioned that Amina's parents would not allow her to return back to Samad. They proposed Samad to divorce Amina and pay her the bride money what she deserved.

Samad also realized that if he had duly looked after Amina sending to her father's house, things would not have gone so worse. He felt guilty for beating Amina and he mentioned that he was compelled to do so as Amina irritated him when he was already upset for refusing Amina to go to her natal place. Samad felt that after this incident Amina has changed a lot. Now she herself does not want to go to her father's house frequently. Samad felt so sorry for all these. This incident had tarnished his prestige so bad to the neighbors that he could not move respectfully in the village. Samad did not like anybody interfering in this matter.

Discussion: Dissatisfaction from not receiving dowry from in-laws increased the risk for Samad perpetrating all sorts of violence on Amina. Moreover, other male members of Samad's family also encouraged him to violate Amina for dowry. Not only that the members themselves also tortured her for dowry. Similarly Amina's father and brothers were equally inconsiderate to her as they misbehaved with her relatives from husband's side, knowing very well that they might react to such a behavior on Amina. Amina had to suffer due to self-pride and ego of her male relatives from both natal and in-laws families besides former tried to avoid economic loss by giving dowry whereas later wanted to have an economic gain by receiving dowry.

Insistence of Amina for frequent visit to natal home irritated Samad. At one point he sent Amina to her parents and kept her there for a long time without taking any care of her. Samad even denied in public accepting his own child. These actions reflected his attitude as he felt that his behavior could mend Amina. Age-old expectation that men have right to control women explains why Samad violated Amina.

Case number 3: Deception

Hena was a tribal Christian woman lived in Haluaghat. Her husband, worked in the police department, did not take proper care of Hena. He often stopped providing food to her. As a result it was quite hard for Hena to run a family with two children by herself. Hena's husband borrowed a bicycle from Khokon, a neighbor, and fled away with it. Nobody knew his whereabouts. In the name of getting the bicycle back Khokon tried to develop a relationship with Hena by frequent visiting her house. Hena went here and there with Khokon looking for her husband and the bicycle. However, they gradually developed a physical relation between themselves. Hena's parents were economically well off so it was likely that she would inherit lot of property from them. Khokon was aware of it. This tempted him to think that he might get a share of the property if he develops a relation with her; thus Khokon proposed Hena to marry him. Hena did not agree to the proposition as Khokon had a wife and it would be difficult for Hena to live with a co-wife. At this, Khokon mentioned that he would give 17 decimals of land as gift and build a house on it for her after marriage. Not only that Khokon would live with her in that house. Thus he would provide protection and care she was deprived of from her husband. Khokon's assurance allured Hena to change her mind. Particularly in a situation when no one knew whereabouts of her husband for the last two years and the villagers were whispering about her physical relation with Khokon. The villagers also created pressure on Hena not to allow Khokon to visit her house. Hena decided to marry Khokon without any delay. But Khokon started drifting away extending excuses for not marrying her then and there. Later, under strong pressure from the villagers Khokon took Hena to the court. Hena converted as a Muslim and married Khokon. But before their marriage besides conversion to Islam, Khokon put some conditions that Hena would have to live and lead captive life and use veil i.e., *purdah* as Muslim woman.

After marriage Khokon did not bring Hena to his home instead he left Hena to her mother's house and started living with his first wife at his own house. The tribal society did not accept the marriage as it was performed at the court. Then both Hena along with villagers created pressure on Khokon to get married again in presence of tribal people at the village and thereafter Khokon took Hena at his home.

Hena's co-wife did not accept her in the house. Khokon got married to Hena without permission from his first wife. Due to this Hena's co-wife did not like her. Khokon started drifting from Hena. Hena had to work a lot throughout the whole day, but she was not given enough food to eat. A Muslim married woman usually wears *nakful* (nose pin). Khokon did not give it to her. First wife along with Khokon and her children started assaulting Hena physically. One day her stepson wounded Hena with a knife and another day he hit 2/3 times on her head with a big torchlight. Her lip started bleeding. Khokon knew about all these maltreatment with her but did not take any step against him. In one occasion Hena's fellow-wife tore her *saree* (dress). As she did not have enough clothes for a change after bath, she wanted to go to her mother's house for a shower where she could have used her mother's clothes. This made Khokon very angry thus he beat her with a cane. As a result Hena was compelled to leave Khokon's house. After this, Khokon stopped giving any subsistence allowance to her. Finding no chores in supporting

herself she started working on other's land. One day, when she went to Khokon's sister's house to fetch water Khokon beat her mercilessly as because she was working at other's land.

Seeing all these villagers suggested Hena to get separated from Khokon, go back to her mother's house and demand her dues from him. But, Khokon's first wife did not allow her to do so. One evening Khokon came to his mother-in-law's house, tied Hena's mouth, gripped her by the neck and took her to his first wife. She beat Hena and locked her up in a room. After seeing all these Hena's daughter called police. The police opened the room and took her to the police station to make a general diary and Khokon was asked to go to the police station. Hena was seriously injured due to beating. From the police station Hena's daughter brought her to the hospital for her treatment. Hena's daughter pays for the treatment. Khokon did not ever come to see her at the hospital, on the contrary Khokon asked Hena to divorce him, but she refused.

After some time, however, Khokon hired a house for Hena at local town. Changing of the residence did not bring any change on his behavior with her. Here as well Khokon did not give her food regularly and beat her often. He beat her in front of people on the street. Khokon compelled her to leave her mother and even children. Khokon convinced her to convert to Islam. After her marriage Hena did not go to church even for a single time. In the month of Ramadan she observed fasting for the whole month like any other Muslim. But Khokon did not honor her all good intentions and love towards him. He kept Hena confined in a room and compelled her to lead her life like a prisoner.

After six months Khokon stopped paying rent of the house where Hena was staying so she was compelled to go back to her mother's house where she works at others land. One day Khokon caught her at local market, dragged her to his brother's house and beat her with a chain. His brother and the neighbor did not protest to it.

After that Hena was found to be engaged in illicit relationship with a few persons. She started smoking cigarette and drinking wine openly. At one stage Khokon beat her on the head and made her understood that he beat her because of her wrong behaviour. Hena sought for justice to the local Muslim elite of the village regarding her rights but they did not extend any support to her. Hena contacted BRAC and sought help. BRAC asked her to submit papers related to her marriage. Hena could not provide such documents as Khokon seized all the papers from her and kept those with her first wife. Finding repeated humiliation and physical torture impossible Hena was compelled to leave the village for Dhaka. She worked there as a housemaid for Tk.400 per month. After four months Khokon went to Dhaka and brought her back home by false allurement once again.

Then Khokon built a room in his mother-in-laws place for Hena. He provided food to her even though she worked in other's farm. So, Khokon beat her again and brought her to his house and kept her in a room by tied up with a chain. At this Hena's daughter called the police again but Khokon gave another round of beating to Hena as police was called. After that Hena filed a case against him in the court. Then Khokon convinced her to withdraw the case by giving her again a false allurement that he would give Hena 17 decimals of land and would build a separate house on it for her. Eventually Hena believed that if she would follow his instruction and lived in his residence, she would not suffer in the long run.

Statement of perpetrator: Khokon reported that after marriage Hena did not follow the conditions set by him before their marriage. She frequently moved everywhere of her own. This irritated him very much so he tortured her physically. Hena could not adjust with his first wife. They quarreled with each other. His first wife did not beat Hena as Khokon mentioned that he treated both the wives equally. He presented Hena a nose pin but she showed no interest in wearing it. She went to her mother's house willingly. Khokon also went there after two days just to see her. He asked Hena why she had shifted to her mother's house. Hena replied that she would not be able to lead a life like a prisoner. She asked for a divorce but Khokon did not agree to it.

The objective of beating Hena was to make her understand that she did something wrong. Khokon also added that he did not deprive her from anything else. He tortured Hena physically for her betterment. She used to drink, smoke, gossip, and move around with other men which the villagers spoke ill of and that was why he assaulted her physically.

Khokon added that once he stopped providing food to her so that she could mend her. Hena's behavior and social pressure together made him frustrated and compelled him to torture her. After beating her Khokon used to feel very sad. Khokon felt that it was his wrong decision to mix with Hena, otherwise all these would not have happened. Because of Hena he had lost a lot in his life. There is no peace in his family and his children are also unhappy.

Discussion: After developing physical relation with Hena, the villagers pressurized Khokon to marry her as their extra marital relationship contradicted with cultural and religious norms of the society. The values of the society controlled their action. The marriage between them gave Khokon the license to control Hena. Khokon forced Hena to convert into Islam and obeying the rituals of Islam. He had negative attitude on women's rights to freedom of action and movement that is why he placed condition on how Hena might behave after marriage. Finding that Hena was not following the conditions, Khokon did not hesitate to perpetrate both psychological and physical violence on Hena. Khokon had an unfeeling attitude that violence was necessary for Hena's betterment. Cultural differences in norms and values and notion of masculinity favored Khokon to be aggressor on Hena. Without taking permission of his first wife Khokon got married to Hena that ultimately increased Hena's vulnerability in his house.

Hena was forced to work in other's farm to run herself against Khokon's will. That was also a cause for violence against her. The case indicates that all the four factors of the ecological model enforced each other in violence against Hena. An attitude that wife should behave as per expectation of husband with total disregards to her right to freedom of actions, liking and needs initiated Khokon to violate on Hena.

Case number 4: Deception

Mina Akter was living in a village in Nandail. Her first husband was addicted to drug and alcohol. He did not work regularly and used to beat Mina whenever she objected to his addiction. Mina was with him for one year and then divorced him finding no improvement in his behavior. After divorce Mina stayed at her father's house for a year. Then she remarried to Majibor Rahman, son of Rowshan Morol from neighboring village. Majibor too was married earlier. The

matchmaker negotiating the marriage told Mina that Majibor's first wife Hawa Begum was mentally disturbed and had left him, nobody knew her whereabouts and it was most unlikely that she would come back. Hawa's father and Majibor searched for her everywhere but in vain. Matchmaker also mentioned that Majibor had only one child from that marriage. Majibor was financially well off than Mina's family. So, relying on the matchmaker's report, Mina agreed to marry Majibor.

When Mina went to Majibor's house after marriage, she discovered that he had three children not one. Mina remarked that had she knew that her husband had three children from first wife, she would not have married him at all. Mina's father was, however, informed of the presence of his three children by the first-wife. In fact, Majibor got married to Mina to have his three children taken care of. Majibor defended himself by telling that all about him was informed to Mina before marriage.

For six months, Mina managed to live with her husband and stepchildren happily. After that Hawa returned back to her father's house. Hearing this, Majibor went to bring her back but she refused to come with him. Hawa said that her return to Majibor was conditional upon his divorcing Mina. After this, Majibor started misbehaving with Mina. After few days Hawa returned to Majibor's residence of her own. Mina did not accept her return and started shouting at her. Mina could not tolerate her and kept on asking Majibor to drive Hawa.

After her return, Majibor and Hawa rather started torturing Mina jointly. Hawa compelled Mina to do all household works. Mina had to collect firewood from different places and cook for the family but Majibor and his first wife ate up all the food without leaving anything for Mina. Whenever Mina complained about all these Majibor beat and Hawa in return indulging in an altercation.

Majibor beat Mina more than Hawa. This was because, Mina always talked back to Majibor. In one occasion Hawa found Mina pilfering rice while she was cooking. When she pointed out about it to Mina she started quarreling with Hawa. At that moment Majibor returned back home when Hawa informed him of Mina's rice pilfering. In counter to Majibor's query, Mina started altercation with Majibor and at one stage, she hit him. At this Majibor beat Mina severely.

Hawa did not let Mina sleep with her husband. She even got furious if she had found Mina talking too much with her husband. Mina was denied of her right over her husband and her rights as a wife. Hawa slept with Majibor in a separate room. Mina had to sleep in her mother-in-law's room. As Mina could not give birth to any child, Majibor did not love her. Majibor himself did not want Mina's acquaintance with him. Mina often urged him to make separate arrangement for her. Majibor replied that she had consented to their marriage after learning everything about him. So, Mina would not get a separate arrangement. Two fellow wives must live together.

Majibor paid more importance to his first wife. He did whatever Hawa asked him to do. Majibor started saying that he married Mina to look after his children. As the mother of the children returned, he would not need Mina's service any more. If Mina wants to live with him, she can do so, only by adjusting with and listening to his first wife, otherwise she should go away from there.

Mina said that her husband beat her both inside and outside of home on trifle matter or for nothing. Had she needed anything from her husband's house, she had to take Hawa's permission first. If she complained against her fellow wife, he did not pay any heed to it rather beat Mina. Once Majibor said that he would divorce Mina after his son, who was working in Chittagong, would return home with money. In this way, Majibor often threatened Mina of divorce.

Just after marriage, Mina's father paid Majibor Tk.3,000 as dowry. Off and on, Majibor beat Mina to bring more money from her father, although time and again Mina tried to make him understand that her father was a poor man without any land and was the sole earner in his family. So, it was beyond his capacity to give anymore money, but Majibor, instead of being convinced beat Mina again.

Meanwhile, Mina filed a case of deception against Majibor at BRAC that took initiative in settling the case. To BRAC, Majibor promised that he would not beat her in future. But, after few days, both he and his first wife started torturing Mina the way they had done earlier. Then BRAC advised Mina to file a case at Mymensingh court, but she could not do it as she did not have any money.

At last, being unable to bear oppression from Majibor and Hawa anymore, Mina returned to her father's house. Being aggrieved at her conduct, Majibor did not ask about her for a long period. Yet, after all these, she used to go to her husband's house at times, but Majibor and Hawa behaved badly with her in all the occasions. During this period, Hawa once again disappeared from Majibor's house. In her absence, Mujibor started behaving well with Mina. But after a few months Hawa returned and started misbehaving with Mina. At this Mina told Majibor to pay whatever he owed to her as she would go back to her father's house. But Majibor replied, "Your staying and eating for all these days till today have equaled to the money you deserve." Mina returned back to her father's house. She met village leader for justice but she, being poor, could not draw any attention. One day Mina went to fetch her quilt from Majibor's house but got beaten up by her husband and Hawa. They hit her with a stand (low wooden seat) and injured her on the forehead and lip. Her lip started bleeding badly. She returned back to her father's house without the quilt.

Statement of perpetrator: Majibor remarked that women should observe their *pardah* otherwise people would get bad impression on the regulations of their family. It would go against the prestige of the male persons of that family. He even mentioned that women have intelligence but they cannot use that, they should live according to men's expectation.

Regarding violence on Mina Majibor commented that she had taken stationery from his shop without his permission to her father's house. Her behavior was all through bad, so Majibor has punished her for rectification. Once when he beat Mina, she showed her leg. Majibor also said that Mina would kick at his forehead and shouted filthy words at him. He reported it to Mina's father and sought for justice. In response to his complaint, Mina's elder brother reprimanded her in presence of Majibor and beat her up. Majibor continued that he has never beaten Mina in public and he usually beat up his two wives only to keep peace in his family. His beating has failed to change Mina. Majibor used to lose his temper before he beat them up. But their complaints against each other and their frequent raking up rows drove him mad. Whenever he

beat them, he felt sad. Majibor said that Mina could not adjust with his first wife. When Mina stayed at her father's residence; he, at times, did not bear her expenditure. He should not have married Mina. Had he not married her, peace in his family would have continued. It was only for his children's welfare, that he married her.

Discussion: Majibor's attitude on women itself explains the cause for him to be violent against Mina. Majibor was a person with a conservative attitude, as he believed that women should observe *pardah* for the sake of prestige of her in-law's family. *Purdah* was observed to be an effective means for controlling the action of female. His relation and behavior to a woman was very much influenced by his own interest. He married Mina concealing the presence of children from previous marriage so that she might take care of them. Again when there was no need of taking care of his children Mina became unwanted in the family. Majibor was not guilty about the fact that he deceived Mina in marriage. Majibor had an authoritarian attitude, would not tolerate any opposition from a female. This was why when Mina argued with him she was beaten up. Majibor could not tolerate such a behavior for his wife. Violence in this case was mostly located in the relationship within the family.

Case number 5: Acid Throwing

Laily Begum lives in Nandail. One of her neighbors was Surujkari prepared forged documents and purchased land by deceiving people. About one and half years back, Suruzkari purchased 50 decimals of agricultural land from Nurjahan who happened to be Laily's aunt-in-law. The land was the property of Nurjahan's father. Including Laily's husband, and her uncle-in-law Iman Ali, there were many successors to that land. So, Surujkari should not have purchased the land as it was a property of several successors; but he even after knowing all these dared to purchase the land. The deal was made secretly but in course of time the successors came to know about the deal. The successors objected to the transaction. These families off and on quarreled with Surujkari's families. As a result the villagers sat several times to settle the dispute over this property. In one of these meetings, the village-leaders decided that Surujkari would return half of the purchased land to Iman Ali. But Surujkari delayed the return as he never respected local judgement. Thus, the problem was not solved. So, Iman Ali filed a case against Surujkari in the court after preparing a false title indicating him as the owner of the land. Other day, while Surujkari was passing by Laily's residence, he met Iman Ali where they had an exchange of hot words over disputed land.

One day, after this Laily went to the land with a power-tiller and its driver with an intention to plough it but Surujkari opposed her in ploughing the land. After a few days, Laily noticed that Surujkari along with his two sons and a brother transplanting paddy-shoots on the land. Laily went to the land and asked them to leave the place, but they did not pay any heed to what she was saying. Rather Surujkari advised her to go home back but she refused and said that she would not return home rather she would die on that land. At one stage of altercation, Surujkari threw her on the ground and beat her with a green bamboo stick. Having seen Laily being under attack, her sister-in-law, Mina rushed to the place and pulled her up from the ground. At this stage, Surujkari and others got into rage and shouted filthy words at her. They started beating Laily, she scuffled back. At one point, Surujkari's eldest son struck her with a chopper but he

missed. Being frightened, Laily started screaming. Then Surujkari threw a bottle filled with some kind of fluid towards her from a close distance. As soon as the bottle hit her, she lost sense and fell on the muddy ground unconscious.

Local leaders and people from other villages gathered there after the incidence. They pulled up Laily out of the mud and took her back home. When she regained sense, she felt a severe burning sensation on different parts of her body. As she complained about her suffering to people around, her uncle-in-law and some other villagers hurriedly took her to Nandail hospital by a van. In the hospital, doctors diagnosed Laily as an acid-burnt patient and washed her body thoroughly.

Hearing the news from the villagers, BRAC staff came to Nandail hospital. Observing her condition they made an arrangement for transferring Laily to Mymensingh hospital where she was treated for six days and then referred to Acid Survival Foundation (ASF) in Dhaka. She was treated for one-and-a-half months in the foundation. Laily is still in worse condition. She cannot eat or walk with ease and her burn injury still itches.

Meanwhile, Laily's uncle-in-law filed a case accusing Surujkari for throwing acid on Laily. The villagers who were present at the time of the incidence indicated that they were not quite sure as to who threw acid on her or at all it was thrown. In the same evening, police raided Surujkari's house to apprehend him and others, but all of them went into hiding. Afterwards, police came to investigate the case, but the villagers expressed that they did not know about the incidence. In fact Surujkari silenced the villagers by giving them money. The police warned the villagers that this sort of incident, must not repeat in the village. Surujkari and his supporters were intimidating her and moving freely, despite committing such a crime. The police could not take any measure in this respect because Surujkari and his group were rich and bribed the police. Being poor Laily could not get justice.

Statement of perpetrator: Surujkari totally denied that he threw acid over Laily, though confessed that he struck her with a green bamboo stick. Prior to striking her, Surujkari lost his temper and after that he felt very sad about it. Surujkari added that he had no idea of what acid was and the place where from people could buy it. According to him acid throwing is a heinous act. Acid throwers should be punished severely. This incident affected his life greatly. This case spoiled his appetite, took away his sleep, and put his family into an ordeal. He could not even stay at home and took care of his children, as he had to go hiding.

Discussion: Violence on Laily took place at community level. Economic power of Suruzkari not only dared him to violate Laily but also silenced police and villagers to take action in favor of her. The greed for land, i.e., economic benefit, tempted Surujkari to deprive Laily of her right on land. He was ready to do any heinous act to achieve his objective and go any length in hurting other obstructing the objective.

There was a big gap between the attitude of Surujkari and his action regarding acid throwing. He had strong negative attitude towards acid throwing and he considered it as a hateful act. Still he was not hesitant in throwing acid on Laily and he collected it before coming to the land. He struck Laily with a stick out of rage being impeded to cultivate the land. That would not happen

if she did not protest. Situational and mainly economic factor played the vital role in perpetrating this violence.

Case number 6: Acid Throwing

Shahed Ali with his wife Hajera Begum lived in Ishwargaon, a village in Muktagacha. They were poor so Hajera had to work outside to support her family. Shahed Ali constructed a house on a piece of land belonging to his maternal grandfather under the impression that he was also an inheritor of that land. After the death of grandfather, three of Shahed Ali's maternal uncles and their sons put pressure on Shahed Ali to move out of the land. Shahed Ali and his uncles quarreled frequently on the issue. They also threatened Shahed Ali by saying that if he did not move out they would beat him and his wife and destroy his house. Shahed Ali refused to move out of the land on the ground that his maternal uncles did not give any share of inherited property to his mother, which was her legal right. At this juncture he and all of his aunts jointly filed a case against their brothers. Hajera mentioned that Shahed Ali's uncle and her other in-laws were specially angry with Shahed Ali believing that he mobilized his aunts to file case against them. One night Shahed Ali's cousin Md. Mokbul Hossain gripped Shahed Ali's neck to beat him, but Mokbul's sister came and save him from the beating. After this Shahed Ali used to keep himself hiding and did not stay at home regularly at night.

Two years back when Shahed Ali was still hiding, Mokbul, in the look out for Shahed Ali came to his house. After this, Hajera and her husband both went to the police station. The Police came to the village to investigate the incidence. They did not find any evidence of violence so the case did not proceed much rather the police gave Mokbul seven days time to settle the matter. After this the issue remained inactive for one and half years.

About six months back Mokbul along with his brothers started harassing Shahed Ali's family again. Mokbul planned to build a new house where Shahed Ali's house was standing and threatened Shahed and Hajera of beating them again. Mokbul beat Hajera once again inside her house and outside openly in front of others. Mokbul slapped her, pulled her by hair and tore her blouse. After this Shahed Ali asked for justice to the villagers several times but nobody responded to his request. At last village arbitration was held on the issue. It had three sessions. It decided that three of his uncles would get the land and in exchange two of his uncles would pay Tk.30,000 and the other uncle would give about 1.6 decimal (one *katha*) of land to Shahed Ali. Although Shahed Ali's uncles agreed to the verdict Shahed Ali decided to stay in his grandfather's land.

One night Hajera went out of the house in response to natural call around 3:00 am in the morning when suddenly someone threw some liquid (like hot water) on her body. She turned back and found Mokbul, Karim, and Sirajul were passing quickly away from the place. Hajera's cheek was burning. She cried out loudly and fell unconscious. Her neighbors came out by hearing her loud cry. After sometime Hajera's brothers-in-law carried her to the nearest hospital. The doctor said that Hajera have been burnt with acid. She was referred to Dhaka. One of BRAC members helped her in taking admission at the ASF in Dhaka. She was under treatment for one month in ASF and then returned to her home.

After this incidence Hajera felt insecure and physically weak. She could not eat properly. Her body shivered so she could not walk at normal speed. She got scared of everyone she saw. It was impossible for her to work in other's house anymore. So, she with her children have been suffering due to shortage of income. Hajera and her husband Shahed Ali filed a case against Mokbu, Sirajul, and Karim. After that Mokbul was in hiding.

Statement of perpetrator: The main perpetrator Mokbul mentioned that on the day acid was thrown on Hajera around 3:00 am he heard some noise and he could sensed his aunt's voice. Then he went to the spot and saw his aunt and one cousin sister along with other neighbors. He found Hajera crying and complaining that something had been thrown on her body. As Mokbul thought that Hajera had been possibly possessed he went out to bring a *fakir*³. His cousin said that it was a case of acid throwing. He mentioned that throwing acid is not acceptable in any circumstances because it ruins the life of the victim. Mokbul mentioned that Hajera behaved badly since the beginning of dispute over property. Shahed Ali sued a false case against him. Since then he was mentally disturbed and could not come to his house to look after his children. He even did not know where to collect acid.

Discussion: Mokbul had altercation with Shahed Ali's family on the disputed land. Therefore, both Shahed Ali and Hajera were at risk to be victimized. Hajera was victimized as she was present at the house and her husband was in hiding. Violence took place within the family circle among the relatives who were all claimants to the land. Mokbul probably misinterpreted the incident of acid throwing for self-defense. Economic factor heavily influenced Mokbul perpetrating this violence that undermined his strong negative attitude on acid throwing.

Case number 7: Rape

Sabina was living with her father Asaf Ali's daughter living in Fulbaria with her father. She is ten years old now. Md. Shahidul Islam is her cousin and very close neighbour. One day about two years back Shahidul called Sabina and offered her Tk.2. She did not respond to his call. She did not tell her mother about all these assuming that her mother would become angry with Shahidul for his behavior. One day Sabina's father went out to work and her mother went to the hospital to visit an ailing relative. Only two of her younger brothers and she were at home. Sabina was in the kitchen cooking afternoon meal. She was casually dressed. Taking advantage of the absence of her parents away from home Shahid came straight to the kitchen where Sabina was cooking. Sabina asked Shahid to leave the house calling him by bad words. But Shahid did not leave the place as a result Sabina was very scared. Shahid then forcibly unclothed her and made her lie down on the floor, tied hands, and gagged and then raped her. Blood started oozing from her vagina. Sabina could not utter a single word. After returning home Sabina's parents found her inside the kitchen lying straight and unconscious on the floor. They sprinkled some water on her face. As a result she gradually came back to sense. Realizing what happened to Sabina her parents immediately took her to the hospital. Police came to the hospital and they

³ A person with supernatural power to free a possessed.

suggested them to file a rape case. Later Asaf Ali went to the police station and filed a rape case against Shahid, since then he absconded.

Later on the case was transferred to the district court. The court then issued warrant of arrest against Shahid with the idea that his parents would be arrested if Shahid did not show up himself. Hearing this Shahid surrendered himself to the court. Court sentenced him to jail for 35 years as per law. Shahid's parents appealed to the verdict.

Shahid's parents intimidated the leader of the village to put pressure on Sabina's parents to get Shahid released from the jail. The elite of the village proposed Sabina's parents to resolve the case. Finding that the proposal not working, chairman and other elite of the village warned Asaf Ali that if the sentence (35 years jail) was executed on Shahid, they would not allow Asaf Ali to live in this village. He and his family would be ousted from this village. At last Sabina's parents agreed to solve the issue. Asaf Ali realized that he did not have any choice than living in this village and he could do nothing to revert the incidence already occurred. Moreover, Shahid's mother was his sister and they should not have disputes amongst themselves. So, he agreed to compromise and on the next hearing, Asaf Ali told the court that if Shahid would agree to take Sabina as his wife, he would withdraw the case from the court. The court put some conditions such as Shahid should give five decimals of land and pay Tk.18,000 to Sabina, as well as bear all food and educational expenses of her for next five years. In addition, the judge called the villagers and asked for their statements. The court also ordered Shahid's father that Sabina should be taken as his daughter-in-law as soon as she would be 18 years of age. Shahid's parents agreed to the conditions recommended by the court and signed a document in this respect.

Statement of perpetrator: Shahid said that he went to Sabina's house to get a chopper to work in the field. Finding no one else at home he had to ask Sabina to give him a chopper, but Sabina refused. At this Shahid became angry, he slapped her and came back home. He felt he should not have done so. He slapped her inside their house but did not do anything else. But Sabina did not take this matter easily. She kept on crying after being slapped. Shahid heard from others that Sabina's parents had done a medical test of her. This led Shahid to believe that somebody else might have raped Sabina. The case was nothing but a conspiracy against him.

Shahid mentioned that he was ashamed of moving around in the village. He did not feel like going anywhere. He always suspected that people were making objectionable comments about him from behind. It hurt him and he felt very depressed. The society did not take him in good grace and the neighbors did not accept him as theirs. He had to keep his head always down. His family had lost a lot of money in running the case that Sabina's father filed against him. He also had to register five decimals of land in her name. He would have to wait until she is 18 years old to marry her. He did not have the freedom to marry on his own decision rather he had to wait until Sabina's adulation for marriage. This incidence had hurt him most in his whole life. Shahid wished no one else should fall in such an odd situation. He had to suffer a lot even though he did not know anything about this incidence.

Discussion: An individual level factors were mainly associated with Sabina's rape. Shahid was probably tempted to rape Sabina found her wearing less clothes in an empty house. He dared to rape her as he knew a child like Sabina was not strong to protest herself against him. The

situation is best explaining to the inequality theory of violence - children become frequent victims of rape only for that reason. The statement of Shahid indicated that he did not have an attitude very much against rape. He flatly denied that he did not rape Sabina. He was more concern about the losses that he and his family had to go through due to the rape rather they being repented about the harm that he did to Sabina.

Case number 8: Attempt to Rape

Rashida Begum lives in village Kamlapur in Fulbaria thana. One of her neighbors was infamous Abdul Mannan. All the villagers were scared of Mannan. No one had a good impression about him. Mannan had an unlawful relationship with his aunt whom he married later on due to the pressure from the villagers. The villagers were afraid of keeping anything outside their houses as Mannan would steal everything.

Rashida took a loan of Tk.1,000 from Mannan to register a piece of land, on condition that Rashida would pay a bigger amount of Tk.1,500 to Mannan after a month. At the end of the period Rashida repaid Tk.700 only. Rashida was not in a position to pay such a high rate of interest. Mannan had an altercation with Rashida over the money. Mannan beat Rashida several times on this issue in broad daylight. Once he beat Rashida unconscious with his shoes. Finding that beating was not working at one point he took away a goat along with two of its kid from Rashida to recover the rest of the money from her. When she tried to prevent him from doing so Mannan dragged Rashida out of her house and beat her once again. Lot of people was present at the incidence, but no one stopped Mannan as everyone was afraid of him.

At this Rashida's husband came to Ruhul Amin, a neighbor of theirs and asked him to solve this problem. Ruhul Amin avoided them by suggesting that they should go to the *matbor* (village leader). But they did not take any initiative on her problem. Of course Lutfa, the female member of the union parishad tried several times to resolve the issue but failed.

Finding that mere taking away of the goats was not working Mannan sold the goats at Tk.1,550. He kept Tk.1,200 and gave rest of money to Rashida's uncle so that he might give it to her. Rashida did not accept the money from her uncle. One day at about 11:00 pm in the evening when Rashida was sleeping someone entered her house and grabbed her on the floor. Rashida woke up and started screaming. This made her son who was sleeping next to her wake up, as well as the villagers, who later on rushed there. When the neighbors reached Rashida's home, her son told them that someone had taken his mother away. Apprehending of a danger the person who took away Rashida freed her and fled away. Raahsida said that Mannan dragged her out of home either to kill or to rape her. But he was unable to do either as her son saw him. Rashida was then taken to the hospital by the villagers. After staying there for three days she came home. Later Rashida went to the police station and filed a rape case against Mannan. He was absconding for a few months after the case was filed. A warrant of arrest was issued against him. Police came to the village three times to arrest Mannan but failed to do so.

Life of Raahsida became more unsecured after she filed the case to the police. Mannan threatened to kill her because of filing the case. He used to wait every night with a chopper beside Rashida's house to assault her. As Rashida's husband did not stay at home she stopped going out

of home for any reason whatsoever at night. Finding herself extremely unsafe Rashida went to the police station again and informed the police about the activities of Mannan. She requested the police to arrest him. Although police promised her to do so and advised her to go home with a fearless mind the police did not show up to arrest Mannan. She was feeling that Mannan curtailed her right to movement in the society. Finding no other choice she asked the villagers to help her. They also did not protest to Mannan's activities rather they mentioned that the reason Mannan was threatening as because Rashida filed a case against him. Then Rashida submitted a petition to BRAC for justice. BRAC did not receive her petition as she already filed a case with the police. After few months Mannan surrendered to police. Court refused to give him bail and was sent to jail. He was in the jail for about 50 days. Then Mannan's cousin talked with Rashida to resolve the case. Later the villagers sat to resolve the dispute between Mannan and Rashida. They imposed conditions that Mannan would bear all the costs to withdraw the case from the court and he would never do such illegal acts and would not oppress the villagers. If he does so, the court will give him severe punishment. Mannan agreed to these conditions and paid Rashida Tk.4,000. Thereafter Rashida withdrew the case from the court.

Statement of perpetrator: Mannan had positive attitude towards women's rights and his feeling was not to force them to do any act against their will. Mannan argued that Rashida filed a false rape case against him being influenced by someone else. He made an attempt to rape Rashida was an absolute lie. They had a dispute over money. He never has beaten Rashida even. Rashida was never seen quarrelling with others before. Because of this rape case filed against him, Mannan felt very disgraced. The incidence became a stigma in his life. In no way he felt free himself free from this shame. Everyone should be cautious so that such an incidence did not take place in the village. Mannan felt that he had to undergo a tremendous loss of both money and honor from this incidence.

Discussion: Mannan was widely known in the village for having a bad character. The violence he perpetrated was an exercise of individual male power to control a woman. Mannan's attitude on women could not influence his action. He beat Rashida at times for money which she borrowed from him. To him violence was a means to control the action of women thus achieve his objective. He tried to rape or kill Rashida out of vengeance of her legitimate action to save herself.

Summary

Altogether eight case studies have been narrated in this chapter. The perpetrators were intimate partners of the victims like husband, distant relative or fellow villager. The factors associated with violence in these cases substantiated the argument of the ecological model that no one factor alone causes violence against women. The victims were violated in one or more domains, i.e. individual, relationship, community, and society. Situation in one domain increased the likelihood of violence in another.

Economic gains whether received as dowry or possession of landed property were a strong impetus in violating against women. Wives were psychologically or physically violated and

forced to an action like sending them to the parents house against their will so that their parents might be compelled to pay dowry.

Female became victim of male violence due to self-pride, ego, and uncompromising attitude of male. Marriage was thought to be a license to control wife by husbands. Husbands imposed their will and desire on wives in total disregard to those of the latter. The expectation that wife should comply to their desires comes from the belief that husband owns his wife. Controlling wife was considered to be a right of husband. They disliked that wife should defy them as that would prove their lack of quality of controlling wife. They controlled wife even by becoming violent on them if required. Thus, when wife contradicted husband or talked backed to him husband became physically violent.

A good number of violence against women was not considered violence by the perpetrator particularly if they were husbands as the violence was considered to be a measure to rectify the victims. In the name of rectifying them the perpetrators wanted the victims to behave as they desired.

Male in many cases established relationship with female for self-interest. When there was no need for relationship male did not hesitate to terminate the relationship and even became violent on them if that was needed for the termination.

In the case of rape sexual impulse appeared to be the driving force in perpetrating such violence. Proper opportunity when perpetrator would be safe in committing such violence was also a consideration in perpetrating the violence.

Most of the perpetrators were repentant after perpetrating the violence indicating that they had an attitude not supporting the violence. In spite of having such an attitude they perpetrated violence as because their other impulses for such violence were more powerful than the attitude determining the action. In many cases the perpetrators have developed attitudes in support to their violent action. For example, in the case of demand for dowry the perpetrator husband not only had an attitude supporting the demand for dowry but also had justification for assaulting wife for it.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In violence against women, wives, mothers, and daughters are battered, raped, verbally abused, neglected, deprived of human dignity and means to meet their basic needs. Apparent cost of violence ranges from medical treatment to legal fees and support. However, the cost of violence is not only monetary but also emotional and social. The emotional and social costs of violence against women in most cases are incalculable. Violence against women is a human rights issue. It is deeply rooted in the culture and religion; supported and in many cases, even institutionalized by patriarchal societies. To some, violence against women arises from social and legal systems that entrusting the care of women and children to men, which in turn, grants them unlimited license to dominate, oppress, and even own women. Enormous cost of violence along with the fact that it is a man-made problem justifies any effort in reducing violence against women.

The main objective of this study was to understand the psychosocial dimensions of the attitudes of men towards violence against women. Under this broad rubric the study focused upon several issues.

- Analyze pattern of violence.
- Assess men's attitude towards women in general and their attitude towards violence against women in particular.
- Find out what it would take to stop violent behavior of men towards women.

The study revolves around two important concepts, male attitude and violence against women. The study started with the discussion on the relation between attitude and action in general followed by one on male's attitude towards violence against women.

Relation between attitude and action: Social psychologists agree that attitudes and actions have a reciprocal relationship, one feeding the other. Popular wisdom stresses the impact of attitudes on actions. Surprisingly, our attitudes often poorly predict our actions. Our attitudes

will predict our behavior if 'other influences' are minimized, if the attitude corresponds very closely to the predicted behavior, and if the attitude is potent. Thus, there is a connection between what we think and feel and what we do, even if the connection in many situations is loose than we do like to believe.

Although people do or do not engage themselves in violent acts according to their attitudes, values, and personality characteristics, one of the major restraints to express aggression comes from one's strong religious and moral values. It was observed that the aggressors committing violent acts against women were significantly weaker in moral and religious values compared to nonaggressors (Begum and Rahman 1998). Obviously the weak moral and religious values have made them less inhibited in engaging themselves in violent acts. This observation justifies why a study on attitude should be done to control violence in any society.

A few studies have dealt with violence against women in relation to male's attitude towards it. When it was taken into consideration male attitude was considered to be one of the determinants of their violence against women. None of these studies have singled out exclusive contribution of attitude among other determinants in the violence against women. Some of these studies have used feminist theory in explaining violence against women in Bangladesh. According to this theory, subordination of women, a necessary condition of the patriarchal social order, is maintained through economic and social processes and violence is an instrument of ensuring the maintenance of this order.

The action-attitude sequence occurs not just with shading the truth but with more immoral acts as well, like violence against women. Evil sometimes results from gradual escalating commitments. A trifling violence against women can make a less trifling violence against them easier. The more one commit atrocities, the easier it becomes for the person to continue with these. The same holds for prejudice. Actions and attitudes feed one another, sometimes to the point of moral numbness. These observations suggest that evil acts not only reflect the self, they even shape the self (Berscheid et al. 1968; Davis and Jones 1960; Glass 1964). This is how and why it has gradually been justified and established in our society that 'a woman's heaven lies under the feet of her husband', and often quoted excuse for male violence against women is that, 'the part of a woman's body hit by her husband will go straight to heaven' (Azim undated).

The investigation of intensity of violence indicate that men in Bangladesh seem to have the prerogative to use violence against their wives and thus violence against women is a common male behavior in our culture. Besides rationalizing, the violence against women is not taken as an offence rather a normal act not only by male but by female also in many cases. This is probably why the findings from this study indicate that violence against women was not considered to be a top most important problem to the villagers. According to the respondents it ranked at the bottom of the list of problems that existed in their village.

Although violence against women was considered least important by the respondents that did not mean that they were least informed about it. They were fully aware about its nature and changing pattern over time. Of different types of violence against women, physical violence followed by

psychological one was considered to be the most significant of all violence in their society. Violence related to action was least important of all violence to them.

Male Attitudinal and its Correlates

When all the parts (i.e., attitude in general, women's rights, and deprivation) of scale related to attitude of male towards women were taken together 47% of the respondents had less favorable attitude toward women as against 46% having more favorable attitude towards them. When all parts (i.e., psychological and physical violence, and violence related to deprivation and action) of scale related to violence against women were taken together the half of the respondents (51%) had an attitude less favorable towards violence against women. In the case of attitude in general, women's right, psychological violence, and deprivation and action related violence greater number of respondents had a favorable attitude towards the interest of women (including violence) than those with less favorable attitude. In the case of deprivation and physical violence those with less favorable attitude towards female was slightly more in number than those with more favorable attitude. Besides, 30% and 38% of the respondents in the case of discrimination and physical violence respectively had attitudes neither more nor less towards the interest of women.

The attitude of the respondents in terms of women in general, women's right, discrimination, deprivation, and action varied with the variation in their education. Similarly the attitude of respondents in terms of psychological, physical, and action related violence varied with their participation in NGO. Respondents' attitude on women's rights and action-related violence varied in terms of their age and food security status of households. When all parts were taken together both attitude towards women and violence against women were associated with respondents' education and participation in NGO. Year of education and NGO membership appeared to be most important variables associated with male attitude. The educational curriculum and NGO program in many cases oriented students/members about the rights of female which, in turn, probably led to the variation in respondents' attitude.

It was assumed that the attitudinal score towards women would be positively associated with the score from attitude towards violence against women. Although number of correlations between the parts was statistically significant the correlations were not so strong. Attitude related to discrimination against women was associated with the attitude towards psychological, deprivation, and action-related violence. Women's rights can be synonymous to deprivation and action-related violence in many cases. Therefore the attitudes should be supplementary to each other. Attitude towards discrimination was associated with the attitude towards physical violence, deprivation, and action-related violence.

Rationalization of Attitude

Male attitude towards women: One of the most important attitudes towards women in general was that they should be respected. All women were viewed same as mothers thus it was believed that they should be revered in the same way as done to mothers. Women were also imaged of being helpless, weak, honest, and kindhearted – other reasons why they should be respected. The image of motherhood viewed in all women was a strong belief mentioned repeatedly by the

respondents and had influenced their attitude towards violence against women. Respondents also had a mixed feeling about women. In one hand, respondents believed that all female should be respected in general and had an objective view about female in many cases an attitude very much supporting the interest of female. On other hand, they held an attitude leading to a tendency to control the action of females and exert authority on them.

Respondents had positive attitude towards women's rights mostly based on knowledge on religion, empirical observations, and related thinking. Such positive attitude discourages male in depriving female of their rights like bride-money and inheriting father's property. Girls' wellbeing in future whether economic or social was also a strong motivation in upholding women's right. A good number of respondents with an attitude not supporting women's rights were of the opinion that women should be barred from knowing about their rights in order to make it easier for men to control them. If women knew about their rights they would first demand and then force their husbands and fathers to meet the demands. Such an act would de-empower them. It was observed that denial of women's rights was synonymous to deprivation-related violence and could lead to action-related violence against women in many cases. In general male had an attitude supporting the rights of female

Male, in general, had an attitude very much against the discriminations in terms of basic needs like food, treatment, etc., towards women. Males were empathetic to agony of the discrimination and valued individual rights of the female. Those who opined that women might be discriminated did so based on belief that giving less food to women was not discrimination against them rather a practical adjustment during crisis. It was not a deliberate discrimination for self-interest. In the process of decision making majority of the respondents had an attitude very much towards discrimination against women. Discrimination was influenced by the respondents' perception on issues like who owned property in the family. Where it was believed that husband was the sole owner of the property wife's opinion in selling property was not valued. In contrast, when it was believed that property belonged to all members of the family wife's role in decision making was valued.

The image that female being weak and helpless developed an attitude in the respondents that female were inferior to male, if not in all definitely in many ways. In spite of having an attitude of motherly reverence towards all women respondents also had a belief that male had an authority over women, i.e., in deciding the role that women should play at all levels in the society and on their mobility. The roles and mobility of women were controlled by males' concept of *pardah*. *Purdah* in this case determined the place that females might visit, the persons they might communicate with and the ways they should cover their bodies. After and above, the respondents believed that husbands had an authority to control wives' action. Such an attitude also reflects husbands desire to monitor their authority and control over wife which in turn could lead to violence related to action on them in particular besides other violence. A strong force in molding attitude of male towards female was the dictates of Islam in relation to women. These dictates were popularly believed in their societies. Respondents accepted these interpretations of Islam without scrutinizing their authenticity. The interpretations influenced their attitude both in favor and against women and also developed the basis in forming attitude of male in relation to violence against women.

Male attitude towards violence against women: Respondents were aware of the basic rights of the female and were considerate to the fact that they would feel bad if such rights were violated. Although respondents were quite considerate to psychological state of mind of the female when they were deprived of their rights sometimes it was taken to their advantage. As the respondents thought that psychological pressure was an effective means to realize certain ends for men, e.g., dowry. Respondents were almost indifferent towards the fact that women were likely to be psychologically tormented when their physical movements were obstructed by male.

In general, males were against any serious physical violence against women like lashing. It was believed that no one had right to females' body. Although it was mentioned that under no circumstances male had right to assault women, but to many, such violence was acceptable if female violates the dictates of Islam and the violation was considered to be a serious sin. The respondents did not consider such violence as violence rather as punishment or a measure to rectify the victim thus was considered 'normal violence'.

Although most of the respondents were not in favor of depriving female from food and basic material needs a good number of them were in favor of depriving female from sharing power with male. Depriving female in exercising power and sharing power with male was considered justified on the ground that male were superior to female.

Respondents were particularly against such action by women, which contradicted with traditional division of labor or such action not practiced in the society before. It was considered acceptable to force wives to take such actions like handing over their income to husband, an action would make husband a gainer.

A good number of these respondents rationalized their position by emphasizing upon the consequences of violence against women. They were also empathetic to victims by thinking about the pain of violence that women had to go through. Many of these respondents believed that violence against women would some how affect them, their family, and in many cases their society – consequences not desired by them – so they were against any violence towards women. In this case their attitude was influenced by self-interest rather than an attitude supporting the cases of female on violence against them. Again in many cases respondents' attitudes were influenced both by the interest of victim and that of self. The study was not designed to differentiate respondents in terms of these finer considerations.

Causal Explanation of Violence

But violence is an extremely diffused and complex phenomenon. Defining violence is not an exact science but a matter of judgement. Notions of what is acceptable and unacceptable in terms of behavior, and what constitutes harm, are culturally influenced and constantly under review as values and social norms evolve in the society. In this context it may be mentioned that pinpointing the causes of violence against women is difficult for two important reasons (WHO 2002).

- No single factor explains why one person and not another behaves in a violent manner. Violence is a complex problem rooted in the interaction of many factors – biological, psychological, social, cultural, economic, political, etc.

- While some risk factors may be unique to a particular type of violence, more often the various types of violence share a number of risk factors.

In spite of these difficulties scholars from variety of disciplines like biology, psychology, sociology, criminology, etc., have persistently tried to discover the cause of violence and their solution. Consequently number of theories have been developed. These theories, in general, are unidisciplinary as scholars have viewed the problem from their own professional background and to be general in nature – thus limited in scope (Popenoe 1996). It is also likely that some important determinants of violence is still left to be investigated or deserves further investigation. One of such important determinants probably is the attitude of male perpetrator towards the violence against women. The findings of the study have isolated certain causes of violence against women.

- Economic gain, whether received as dowry or possession of landed property, was a strong impetus in violating against women. Wives were psychologically or physically violated and forced to an action like sending them to the parents' house against their will so that their parents might be compelled to pay dowry.
- Female became victim of violence due to self-pride, ego, and uncompromising attitude of male.
- Marriage was thought to be license to control wife by husbands. Thus, husbands imposed their will and desire on wives in total disregard to those of the latter. The expectation that wife should comply to their desires from the belief that husband owns his wife. Controlling wife was considered to be a right of husband. They dislike that wife should defy them as that would prove their lack of quality of controlling wife. They controlled wife even by becoming violent on them if required. Thus, when wife contradicted husband or talked backed to him husband became physically violent.
- A good number of violence against women was not considered violence by the perpetrator, particularly if they were husband, as the violence was considered to be a measure to rectify the victims. In the name of rectifying them the perpetrators wanted the victims to behave as they desired.
- Male in many cases established relationship with female for self-interest. When the objective is achieved male do not hesitate to terminate the relationship and even became violent on them if that was needed for the termination.
- In the case of rape sexual impulse appeared to be the driving force in perpetrating such violence. Proper opportunity when perpetrator would be safe in committing such violence was also a consideration in perpetrating the violence.
- Most of the perpetrators were repentant after perpetrating the violence indicating that they had an attitude not supporting the violence. In spite of having such an attitude they perpetrated violence as because their other impulses for such violence were more powerful than the attitude determining the action.

- In many cases the perpetrators have developed attitude in support to their violent action. For example in the case of demand for dowry the husbands had an attitude supporting the demand for dowry.

It can be said with confidence that the number of males having attitude against violence towards women after being motivated by self-interest, i.e., not sympathetic to the cause of women, are not small in our society. These males along with those whose attitudes were not so much against violence towards women constitute a larger portion of male population in Bangladesh. Their size definitely testifies the intensity of the problem relating to male attitude towards violence against women. In order to address the problem several recommendations are made based on the findings of this study. The recommendations are all directly or indirectly related to changing attitude of male to reduce violence against women in Bangladesh. Although attitudes are hard to change, optimistic efforts must be made to change where required.

Recommendations

Violence against women is a global problem that requires a global solution, but to create a violence-free society the development efforts should chalk out effective strategies appropriate to specific cultural and social conditions in which violence occurs. Besides, any approach designed to combat violence must be twofold, address the root causes of the problem and treat its manifestations. The multifaceted nature of violence requires the engagement of agencies involved in violence reduction initiatives at all levels of decision making – local, national, and international. Again the implementation of the decisions will require coordination and collaboration among governmental, nongovernmental, and private organizations. Prevention of the violence against women may have different approaches addressed at different levels of the society. Effective strategy to address violence against women should address all the levels of ecological frameworks – individual, relationship, community, and society.

Individual Perpetrator

Number of studies indicated that violence is triggered off by mental ill health, as well as bad habits and stress in life. In order to prevent violence against women and to rehabilitate abusive men, it is necessary to develop programs for men to change their violent behavior and learn how to solve problems without violence. In these programs perpetrators should be counseled to help them to reflect on their own experience and the root causes of their acts, convince them of their wrong doing thus making them feel repentant about their acts in such a way so that proper attitude towards violence against women may be developed in them. Help them to build self-esteem and control rage. The perpetrator should be taught to reduce/control anger and resolve conflict peacefully. Treatment programs should be introduced for those suffering from psychiatric disorders and for sex offenders.

Social behavior is learnt at an early age thus socially and culturally determined. Youth program may be taken to encourage young people to challenge traditional gender norms. An attitude supporting nonviolent conflict resolution should be developed both in male and female. Young people should be taught to channel emotions through constructive means. Changing the behavior

of man should be an important part of solution to the problem of violence against women. All men may be educated to change the social attitudes and beliefs that encourage male violence through 'reach out to man' program.

Relationship

It is important that an attitude leading to positive relationship between male and female both within family and outside may be developed to reduce violence against women. In this context 'young couples program' may be introduced to draw on their knowledge and experience, to develop positive family relations and share responsibility in areas of parenting, division of labor within family, income generation, etc. Several cooperative programs may be undertaken where the development of positive attitude towards women and against violence on them can result as a byproduct of the program activities.

- Encourage cooperative work in the public sphere. Such programs, addressing common issues and concerns, e.g., unemployment, will bring young people together. Shared responsibilities and decision making between young men and women will develop positive attitude about each other.
- Women will never escape violence as long as they are financially dependent on men and derive their social value exclusively from their role as wife and mother. Therefore, to have economic independence young women should acquire income-generating skills and in some cases have access to microcredit. However, economic independence also requires recognition and appreciation of young women's work by young men. Thus, young men and women should be encouraged to work together in income-generating projects. Young men will then realize the strength of women in the economic sphere. Following measures may be undertaken for economic empowerment of women:
 1. improving opportunities for women's employment and access to credit;
 2. improving levels of female education;
 3. improving levels of female involvement in political activities locally and nationally, e.g., through quota systems;
 4. reducing the objectification of women in society, e.g., by pornography and beauty contest;
 5. promoting of sexual equality in schools by appropriate training of teachers; and
 6. legislation to facilitate women's access to divorce and maintenance.
- Increase the capacity of women to identify and combat violence. Such projects will strengthen communication skills, raise women's awareness of possible actions, build management skills, teach self-defense, and strengthen women's organizations.

Community

Efforts must be made to change attitude towards violence within a shorter period and particularly in those who are not attending educational institutions other measures may be adopted. One of these is awareness building. Awareness may be built by increasing collaboration, consolidation and dissemination and exchange of information on incidence and prevention of violence so that people may acknowledge that violence against women is a problem in their society. Several measures in this context are suggested.

- Sensitize police, judiciary, policy makers, and religious leaders by organizing workshop and symposium on violence against women.
- Create public awareness on the issue of violence against women through all forms of media and community network. Objectives of media will be to develop an attitude in male that violence against women is immoral and unjust. The media must eliminate stereotype images of girls and women and portray them in egalitarian relationships with men. Media messages that glorify war or social violence as natural expressions of male potency and reinforce the image of women as helpless and available objects of men's sexual derive must be stopped.
- Public information campaigns based around basic messages – no woman deserves to be violated – may be conducted. This involves making violence visible as a development issue in relation to other development themes. Rallies, billboards, etc., can be effective means for the purpose.
- Disseminate reports of projects concerned with violence against women to aware people about the effort made to change attitude towards such violence.

Thus, actions are likely to change community norms and attitudes and beliefs that give rise to men's abusive behavior towards women and that permit it to persist. A social consensus against violence towards women may be developed in men.

Society

As aggressive behavior is learnt rather than it is instinctive thus there lies a hope for its control. Through planned psycho-educational and sociocultural interventions efforts may be made to change male objectification of women and their attitude towards violence against women. Changing male's attitude and mentality towards female will take long time at least a generation, perhaps longer. Nevertheless, doing that is equally important as taking legal steps to protect women's rights. Following programs directed towards changing male attitude may be undertaken independently or as a part of other programs to combat violence against women.

Education: Education is one of the most effective means for the formation of sustainable attitude. We have seen that the basis of a good number of attitudes lies in religious misunderstandings and bigotry. Change in attitude is associated with change in education. Therefore, one of the important strategies in forming male attitude against violence towards women may start from the educational institutions. The policies related to education should focus on curriculum and the method of teaching.

- Educational curricula may be made gender sensitive by providing values supporting gender equality and equity. We must inculcate values supporting rights, honors and dignity of women in male students. Educate girls about their rights and privileges. The curriculum may also include course on sexuality, health, family planning, and gender violence. It will enable young people to explore, challenge and question sexual behavior and abuses within their communities.
- By adopting egalitarian approach the process of teaching should be an example of doing justice and honoring the rights of female students. Boys should be educated to view women as valuable partners in their life and in the establishment of peace and justice in the society.

Law: Studies indicate that effective legal system is an effective means for controlling violence. The case studies indicate that when victim took help of BRAC or other legal institutions perpetrator cooperated with the legitimate rights of the victims. Therefore, the following recommendations in this context may be made:

- The law should be made precise for legal interpretation in the hierarchy of tribunals and courts and provisions for adequate punishment of the offenders. The clauses may be added not only for the punishment of perpetrator of violence but also for the payment of compensation for the women victims.
- Under ideal condition when the punishment is heavy, prompt, and sure; when it is combined with reward for the desired behavior punishment deters aggression. Therefore, measures may be taken so that national legislation, once adopted, does not go unenforced.
- Promote mechanisms to monitor and protect human rights of women. Support legislative efforts that seek to redress gender-based power imbalances and civil rights. NGOs and civil societies may be mobilized to come forward to address this issue. The organizations involved with implementation of laws like police can be monitored for effective implementation of laws against perpetrators.

Research: We have seen that there is considerable dearth of understanding of violence particularly in context to Bangladesh. Hardly any research has been done focusing on male attitude towards violence against women. In meeting this need it is suggested that both quantitative and qualitative researches should be conducted in the area so that they might contribute independently and supplementarily in understanding violence against women. It will effectively help in strategizing interventions and prevention of violence against women.

Besides finding out the intervention strategies, research should also be done to assess the effectiveness of existing programs on violence against women, thus find out the justification for their continuation and modification if required. Another important job of research will be to feed advocacy programs with data so that it might be used for legal and legislative reform to stop violence against women.

If an attitude supporting an action is changed through intervention a tension is likely to develop between newly formed attitude and action. In course of time the action, e.g., violence against women, will change.

Summary of Recommendations

- Programs may be developed for physically/mentally hindered men to change their violent behavior and make them learn how to solve problems without violence.
- Young people may be taught to channel emotions through constructive means. Males may be educated to change the social attitudes and beliefs that encourage male violence through 'reach out to man' program.
- An attitude leading to positive relationship between male and female both within the family and outside may be developed as such to reduce violence against women. In this context 'young couples program' may be introduced to draw on their knowledge and experience, to

develop positive family relations and share responsibility in areas of parenting, division of labor within family, income generation, etc.

- Several cooperative programs may be taken where the development of positive attitude towards women and against violence on them can result as a byproduct of the program activities. For example, improvement of opportunities for women's employment and access to microcredit program of NGOs.
- Increase the capacity of women to identify and combat violence. For example, raise their communication skill and awareness of possible actions against male violence against them.
- Efforts must be made to change attitude towards violence within a shorter period and particularly in those who are not attending educational institutions through awareness building programs. Awareness may be built by increasing collaboration, consolidation and dissemination, and exchange of information on incidence and prevention of violence, so that people may acknowledge that violence against women is a problem in their society.
- One of the important strategies in forming male attitude against violence towards women may start from the educational institutions. The policies related to education should focus on curriculum and the method of teaching. So that those may inculcate values recognizing rights, justice, and proper respect to women.
- The law should be made precise for legal interpretation in the hierarchy of tribunals and courts, and provision for adequate punishment of the offenders. Measures may be taken so that national legislation, once adopted, does not go unenforced. Promote mechanisms to monitor and protect human rights of women. Support legislative efforts that seek to redress gender-based power imbalances and civil rights.
- Both quantitative and qualitative researches should be conducted so that they might contribute independently and supplementarily in understanding violence against women which, in turn, would help in taking effective measures to combat such violence in our society.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1

Extract from agreement between UNFPA and BRAC (terms of reference)

3.2 More specifically, the contractor will ensure that the funds will be utilized exclusively for:

- To conduct exhaustive literature review of research on violence against women in Bangladesh, analyzing the extent to which reasons for men's attitudes and behaviors have been considered. If necessary international experience in this area may also be taken into account.
- To design, pre-test, revise and administer a survey questionnaire of men's attitudes towards violence against women.
- Conduct focus groups with all men and specifically with perpetrators, identifying from them and women survivors, what it would take to stop violence behaviors, and what type of interventions this would need.
- To engage community stakeholders in participatory research.
- To develop several in-depth individual interviews to produce case studies and then analyze these to deconstruct patterns of violence.
- To offer specific recommendations for intervention program for male perpetrators of violence.
- Meet with the Ad Hoc Advisory Panel four times over the four and half month(s) of activities.

Appendix 2

Appendix 2.1: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'All women belong to mothers' race so they should not be tortured by any man.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Score	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	1.4
Partially disagreed	2	.2
Partially agreed	3	1.0
Completely agreed	4	97.4

Appendix 2.2: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Purdah of women is affected if they work and loiter outside the house.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Score	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	69.7
Partially agreed	2	12.2
Partially disagreed	3	8.2
Completely disagreed	4	10.0

Appendix 2.3: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'In case a close relative of a woman is seriously ill, she may visit the patient without permission of her husband if he is not present at home.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Score	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	33.7
Partially disagreed	2	6.6
Partially agreed	3	19.1
Completely agreed	4	40.6

Appendix 2.4: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'When a woman keeps on giving birth to female children one after another, it leads one to believe that she must have some problem.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Score	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	8.9
Partially agreed	2	3.0
Partially disagreed	3	3.8
Completely disagreed	4	7.4

Appendix 2.5: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Women should lead their life according to the advice of male person, it is therefore all the same whether they are aware or not aware of their rights.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	26.9
Partially agreed	2	12.9
Partially disagreed	3	19.9
Completely disagreed	4	40.2

Appendix 2.6: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Married women have got the right to receive their bride-money.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	1.6
Partially disagreed	2	.6
Partially agreed	3	1.0
Completely agreed	4	96.8

Appendix 2.7: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Only the son should have the right to inherit father's property.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	5.0
Partially agreed	2	.2
Partially disagreed	3	1.4
Completely disagreed	4	93.4

Appendix 2.8: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Politics involves lot of hassle and bustle; even then the women should not refrain from it.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	62.2
Partially disagreed	2	8.8
Partially agreed	3	9.8
Completely agreed	4	19.3

Appendix 2.9: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Czory and Babul are brother and sister to each other. Czory works at home with her mother and Babul works with his father in the field. Babul and his *father* always should be given more food to eat.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	15.3
Partially agreed	2	5.2
Partially disagreed	3	5.2
Completely disagreed	4	74.3

Appendix 2.10: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'When both husband and wife are very sick treatment for both of them should be started at the same time.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	.6
Partially disagreed	2	5.4
Partially agreed	3	4.0
Completely agreed	4	90.0

Appendix 2.11: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Only the husband's opinion should be honored in selling or dispersing family properties' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	19.1
Partially disagreed	2	8.8
Partially agreed	3	15.5
Completely agreed	4	56.6

Appendix 2.12: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'At present women are taking part in work outside home, men also should take part in household work like washing clothes, cleaning dishes, etc.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	32.3
Partially disagreed	2	7.6
Partially agreed	3	28.3
Completely agreed	4	31.9

Appendix 2.13: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Women should have freedom of movement in the society.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	51.4
Partially disagreed	2	10.2
Partially agreed	3	10.8
Completely agreed	4	27.7

Appendix 2.14: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'It is natural that the male will remain hotheaded due to wants in the family. In spite of this they are not supposed to scold or beat women in the family.' (n=502)

Agree/disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	5.6
Partially disagreed	2	1.0
Partially agreed	3	1.8
Completely agreed	4	91.6

Appendix 2.15: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Father always wishes well of his daughter, he therefore may marry his daughter to a guy against her will.' (n=502)

Agree/disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	85.9
Partially disagreed	2	3.8
Partially agreed	3	3.0
Completely agreed	4	7.4

Appendix 2.16: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'During marriage a part of the dowry promised was paid. Later on husband or other male members of the family can put pressure on the wife to pay rest of the dowry.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	15.5
Partially agreed	2	14.3
Partially disagreed	3	4.2
Completely disagreed	4	65.9

Appendix 2.17: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Jolly gave word to marry a guy but she later on changed her mind. At this the guy may become angry and can throw acid on her.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	4.0
Partially agreed	2	2.2
Partially disagreed	3	2.0
Completely disagreed	4	91.8

Appendix 2.18: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'There were varieties of *fatwas* for women. It is not justified to lash a woman by giving a *fatwa*.'(n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	18.1
Partially disagreed	2	6.2
Partially agreed	3	7.0
Completely agreed	4	68.7

Appendix 2.19: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'If a woman attracts a man by her gesture even then it will not be proper for him to violate her psychologically or physically.' (n=502)

Agree/disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	11.4
Partially disagreed	2	5.4
Partially agreed	3	4.0
Completely agreed	4	79.3

Appendix 2.20: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'According to religion male has right to hit women'. (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	48.4
Partially agreed	2	16.9
Partially disagreed	3	8.6
Completely disagreed	4	26.1

Appendix 2.21: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'As male is the head of the family it should run according to his decision.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	34.9
Partially agreed	2	10.0
Partially disagreed	3	13.9
Completely disagreed	4	41.2

Appendix 2.22: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Shafique and Rahella are brother and sister and they both go to school. They are very poor so their father decided that only Shafique should go for higher education.' (n=502)

Agree/disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	20.1
Partially agreed	2	12.5
Partially disagreed	3	8.2
Completely disagreed	4	59.2

Appendix 2.23: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Both Rahim and Karimon together work in earth cutting. At the day end Karimon is paid less.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	4.8
Partially agreed	2	1.8
Partially disagreed	3	1.2
Completely disagreed	4	92.2

Appendix 2.24: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'A woman has left her husband even then her husband will have to support to her.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	60.0
Partially disagreed	2	12.5
Partially agreed	3	7.8
Completely agreed	4	19.7

Appendix 2.25: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Due importance of the opinion of both husband and wife should be given in deciding on family planning.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely disagreed	1	3.0
Partially agreed	3	.8
Completely agreed	4	96.2

Appendix 2.26: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Women should not be allowed to work outside even though there are wants in the family.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	64.9
Partially agreed	2	8.6
Partially disagreed	3	12.5
Completely disagreed	4	13.9

Appendix 2.27: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'Women are less intelligent so they cannot spend money properly. Thus, they should hand over their income to male member of the family.' (n=502)

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	42.8
Partially agreed	2	16.3
Partially disagreed	3	12.0
Completely disagreed	4	28.9

**Appendix 2.28: Respondents' attitude on statement, 'According to religion wife should always consent to husband, so much so that husband even can have sex with wife against her will.'
(n=502)**

Agree/Disagree	Value	Percentage
Completely agreed	1	3.2
Partially agreed	2	2.2
Partially disagreed	3	4.6
Completely disagreed	4	90.0

Appendix 3

Appendix 3.1: Reasons for violence against women according to respondents (n= 502)

Reason	Order of importance		
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
Addiction to alcohol or drug	50.8 (255)	17.1 (86)	10.1 (50)
Addiction to gambling	16.5 (83)	32.3 (162)	9.7 (48)
Economic pressure/wants in family	9.8 (49)	15.5 (78)	13.6 (67)
Problem in work (overload/unemployment)	1.2 (6)	2.8 (14)	4.1 (20)
Bad attitude (ill temper)	1.0 (5)	3.6 (18)	4.5 (22)
Unable to give birth to child (sterility)	4.4 (22)	7.0 (35)	14.0 (69)
Breaking of family tradition/custom	2.2 (11)	1.8 (9)	2.8 (14)
Lack of understanding with stepbrother/stepfather	.6 (3)	2.2 (11)	2.4 (12)
Influence of mass media	3.0 (15)	5.0 (25)	11.8 (58)
Less education of woman than man	.2 (1)	.6 (3)	.6 (3)
Less income of woman than man	-	.6 (3)	1.4 (7)
Woman arguing more with man	10.0 (50)	11.4 (57)	24.7 (122)
Go out without pardah	.2 (1)	-	.2 (1)
Unfaithful to husband	-	.2 (1)	-
Theft and robbery	.2 (1)	-	-

Appendix 3.2: Respondents' opinion on selected issues (n= 502)

Issue	Completely agree	Partially agree	Partially disagree	Completely disagree
All violence against women should be reported to right place	98.2 (493)	1.4 (7)	.2 (1)	.2 (1)
Violence against women should be reported to police	81.3 (408)	3.6 (18)	4.0 (20)	11.2 (56)
Effort should be made to solve violence against women done by neighbor/friend	96.2 (483)	2.8 (14)	.8 (4)	.2 (1)
In spite of having intention to protest it is not appropriate to protest to violence against women	8.8 (44)	3.8 (19)	3.8 (19)	83.7 (420)

Appendix 3.3: Place/person where violated women should report for help

Place person	Percentage
Senior member of family	15.4 (218)
Village head	30.1 (425)
Chairman of union parisiold	29.3 (414)
Court	11.0 (156)
Police	12.3 (174)
Others	1.8 (25)
Total (n)	502

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**Appendix 3.4: Steps may be taken to prevent violence
against women**

Steps	Percentage
Mass education	38.1 (495)
Help the violated	11.8 (153)
Make harsh laws on violation	31.5 (409)
Provide consultation	12.1 (157)
Others	6.5 (85)
Total	502