

change making

How we adopt new attitudes, beliefs and practices
insights from the We Can Campaign



We Can Campaign
© 2011



AKLIMA



BUKSH CHANA



CHANDRAKUMAR



MABIA



DESHAPRIYA



MANZOOR



MAULADAD



MOFIDUL



NASEEMA



NOWFEL



RABIA



SHAHEENA



RANJANI



SHAILA



SHIKHA



SOPHIA

contents

introduction 1

How does change happen? 2 • Structure of this Paper 4

brief overview of the 'We Can' Campaign 5

The Shape of the Campaign 6 • The Campaign's theory of change 6 • How do we know change is happening? 7

the process of Change 9

Perceptions of Change 10 • Obstacles, setbacks and threats to change, and how they are overcome 30 • Sustaining Change 38

conclusion 51

Towards a Holistic Change Model for 'We Can' 51

annexes 56

Change Makers & Allies Interviewed : by age, sex & country 57 • 'We Can' Memorandum of Understanding 59 • Review, assessment and evaluation processes in 'We Can' 60 • Suggestions for the 'We Can' Campaign made by interviewees 63

Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to all those who helped with this study. Firstly, the Campaign Change Makers and Alliance members who agreed to be interviewed for the study, and were willing to speak freely and at length about their experiences, and share their stories. We thank them for their time and the wonderful insights they gave us into how they experienced and worked for change.

Secondly, our gratitude goes to the people who interviewed the Change Makers and Alliance Members in the field, and the translators who worked with them. We thank them for their hard work and their valuable insights, often presented to us in the form of comments on the interview itself.

Next, thanks are due to the Allies in each of the countries and the National Secretariats, for arranging the selection of the people to be interviewed, finding the interviewers and ensuring the quality of the material.

And as always to Mona and Malini, for their cheerful support and helpful comments.

**SUZANNE WILLIAMS
ALLISON ALDRED**

Oxford February 2011

introduction

To me change is the killing of fear. For example, someone may know how to sing but will not sing. Someone or something needs to kindle the fire in you and kill the fear that stops you from changing. I have killed the fear of talking and that is a change for me

SELVARANJANI MUKKAI AH, Change Maker, Badulla, Sri Lanka

I also learned that if I position myself as someone who has changed herself, I have maximum impact. So I tell people, I am not here to change you, that is not in my power. But I can tell you how I have changed, and how it has changed my life...

SHAHEENA JAVED, Change Maker, Kolkata, India

I consider a 'change' when there is a change in thinking and action. And I can witness this change now. I am not saying that this whole world is changed but, yes, there are some positive aspects. Honour Killing is now reduced and is not celebrated as it was before.

ROOH-UL-AMIN, Alliance member, Swabi, Pakistan

Personally to me, change should begin from the family where the process of socialisation starts. As an individual we actually do what we have already learnt from our family. But we never analyze any of our behaviours from the point of humanity... this is what we need to realize by ourselves. Nevertheless it is important to note that one cannot do anything alone. If we want to reach the whole community we have to start from the individual level and the other way around. One cannot go without the other.

SHAMIM ARA BEGUM, Alliance Member, Bangladesh

It is in the nature of change to mean very different things to different people. Changes that seem trivial to some may be momentous to others. Change is embraced and celebrated, feared and resisted. Deeply threatening to individuals and institutions for whom the status quo offers both security and power, it is equally hungered for by those who can glimpse better lives and futures for themselves and others. It is easy to be cynical about change, particularly in relation to peoples' behaviour – do people ever really change? Does a leopard change its spots? But change is a powerful impulse; the impulse of all living things. Everything in the world is constantly changing – living, growing, dying, and giving rise to new life.

We live in an era in which enormous differences in the pace of change between and within different societies, can bring about clashes and conflict, sometimes violent, in families and households, communities, cultures and nation-states. The pace of change is unpredictable, rarely smooth, often thrilling, sometimes terrifying. For human beings the question is whether we choose to be bystanders, or choose to be active agents of change in the world – change which goes beyond merely sustaining life, and seeks to enhance it.

2,500 years ago the Greek philosopher Heraclitus said: *everything changes and nothing remains still... you cannot step twice into the same stream.*

The 44 people, involved in the 'We Can' Campaign to end violence against women, whose experiences of change are the basis of this document, are from a volatile part of the world – South Asia – whose countries, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are all undergoing rapid, complex, uneven and often conflict-ridden social and political change. They are people who one way or another are 'makers of change', embracing change in their own lives, and promoting change

in the institutions of which they are a part – in the family, household, community, voluntary and private sectors, and the state. They have chosen not to be bystanders. For all of them, just as it is impossible to step back into the same water in the stream, their lives cannot be the same again.

This study examines the processes of change through the voices of these Change Makers and Campaign Alliance members, who were selected for their active involvement in the ‘We Can’ Campaign, and interviewed at the end of 2010. In it we try to understand the how and why of the change process these individuals describe, and how and why they think others changed as a result of work they carried out.

How does change happen?

The question about how change happens at personal and social levels is part of a long-standing and lively conversation amongst individuals and organisations working in the field of change, and the terrain of enquiry is full of theories and models from psychology, economics, sociology and politics – as well as those derived from physics and mathematics; far too many to review here. Some of the concepts and ideas from the debates are briefly referred to here, insofar as they throw light on how change happens in the ‘We Can’ Campaign.

The Campaign draws, at least implicitly, on a wide array of ideas about change prevalent in the world of development NGOs, as well as in the international women’s movement, and change movements in South Asia; it echoes the Gandhian precept *live the change you want to see in the world*. Formally, however, the Campaign adopted a model based on a version of the ‘Stages of Change’¹ theory, to use as a framework for its structure and its messaging.

The ‘We Can’ Campaign used an adaptation of this model by a Ugandan NGO, ‘Raising Voices’, working on community strategies to tackle violence against women, to plan successive phases of the Campaign. This adaptation also included the processes which would move people from one stage to another, and applied it to social groups as well as individuals. This will be presented in more detail in Section 1: [Brief overview of the ‘We Can’ Campaign](#) on page 5.

One of the critiques of the original Stages of Change theory (it was subsequently adjusted) was that it did not take account of the personal and social context of the individual, and its effects on their behaviour. Key features such as class, gender, ethnic identity, age, religion and the social norms and expectations conferred on individuals by these features, are critical in the change process. So are personal attributes and social relationships, the legal and political environment, and what kinds of resources there are upon which individuals can call – education, information, economic resources, community support, and social status and position. All of these factors condition how an individual is able to respond to the invitation to change.

A recent regional Assessment report on the ‘We Can’ Campaign noted: *An important methodological learning from the study has been that Indicators to measure change are best applied and understood by also taking into account the circumstances and context in which the change takes place. Appreciation of constraints and challenges is central to measuring what has been the change and by how much. Applying indicators in blanket manner to measure change on issues such as VAW may provide only a partial view of the truth.*²

The interviewees who conducted the research for this study were required to pay particular attention to the social and cultural contexts of the interviewees, and to explore their perceptions of the influences of these factors on their pro-

1 The ‘Stages of Change’ theory was developed by Prochaska, DiClemente and Norcross in 1992

2 Rajan, A and Chakraborty, S: Regional Report of the Assessment of We Can Phase II, December 2010, Draft II, p.31

cess of change, and their response to the 'We Can' Campaign. This is understood in terms of what was helpful and supportive to the process, and what presented obstacles and difficulties to it.

The voices in the paper are predominantly those of the Change Makers and the Alliance partners themselves, but where the comments and accounts of the interviewers themselves are relevant, these are included. As some of the interviewers were individuals closely involved in the Campaign, their perspectives are also primary source material, and cited as such.

Another important element to take into account is what people bring with them into the Campaign, in terms of their personal and individual capacities and beliefs, and how these are related to factors in their environments. What is it that makes one person take up the challenge to change, while another, presented with the same information and opportunities, does not? This is harder to establish without an intensive interview process, but a useful concept in the interpretation of the available data is the idea of 'self-efficacy', which refers to a person's confidence in their own ability to take action and persist in it - in other words, their self-belief.

A central concept in the Canadian psychologist Albert Bandura's 'Social-Cognitive Theory',³ 'self-efficacy beliefs' refer to what individuals believe about themselves, and what they are able to do, rather than what their actual capacities are. Bandura says: *people's level of motivation, affective states, and actions are based more on what they believe than what is objectively true*. People's sense of self-efficacy is derived from how they interpret their success, from observing others who they see as models of behaviour, and from the social persuasion, or feedback, they get from others. The contextual or environmental factors are critical to an individual's sense of self-efficacy, but do not entirely condition it. There

is a constant and complex interplay between the individual's context, resources and their personal ability to respond, in any process of change.

There is a complicated relationship between attitudes and behaviours too. It is often assumed attitudes directly cause a person to act in a particular way. However, as often as not behaviour can appear to be quite unrelated to attitudes, and behaviour can cause attitudes, as much as the other way around. Attitudinal change is also the subject of much research, and discussion revolves around the influences on a person's attitudes of both social norms and sanctions, and private or personal relationships, and what the interplay is between these influences. This interplay is visible across all the interviews in this study, in different ways. The inconsistencies between attitudes and behaviour also emerge, when the pace of attitude change seems to be slower than that of behaviour change – or the other way around.

While the 'We Can' Campaign used the 'Stages of Change' model to structure its planning and messaging, it also developed a number of core beliefs and principles about change. These will be elaborated in Section 1, but are briefly outlined here.

Central to the Campaign is the first principle that change is possible. Even the most embedded beliefs can be shifted. This shift is in the power of individuals, who take responsibility to change themselves, and to influence others to change too. Anyone can choose to change, and every change, however small, is of equal value. An internal change, the contemplation of something different, may not emerge into action for a long time, or not at all: nonetheless, the Campaign's vision of change holds that these internal shifts in consciousness all add up, to contribute to its overall aim which is to 'reduce the social acceptance of violence against women.'

3 Bandura, A: Social Foundations of Thought and Action: a Social Cognitive Theory, 1986



DARIYA, Change Maker from Rajasthan, India

Structure of this Paper

This paper begins with a brief overview of the ‘We Can’ Campaign and an elaboration of the way the change process is envisaged by the Campaign through its messaging; it goes on to explore how the interviewees perceive change, and then looks at the process of change they have experienced, in their own words. Section 3 on page 51 concludes with a summary of what has emerged from these experiences.

The Process of the Study

The number of Change Makers and Allies interviewed is tiny compared with the 3 million or so people who have signed up to the Campaign in South Asia, and cannot be said to be representative of the multitude of experiences of change across the Campaign. However, the interviewees were selected by the country-level Campaign coordinators and Alliance members according to set criteria and to cover a wide range of geographical locations and identities – ethnic, religious, caste, class and age – and 24 were female, 20 male. They are from rural and urban areas, with a wide range of levels of education, experience and professional occupations. So while it is not possible to generalise on the basis of these interviews, they offer a snapshot of a wide variety of people involved in the Campaign, and an insight into a range of experiences of change.

A semi-structured questionnaire was prepared and used by the interviewers working in each country, some of them with translators. The formats in which the case study write-ups were received varied considerably, but all of them all of them include the comments of the interviewers, which are also used in this study as part of the data.

A list of the interviewees can be found in Annex 1 on page 57; and more information about the methods of the research in Annex 2 on page 58.

brief overview of the 'We Can' Campaign

In a very open manner, we ask people to think.

SOPHIA KHAN, Change Maker and 'We Can' Ally, India

I said since the campaign seemed to be talking about my life, how could I not join? So I signed the form.

SUMATI DEVI, Change Maker, India

This is what makes me work so much – I feel that maybe this one conversation could change things for this lady, or that one example could help that man change himself.

SUGIYA NAIK, Change Maker, India

The 'We Can' Campaign is built on the premise that people change - and that people change people. Working through its 'Change Makers', the Campaign has reached out to tens of millions of people across South Asia. It does not prescribe actions, but offers people an idea - that violence against women is not normal, not acceptable and must end. For women and men trapped in cycles of violence, this can be a transformative idea.

The Campaign was launched in late 2004 with the goal of 'reducing the social acceptance of violence against women' in 6 South Asian countries – Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It aims to mobilise five million Change Makers - ordinary women and men who are willing to embark on a journey, rejecting violence against women, changing themselves, and reaching out to influence ten other people around them. The Campaign works through partner organisations, or Allies, organised into local and national Alliances (currently over 3,000) who by September 2010 had

registered the details of over three million⁴ Change Makers.

'We Can' hopes to influence fifty million people: a significant and symbolic number - one for each one of the 'fifty million missing women' of South Asia, women who are not alive because of violence and discrimination committed against them.⁵

The Campaign focuses on domestic violence, which in South Asia comprises a wide range of forms of violence, from preferential feeding of male children to honour killing, using high quality, carefully prepared materials to communicate its messages: that violence is never acceptable; that violence against women is a public, not a private matter; that everyone has the right to a life free of violence; that small actions can bring about big changes and that each one of us can find our own actions to end violence.

The Campaign messages offer positive alternatives to acts of violence and discrimination, encouraging people to reflect on their relevance to their own lives. Those who recognise themselves and their lives in the messages of the Campaign are encouraged to find out more, to get more materials, to link up with others in the Campaign, to attend seminars and events and to sign up as Change Makers.

4 3.26 million Change Makers have been formally registered with the Campaign

5 Dr. Amartya Sen, has calculated that approximately 50 million women are *missing* from the population of South Asia - women who should have been part of the population but could not be accounted for.

The Shape of the Campaign

The formal objectives of the Campaign are to achieve a fundamental shift in social attitudes and beliefs that support violence against women, by achieving:

- A collective and visible stand by different sections of the community against VAW
- A popular movement to end all VAW
- A wide range of local, national and regional alliances actively addressing VAW

'We Can' was launched in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India and Nepal in late 2004, in Pakistan in 2005 and in Afghanistan in 2007. It has subsequently spread beyond South Asia, and launched in Canada, Holland, Kenya, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Indonesia, Uganda and, most recently, Burundi in late 2010. It and is being considered in a number of other countries around the world.

The Campaign was the initiative of Oxfam Great Britain through its South Asia regional office and was planned from the start to be implemented by independent partners, or Allies, and eventually to be taken over by them. Allies meet regularly to reflect on and develop their national and local Campaigns, and most of the South Asia country Campaigns have established a Secretariat to take on the day to day management. As Oxfam completes its original 6-year financial commitment to the Campaign in 2011, these country level alliances and Secretariats will take forward 'We Can' as a series of distinct, but closely networked, country Campaigns.

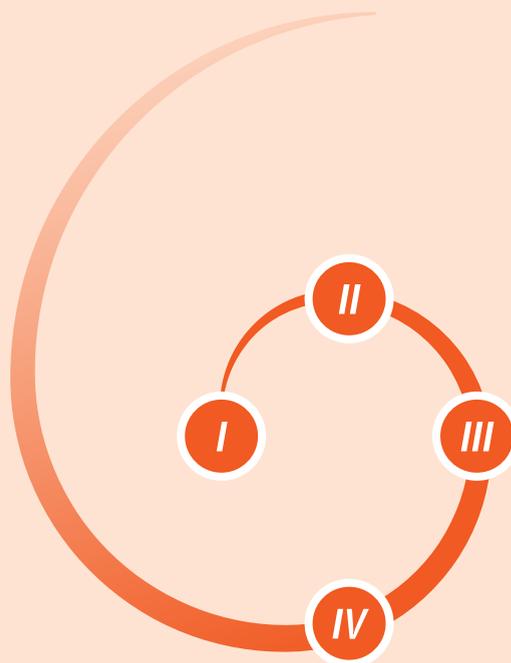
The Campaign's theory of change

'We Can' works with the 'Stages of Change' model, first developed in 1982 by psychologists working with addiction (see Introduction) and adapted by 'Raising Voices'. The Campaign has used this adapted model to structure its phased programme of messages and strategies (see Fig. 1, below). The original model and this adapted version do not assume a

linear progression from one stage to another, but allows for 'relapses', interruptions and 'returns' to earlier stages. In reality, as we shall see in this study, people engage simultaneously in actions which belong to different stages, and go backwards and forwards between them.

The design of the Campaign messages and materials, however, and the order in which they have been released and used, has followed this structure. At this point in time, of course, materials relating to different stages are being used by Change Makers and Allies, and materials are constantly being adapted in different countries to particular cultural contexts.

Fig. 1: Stages of Change Model...



The spiral signifies continuation of the process

...Stages of Change Model

Phase I *Raising Awareness (Engaging, Convincing, Inspiring)*. The aim of this initial phase is to increase awareness and promote reflection on violence against women, engaging the community to recognise violent practices as violence, and reflect on the root causes of discrimination and violence against women.

Phase II *Building Networks (Supporting and Mobilising Change Makers)*. The aim of this phase is to bring different groups and sectors in the community together to build momentum for change. It involves preparing community members to take a public stand and action on violence against women.

Phase III *Integrating Action (Supporting, Recognising, Celebrating)*. In this stage the focus is on the integration of action whereby groups work together, to improve synergy and impact, to address violence against women.

Phase IV *Consolidating Efforts (Strategising, Securing, Sustaining)*. This is the time to strengthen community and organisational capacity to prevent violence against women. It is important to develop and institutionalise mechanisms to advocate women's needs and rights within the community.

Early in 2008, as interest in the Campaign from agencies around the world grew, the Campaign became concerned about the potential dilution of its principles, and set out Memorandum of Understanding to guide organisations interested in initiating 'We Can' in new locations (see Annex 3.)

How do we know change is happening?

- A number of internal reviews and assessments, and two external assessments have been carried out to try and respond to this question. These are listed in Annex 4. The early enquiries established that the Campaign's message of self-change as an essential part, if not the first step, to change, was well-received and individuals reported many experiences of personal change. Findings also suggested that the intention that each Change Maker mobilise a further ten people was happening.⁶
- Change Makers reported taking a range of practical actions, including intervening with families and neighbours in cases of violence, talking with peers about violence, encouraging families and neighbours to educate girls and allow them greater mobility, acting to stop harassment of girls in public spaces and, for male Change Makers, playing a more active role in household chores.
- In Phase I (see Fig. 1, above) the Campaign's objective of awareness and reflection helped people to recognise all forms of domestic violence as unacceptable, and that less visible and more subtle forms of discrimination (such as men having financial control over women and brothers being educated in preference to their sisters) are also acts of violence.

The most comprehensive assessment was completed at the end of 2010, in all the Campaign countries except Afghanistan, where it has only been able to maintain a very low-key presence. This assessment was designed to examine whether the Campaign had met its objectives for the second phase of the Campaign – namely whether it has successfully supported existing Change Makers and mobilised new people, as well as whether Change Makers had 'deepened' their experience of change, and managed to influence others.

⁶ The India Assessment process, 2008 found that on average, each respondent had reached out to 11 other people.

More detail of the assessment findings can be found in Annex 5, but in summary, the assessment reported that almost 80% of the Change Makers interviewed showed either 'significant' deepening of change or 'some' deepening of change as a result of re-engagement with the issue and/or the Campaign. 53% of showed 'significant' deepening of change. Fewer than 4% of Change Makers surveyed had experienced no change. Change Makers and the people they had influenced showed evidence of greater gender sensitivity in the form of sharing housework, not teasing girls, not using offensive language; and an appreciation of the constraints faced by women.

The assessment shows that deepening of change among the Change Makers is influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors that seem to play an important role

include an individuals' own level of discomfort with the issue; exposure to violence in the family or surroundings; a sense of purpose and personal characteristics such as tenacity and determination.

Among the external factors, the presence, or absence, of a supportive family environment; the presence of a circle of peers which is changing itself and by doing so changing the Change Maker; and the recognition and appreciation gained by the Change Maker in their community.

These factors also appear as important influences on the processes of change experienced by the Change Makers and Allies interviewed for the present study. They are explored in more depth in the body of the paper.

Students at a Change Makers' workshop get familiar with campaign material. Lucknow, India.



the process of Change

The Experience and Perceptions of Change Makers and Alliance Partners

This section explores the perceptions of the Change Makers and Alliance partners of the change process they have experienced as a result of their engagement with the Campaign. In the case studies, there is a wide range of experiences, reflecting the range of people interviewed.

For some, especially those who had been, or still were, experiencing violence themselves, their contact with 'We Can' marked the beginning of a process of changing their lives. For some, the exposure to the ideas of the Campaign and other Change Makers seems to have been a catalyst which gave extra impetus and meaning to changes they were already trying to make in their lives. For others, Change Makers and Allies alike, 'We Can' was one amongst other involvements with women's rights issues, or programmes working on violence against women, and provided a different perspective, and another way of addressing the issue. Some Campaign Allies, working in organisations which had not focussed on women's rights or violence against women, said that the engagement with the Campaign took their organisations in new directions.

The interviewees talked about both personal and institutional change. For many, it was the changes in their own homes and family relationships that were most important. For others, the most urgent and pressing change to bring about is in the multi-layered discrimination and violence women are subjected to in society as a whole. A common thread in most of the interviews is the perception that the Campaign's approach of inviting participants to change their own attitudes and behaviour was a crucial element in forging strength, consistency and credibility in their work for wider collective and institutional changes on violence against women.

MOHAN LAL, whose case study appears in full later in this document, said:

I used to address the gathering of 300-400 people [about the campaign messages]. I used to constantly think that I am telling all these things to others but have I applied all these things to me? Have I changed myself?

HAFIZ MANZOOR AHMED, a teacher and founder of 'Hawwa' ('Eve'), a CBO working on women's rights, from Ghotki in Pakistan said:

For me 'change' is not beginning from step one. Of course, we already knew about the issues related to women and also their sensitivity. And we felt bad too, for one I was never a supporter of violence against women. But for me 'change' is a process through which you become able to practice what you feel.

After joining this campaign, I realized that I must not act as a bystander or spectator but should do what I feel. This realization makes me a new man and I also practiced this change at home. It is very difficult to measure change scientifically but it can be observed when it is reflected in small happenings or examples of changed behaviour in front of us. I have observed it in my family from serving meals to boys and girls, education for them both, and the way day to day decisions are made.

This Section is divided into a number of parts. It begins with a discussion of the interviewees' perceptions of change, and then explores the process of change itself. Loosely following the 'Stages of Change' sequence, but taking account of life experience, personal resources, and context wherever pos-

sible, we examine the interviewees' perceptions and ideas in relation to change; what drew them to 'We Can' and motivated them to embrace change; obstacles they faced and how they dealt with them; how they perceive changes in others with whom they live and work; and finally what sustains their personal momentum and commitment to change.

The interviewees are cited extensively throughout the text, and some full case studies of both Change Makers and Allies from each country are used to illustrate a number of issues we address in the study. This paper is based on their voices.

The people interviewed for this study were selected by Campaign Coordinators and Alliance members in each country, according to criteria which are listed in Annex 2. Forty-four women and men – 24 women and 20 men - were selected from four of the Campaign countries in South Asia – Bangladesh (9), India (12), Pakistan (13) and Sri Lanka (10). Of these, 27 were Change Makers, and 17 Alliance members. No Allies were interviewed in Sri Lanka, (if this is wrong needs to be deleted) and in Pakistan, all Allies interviewed were male. Few Change Makers were under 25, and the oldest Change Maker interviewed was 58. The majority of Change Makers were between 25 and 35. Further information about the interviewees is located in Annex 1.

Perceptions of Change

In this section we look primarily at interviewees' perceptions of the changes in themselves, and how these changes have had implications for those around them. Wider social change is touched on below, but generally speaking most interviewees had less to say about how such change actually happens.

Change Makers and Allies describe change as an event as well as a process; as a sudden recognition of their own situation, leading to an insight, that the violence in their lives

was not inevitable; or as a slower realization that their own behaviour or the behaviour of others around them constitutes violence. Some people describe that the recognition alone changed them; others that more reflection and sometimes training about women's rights and violence began to bring the message home and changed the way they thought and behaved. Women and men, with a history of family violence often – but not always - described an initial change event in emotional terms, while people of both sexes with a supportive family and background of social activism were more inclined to describe change as a rational experience, to do with weighing up options and choosing to follow a reasonable course of action.

After the initial experience which provides the impetus for change, all interviewees agree that to bring about changes that stick is a slow and difficult process, but one they believe is worth pursuing, however long it takes. It is a process which ebbs and flows, sometimes there are real gains, and just as often there are setbacks. We document in this study the kinds of gains, supports, setbacks and obstacles that the women and men have experienced in their processes of change. It is not, as one Alliance member remarked 'a cakewalk'.

Yet if there is a single quality that characterizes the accounts of all the women and men interviewed, it is tenacity – they are determined to persist in their efforts, whatever they are.

The emphasis that 'We Can' puts on the importance of self-change as an essential component, if not starting point, for making changes in the social and cultural constraints on women, is borne out in many of the statements of the interviewees. Often, the recognition, in an encounter with 'We Can' activists, or materials, or in an event, of the violence in their own lives, leads an individual to realize that the changes have to begin with themselves.

WALIHUR CHANDAN, a 38 year-old Change Maker from Bangladesh, with a history of inflicting violence on his wife and other members of his family, stated that as a result of

watching a 'We Can' presentation on domestic violence he realized *I have the same behaviour and attitude towards my wife... after realizing what my negative behaviour was doing to my family I started to make my family violence-free...*

RANJANI, a 43 year old woman from Puttalam in Sri Lanka, who faced violence from her husband, and works as a hospital attendant and a theatre performer, describes change as something illuminating and complex, or as simple as a daily change in a situation:

It is like coming out of the dark into the light. It's like being in a dark room and then a light is shone. Change is a deep concept that is not easy to explain. But it can also be simple like: if today I do not have food to eat and tomorrow I find a way to solve that problem, then that too is a change for me. In my life now I want to see a change in myself and in society everyday if I can. I need to see that happen. That is why it is not so easy to define change...

DR. MUHAMMED JUNAID NOWFEL, a 42 year old Psychiatrist and Change Maker from Ampara, Sri Lanka, brings out the small steps that constitute change, starting with personal change:

Change has to be personal, starting with attitudes and knowledge, it must happen in our minds. But the change we can expect must not be big change at once. Just a small change can have a dramatic impact on the future. For example, a ship is travelling on the sea and just a half-degree turn will take the ship many hundreds of kilometres off the course it planned. That is how I explain ambition and life planning to my students when I lecture. But the changes we expect won't be achieved at once...

RABIA JAN, 22 yr old social activist and Change Maker from Nowshera in Pakistan, describes change as the result of a rational process, and as 'standing firm' in the face of opposition. 'Rabia defines 'change' as a process wherein the self is changed as a result of an informed decision and its effects are spread in the surroundings:

I can see a substantial change in my life. I could never think of studying in college, practicing as a lawyer or travelling with men to Islamabad or Karachi a few years back. Now it seems possible. I knew that my family members would be teased and disturbed for some time but it was an informed decision to move ahead. Studying in college, becoming a change maker, working with various NGOs and attending out-of-city training workshops were difficult but informed decisions... This is change and that is how I feel myself changed.

SOPHIA KHAN, head of the NGO SAFAR and leader of the Campaign Alliance in Gujarat, reflects on connecting theory and practice in her personal behaviour:

I think I have stopped reacting spontaneously. Earlier I used to be very aggressive. Now sometimes also it happens in certain situations. By and large I am able to manage anger and I have understood the importance of theory of change for myself and others also

MUHAMMAD MUNIR ABRO, head of an NGO and a Campaign ally from Jaffarabad, Pakistan, was the first Change Maker in his district, and stresses the importance of maintaining the impetus of change and acting to tackle injustice:

For me change is not all about filling up the forms or attending and organizing the events. I know that in such a conservative society, even becoming a change maker and organizing different events is a change but my persistent nature would not allow me to stop. I wanted this change to sustain and continue. For me change is consistently questioning the status quo. Patriarchy is a status quo that needs to be questioned.

MOHAMMED MOFIDUL ISLAM, a 27 year old teacher from Dhaka in Bangladesh sees change as something intrinsically human:

I believe that people want to change, they are always looking for an opportunity. If there is a direction provided, they will change. It is human nature.

KADIRAVEL SRICHITRA⁷, a teacher and women's rights activist from Batticaloa, in eastern Sri Lanka, whose case study is presented at some length below, experienced the regular beating of her mother by her father, describing her helplessness at the time to do anything to stop it. She describes change as a gradual process, and a combination of knowledge, reflection and practice, through the different stages of life:

...I see that change can happen with only a little knowledge, but also with a little deeper knowledge. But a major change for a woman comes from knowing women's rights, deepening knowledge and then putting it into practice in your life. At different stages in our life we have different roles – a young girl, adolescent, wife, mother. As you live these roles, you understand your rights, resolve and manage issue our lives and change with time.

Srichitra is a 39 year old Tamil woman from the conflict-affected Batticaloa district in Eastern Sri Lanka. She is a trained accountant and teacher, and a committee member of the Suriya Women's Development Centre. She is also Sectional Head at the Karadiyanar Mahavidyalaya School. As a young girl, Srichitra felt helpless in the face of violence in her family.

... I grew up watching my father take alcohol and beat my mother. I felt sorry for my mother but I didn't know I could do anything. Now I understand what I can do but my father died long before I joined the We Can Campaign.

Srichitra's first exposure to work on violence against women began during her time with the Suriya Women's Development Centre as a Legal Aid Assistant. In 2006, she was invited by Oxfam, through Shanti, its Gender Officer, to a Campaign Meeting. Shanti, as well as Tharuni, from the women's NGO New Arrow, remained influential in Srichitra's life.

When I have problems, I speak to Tharuni and she helps me figure out what I have to do.

Gradually, through her visits, with Shanti and Tharuni, to villages for meetings on assistance to war-displaced women, she became more aware of the violence they faced, and was drawn into Campaign activities. She read the Campaign materials, and began to think about change:

I liked the 10 workbooks about different types of violence and discrimination. There was a message that I felt most motivated by and it said something like "If I change my community will change..."

She described her personal change in terms of increased understanding and new confidence to speak out. Her mother, also interviewed, said of her:

Srichitra used to be so silent... too silent. Never spoke out. I was worried how she will adjust in society this way... Now she has been involved with the We Can Campaign she is so direct and deals with any problems straight off... I have been a battered woman, and I have known pain and I realise the impact of We Can on my daughter, and the strength it gives her...

Srichitra says of herself: *It is very important to tell you this. I came from a society and family where we are taught to bow down and defer to men. We are asked to be obliging and quiet. We were told as a woman we must dress, walk and talk in a certain way. But after understanding the message and issues of the We Can Campaign I have become so strong now*

Srichitra attributes her changes and her work with others to her own life experiences.

I think it was a mix of things... that I saw violence in the home when I was young, the experiences of the women who come to me with their problems, my exposure to Suriya's work even though that was limited. Even if We Can never came along I would have found ways to help the women who came to me when they were facing violence and needed help. Shanti Akka used to advise me those days too.

Srichitra challenged attitudes and debates in the school, and advised a male teacher to rethink his violent behaviour:

A male teacher ... told me he had problems at home with his

7 The first name is written last in Tamil custom

wife... She shouts at him and they end up fighting and he hits her. He didn't know that his wife had a right to not be beaten by him. 'We Can' made him realise that this was domestic violence. Now he tries to resolve issues with his wife without violence... . He later said he felt comfortable talking to me because of the approach I used, looking at both the side of relationships: the part men and women play in it.

As Srichitra changed her own ways of thinking and her behaviour, she faced challenges and found ways to overcome them.

Mother used to complain when I would to come back home and talk to Tharuni and others about VAW issues and cases. My brother also said I was changing too much since joining the WCC. He said I had a big mouth now and opinions about everything. I started talking to my family and changing their minds little by little. I explained why I do the work I do and the purpose of ending VAW, the way it affects people especially women. Now my mother supports what I do. She tells everyone "my daughter can go to any country, protect herself and come back safely".

Srichitra is a strong supporter of the idea that internal changes can trigger wider changes in society, but thinks more effort should be put into influencing government policy and practice:

If I change my family will change, my friends will change and it will go on like that. I can go to a workshop or a day but cannot ... get changed deeply. So 'We Can' Campaign must go on for at least 10 years to achieve a stronger impact... now school children accept 'We Can' – the future generation accepts these ideas – so it will sustain over time. But in the government sector, at the top level, it is difficult to make them accept and understand VAW. Changing attitudes is very difficult. Yet it is important to target the government sector, especially the lawyers and the courts. We need to go deep into awareness raising and increase support for ending VAW in the government sector.

Most Change Makers described the link between self-change and changes in their families and wider social groups as Srichitra has above, and some agree that it is vital for the change process to take place at policy levels too.

ISRAT SONALI is a 25 year old graduate from Bangladesh. She is Vice-Chair of the local Union Parishad (local government unit). Sonali says it is important to *increase women's participation in decision making at the policy level. Women have to talk about the issue of discrimination. People will try to stop them but they have to create their own ground to talk. Besides that, government should play a strong role to give women scope for development as well as scope for work.*

Alliance members tended to have a different perspective, coming into contact with the Campaign after having worked on social justice and sometimes women's rights in a range of different organizations, such as trades unions, community-based organizations (CBOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or local government. For them, the Campaign added an extra dimension to the changes they were already engaged in promoting, at the organizational level, as well as the personal level.

These are reported on more fully in the section on **Sustaining Change** on page 38.

For me there is change. Change is accepting the truth and saying it likewise. Those who were opposing us or making fun of us now keep silent. They have realized that it is an issue. It is not easy to defend Vani or honour killing in the Panchayat or public as it was before. I am not suggesting that the whole world is changed but yes the issues are being discussed now. We are feeling change in ourselves too. We feel that we are right and working for a noble cause. There are certain other factors for bringing this change as well but I think that this campaign has contributed a lot towards it.

SYED IMTIAZ HAIDER NAQVI, Al-Mustafa Development Organisation, ADO, Pakistan

SOPHIA KHAN, Director of SAFAR and member of the We Can National Steering Committee in India, describes her work with Alliances to emphasise the importance of connecting personal and social change:

To encourage change and thinking on change, we do a lot of self analysis, we look closely at our own practices, behaviour and attitudes. Here we talk about change that begins from the self. Then slowly change expands to personal relationships, family, community and then the larger society. That makes a link between personal change and social change.

The Personal and Social Context: where do we start?

This Section will look at what people bring to the Campaign in terms of their personal lives and prior experiences, within their social, economic, political and cultural contexts. How individuals respond to the possibility of transformation, personally and in their communities and social groups, depends on so many sets of personal and social variables that it is impossible to identify clear causal factors or predictors for their behaviour. What the case studies reveal is how some of the factors in their social, political and cultural environments, as well as their family relationships, had engendered in them a sense of discomfort, or outrage, or a desire for change, or an openness to something different, which their connection with 'We Can' was able to catalyze into action.

What can be said about personal capacities or vulnerabilities and the quality of 'self-efficacy' can only be inferred from what the interviewees say about their responses to the stimulus to change, and their subsequent experience – in and some cases, comments by the interviewers. Tenacity and persistence in the face of opposition is an important quality, and sometimes the support for this is fairly clear from the case study narratives, and sometimes it is not. Sometimes interviewees speak of 'previous' (to contact with 'We Can')

despair and lack of self-belief, and report being surprised to find the resources within themselves, or the impetus, or the courage, to change.

As **TAHREEM MALIK**, 25 year old CM from Bahawalpur puts it:

If I had not been a part of the WE CAN campaign, I would have not even thought of questioning my culture and family. We used to think that we have no role in interfering in family matters, and being engaged with my studies and friends I was never bothered about the family. It is quiet unbelievable that I challenged these norms and succeeded in convincing my parents for something that is good for our future.

The quality of 'response-ability', the ability to respond to the invitation to change, is potentially in everyone, regardless of personality, or family or social circumstances.

What enables this quality to awaken, in terms of personal capacities and influences, is complex and not always articulated. It is beyond the scope of this paper to come to any secure conclusions about this. However, we have made some attempt from the information recorded to identify some of the personal qualities, and immediate family influences which may have predisposed the interviewees to decide to act on their initial response to the ideas and challenges promulgated by the We Can Campaign. What we know about these factors depends on what the interviewees have said in a single interview, and what the interviewers add in their comments.

Secondly, we look at where the interviewees came from. What is their social, cultural, political, economic reality? What groups and organizations, networks and institutions are they connected with? What is their religious and ethnic background, and what influence does this appear to have on the interviewees' journeys of change? Once again, we only have partial information to go on, but attempt to pull out, from what the interviewees report, the range of external influences upon them. These will also be relevant to the subsequent discussions on motivation, support, obstacles and strategies to overcome them.

Personal Experience of domestic violence

Thirteen of the Change Makers and Allies interviewed had directly experienced physical and emotional violence in their personal lives – almost one-third. Eight of these were women, who had been victims of violence at the hands of their fathers, brothers, husbands, and five of them were men, some of whom had grown up with, and rejected, the violence of their fathers, and some who had been perpetrators of violence themselves, on their female relatives and wives. Some of these individuals had questioned or tried to resist or rejected violence before becoming connected with the Campaign, and some of them were inspired and supported by the Campaign's allies and Change Makers as well as other actors and organizations, to take steps to reduce, avoid or stop the violence and discrimination in their lives.

However, it is important here to recall the 'We Can' Campaign's broad definition of violence, which includes, in the context of the interviewees, the full range of attitudes and practices which hold women back – for example, restricted access to education, to mobility outside the home, no economic independence or decision-making power, early marriage, forced sex, no control over conception and so on. One of the women interviewed recalled that she 'did not know that my father's refusal to keep me in school was violence.' Taking all forms of violence and discrimination into account, all of the interviewees, women and men, live with violence against women.

In all the examples below, the individuals had taken some responsibility to act to change the violence in their homes, as a result of long-felt discomfort, and activated by their contact with the Campaign. Significant drivers of the sense of discomfort were the example of a mother whose life was destroyed by violence, and the desire of the individual – woman or man – not to replicate that situation; and the examples all around them of women in their own or other families or the community at large who were suffering the range of forms of

violence – from beating at home to the more extreme forms of so-called 'honour killing', exchange of women to settle disputes (Sawara), and dowry and brideprice-related violence.

The case of **SHEIK RASHEEDA**, included here in full, describes the life of a woman who was married at the age of 12, and faced routine beating and abuse from her husband. She, like Krishna below, was told by her mother that violence was the inevitable fate of a married woman. She was at last drawn out of her trap of violence by the help and encouragement of her close friend, and the inspiration and support of two 'We Can' activists.

KRISHNA GOLDAR, a 22 year-old Change Maker, grew up in Kolkata with an autocratic violent father, who had reduced her mother to helplessness and submission. When Krishna began to talk about it, her mother became apprehensive:

My mother would tell me that I was unnatural, as I wanted things that no other woman wanted. That such dreams would make me miserable. That all women faced what my mother faced. It was the norm... . in the end, all women ended up married and facing their own stories of violence. And we all accepted this violence as part of our lives. Women who accepted this violence were 'good women'. If I wanted to be a 'good woman' I too should accept it.

The interviewer of **MAULADAD UTMANKHEL** describes his upbringing as a boy in a household where women were routinely subjected to discrimination and violence.

Mauladad Utmankhel belongs to Loralai, Balochistan. He is the youngest among eight brothers and three sisters. His father served in the Pakistan Army and retired a few years ago. The environment of Mauladad's home was never conducive for women. He had seen the impolite behaviour of his father towards his mother many times. His sisters were silent and scared all the time, as they knew that their situation would be no more different from their mother's. They were not allowed to study or move in any public sphere, however limited that may be. Mauladad grew up seeing this discrimination and

violence against women in his family. But unlike his other brothers, he was not happy with this environment. He would get angry whenever he saw his mother and sisters beaten up or told off by male members of the family. These frustrations made him rebellious and he felt it impossible to live in that home anymore. He took an extreme decision and left the home. He explained the incident of leaving his home in the following words:

I had lost my patience. It always hurt me when I would see my mother or sister beaten up by my father or brothers. One day I was home when my father thrashed my mother. It was unacceptable for me. I quarrelled with my father and left the home. I wanted an escape from this environment and that I did. But immediately after that I started missing my mother and sisters. It was indeed very painful. It was 1999 and I was only 16 years old.

It was 9 years before Mauladad was introduced to the Campaign, by a colleague. By this time he had established his own social development organisation, which due to the influence of NGOs and women's rights groups, included a focus on violence against women. He said:

When I was told about this Campaign, I was naturally interested to join it because we were already working on these issues.

SITHI NASEEMA, a 38 year old woman from Puttalam in Sri Lanka, struggled with poverty in her early married life, and with an increasingly conflictive relationship with her husband. *As she despaired, Naseema fought with her husband and as their fights became harder to bear he left her. She looked for him and reconciled but poverty was a constant source of tension...*

Naseema herself adds:

I understood that I used to fight with my husband all the time when we could not manage our poverty. He must have wondered why I did not understand the problems we are facing but he expected me to understand. So after all this CEF (local

NGO) group exposure and then WCC (We Can Campaign) I got more knowledge and I became a more complete woman...

SANJAY KUMAR, a 26 year-old man from Lucknow, in India, had always accepted that women had to accept their fate of a life of bondage. However, his thinking underwent a sea change after he joined 'We Can'.

I had never ever thought that I was a perpetrator of violence against women... yes I thought myself as one after We Can made me realize that there are so many hidden forms of violence that I was committing... I realized that beating is not the only violence but there are so many different forms which we are unaware of.

He gave an example of how as a child and for many years into adulthood only his birthday was celebrated. None of his five sisters ever had a single birthday celebration. Sanjay realized that this is violence. He put a stop to his own birthday celebrations when he realized that the family could not afford to celebrate all the birthdays, so why should they celebrate only his?

SHEIK RASHEEDA, Change Maker, India says:

It is very difficult to change yourself because in our community we don't even have freedom to think about ourselves – doing something is a distant dream. If we get time to think, only then we can do something. I have changed from the heart. I still ask myself, who I am. I am somebody's daughter, somebody's mother, but who am I?

Rasheeda is 35 years old and used to work for a local micro-credit group. She is now an active volunteer for Parimal Trust, an alliance member with the 'We Can' Campaign in Gujarat.

Rasheeda had a hard childhood. Her father died when she was 2 years old, and her mother struggled to raise her and her brother alone, working as a stone mason and labourer. Rasheeda helped her mother at home and left school at 5th grade. She was married at the age of 12 to a man who was drug-addicted and violent, and has a 12 year old son.



SHEIK RASHEEDA

I was just 12 years old when I got married, just a child. He was 8 years elder than me. He used to do nothing. My husband was addicted to charas, ganja and other such substances right from the time of marriage. He believed that women should always be kept in Purdah and shouldn't be allowed to go out. And I was too young to understand the meaning of marriage. I got raped at the age of 12. I was very frightened by my husband's behaviour. I had no idea about the relationship between husband and wife... he used to hit me if I talked to someone else. I cannot put words or describe how miserable my life was.

In the early years of her marriage, Rasheeda would confide to her mother about the violence: *She used to tell me that this was how most women spend their whole lives... he is your husband and you have to do what he says.*

In 2006 Rasheeda's close friend, Sushma, took her to a 'We Can' event.

In this meeting, I first got to know about the We Can Campaign which works on women's rights. This was in 2006 and Mahendrabhai and Dharam Singh came when they talked about domestic violence. It touched my heart as if they were talking about me. They talked about physical, emotional and domestic violence. I later told my friend that I felt as if they are telling my story. Sushma later talked to Dharam Singh and told him that I liked this all very much. I wanted to join but I was fearful as my husband and mother were very conservative. They never liked me to go out and attend meetings.

Dharam Singh subsequently visited Rasheeda's home and persuaded her mother to allow Rasheeda to engage with the Campaign.

The most important date in my life - a turning point - was October 13, 2007, when I stepped out of Radhanpur for the first time and came to Ahmadabad and met Sophia Khan who coordinated the We Can Campaign in Gujarat. I can never forget that date. It was a beautiful day in my life as this was beginning of change in my life. It was an alliance meeting, all

were discussing something; I was just sitting and listening, not contributing but still I felt very good from inside. I was there till evening. That day my husband beat me very cruelly and alleged that I had gone out with a man. But I remembered what Dharam Singh had said, that you will have to struggle a lot to come out and make your problems go away.

Rasheeda joined the Campaign and began to attend meetings and events, in spite of her husband's violent objections, which continued for the first two years of her involvement. Once he stormed out in protest for 2 weeks after she had been at a 2-day meeting. Rasheeda describes this as the most difficult part of her life and also the most critical: *the fact I did not go after him that day... has given my life a new start.* On his return, Rasheeda saw considerable change in her husband: *he had done a lot of thinking. He had realised that it was possible for me to live my life without him.*

They began to be able to talk. Rasheeda took him to a 'We Can' meeting, and brought materials home for him to see. Eventually he began to change his behaviour towards her, and stopped his use of drugs. Rasheeda says: *I can feel the love between us now. I can say no to sex now. He feels whatever he did was wrong. And after so many years, our relation is better and we feel love.*

Rasheeda's support from Sophia Khan was crucial to her decision to hold firm and not go after her husband that day: *That day was so difficult for me. Everybody around me had told me that I should follow and obey my husband. But I thought different. I got inspired from Sophia. She is my role model whatever she says motivates me. Her words affect your mind and heart. I started loving the We Can campaign...*

Rasheeda started to use her new awareness and confidence to influence her immediate family circle: *whenever I went back home after meetings, I shared things with them. I told them, if I have the right to live my own life, so do you.*

Rasheeda's mother describes how her own attitudes have changed: *Earlier I used to put restrictions on my daughter*



in law... now I keep her like my daughter after Rasheeda pointed out to me that what I was doing was wrong. I am so strong now because of her. Earlier I was so frightened what will people say.

Having been married at 12, Rasheeda is determined to change thinking in her community towards early marriage: *Everyone in our community says if you marry your daughter at a young age you will get to heaven. To this my answer is that you can get to heaven only after death. You educate your girl child, give her a good life, marry her at the right age, then you will get to heaven on earth... I tell everyone not to attend a child marriage. I never forget my bad experience.*

Rasheeda herself is surprised at the change in herself over the four years she has been involved with the Campaign. *When I went for my first 'We Can' meeting where I had to speak in a high school, I was very scared – how would I speak in front of a gathering of 300 people, earlier I couldn't even speak in front of my husband. But when I started speaking I became confident... it was the first time in my life that people clapped for me, otherwise until then, I was just being beaten by my husband.*

In her work with Parimal Trust, Rasheeda is also engaged with counselling work and their programme on conflict prevention. *When I talk on issues of violence or human rights, I give my examples to women, you can also bring change, I say just like me.*

Personal Resources

Many of the men and women interviewed described themselves as having had progressive and/or supportive parents, good schooling or higher education, and/or prior to involvement with the Campaign, were part of networks and community organizations working on a range of social and political issues, including women's rights and violence against women.

Women were more likely than men to mention having had a supportive family environment, while men's easier access to education and mobility would suggest that they faced fewer obstacles than women in this regard. A significant number of allies were founders and heads of NGOs or schools, or professional figures in public institutions.

There was a range of economic backgrounds and ethnic, religious and caste identities but in general most of the interviewees could be said to be from lower class or middle class families. Their occupations included home-makers, home tutors, small-scale traders, community workers and volunteers, students, hospital workers, teachers and heads of local schools, Trade Union leaders and government officials.

All but four – 80% - of the men interviewed had higher education to college or university level; of the 24 women, 14 (just over 58%) were educated to high school or college and university level. While education levels do not emerge as causal factors in terms of readiness to change, the struggle for education in the experience of a number of the female interviewees was certainly a catalyst for the contemplation of changes in other areas of their lives, and the lives of others.

The prior experience of interviewees in community groups, as volunteers in CBOs or local NGOs, or in the case of a number of the allies, the founding of organizations dedicated to welfare, education or women's rights, was also a crucial resource that facilitated their embarking on kind of change process 'We Can' invited them to join. Seven of the women mentioned specifically coming from supportive and progressive family backgrounds, where their mothers or both parents

were involved in social, community or human rights work, and had involved their children. 16 of the women, and 12 of the men were involved with, or founders/heads of, CBOs or NGOs working in the development/welfare and human rights fields, or had worked as volunteers in local groups concerned with social issues – around 64% of the interviewees.

That still leaves a significant number of Change Makers – 46% - whose first contact with the idea of social and personal change was through direct contact with the Campaign, drawn in by a friend, relative, Change Maker or an Alliance member. The following section looks more closely at how, and why, these initial contacts occurred.

ISRAT JAHAN SONALI, a 25 year old women from Barisal, in Bangladesh, was a member of the Junior Red Cross as a young girl. She says:

...Since then I have had an interest to work more intensively for the betterment of people. Moreover, since my father was a chairman, I have seen in my childhood many women coming to him for support, which also made me concerned to do something for women development.

When Sonali met an Alliance member of the Campaign in 2006, she responded very quickly:

During the discussion I felt like this is what I was looking for. I told him that I want to work with the Campaign and become a Change Maker.

The question that is harder to answer, but is interesting to ask, is whether in the personal make-up of these very different people, there was something which made them, at some level, not only uncomfortable with their own situation and existing social norms, but enabled them to contemplate changing them. The quality of tenacity comes across in most of the interviews, the persistence and the courage to keep pushing for something the individuals believe in, want to achieve, and are prepared to fight for. The approach of the Campaign is itself an empowering one, holding that every individual has

it in their power to choose to change, and can decide what form that change may take. Amongst the people interviewed for this study many had begun on a journey of empowerment already, and had the quality of self-belief.

Sometimes this came across as people who saw themselves as different, and had already questioned and challenged the social norms around them:

Take **KHEMA RANASINGHE**, from Moneragala, in Sri Lanka, who resisted the gendered restrictions of being female from the very start:

Since childhood I dressed like a boy and then later, as an adult, I dressed like a man in a shirt and sarong. As a child I played with my brothers and the girls in my class did not treat me as one of them. I had a desk between the boy's and the girl's sides of the room. I disregarded all the cultural norms when I started menstruating; I ate meat and didn't even tell my family I had reached puberty and went tree climbing with my brothers.

Or **RABIA JAN**, from Nowshera in Pakistan, who was so persistent in her work, against opposition, to keep on trying to convince her family members to let her continue school, even going on a brief hunger strike. She was the first girl in her extended family to study up to 10th grade – which must have given her a certain impetus - but then prevented from going further. The intervention of two individuals – a local councillor, and the head of a local NGO connected to the Campaign – was critical to this, as they supported her and talked to her father. But it was her own self-belief that was the key ingredient.

Why does one son in a family reject the treatment of women, while the others do not? **MAULADAD UTMANKHEL**, cited above, from the highly conservative Pakistani province of Balochistan, *grew up seeing discrimination and violence against women in his family. But unlike his other brothers, he was not happy with this environment...*

Social and Cultural context

All of the interviewees grew up with the experience of some kind of violence, and in many cases, particularly in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, direct experience of armed conflict. The majority of the interviewees from Sri Lanka, Change Makers and alliance members, had been engaged in one way or another with the long-running conflict between Tamils and the government, which was most intensive in the north and east of the country. In Pakistan, many of the Alliance members were from the province of Khyber-Paktunkwa in the north-west, the site of intense fighting and displacement in 2008/2009.

One of the Indian Alliance members, Sophia Khan (see below) was profoundly affected by the communal violence directed at Muslims in Gujarat in 2002.

While none of the interviewees from Bangladesh specifically mentioned social or political violence, the country is, like others in the region, increasingly threatened by religious fundamentalism and political extremism. Gains made previously in women's lives have been rolled back in areas where women are brought back under punitive customary laws which curtail every aspect of their lives, and violence is used to enforce compliance with them.

Interviewees from all the countries spoke eloquently of the range of ways in which women's rights and freedoms are denied them and the ways in which fear is instilled in women from girlhood. At the most extreme end of the spectrum, women who rebel may justifiably fear for their lives.

During armed conflict women are always exposed to increased levels of violence as safety nets they may have disappear, families fragment, and displacement brings new risks and threats. Several of the Change Makers and Alliance members interviewed in Sri Lanka had become involved with the 'We Can' campaign as a result of working with displaced people in the eastern districts of the country. As attention and concern began to be focused on war widows and displaced women and children, and more organizations mobilized to help them, Oxfam through its violence against women

programme started to support women's groups and networks to take the campaign into their emergency response.

Chandrakumar was personally affected by the conflict when his brother was abducted by the Tamil Tigers, and through this became aware of the situation of the particular impacts of conflict on women and girls.

CHANDRAKUMAR VISVALINGAM is a 26 year old Change Maker from Batticaloa in the eastern part of Sri Lanka. (he appears as a ally in the list in the annex. This needs to be reflected if it is correct he is an ally – anyway the list and the all references in the text need to be reconciled) His brother was kidnapped by the LTTE to be trained as a fighter and kept for 5 years. Chandrakumar says:

I saw how he struggled to rebuild his life without proper schooling. This made me realise how this war affects young people, how they lose opportunities, and families are affected by this violence. There are young girls taken as my brother was, and they are more vulnerable. They need more protection from such situations...

I saw displaced people coming from the areas where there was fighting (interior areas close to Toppigala) and there were women headed households paralysed with loss and displacement. They were struggling to cope alone.

Several of the Pakistan interviewees come from extremely conservative areas of the country, where 'honour killing' or 'karo kari' is practiced and strongly defended. This context was both a stimulant for change to those who rejected it, and a constraint on the changes they tried to make. The We Can Campaign began in Pakistan as a campaign against honour killing, and between 2005 and 2006 was carried out in districts with seminars, talks and sometimes rallies against 'karo kari'.

Many of the Pakistan Alliance members, all of whom are men, were drawn into the Campaign initially by Oxfam as it formed Alliances to launch or continue the Campaign in different districts.

REHMAT BUKHSH CHANA, who now runs the Kainat Development Organisation (KDO) was one of those invited to the launching ceremony of the Campaign. His account shows how he had to temper the message on honour killing:

Kashmere is a very conservative area. It borders Balochistan and Southern Punjab and is one of the districts where the rate of honour killing is very high. Now we had to organize a seminar on Karo Kari and it was a difficult task. We were worried that what we should write in the invitation card. If we write We Can End Honour Killing (Karo Kari), people would not even let us organize this event.

We acted responsibly. We agreed to invite people verbally and they were told that a seminar was being held to discuss the issues of violence against women. Only a few guests were sent a proper invitation who were either friends or whose position on this issue was already public. We invited some progressive religious teachers too.

On the day of the event, we started with the speeches of religious teachers who conditionally condemned honour killing with religious perspective; whereas, after every speech the moderator of the event would tell the audience that we are against 'Na Haq Karo Kari', which is based on materialistic gains and to settle scores. ('Na Haq' means 'unjustified').

Thank God we were able to launch this campaign without any significant resistance. The reason for no opposition was obvious as we used to talk against 'Na Haq Karo Kari'.

Rehmat goes on in the interview to describe his discomfort at having to do this, and how he sought further understanding of the issues, through Campaign workshops and information sessions, as well as through the study of Islamic law. A year later, with his fellow Change Makers, and having worked with communities as well as religious scholars, teachers, lawyers and politicians, the KDO organised a rally on International Women's Day, where honour killing was condemned openly and unequivocally.



SOPHIA KHAN is a prominent human rights activist in Gujarat, runs the NGO SAFAR, and is involved in a number of international processes, such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) campaign and the NGO CEDAW committee. She is part of the Muslim Women's Rights Network and the Movement for Secular Democracy, amongst other organizations. She says:

2002 was a very horrible time for me. My neighbours died and we used to face violence every night. I used to arrange ambulances to hospitals. After so much violence, organizations were not coming forward to fight against injustice at all.

Sophia had been working on women's rights and gender equality, but after the Godhra violence expanded her approach:

We cannot work in isolation, such that I will work on domestic violence and exclude all other types of violence. Because if violence is somewhere on your mind and heart it will come out in any way. So you need to address roots of violence. So you need to redefine relationships whether it is between men and women or two women or two men or it is based on caste or religious identity. I found it is possible to talk about all these issues in a very non-threatening way positively in this campaign...

While religious fundamentalism and extremism are real threats to women, interviewees also draw strength and support from their religious beliefs and communities. They also talk about adjusting their attitudes and behaviour within these belief structures, and finding ways to bring new perspectives on women's rights and violence against women into them.

DESHAPRIYA DISSANAYAKE is a 23 year old local government official in Moneragala in southern Sri Lanka. He is a Buddhist, the son of a respected village teacher, and has a long history of voluntary work in the community. Through his studies of Buddhism, he came to understand the contradiction between Buddhist teaching and traditional practices which discriminate against women through his contact with the Campaign. He says:

We were brought up with very traditional views that used to exist in areas like this. According to these traditions women have a weak mind and their status is not equal to that of men. After joining the WCC I felt that the way in which I view women was not rights.

Even with our Buddhist background we thought that women were weaker and they cannot work like men. The Buddha tried to break these stereotypes and let the women become Bhikkshunis.

To sum up – there is much more to be explored here, and much rich material in the case studies which is beyond the scope of this paper to reflect. The intersecting and multi-layered connections in any individual's life make it a highly complex task to try and unpick the effects of the different aspects of their experience on one another at any time, or to ascribe the changes in their lives to single influences, or even specific combinations of influences.

And the picture is changing constantly, as the society around them changes – like Heraclitus' stream, it cannot be stepped into twice. The wider national and regional political influences, the cultural impact of mass media and the internet, regional and international migration and globalised economies, are all drivers of change in the national and local contexts of individual women and men, with profound impacts on their experiences, their thinking and their relationships with others.

Many of the interviewees in this study speak of particular Campaign events or moments of recognition in Campaign

messages which in their own accounts, sparked off a process of change, and some make some connections between the intersecting influences in their lives to explain what catalyzed change in their lives. We will look at this in the next section.

Inspiration, Motivation and Support

In this section we look at how the women and men interviewed for this study first became involved with the 'We Can' Campaign, and what inspired them adopt its message of change. We have already seen, in some of the backgrounds and personal resources of the interviewees, where some of the motivations for change lay, and what helped them believe that they could be the authors of change. Here we focus on what it was in the Campaign's message specifically that inspired them to make changes in their lives, or to take further the changes they had already made.

We meet, through them, the people who first brought them into 'We Can', and who acted as guides and mentors as they decided to get involved and act, supporting the processes of change they were going through. Sometimes a particular person appears in the narrative as a key figure who introduces the interviewee to the Campaign, and the issues it deals with, and remains in the foreground or the background, a person who can be called upon for advice and support. This person may be a friend or relative, an authority figure or a person already involved in the Campaign as a Change Maker or Alliance member. Sometimes the figure appears in the narrative of the interview to be like the universal figure of the guide of folklore, who appears to help the heroine or hero find her or his way - the Kind and Wise Older Woman, or the Old Man. This figure, in Jungian psychology, has powerful archetypal resonances, and we see in the experiences of some of the Change Makers, particularly, how important these guides and supporting figures are.

Local Alliance partners are also referred to as vital sources

of support and encouragement to Change Makers. A further element in the process of consolidating change is the continued access to information, and in some cases, Pakistan in particular, training for both allies and Change Makers. This training, in the form of workshops and seminars on violence against women, follows on from the initial contacts, and is an important factor in the encouragement of individual Change Makers or Alliance members to maintain and develop their engagement with the change process.

In most accounts the interviewees were introduced to the Campaign by friends or relatives, Change Makers of their acquaintance, or colleagues from other organizations. In some cases, particularly the Alliance members, they were directly invited by Oxfam to join the Campaign, or were brought in through networks of which they were a part.

Some – like Jony and Sanjay – literally stumbled across 'We Can' by chance, and others were attracted through an invitation to an event organized by the Campaign. While all of these mechanisms are interesting, and are part of the Campaign's strategy to reach out to potential Change Makers, what we focus on here is what it was, as a result of these contacts, that made the interviewees decide to join up and try and work with the changes promoted by the Campaign. In other words, what it was, not in the strategy of the Campaign, nor its messages alone, but what it was in the encounter, the mix, of the individual's life experience and the Campaign, that sparked the belief in the change, and the motivation to join in the movement to promote it.

For some, as we shall see, it was something in the approach and message of 'We Can' which resonated with their own experience, which ignited a spark of recognition, 'this was me'. For others, it was the model of someone very much admired by them, which inspired them to follow in the same path. And for most of the women and men interviewed, it was a combination of factors – recognition and connection of the broader issues with their own experience, prior experience of violence and motivation to change their own lives and those

of others, a sense of belonging to a movement which offered to increase their understanding and offer support, and the possibility of a new way to bring about change in an area which is caught up in a tight web of social and cultural norms, and which can be very dangerous to enter into on one's own.

Messages of persuasion for attitude change are most effective when they touch people on both the emotional and cognitive or thinking levels. The examples we will present in this section show how the interviewees responded to the Campaign on both levels, with different degrees of emphasis – for some the motivating impetus was primarily affective, to do with awareness of their own and others' feelings, while for others the impetus was rational and logical. It made sense, in the light of the inequalities and suffering women were subjected to, to change the situation.

The notion of 'cognitive dissonance' is used in the theory of attitude change to explain the fact that people can hold different beliefs or attitudes at the same time, and can hold attitudes that are inconsistent with their behaviour. This 'cognitive dissonance' engenders discomfort – people like to aim, as the theory goes, for balance and consistency in their thoughts, beliefs and actions. When attitudes and behaviour conflict, two different things can happen – people can gradually shift their attitudes to agree with their behaviour, or more commonly, shift their behaviour to be more consistent with their attitudes. In reality, everyone is constantly juggling with these conflicting forces, as attitudes tend to be much harder and slower to shift than behaviour.

Another way of understanding the initial experience that sparks off a process of change in perception and action, is that exposure to a new insight provokes a disturbance in the psyche of the individual, and that this disturbance won't go away. It is the discomfort of the upsetting of habitual belief and familiar behaviour. While for most of the men in this study, this uncomfortable truth tends to be the way they have been treating women in their families and social groups, for most women it tends to be that they have felt helpless in the

face of violence against their mothers, or themselves. In both cases, the exceptions prove the rule – there are women who recognise their own abusive behaviour toward others – their female relatives, husbands or colleagues – and men, who have felt helpless to address the violence in their homes.

Interviewees in this study often referred to the long, slow process of change in attitudes and social norms, and there is a sub-text in many of the narratives which suggests a certain frustration, that while changes in behaviour were achievable at the family, household, and possibly local levels, changes in their wider social and cultural contexts seemed far-off indeed. In the final part of this section, we look at what keeps the Change Makers and Alliance members motivated in spite of the slow process of change.

Below, through the interviewees' own accounts, we first present some of the ways in the first contacts happened, the kind of impact they made, and why they were important. We then look at some of the important sources of support, which helped to sustain the individuals' motivation to change. Throughout these examples, there are references to the other points made above – the different pace of behaviour and attitude change, the different experience of women and men, and the difficulty of moving from behaviour change at the family and local levels, to wider social transformation.



Recognition

In the interview with **RANJANI WEWELAGAMA**, a 43 year old woman from Puttalam, in Sri Lanka, the interviewer reports:

Ranjani heard of the WCC when Riznad Huzain of Oxfam GB came looking for Campaign partner organizations in Puttalam. Ranjani attended a meeting where he introduced the WCC. The message of the campaign made a strong impression on Ranjani since she identified with the situation of those facing violence.

I have faced violence throughout my life and at my workplace. Even if we are very strong it is hard to face and challenge violence alone, so when there are others to support we can face and overcome problems. That is why I got interested in WCC.

MUSARRAT SHAH, a 40 yr old man from Nowshera in Pakistan, and Alliance member, responded in a similar way to Ranjani, to a meeting organized by Oxfam when the ‘We Can’ Campaign in Pakistan focussed on Honour Killing:

I took it as a routine meeting at the beginning. The objective and activities of the campaign were shared and then change makers’ forms were distributed. When I read out the form, I was moved. The form says: I would neither commit any act of violence nor let it happen. As soon as I read this form, the whole story of my mother flashed through my mind like a film. I immediately decided to become a change maker of this campaign. This event revived my feelings and I rediscovered my pain. I was sad while returning home and remembered my mother who bore all the pain.

MABIA AKHTAR, a 25 year-old woman from Dhaka, in Bangladesh, took a little longer to decide to join up to the Campaign. She had gone to a community meeting organized by Campaign Change Makers with her aunt, and recognized the relevance of the issues to her own life. However it was only after attending three or four events and meeting, that she decided to become a Change Maker, and said:

It felt like I found a voice, issues that always bothered me suddenly became clearer to me, I recognized the violence in my life and started to believe that I could change it for the better.

MUSA KHAN, a 42 year-old man from Swabi district in Pakistan was invited by a ‘We Can’ Alliance partner to a Campaign event, and responded this way:

I was moved to see banners, hear speeches and watch the theatre performance. It was altogether a different discourse. We had never thought about our attitude towards our women. Beating up our wives, daughters or sisters was considered normal and a very private matter. Honour Killing and Sawara were accepted and dealt with as honourable customary practices. But here it was all against it. I think the message was so strong in this festival that I started rethinking about these issues. To me, after hearing and watching this all, it was an ugly picture and this was a changing moment of my life. This was stark discrimination against women, our own women, our sisters, daughters, wives and mothers.

Guides, Friends and Mentors

For a number of Change Makers, the influence of a respected figure – a friend or relative, an authority figure, or an alliance member or other Change Maker, was a key part of their initial involvement with the Campaign, and crucial to their continued efforts to effect change in their lives.

CHANDRAKUMAR, for example, (cited in the previous section), was drawn into the campaign by the persistent efforts of an older man he greatly admired:

I was drawn in to the WCC campaign because it was thought so highly of by someone I admired... my friend and distant relative Vinayamurthy (Vinay) who worked with Community Development Society (CDS) [local NGO]. He kept talking to me about violence against women and how the ‘We Can’ Campaign was working to end VAW. He kept talking to me of this

for a long time and he had this strategy to get me involved: he would sometimes send me, in his place, to workshops arranged by [organizations like] CARE and Mandresa.

Vinay remained a mentor, guide and support to Chandrakumar, constantly re-appearing in the narrative of his change process, prodding him to attend meetings, questioning his attitudes and behaviour towards girls, pushing him to challenge boundaries.

Two young men literally ran into 'We Can' in the street. Sanjay Kumar, from Lucknow, in India, and Jony, from Dinajpur, in Bangladesh – whose case study appears in full in the next section, and for whom Mr. Kabir, an Alliance member, was an important figure.

SANJAY KUMAR is from a poor family, and helps with their pottery business. They had put up a toy stall on a street corner in Lucknow. Campaign alliance members had organized a poster exhibition to stimulate discussion in the street nearby, and Sanjay became interested in the posters. He said:

I especially like the one in which the man is wagging his finger at a woman and stopping her from going out. I was transfixed. It happens in my home so often when I am doing the same thing...

He joined up as a Change Maker, and subsequently became active in the Campaign. His father was a great source of support and encouragement, helping him in what he describes as a slow and difficult process of change.

SUMATI DEVI, a 26 year-old women from Sisai in Eastern India, has been subjected to violence and abuse from her husband and in-law ever since her marriage. When one of her friends asked her if she wanted to join the 'We Can' campaign, she replied *since the Campaign seems to be talking about my life, how could I not join?*

It was very difficult for Sumati to get away to Campaign meetings, and harder still to approach her in-laws about the way they were treating her. She found two important sources

of support – Change Maker groups in Sisai and surrounding villages, and her aunt, who agreed to help her talk to her parents-in-law.

SHAHEENA JAVED, a 20 year-old Change Maker from India acknowledges the importance belonging to the Fellowship Programme of the Thoughtshop Foundation (an NGO and 'We Can Ally', which runs, inter alia, the youth leadership training programme to which Shaheena refers) in her personal journey of change, and in particular the trainers who appear as her guides and mentors:

One of the things that has helped me is the access to the fellowship inputs. One can see a placard and a poster. But in real life, things are happening to us every moment. We need to find reason and arguments to fight back for many different kinds of things. I feel that because I had the fellowship to keep going back to, people like Revathi-di, Himalini-di to talk to, I have been able to work through all these little, daily instances.

In the beginning it is difficult to see change... But as I was part of this group, I was able to slowly increase my own capacity and from there my own belief that change was possible – it may be difficult, but it was possible. It has also helped me to have people to talk to. My trainers – Uma-di, Krishna-di were all there for us. Every day we would share things with them – even if it was only to say that this has happened and I felt very bad about it.

The Persuasion of Reason

For some interviewees, the initial appeal of the Campaign was less a sudden recognition or realization on a personal level, but that it offered a reasonable, acceptable and accessible way of tackling the change necessary to address violence against women.

AKHTAR NAWAZ, a 28-year old Alliance member from Nowshera recalled his introduction to the Campaign:



SHAHEENA JAVED
with children in her neighbourhood

Musarrat briefed the participants in detail about the objectives and activities of the campaign. Since people (I included) used to consider such issues related to women as very personal matters, so the message was not very well received. Nobody raised any question, listened to what was said and kept quiet. After the larger meeting, I had one-on-one meeting with Musarrat. I asked him many questions that bothered me at times. Musarrat confidently replied to all the questions. It was due to his logical response that I decided to join the campaign. On the same day I became a change maker and my organization became an alliance member of the campaign.

I felt what we knew is incomplete and what we understood is wrong. It was the first change that I observed in myself that day.

SHAHEENA, cited above, describes the importance of learning to use reason and argument in her work on changing others:

On becoming a Change Maker, Shaheena started using her new found knowledge by sharing it with her family.... This was using the We Can Change Maker materials and processes.

She would share all the details first with her mother, and then soon with the other members of her family. Many of the concepts in the materials were new to Shaheena and her family and sparked off debates – often heated ones. In these discussions, Shaheena soon realised that while she may have found a language, she definitely hadn't found all the answers.

She then started making a list of questions she had could find no answers to. For example - how can We Can say that boys and girls can be equal? Boys can take off their shirts and roam the streets. Can girls do this?

She would take the list of questions back to sessions at her fellowship programme and discuss them there. Slowly, she got better – she had now found her language and her arguments.

HAFIZ MANZOOR, 39, an Ally from Ghotki district, said of his first exposure to 'We Can' that he was attracted by the possibility that the Campaign offered the opportunity to connect with larger movements for women's rights:

It was an interesting meeting. The title of the campaign itself was very touching. Being born and raised in Ghotki, I knew the sensitivity of the issue. We had experienced enough opposition while talking about general women's issues but here we were talking about Honour Killing. Honour Killing is such a crime where family honour, wealth, inheritance and tribalism play key role. Therefore, challenging this means inviting trouble from every corner. But I was in complete agreement with what was being said in the meeting. I thought that this campaign would connect us to the larger national and regional movements of women rights. And this contact will be useful for us and for our women. I did not waste any time and became a Change Maker.

This Section has tried to offer some insights into the different reasons the interviewees in the study gave to explain their decisions to become involved in 'We Can'. Sometimes they were very personal, and sometimes they had more to do with a pre-existing sense of the injustice of women's position. Some interviewees were motivated primarily by wanting to end the violence in their family lives, others by the oppression of women around them. Some were attracted to the Campaign's messages immediately, others needed more time to mull them over. Some people signed up to the Campaign as a way to begin to address the discomfort they felt with their own position vis-à-vis domestic violence; others found in it a pathway to carry forward something they had already begun.

Often people's experience was a combination of many things. The case of Musarrat Shah from Nowshera in Khyber-Paktunkwa province of Pakistan, is an example of someone whose experience of poverty and violence led him into social and political community-based work, and thence to his role as a Campaign ally. He brought his political beliefs and experience of organization to the Campaign, which brought him face to face with his personal experience of violence. With time, he came to make changes in his personal relationships. His case study is presented below.

MUSARRAT SHAH KAKAKHEL is a 40-year old man who lives in Nowshera, in Khyber-Paktunkwa Province in Pakistan. He comes from a very poor family. Musarrat's father was an unskilled wage labourer, and Musarrat grew up seeing his father working hard to meet their expenses and his mother trying to make small savings.

When his father died, his paternal uncle was declared the head of the family and Musarrat, his widowed mother and 9 siblings were to depend on the uncle for everything. Musarrat's mother was subjected to violence first by Musarrat's father, and then his uncle. He says:

...I would see my father beating up my mother and my mother sobbing with tears. When I would ask her about the reasons for the fight, she would either refuse to tell me anything or would say that my father was feeling helpless and frustrated due to his job.

I loved my mother and saw her working for hours unlimited at home to take care of so many children. She was a mother of nine children at the age of only 32 but she looked much older. After the passing away of my father, the new situation with my uncle being considered the head of the family changed things from bad to worse.

My uncle instead of supporting us would torture my mother. My father had died but my mother lived to bear more torture from the family... My mother took a lot of pressure and even bore physical violence throughout her life before leaving us for her heavenly abode in 1992.

One of his maternal uncles offered financial and moral support to the family, and sent Musarrat to school. He joined Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) while still at school, was an active member of the Democratic Students Federation (DSF) and subsequently worked for progressive political parties.

Like most of Pakistan's left-wing political activists, Musarrat disappeared from the public sphere after the breakup of these parties, and in 2003, established an NGO, the



MUSARRAT SHAH KAKAKHEL

Social Education Awareness Foundation (SEAF)⁸ to work with the poor communities of Nowshera on social and political awareness-raising.

In 2005, Musarrat was invited to a meeting of the We Can End Honour Killing⁹ campaign, facilitated by Oxfam. Of that first meeting, Musarrat said:

I took it as a routine meeting at the beginning. The objective and activities of the campaign were shared and then change makers' forms were distributed. When I read out the form, I was moved. The form says: I would neither commit any act of violence nor let it happen. As soon as I read this form, the whole story of my mother flashed through my mind like a film. I immediately decided to become a change maker of this campaign. This event revived my feelings and I rediscovered my pain.

SEAF became the lead organization of the District Alliance. Musarrat attended several training and orientation workshops organized by Oxfam GB and the provincial lead organization, improving his own knowledge and understanding about the issue, and skills, and subsequently replicating them with other change makers.

8 Social Education and Awareness Foundation (SEAF) is the district lead organization of We Can campaign in Nowshera

9 In Pakistan, the We Can Campaign was initiated with a strategic focus on Honour Killing. This focus was subsequently shifted to Domestic Violence, which remained the focus of the campaign in the coming years.

Musarrat was opposed by the religious clergy and some political personalities, as he started organizing Campaign activities on Honour Killing, but gained support through mobilizing his wide network of contacts. He advocated for changing attitudes on women's education, starting by going personally to many houses where families kept their girls away from school, and through a process of continuous dialogue with them convinced them to allow their girls to attend school. In Nizam Pur village, for example, people started sending their girls to school after a couple of visits by Musarrat.

To take this wider, Musarrat formed alliances of Change Makers at Union Council level, bringing in a wide range of actors - women health workers, political party workers and representatives of community based organizations.

His personal life also changed through his involvement with the Campaign.

My left-wing training helped me in analyzing the subjective and objective conditions. I was able to understand the issue of violence against women and find out its materialistic reasons. But I must admit that my earlier work was never informed with gender understanding and we never tried to study the subject, the oppression on women, differently. We used to study it as a generic issue but this campaign changed my view about the oppression on women and I studied it differently.

This training brought another change in my life. I had to work alone because even my wife was not happy with me when I joined the campaign, although she is an educated lady and teaches in a school. It gave me more patience to work without the support of my loved ones and tried to convince my wife with logic. Thank God I was successful. My wife finally became a change maker in 2008 and has now organized a women's group in Nowshera.

Musarrat dreams of a time when children learn to understand and accept the diversity, respect varying views and love each other.

The women and men in this study faced many different obstacles to their efforts to make changes in their own and others' lives, and had to find ways to overcome them. This is the subject of the next section.

Obstacles, setbacks and threats to change, and how they are overcome

Almost all of the Change Makers interviewed for this study refer to particular hindrances, obstacles or threats to their work as Change Makers. This section examines some of the most frequent obstacles mentioned in the Change Maker interviews, and some of the strategies and approaches used to overcome them.

The most commonly cited issue – from about one third of interviewees - is the pressure from family, friends or their local community to put an end to what is often seen as aberrant behaviour. In a few cases – about 10% of case studies - this pressure turns into violence, actual or threatened, against the Change Maker, their family or their peers in the Campaign. More commonly the pressure presents as anger, teasing or mockery. Several Change Makers talk about being isolated as family and friends stopped interacting with them on account of the changes they have started to articulate or display. About 25% of the Change Makers interviewed cite religious beliefs or figures as obstacles or challenges to their work.

About 10% highlight frustrations at the 'disconnect' between what people, often other Change Makers, say or do and the fundamental messages or principles they subscribe to within 'We Can'. A small number of Change Makers acknowledge their own challenges in ensuring that their own behaviour always models the principles of the Campaign.

The examples below suggest a range of strategies and approaches adopted by Change Makers to counter these obstacles, challenges or threats and to continue on the journey of change. These are teased out in the Conclusion at the end of this section.

Violence and threats

Violent opposition to the work of Change Makers was most clearly articulated by two of the Change Makers in Pakistan. But examples were given from the four countries.

TAHREEM MALIK, a 25 year old Change Maker from a conservative part of Bahawalpur in Pakistan, encouraged her family to call off the engagement of her younger sister, who was continuing her education in college while her fiancé had left school early. While Tahreem's family were not happy about it, they did not want to break off the engagement because of societal and family pressure. After repeated discussions, Tahreem persuaded them to refuse to go ahead with the marriage, creating an uproar in the extended family.

Tahreem's maternal uncles and her sister's fiancé threatened to 'teach them a lesson'. Equipped with weapons, they started intimidating Tahreem's family. They involved the police and pretended a Nikkah (marriage contract and ceremony) had already been performed. However, thanks to her knowledge of family law, Tahreem was able to successfully dispute this as none of the legal requirements for Nikka had been fulfilled.

Tahreem and her parents stood firm and ultimately, despite the threats, the marriage did not go ahead.

Asked to explain how she was able to bring about such change, Tahreem says : *If I had not been a part of the WE CAN campaign, I would not even have thought of questioning against my culture and family. We used to think that we have no role in interfering in family matters... It is quite unbelievable that I challenged these norms and succeeded in convincing my parents about something that is good for our future.*

She also made the point that: *this success would never have been possible if her friends, peers, other Change Makers and family had not supported her.*

Also in Pakistan, **MUHAMMAD MUNIR ABRO** (Munir) talks about the 'huge opposition from the communities, tribal and political leaders' when he, through his organisation YMDO,¹⁰ first started to work on the issue of violence against women.

Even more controversial was their involvement, from the launch in 2006, in the 'We Can' Campaign with its initial focus on Honour Killing. Munir was the first 'We Can' Change Maker in Jaffarabad District in the North Sind and Eastern Balochistan region – where the rate of honour killing is the highest in Pakistan. He describes how the seminars and meetings he was expected to organise within 'We Can' where *almost impossible* given the acceptance of Honour Killing in the area and the lack of mobility of women.

Munir decided to organise donkey cart and cycle races as a novel way of reaching out to women, isolated in their homes. Women were able to come to these events as their male family members were taking part. Women subsequently took part in a rickshaw rally, where anti-violence messages were hung on the rickshaws, and it became easier to organise meetings for women. Munir explains that he was not opposed in the way he had feared, as women were often getting together from within homes and not in public places.

Munir reflected how the growth of *self confidence amongst women was a prerequisite for bigger changes*, and the work had to begin in ways which would not elicit opposition, at home.

A young woman Change Maker in Sri Lanka, 22 year old **VASUKI SUDASIVAM** from Akkaraipattu, Ampara District, in Eastern Sri Lanka, was arranging a 'We Can' event in a local school:

The school visit was arranged by a friend of mine. My friend got a call from a male teacher who was known to be a pervert. He accused my friend of arranging a useless activity like the WCC [We Can Campaign] introduction. We think he was threatened and felt this is an attack against him since many know of his behaviour. He threatened my friend knowing that we would get the message through her.

Vasuki says she was not worried about the threats. She says such challenges will always come when working for rights. Vasuki gives many examples in her case study of how she has influenced the thinking of family, friends and colleagues. Reflecting on how as a young women, involved with 'We Can' for only a little over a year, she has been able to challenge situations frequently and influence others, Vasuki says:

there has had been a change in the way I think, and because of that of how I act. Before joining WCC I listened to and believed all that was told me by my elders. I didn't think or analyze what I was told... and thought that anything that expresses my own and different opinions is disrespectful

Being mocked, teased or isolated

Many Change Makers have talked of being mocked and teased in their work, or shunned by family or friends.

ISRAT JAHAN SONALI is a 25 year old graduate. She lives in Jhalokathi, Barisal, Bangladesh. She is Vice-Chair of the local Union Parishad (local government unit).

Sonali says that *men whose wives stay at home sometimes ask my husband: 'is your wife always busy with her work? That's why you are not getting proper care? Are you sure she is not meeting other men?' They ask my husband questions like, 'do you have to cook, or take care of your child?'*

She worries that: *I have motivated him for positive changes. But the way people are annoying him, he might change his mind again*

10 Yar Muhammad Samejo Development Organisation

Sonali says she has since become appreciated for the changes she has made, in her own life and in those around her, and for the practical benefits that she and others have experienced. Like many of the Change Makers interviewed for this study, she makes the transition sound quick and smooth:

When I started working, everyone in my neighbourhood was very curious about my activity. They asked me lot of personal questions like what time I will come back home, where I am going, why I am going outside etc. They did not accept me at the initial stage. Most of the women used to stay at home. Afterward, I talked with the women about my work. When they understood I am not doing anything bad, they agreed to join me. I invited them to participate in meetings and seminars so that they could get detail information on VAW. Many of them are even working now. I think this is the most important change. Now they will work to change others.

A number of Change Makers mentioned the experience of feeling isolated or being criticised or ostracised by their family or local community as they started to challenge conventional behaviour or practices.

In Pakistan, **RABIA JAN**, a 22 year old Change Maker, found her family very hostile to the changes she made in her own life. Her maternal and paternal relatives stopped coming to her home. Her brother was teased by his cousins and mother by her aunts. Eventually her engagement was called off by her fiancé:

We were isolated from the whole family. My paternal and maternal relatives stopped coming to our home. They would tease my brother and call him Begahirat (honourless). He would be hated because his sister works with men, unknown men. Sometimes, my mother and elder sister would get frustrated and rubbish me and ask me to leave this work but my father had now started supporting me. I knew that they were teased but I could not stop.

Rabia was not deterred by this, and had the support of her father:

I knew that my family members would be teased and disturbed but it was an informed decision to move ahead. Studying in college, becoming a Change Maker, working with various NGOs and attending out-of-city training workshops were difficult but informed decisions.

In India, young Change Maker **SHAHEENA JAVED** explained how in her family, most often her father would get angry. She had always been a quiet child. When she started talking, asking questions and protesting against what her family members said and did, they started getting upset with her. They felt Shaheena was in the wrong company and was learning bad things.

Her brothers were particularly difficult: *They had asked her the most questions, teased her the most about her slogan of equity and have been the greatest advocates of her parents clamping down on Shaheena's newly acquired freedoms.*

Shaheena reflects on how, with time and the support of her mentors in the Campaign, she learnt how best to influence people:

The language of We Can is an effective language that does not use fighting or confrontation. I realised that fighting is usually not the best solution. I also learnt that it is not good for me to talk all the time. Why should people always be in the mood to listen to me?

So I learnt to wait for my time... I learnt to listen. Once you listen to others you know better how to place your arguments. I also learnt to leave the choice and decision to others. Saying that only I was right and everyone must do what I say was not going to get me anywhere. But if I explained to people different options, leaving them to choose, they would be influenced more quickly.

I also learnt that if I position myself as someone who has changed herself, I have the maximum impact. So I tell people, I am not here to change you, that is not in my capacity. But I can tell you how I have changed, and how it has changed my life. This strategy works very well.

Shaheena acknowledges that the fact she started earning enhanced her credibility and her self-belief:

I was able to show that I can do things on my own. If I had kept talking about equality between boys and girls while sitting at home, maybe people would not have believed me. Maybe I would not have believed myself...

In Bangladesh, as **MOHAMMAD NAZRUL ISLAM JONY**, known as **JONY**, (see full case study in this section) began to adopt new ways of thinking and behaving he faced both opposition and ridicule from his friends:

My friends were making fun about my changed behaviour and making strange comments. They started calling me 'half lady'. It was like eve teasing towards boys. My friends were reluctant to accompany me anywhere or hang out, because

for them my behaviour was not considered normal. They said I am not part of their group now, they were ashamed of me. When I tried to convince them, they were even making fun calling me 'Change Maker'.

One friend stuck by him, however, and support from other CMs in his neighbourhood as well as the Bikash Bangladesh office, a local 'We Can' ally, made him feel he wasn't alone. He persisted in trying to persuade his friends, saying: *since there were other people who also believed in the campaign and were doing similar things like him, he had proof that he was right.*

Thus for Jony, the support of even a single friend was critical at a point he would have felt completely isolated - just as Rabia drew much strength from the support of her father.



MOHAMMAD NAZRUL ISLAM JONY

JONY is an 18 year old Change Maker from Dinajpur, Bangladesh. From a poor family, he supports his own college education with earnings from private tuition and as a land deed writer at the local registry office.

His story shows his progression from a teenager troubled by the violence in his family, to a proactive and confident campaigner against violence against women, who feels his new role has enhanced his position in his village. He says:

Before becoming a Change Maker no one knew me, now people respect me since I take a lot of initiative through the campaign. First I took the initiative for myself and my family and then for my friends and now the community.

Jony's first contact with the Campaign was through a man who became a mentor and guide to him, Mr Kabir, from a local NGO (Bikash Bangladesh) and We Can alliance partner. Returning home from college one day, upset by his parents' constant fighting, he met Mr Kabir putting up posters in the street. He says:

Mr. Kabir put We Can messages in plain words to make me understand. He provided reading materials like booklets, leaflets, posters as well. I read it all and identified many of my behaviours which were discriminatory and violent.

Jony sought Mr. Kabir's advice about his family, and through attending meetings and various discussions Jony said he gradually started understanding VAW and its causes, and, encouraged by Campaign Change Makers, he joined up.

He admitted that he had shown no respect to girls, and rarely cooperated with the female members of his family. He expected his mother and sisters to do everything for him, and harassed girls at school. But he wanted to stop the violence of his father towards his mother, and said he changed his behaviour as he began to realize his own potential violence:

If I were not a Change Maker, I would have done similar behaviour with my wife. I understood that the way we behave is not right.

He was advised in his attempts to talk to his family about violence by Mr. Kabir, and enrolled the support of his younger sister:

I approached Mr. Kabir to help me, and he suggested that I use some tactics like choose the right time to talk with my father, when he is in good mood. He said I should first try to convince the person whom my father would at least listen to, in the family. I knew that my father usually did not get angry during meal time. Then, I talked with my younger sister and gave her a book on VAW to read and explained about it.

My father rarely got angry with my sister. One day my sister talked with my father during lunch time. My father was listening to my sister's words silently. Every day, my sister provided some information about domestic violence and its impact on the members of the family.

Though it took a long time, but we saw some changes of his attitude. Like he stopped beating and shouting at my mother in front of us. My father realized that his violent behaviour was making his family, especially his children, unhappy and upset, this was helping him to change his behaviour slowly.

A setback for Jony was the forced marriage of his sister at 14, despite her role in trying to address the violence in the family. It led him to work on child marriage with his friends:

this is not an easy job, because it becomes a question of security of women. Due to eve teasing and dowry families have a tendency to marry their girls away at a young age. People also believe that women should be under the control of men so they tend to marry young girl so as to dominate them. In addition, people tend to make money through marriage, they consider it so due to poverty and unemployment...

Jony observed that female Change Makers face more obstacles in their work than male Change Makers.

There are still some barriers for females to talk in the village meetings, to take action against child marriage... It was comparatively easy for me to communicate with other Change

Makers, with the help of Bikash Bangladesh's support and suggestions. It would not have been possible if I were a girl... it is not safe for girls and women to move after about dark, which I can do as a male. The society still values the opinion of a man more than a woman. As result, it is easier to negotiate with the village leaders and other elder members of the society.

With his increased status in the village, Jony has intervened in a number of instances of discrimination and violence towards women – encouraging a man to support his abandoned wife, brothers to help their disabled sister, and preventing a woman from being cheated out of her land.

He and his friends run a language night school at his house, where they talk about the campaign and question social norms which discriminate against women. They have managed to persuade local men to allow women to attend classes.

What keeps Jony going? Jony says that his biggest motivation is the importance and respect people give him ever since he became a CM. He says that the trust and love he achieved through the campaign, from the people of his village is more important than anything else in his life.

He has lots of ideas of ways to keep the campaign going, and increase outreach through popular gatherings, getting messages into schoolbooks, and encouraging more Change Makers. But he also recognizes the economic barriers to change:

due to poverty and unemployment people might be in a situation not to follow their commitment as Change Maker. Since marriage is a way to make money, the young boys tend to marry early and to take dowry. They might think that there is no benefit to be a Change Maker if it cannot remove poverty from our life. Therefore, if it is possible to remove unemployment then it will help to reduce child marriage which ultimately leads to reduction of domestic violence in association with child marriage and dowry.

Religious factors

Of the 44 people whose stories we have considered, about 25% mentioned religion as an obstacle or hindrance to their work as Change Makers.

In Bangladesh, **SHAHIDA PARVEEN SHIKHA**, General Secretary of the women's section of the Bangladesh Trade Union Federation, says that *violence against women is encouraged by misinterpretation of religious texts*. Although there are very large numbers of women in the workplace in Bangladesh, particularly in government jobs, she sees how *religious groups are trying to stop women going out to work. Such groups promote the idea that women are only safe in their own homes and when wearing hijaab and burkha*. In this regard, she points out:

The hijab culture didn't exist in Bangladesh a decade ago.

Families may pressure girls to wear the hijab in order to be safe from acid attacks, eve teasing and other forms of violence.

MOHAMMED MOFIDUL ISLAM is 27 years old and lives in Dhaka. He is Founder and Principal of a private school. He says:

Many times people give religious reasons to control women. They say the We Can material is opposite to what the religion says. It takes them some time to understand that women have the right to express themselves but after many conversations and We Can events, they agree.

He also makes the point that:

Religious misinterpretation can be a barrier but even that can be overcome through the few people who study the religion deeply and show that men and women are indeed equal.

In India, **FARHAT AMIN**, a journalist and Change Maker, describes organising a silent rally by Muslim women as part of the We Can fortnight of events in December 2008. The plan was to visit the mosque, after the rally, where the women

would pray together, but the women were not allowed to enter the mosque. The media coverage of this caused an uproar in the Muslim community and Farhat was blamed for 'tainting Islam'. A fatwa was issued on her and all female supporters were prohibited from meeting her or helping her. Farhat had to fight alone. She talks about how eventually after much social isolation and hostility she won the fight. She emphasizes the importance of an informed approach:

Those who know what the Quran says can challenge other interpretations about it... when women know of these details they find a strong reason to speak up and stop the violence altogether.

Other strategies that Farhat talks about include building support for Muslim women from outside the Muslim community, and the need for education for Muslim women. She arranged for Dalit women to be included in the programmes of the Muslim group with which she is involved as both communities live alongside each other: *Helping one marginalised woman is helping another marginalised woman.*

Part of Farhat's focus is on adolescents and she is trying to work through madrasas. She has partnered with at least three madrasas and had both boys and girls attend the same event. She has also agreed with local clerics to start a madrasa for adolescent girls who will be taught by educated Muslim women.

Poverty

For some Change Makers, poverty is a constraining factor, though rarely a complete block to change. A few case studies – including Jony, above - explicitly acknowledge this constraint.

SUGIYA NAIK in India says that: *women are often so crushed under the burdens of poverty in these parts, that they have no space to think about changing things... But in some almost sub conscious place, they feel the pressure and reach out to efforts like the campaign.*



FARHAT AMIN

RANJANI in Sri Lanka also mentions:

At times some of the CEF¹¹ members, and women who are interested in coming to understand what we do or seek help, don't even have money to take a bus to a meeting and Ms. Indrani has to support them out of her own money at times.

Inconsistent attitudes

AKLIMA AKHTAR Sumi is 24 and lives in Dhaka. She is a Student and Change Maker. She talks about inconsistencies in people's attitudes despite their involvement in 'We Can', explaining that at some 'We Can' events when there are both men and women:

the men will sit and ask for the women to get the water. I think that they have not changed fully. They understand what is right and wrong and that there is another way to be but they are limited by habit and conditioning. Knowing and practicing is completely different.

She mentions a recent 'We Can' event where she *met a student who explicitly said that he is involved in women's rights issues but he knows that women belong in the kitchen.*

A small number of other Change Makers highlight a disconnect between what people sign up to in the Campaign and what they really believe, or in other words, a slower shift in attitudes, and a contradiction between attitudes and behaviour.

¹¹ Community Encouragement Foundation, local NGO and Campaign Partner

In Bangladesh, Professor **TULSI KUMAR DAS** observed:

In many cases, I have seen during discussions on these issues, they are not feeling comfortable. But we are assuming that they are very active members of the campaign. Sometimes when they personally talk about it with me they say, 'the issues you were discussing in the workshop or seminar is very dangerous from the religious point of view. We cannot discuss it'.

In India, **SOPHIA KHAN**, Director of SAFAR and part of the India national Steering Committee of 'We Can', describes the challenge of having allies recognise their own discrimination and biases:

This was difficult as many organizations came with a lot of biases, not only on domestic violence and women. An example I can share of an alliance member with a very Brahminical approach. They used to accept discrimination against Dalits. This person use to accept tea or water only from members of the Swami Narayan sect. Now due to all the discussion and the gentle push towards self change, she is a different person. The organization has expanded its outreach to Dalit and Muslim areas. It would be very difficult to take forward the messages of We Can and increase outreach, if these biases still exist within us.

Also in Bangladesh, **SHAMIM ARA BEGUM**, Director of Palisree, a Campaign Alliance partner, makes the point that, even as a Change Maker and committed ally, it can be difficult to hold consistent attitudes, given the strength of feeling and importance attached to family status and honour:

One of my nieces had some problem with her husband. When it came to the stage of divorce, all of us, including myself, tried to convince her to adjust to the situation and find solutions other than divorce. This was because we all were thinking of losing the status of our family in society. Meanwhile I engaged with 'We Can', and I told her to take the decision that is best for her. At the same time I realized, when it comes to our own personal and family matters, we do not always respond the way we should.

SOPHIA KHAN, quoted above, explains how she sees the uniqueness of 'We Can' in encouraging consistency between what we say, what we do and what we believe:

We strike a chord with people as usually most of the organizations, whatever they say in their programs, are not practicing in their personal lives. This is the most important difference between We Can and other campaigns. In We Can, we say that whatever we say begins with us.

In summary, Change Makers and Allies face a wide range of obstacles and challenges to the change process, and show a wide range of strategies to overcome the obstacles they meet, often drawing support from family members, peers and other Change Makers, and adjusting their actions to the contexts within which they live.

Some take bigger risks than others, depending on their levels of support. Some of the challenges are subtle – the different pace of attitude and behaviour change, and the contradictions this gives rise to.

Many of the examples demonstrate a sort of 'virtuous circle', in that the initial positive changes Change Makers or Allies have tried to make, despite obstacles or threats, encourage other positive changes, which in turn start to build respect and support from people around them. This motivates Change Makers to continue the process of change and begin to influence others - family, friends, community members – as they come to recognise and start to appreciate the practical benefits of changes being made. These include the respect of people around them, the quality of shared (husband and wife) decision-making, the opportunities that women derive from education and employment or other income generating possibilities. This helps people garner more support against difficulty and challenge, as they try to push the boundaries further.

The next section explores what it is that keeps Change Makers and Allies going, and what keeps the process of change alive.

Sustaining Change what keeps it all going?

In this section we look at what the interviewees have said about their motivation to continue working for change, both in their personal lives, and the societies around them; and what they think the Campaign needs to do to continue, and increase its effectiveness in the struggle to end violence against women.

The motivation to continue is fostered by many things, including the individuals and groups who supported the Change Makers at the beginning, and continued to support them. The sense of empowerment in facing obstacles and overcoming them, as described in the preceding section, is a potent motivator for continuing to work on change. The sense that both Change Makers and Allies have of working within an international movement is also a source of encouragement and strength.

Another powerful motivation to continue is the perception that the efforts Change Makers and Alliance members make to change aspects of thinking and behaviour in themselves and others around them are successful, and recognized within the family, and more widely in the community.

It is important to note here that a central tenet of the Campaign is that from the moment someone chooses to make some kind of movement towards the idea of changing themselves and others in relation to violence against women, they have begun the change process. The thought, or the 'contemplation' in the language of the Stages of Change, of change, itself constitutes a shift in consciousness. This may never result in any observable action at all, but the Campaign considers it a step towards reaching its goal of reducing the social acceptance of violence against women. The idea is that a seed has been sown, which may germinate in due course.

This is ultimately not verifiable for Change Makers who do not become actively involved in the Campaign, nor remain

connected to other Change Makers, allies or other organisations, or move away, and disappear from the Campaign's radar screen. The Campaign Allies struggle with maintaining databases when individuals do not communicate their new locations. So whether, how, and when these seeds of change might sprout and grow is unknown and remains an article of faith.

However it is also in our common human experience that we are constantly changed by what we experience, and by what we take into ourselves. What is harder to establish is what we do with the experience, and how we sustain shifts within and outside ourselves over time.

In the second Phase of the Campaign, and the subject of the Regional Assessment cited in this document, one of the central objectives of the Campaign was to re-engage and re-motivate existing Change Makers, in order to 'deepen' their change – referred to in Section 1 of this paper, and elaborated in Annex 3. This phase, in the Campaign, also refers to building networks in the community to keep the momentum for change going. The original model of the Stages of Change presents the 'maintenance' stage as the last step in the process, but recognizes that the effort of maintaining or sustaining change begins as soon as shifts begin to happen.

In this study, only Change Makers who are regarded as 'active' both in terms of self-change and working with others on change, were interviewed. The Change Makers and Allies were mostly people who had been with the Campaign for some time, and were highly motivated and committed to it. We have seen how some of them managed to maintain the momentum of their change processes, and we will explore this further in this section. What has not been looked at in this study, is what may halt, permanently disrupt, or damage the process of change within an individual, or reverse the specific changes made, and what happens in these cases to the ideas and 'seeds' sown by the Campaign on violence against women. It is an area for further study.

One of the alliance members interviewed expressed doubts about the maintenance of change in individual Change Makers. **L.T. MAHESWARAN**, District Convener of the Campaign in Tamil Nadu observed that it is not always easy to find committed Change Makers. He also underlined the importance of continued engagement with people to keep them involved. He said in his interview:

I have been to the field many times, and it is challenging even to locate an old Change Maker let alone renewing their commitment to the Campaign. It is not easy to get people to think and find out ways to end VAW or GBV. It cannot be done by a single talk or a few activities, it has to be a consistent and strategic effort throughout.

Many interviewees echo his view of the need for consistent and active engagement of the Campaign if it is to continue the work of change.

Maheswaran has been involved with the Campaign since 2005, and also stated that of the original 22 members of the forum of organizations who agreed to take the Campaign forward, only 10 remain. The remaining group is however strong and active, sustaining its work through mutual support and learning:

Our district has very strong NGO networks because of the awareness created by the Gandhigram Rural University. Before the Campaign all the organizations did not connect with each other and never knew what the other is doing. Due to 'We Can' we have formed lasting alliances and know about the organizations and their work, there is a common platform. The Forum created a space for interaction and learning.

In this study we look at motivation from the point of view of what keeps the Change Makers and Allies going in their change processes. What sustains them, what maintains their momentum? We look at what they report as visible and rewarding – both in their personal lives, and their experience of working within communities or larger social or professional groups. Observable changes, that make a difference, are

what emerge as a common thread in their accounts.

Broadly, the changes described by both Change Makers and Allies which seem to motivate them most to sustain change can be grouped into six categories, described by the interviewees as:

1. increases in self-confidence and self-belief, a sense of empowerment, effectiveness and more control over their lives – which make up the concept of 'self-efficacy';
2. practical benefits, especially for women, such as increased access to education, increased mobility, more contacts and interactions with others, more participation in decision-making;
3. increased knowledge and greater awareness especially about women's rights;
4. improvements in their family relationships, with parents, siblings, spouses, often expressed as a reduction in conflict and arguments, or shared decision-making, shared housework, and more mutual respect;
5. achievement of higher status and respect in the community as well as amongst their own family members and peers, often expressed in terms of being listened to in important community fora, having their advice, support or skills sought, and being regarded as people able to intervene in family disputes;
6. observable changes in their family members and/or peers, in their communities, and in the social or professional groups of which they are a part, such as their organizations, religious groups, schools and hospitals

Change Makers tended to talk more about their gains in terms of personal change than Alliance members.

Firstly, increased confidence and self-belief was reported by a high proportion of women, and some of the men; second, a reduction in violence within the family was important to both women and men; and thirdly, winning respect and enhanced

status in the community tended to be highlighted more by men than women, but women emphasized their increased role in helping resolve family disputes in the wider community, their greater mobility, and the fact that they were listened to in ways they had not been listened to before.

Alliance members interviewed also spoke about gaining more understanding and inter-family disputes in the community. Positive changes within their organizations was an important motivator to continue with the change approach of the Campaign, and Allies tended to locate motivation in the fact that while there were some gains and successes at the collective – community – level, an enormous task lay ahead to tackle social norms on a larger scale, and they saw this as an important and worthwhile challenge – a ‘noble and just cause’ as one ally put it.

The following examples illustrate different combinations of some of the motivating factors listed above, in the experience of some of the Change Makers. They speak for themselves, some envisaging that they will continue their work for years into the future.

Self-belief, Family Relationships, and Community Effectiveness

SELVARANJANI, already cited in this paper, describes increases in her self-confidence through support and training from the Campaign and the Power Foundation, and how this led to a successful public event and recognition in and beyond her community on Telbedde estate. She thinks that others have changed to the extent that there has been a reduction in violence on the Estate.

She says there was ...a big difference from the way I thought and acted before I became a Change Maker. I was so shy before that I would stammer and cry if asked to speak up in a meeting or in public, but after WCC I am confident of what I can do and I am able to build confidence in others.

She and her colleagues in the women’s wing of the Power Foundation and the Telbedde Estate Women’s committee organized an event for International Women’s Day, against a certain amount of opposition. The news of its success spread, and the Telbedde Committee was invited to join a larger network in Badulla. Selvaranjani says:

After our IWD event the bigger women’s association in Badulla asked us to join their network. We got opportunities for training and organizing activities with that network. The Telbedde Estate Management group were also impressed with our event and offered us a meeting space and let women estate workers off early for our meetings.

Selvaranjani also describes a number of different family situations in which she intervened, both on her own and with the Women’s Committee, and adds:

Even now I feel there has been a 30% reduction in VAW in this estate. We do a lot of awareness-raising, and we support women and men to overcome violent ways. As children get more education there will also be less violence. People talk to others and are influenced by WCC and they in turn influence others.

The interviewer says of Selvaranjani: *She is a quiet yet dedicated social change agent. She exudes a sense of peace in her role of social change. It has become her life’s work...*

SITHIE NASEEMA struggled with poverty and violence from the age of 20, when she married. She joined the Community Encouragement Fund (CEF) and later the ‘We Can’ Campaign, and her confidence increased:

I felt my fear go and my confidence rise as I worked with them. I can speak Tamil and Sinhalese so I took part in a lot of activities with CEF and went to many meetings and gained a lot of knowledge and awareness. The We Can Campaign came along and I got a lot of training and things like that. I got my husband involved in too.

JONY is an example of a Change Maker for whom the 'status dividend' is very important. He mentions the pride and confidence this role has given him many times in his interview:

Before becoming a Change Maker no-one knew me, now people respect me since I take a lot of initiative through the Campaign... Now, everybody calls me 'Change Maker' with respect and I feel proud of it. I think this is a great achievement in my life. Whenever there is any confrontation in my village, people ask me before taking any decision. People give importance to my opinion.

He says that his biggest motivation to continue is the importance and respect people have given him ever since he became a Change Maker.

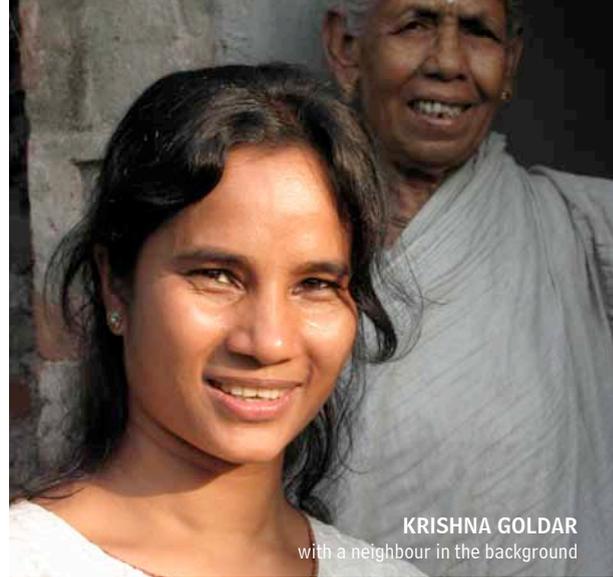
MOFIDUL ISLAM from Bangladesh echoes this. He observes proudly that ever since he became known as a CM people respect him and treat him differently, his neighbours and family hold him in high regards and at times come to him for advice in resolving issues. He says:

My status in the society has improved. Today my relatives, friends and neighbours see my family as an example, a peaceful family...

KRISHNA GOLDAR, from India says she feels a sense of responsibility to carry on with the work. The interviewer reports that:

Another milestone has also been her increasing acceptance and influence in her community. That has helped her to consolidate and continue with her work. Her own increasing self confidence and sense of purpose is also another contributing factor.

Krishna says *...Before I joined the campaign, I had no dreams. I simply worked hard. But now, I have a purpose in life. Girls have joined the campaign, they have changed because of me. I have now a responsibility to take this work forward. I want to study social work further and continue this work in the years to come.*



Some interviewees found that the benefits of the changes they had made would make it impossible for them to return to their previous situations, such as **WALIHUR CHANDAN**, from Bangladesh.

Chandan had a history of violence and abuse towards his wife before he became involved with the Campaign. He said he believes that once people change their behaviour they will continue for the rest of their life:

In my own case, it is out of the question to return to my previous ways as I have already experienced the pain of violence. I believe that people who have experienced the benefit of equal and respectful relationships within their family will not go back to their old ways...

MOHAN LAL, whose story appears here in full, has shifted his own attitudes and behaviour within his family, and is motivated to continue by his sense of responsibility to people in the community who look up to him as a result of his work with 'We Can'.

I realized that I am wrong and I have to change. I struggled with myself and changed gradually over a period of time. I did it in the same way as if a person is used to drinking alcohol and can't stop it abruptly. He does it slowly...

MOHAN LAL owns and runs a secondary school in Pali District, Rajasthan. He grew up in a rural area with traditional social mores, in a large and poor family. His family arranged his engagement at a young age, but as his father was against child marriage he was 25 years by the time he married. He was unhappy with his wife from the outset of their relationship:

I use to feel angry that why was I saddled with a women who was not only illiterate but also had no basic training in running a household. I was angry with her aunt who didn't teach her anything. Her aunt's daughters used to go to school and she didn't... there was no communication and understanding between us.

I used to be angry with her whatever she used to do. She also repeated the same mistakes which use to infuriate me and this did not help matters.

I did my B. Ed from Haryana. Then I did a private job in secondary school in Pali. There was a tight schedule and I used to get tired. I started getting angry at her for every small thing. This was a very bad phase in marital life.

Mohan first came across the 'We Can' Campaign in 2006, through his involvement with a rural youth programme. Usha from the NGO Vikalp (leading the Campaign in Rajasthan) was at a workshop on domestic violence.

Initially, although he realised he was involved in the types of domestic violence that the campaign was highlighting, and was doing an injustice to the women in his family, he used to use the term 'change' casually, thinking it was an easy process. But as he reflected further, he acknowledged he was wrong.

This was a big watershed for him, and he began to realize his own responsibility for what was wrong in his life. He struggled with a sense of guilt.

Mohan signed up as a Change Maker at that first event and shortly afterwards approached Usha and offered to take forward the Campaign in Pali district.



Through the Campaign, he came to believe that *violence and anger are not the right ways to resolve problems.*

Mohan began to think about his wife and her situation. He realised that her early life had been hard; her father died suddenly and her mother remarried, leaving his wife to be raised by an aunt and uncle who treated her as a domestic help and did not educate her. He stopped shouting at his wife and started to help with household chores.

He describes how much happier his wife is now that he has started to understand and appreciate her. Mohan had wanted a son and had little interest in his four daughters. Through his involvement in 'We Can', Mohan came to value his daughters and has built a close relationship with them. He now has no desire for a son and has committed to raise and educate his daughters properly.

The changes he started making in his own attitude and behaviour caused him to become isolated within his local community as he challenged popular thinking. However, over time, he encouraged others to become Change Makers and has found a lot of strength from these relationships, and admiration for his work.

Mohan Lal runs a secondary school and promotes the messages of the Campaign through the activities of the school, including taking the Campaign to other schools and educational institutions in the area. He believes that if he can encourage students to take up the messages of 'We Can', before they embark on married life, this would be a major achievement.

He encourages people in his community to educate their daughters, using his own family as an example, and now takes far greater interest in the personal situation of students in his school. As an alliance member, Mohan conducts many programmes on violence against women, questioning himself as to whether he was asking others to make changes that he had not applied to himself:

I went to many colleges and institutions to spread the message of the campaign. I used to address gatherings of 300

- 400 people... I used to constantly think that I am telling all these things to others but have I applied all these things to me? Have I changed myself? I used to introspect and peep inside me after telling others.

Nowadays Mohan Lal is well known and popular in Pali for his involvement with 'We Can' and for promoting gender equality. Many people come to him for advice and support related to family problems and the education of girls.

He says that when he talks about the change in himself, it is permanent and there is no going back. He has gained much admiration and respect from people because of the changes he has brought about in own life through involvement with 'We Can'. This has increased his sense of responsibility; this in turn motivates him to maintain the changes he has made in his life.

It is important to him to speak to people with moral authority. He feels he cannot be false to himself and ask people to make changes in their lives that he himself cannot make in his own life.

To keep change going, however, people also need reminders:

To sustain change, it is necessary to maintain contacts and keep reminding them at least once a year. People tend to forget if there is a gap. Messages should reach them through radio, newspapers and TV serials so these messages remain in their mind



Changes in Others

The visible, outward manifestation of new possibilities for women was a source of inspiration to **MUHAMMED MUNIR**, in Pakistan:

It was a very successful event. A seminar followed by a women's rally. Not only was women's day celebrated in Jaffarabad for the first time in history but women also marched on the streets and roads for the first time. They were chanting slogans of women rights. They were singing and dancing. It was never possible before.

I have not come out of that trance even now. It was very difficult to accept that it has been done. Women are rallied and raising their voices to get their rights recognized. This event made me happy and gave energy to my organization to work for this cause with more commitment and zeal. This was a change. The change, which we had talked of many times but never witnessed, was now there to be seen.

A powerful motivating factor in the experience of both Change Makers and Alliance members is the effect they believe they have had on others, and the scale of that effect. As the early emphasis in the Campaign was to mobilize as many other people as possible to commit themselves to change, numbers of Change Makers 'made' was, in the beginning, a vital measure of the effectiveness of an Alliance member, as well as individual Change Makers.

A number of the Allies interviewed in this study reported the numbers of Change Makers they had mobilized. We have not included this data in the study, as it does not help us to understand the process of change, and the Campaign itself has shifted its own emphasis from the signing up of large numbers of Change Makers to trying to support the effectiveness of those already committed to it. However, it should be said that numbers of Change Makers recruited remains of great importance to Allies, not only to extend the outreach of the Campaign messages, but to demonstrate that change can be initiated on a large scale.

All the Change Makers talk about changes in other people, from family and household members, to work colleagues and people in their communities. Every Change Maker, and some of the Allies, reported seeing changes in their family members, either in specific behaviour, or practices, or in particular attitudes.

The main means of bringing about these changes seem to have been talking and reasoning, often with the help of the 'We Can' materials, other Change Makers, and sometimes through bringing family members to Campaign meetings. All the Alliance members, and a few of the Change Makers, talked about institutional change.

The following are examples of changes perceived at the family and community levels.

ISRAT SONALI works as a District convener of the 'We Can' alliance in Bangladesh. She came into 'We Can' from an activist background, but it was through the Campaign that she gained the confidence to address violence against women and subsequently became active in bringing changes within her family and neighbours. Although she recognizes the limitations of the small behaviour changes in her violent brother-in-law, she is confident that she can see changes in others around her. She says, of the brother-in-law;



For a person like him the changes are unbelievable. On the other hand, other members of his family like his parents, brother and sisters believe in existing norms and practice. As a result it is difficult for him to go far beyond the present changes in his behaviour. He has changed gradually and hopefully will be changing more.

Besides my relatives, as a Change Maker I worked with my neighbours particularly with women. When I started working, everyone in my neighbourhood was very curious about my activity... When they understand I am not doing anything bad, they agreed to join with me... Many of them are even working now. I think this is the most important change. Now they will work to change others. They actually follow me and try to be like me and that is their inspiration. When they went with me in any meeting or seminar, they have seen me to be honoured and loved by the people. They also want to get the same respect. Conversely, they are spreading the message of 'We Can' and making more Change Makers.

VASUKI SUDASIVAM, a young Change Maker from Sri Lanka, says she is proud of being able to use her new-found knowledge about violence against women to offer support to other women in her community: *Having taken the WCC pledge to change first herself and others in support of ending VAW, she felt that she must examine and adjust her own attitudes and*

beliefs in order to be able to reach out and influence others. She also feels motivated to influence others in all her circles of influence as the pledge encourages.

I did not know what VAW was about before, but since I am aware now, I proudly say that I can advise and stand to support another woman who is in need.

SANJAY KUMAR is described by the interviewer as a *beacon of light in that entire family and neighbourhood*. Sanjay has the support of his family in his campaigning work, and particularly of his father. He is taken seriously by his parents and has managed to get them to agree to educate their daughter in law, a very big step for a family which has had very little schooling, and are artisans by profession and caste. Some changes have been made in his family, but his sisters are still prevented from going out of the house – there is much more to be done, and Sanjay intends to keep working on it. The interviewer describes him as follows:

Sanjay is also like a role model for many young people in the community. School drop outs like him usually get into gambling, drinking, picking fights but Sanjay has proved to be different. He has directed his energies into his engagement with We Can. Being associated with the We Can has given him recognition and direction. His stature in his neighbourhood and family went several notches up when a team from Canada came to meet Sanjay. Sanjay also speaks to his four brothers in law and his married sisters whenever he gets a chance to visit them but he feels that they all live in rural areas where change is slow. The lack of access to education and exposure acts as a deterrent to change. His sisters observe purdah and do not step out of the house. He wants to change this in the future.'

TAHREEM'S story, presented below, is illustrative of a number of the motivating factors discussed in this section. While she does not give many details of any of the changes she mentions bringing about in the bus company, she outlines specific changes in her family, is proud of her work and of gaining her family's respect.



SANJAY KUMAR



TAHREEM ZAFAR is a 22 year old woman from Multan, in the province of Punjab in Pakistan. Her father is a police constable and mother is a former Union councillor and social activist.

Although Tahreem's mother and father are educated by local standards, they belong to a conservative traditional family where women have a well defined role within the boundary wall of their homes. Her mother was the first in the family to breach that wall, and suffered for being active in social life and being outspoken on women's issues.

Through her childhood, Tahreem saw her mother resisting and struggling against the neighbourhood norms and traditions of the extended family, and it was only because of the consistent efforts of her parents that Tahreem was able to complete her graduation - the first in her family.

In 2006, Tahreem's mother took her to a We Can Campaign meeting, organized by the Women Rights Association¹². Although she had already participated in a few other similar seminars, Tahreem felt this was different.

I had been introduced to such meetings and seminars since 2004, when I had started going out with my mother. But it was a different meeting, different in a sense that it was more related to the real issues of our lives. I felt that I am surrounded by these women and these issues. I came to know about all kinds of violence perpetuated against women.

I immediately realized we all are the survivors of such violence and we need to stand up and I suddenly decided to become a change maker. The experiences later in my life proved that it was a right decision – and change begins from within one's soul.

Tahreem became a Change Maker, with a strong commitment to women's education. In meetings in WRA and conversations with her mother she developed the view that the empowerment of women is only possible through education, training and full access to economic opportunities. She convinced her cousins and other girls to start and continue their education, and looked for a job herself.

Tahreem got a job as a Bus Hostess with the Daewoo Express bus service, with her parents support, but resistance from the extended family. When her parents wavered with increasing pressure from the clan, the extended family and the neighbourhood, Tahreem had to put a lot of effort into talking them around.

In November 2007, Tahreem joined the Change Makers of Multan, to make the 16 days of activism to end violence against women. She read out Campaign messages during the 16 days for the passengers of her bus through the public address system.

Getting permission from the management of the Daewoo Bus service was a struggle – she first met with a flat refusal, from her supervisor and the bus driver, so she talked to the terminal management. She was given approval, conditional upon the reaction of the passengers.

The response was very good from the passengers. People would say to me Shabash (well done) in the bus or while

¹² Women Rights Association is a district lead organization of We Can campaign in Multan.

disembarking. Sometimes in the bus, the passengers made indecent gestures or passed offensive remarks – most of them were middle-aged men - and I think these messages sensitized them too.

Tahreem went on to tackle attitudes amongst the terminal and bus staff too, to bring in fairer working practices for women. The Terminal Manager listened to her and addressed the issues, and there have been positive changes. *At least, now we know that we can raise our voice for our rights in the appropriate forum, she says. There is greater responsibility on the part of management and more awareness among hostesses about their rights and terms and conditions of employment contracts.*

Tahreem also worked on the attitudes of her bus staff, the bus drivers and guards. Like other male staff, drivers and guards were rude and disrespectful to the hostesses. She says she asked them that if some day your daughter or sister comes as hostess, what would be your response towards her? Would you like that your daughter or sister is teased, harassed or scolded? She asked them to cooperate with the hostesses and avoid taking them for granted.

Tahreem also recruited over 100 Daewoo bus hostesses as Change Makers, so they can discuss their problems with each other and try to solve them jointly. In addition to the 16 days of activism, she has started the message announcement service from March 1 to March 8, before and on International Women's Day. Other hostesses are trying to get permission to read the messages on their own routes.

Tahreem feels she has made her parents proud of her, and silenced the objections of her relatives.

I am happy for myself and my parents. I did not let them down. I see a change around, those who were against my studies and job, now ask me for favours to get their daughters and sister that same job opportunity. My hard work is recognized and they think their daughters and sisters should also work and earn for themselves.

Institutional and Social Change

Campaign Alliance members tended to have approached the Campaign from an institutional perspective, in the first instance, usually because they were invited either by Oxfam, or by colleagues in other NGOs, to participate in it. Many of them subsequently looked at their own lives and relationships as they internalized the Campaign messages, and made strong connections between personal and institutional change, and that has been reflected elsewhere in this paper.

What we focus on here is the perception of change at the institutional level that they reported, and that signals their motivation to continue working for change. We also look at the changes they report in the society around them, beyond the immediate community.

ROOH-UL-AMIN, the founder and president of the Samaji Behbood Rabta Council (SBRC) community development NGO in Swabi in Pakistan, was invited by Oxfam GB to launch the Campaign, at the time known as the 'We Can End Honour Killing Campaign' in Pakistan.

In 2006 the SBRC organized the first major public event of the Campaign, which although successful in recruiting Change Makers, also met with resistance and disapproval - in fact *it turned the majority of people against the Campaign and the organization...* and the hosts had to *soften and sugar-coat the message when asked questions.*

Following the meeting, SBRC staff and Change Makers were given training sessions, seminars and workshops on violence against women and advocacy skills, and this had a profound effect on the organization:

The various events organized by Oxfam-GB helped us to understand GBV issues. We could have only talked about these issues earlier but now we understand what we are talking about. The focus of my organization is completely changed now and it has become an organization working for women rights now. Thanks to these trainings and informal discussions we are now able to respond to those clerics and

retrogressive elements that used to declare us anti-culture and anti-Islam.

Rooh-ul-Amin also reports a significant shift at the level of the Jirga, the Council of Elders which delivers judgement on customary law:

As a result of this campaign and positive response from the local government of District Swabi, a grand Jirga was held wherein Sawara was condemned and banned. The local and national media also highlighted this issue and increased pressure on those who were involved in such shameful acts.

MAULADAD UTMANKHEL, from Balochistan in Pakistan relates his belief in the future, where children now exposed to Campaign messages and taking them home are having an impact on their families:

Of course this campaign is playing a vital role to end violence against women but the process is slow. Gradually, many people are coming in and becoming Change Makers. They come and share with us very small things which are a change for them. Bringing change in thinking of such a feudal and tribal society like ours is a huge challenge. And this campaign provided us an opportunity to think about our culture and traditions - which are anti women and retrogressive. We would continue this struggle with all our zeal.

Although the Campaign is not supported any more by Oxfam, our organization is still working on women rights issues. We organize orientation sessions, corner meetings and distribute campaign material. The distribution of campaign material (including caps, shirts, posters, etc.) in educational institutions showed very positive impacts. When younger children from 5 to 7 years go back to their homes wearing caps and shirts and carry posters with special messages on ending violence against women they prompt many questions from people around them. Sensitization starts and children explain the messages to the other members of the family. This is a real change in the making.

SHAMIM ARA BEGUM is the Director of 'Pollisree', a development and human rights NGO in Dinajpur, Bangladesh, and part of the National Alliance. She says:

Though Pollisree has worked on VAW from its inception, the organization has changed and introduced many positive new arrangements after the introduction of 'We Can'. The acceptance of the organisation among local people, including administrators, service providers and others, has increased

SHAILA TIWARI, Director of the AES in Madhya Pradesh, believes the Campaign added much needed layers of understanding and unveiled the complex and layered nature of discrimination and violence against women. What they earlier believed to be acceptable, they now saw through a different lens. They were able to distinguish the real causes of violence against women and therefore to take action accordingly.

Shaila goes back to the story of the lady who lost her husband to AIDS. She feels the campaign helped her to understand the true nature of the victim's circumstances and thus to help her out of it. The widow, now a Change Maker herself, still lives in the same village, works in a centre run by AES and is now an important advisor to the local Panchayat on many issues. Shaila believes that this ability of We Can to work within the context of the individual and not dislocate him or her is of paramount importance.

There is no one way to achieve change, it depends on the individual. Some men know it is wrong, they may not protest but they want to change. But there are some who will never change, and that is the result of patriarchy. I think people understand what VAW is, they do it intentionally, they are not unaware. People know it is not right.

SHAHIDA PARVEEN SHIKHA lives in Dhaka, Bangladesh. In her mid-50s, Shikha has worked for many years for the Bangladesh national oil company and is heavily involved in the trade Union movement. She is Office Secretary of the Bangladesh Trade Union Kendra (BTUK), a national trade union federation, and General Secretary of the women's national federation of the BTUK – Jatiya Nari Sramik Trade Union Kendra.

Shikha's mother was married at the age of eleven. Her husband was twenty years her senior. She left school on getting married, despite being a bright and promising student. Both parents are progressive thinkers, and later in life, at her husband's insistence, Shikha's mother completed her basic education. She was determined her children, girls and boys, would have a full education.

Shikha has six sisters and one brother. All have been well educated and encouraged to become independent. Shikha's husband was a freedom fighter, and is a social activist and progressive thinker.

As Shikha grew up she experienced little gender discrimination within her immediate family. She was a student union activist, and was motivated by seeing how women were blocked from leadership positions in the union, to work for women's rights.

However, it was on starting work that she became aware of real gender discrimination. She was told she could not work

in the company office in her own home town as she would be the only female employee and the company could not provide the separate office and bathroom space that their regulations would require so she was moved to their Dhaka office.

She then found that male staff were benefiting from company housing and family health insurance but not female employees. Shikha organised her colleagues to demand health insurance for families of female staff.

In her mid twenties, Shikha began the women's cell in the trade union.

In the workplace I was discriminated against again and again because of my gender. Even now, though I have been with the company years and years I do not get the opportunities or promotions I deserve... I prove my capacity but less qualified men are getting the higher positions.

Shortly after the launch of the Bangladesh Campaign Shikha was invited to become involved in the 'We Can' Campaign in her capacity as General Secretary of the BTUK's women's wing. As the Campaign was very compatible with the objectives of the women's wing she joined 'We Can' as an Alliance member in 2005.

She said: the goal of the BTUK's women's wing is to end all discrimination against women in the workplace. For an equal and just society, the family also needs to be just and We Can is helping us to make the family a violence free zone, a just zone.

Shikha says the greatest impact of the campaign on the Union is the shift in focus from the 'individual labourer' to the 'whole family' as a unit. Initially, the senior members of the union were not too keen when the campaign began because they just saw it as a singular focus on women's issues. One leader even expressed concern that the focus was shifting from class issues to women's issues. Many members didn't participate in the We Can meetings and events because they didn't believe family issues fitted their mandate of labour rights.



Since the BTUK never focused on the family life of the labourer, their focus remained on equal wages and not equal relationships. Women labourers came to participate [in meetings] but we didn't understand what they had to face after they go back home to the family. Say if they are late to arrive from a union meeting then what they had to face. After the campaign has been integrated into BTUK's agenda they are able to understand labour rights more in depth... initially we were working to change the system of the state or industry but not family, though the family is the central unit in the system.

She also states that violence against women is encouraged by the misinterpretation of religious texts. Although there are large numbers of women in the workplace in Bangladesh, particularly in government jobs, she sees how religious groups are trying to stop women going out to work. Such groups promote the idea that women are only safe in their own homes and when wearing hijab and burkha. She points out: *the hijaba culture didn't exist in Bangladesh a decade ago. Families may pressure girls to wear the hijab in order to be safe from acid attacks, eve teasing and other forms of male violence.*

BTUK has a large outreach across Bangladesh, with centres in every District. Shikha's seniority, longstanding involvement and credibility within the Union has helped 'We Can' to be taken seriously throughout this vast network.

She wants more people to be made aware of the 'We Can' messages

If we can develop a huge workforce that is aware and enlightened about social injustice issues, the workforce will motivate other people to be just.

At the same time she sees the importance of continuing to use the media to promote these messages. She also wants to see these messages shared with young people so as to offer them an alternative way of life.



MAULADAD UTMANKHEL decided to focus on institutional change upon becoming a Change Maker:

After becoming a change maker, Mauladad's thrust was on institutional change. He was of the view that individual change is important but institutional change is more important to turn things in our favour at a faster pace. While defining his view of institutional change, he says:

When I joined the campaign, I realized that we should equally concentrate on changing the institutional structures in addition to bringing change in the attitude of individuals. For instance, we decided that whenever we would go to a school or college, we would try to make the Principal the first change maker. In this way s/he would not only help us to launch the campaign in the institution but would institutionalize the message of change. And we remained successful.

Likewise, the private institutions, NGOs and hospitals were targeted where the management was taken into confidence first. Now we can say that we have thousands of change makers but we feel more proud in saying that we have many organizations and institutions where this change is practiced at institutional level.

My own organization is an example in this regard. Now our focus is more towards women and their issues related to violence. We have started creating employment opportunities for women in our organization and are providing them a safe and secure environment through institutional mechanisms.

Towards a Holistic Change Model for ‘We Can’

Essentially, all models are wrong, but some are useful.

GEORGE EDWARD BOX

While, as Box suggests above, no models can ever be completely right, they are useful to generate ideas and guide interventions. Change is a complex and multilayered process, uneven in pace and intensity, and difficult to analyze. As one of the Change Makers said, it can initially be talked about quite glibly, as though it were a simple matter, but over time the complex nature of change becomes apparent. No single model will explain it, although there are many models around which attempt it.

The ‘We Can’ Campaign, as we have seen, has used the Stages of Change theory to guide its planning and materials development, and has also drawn on ideas and concepts from many other sources. Some of these ideas have been reinforced in this study, and there are other elements which have not been emphasised by the Campaign, but could be useful to incorporate into its evolving model of change.

Some of the central elements of change in We Can are outlined briefly below.

1. The importance of changing yourself

While ‘change yourself to change the world’ is not a new insight, self-change is a core message of the ‘We Can’ Campaign and was described by interviewees as a powerful force

in their process of change. They came to the idea through different routes, and recognized its importance suddenly, as they saw their own lives mirrored back to them in Campaign materials or discussion; or more slowly, making connections between their social and political activism and their own position within it. The women and men interviewed found ways, through the Campaign, to both imagine and discover pathways to change their own perceptions, beliefs and behaviour in relation to violence against women, and throughout this paper, have described ways in which they did begin to change these. Not easy, not quick, but possible.

As is borne out in the accounts of several alliance members in the study, individuals working in social organizations need to address their own attitudes and behaviour with regard to women’s rights and discrimination, to maintain their own integrity, and consistency with the aims of the organisation.

2. Attitudes and Behaviour change do not necessarily go hand-in-hand.

There is a complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour. Attitude and behaviour change do not move at the same pace, and changes in one do not necessarily lead to change in the other. It is commonly assumed that once attitude change is achieved, behaviour change will follow, but research does not bear this out. Attitude change is harder to achieve than behaviour change, and slower. People can exhibit contradictory attitudes and behaviour, as we have seen in this report, and they can also hold contradictory attitudes. The ‘cognitive dissonance’ referred to in this paper arises when people hold these contradictory attitudes, or their behaviour and attitudes don’t match. They tend to then try and achieve bal-

ance, and will change attitudes to agree with their behaviour, or vice versa. When change processes are planned, and when they are analyzed, it is important to pay attention to these inconsistencies, and address attitude change and behaviour changes separately, as well as together.

3. Personal and Social Context is a critical factor in change

The life experiences and personal resources, as well as the social, political and cultural contexts of individuals crucially influence what motivates them to become involved in change related to violence against women, how they respond to the Campaign approach and messages, what kind of obstacles they face, and what kinds of support they can draw upon. Context analysis is an essential starting point for understanding, analyzing and promoting change. In this study, women and men who had grown up with physical and emotional violence in their homes, or been in violent marriages, were powerfully motivated to change their lives, but faced significant obstacles to doing so. Their motivation, their challenges and sources of support were very different from those people who came into the Campaign from life experiences which included supportive and progressive families, access to higher education and economic opportunity, and belonged to professional organizations.

People living in specific political and socio-cultural contexts, such as the conflicts in Pakistan and Sri Lanka, and in highly conservative societies in parts of all the countries, enter the Campaign, and approach change, with a set of experience and understandings which strongly influence the nature of their engagement, their motivation and the kind of changes they seek.

Personal qualities are important, but there is no typology of individual characteristics which may predispose a person to change their attitudes and behaviour in relation to violence against women. Every person has the capacity to change, and

to choose to change. However, engaging in the change process itself helps develop qualities such as self-belief, which gives individuals the courage to take risks, and further develops as those risks are taken and overcome. In the accounts of the interviewees in this study, tenacity and determination emerged and grew with the experience of successful change, and with the support and encouragement of the Campaign and other actors.

4. Gender and other Difference

All forms of identity are important determinants of an individual's experience of the world and the formation of their attitudes and beliefs. This study was not broad enough to come to significant conclusions about the effect of ethnicity, religion, caste, and class on the individual's process of change, but some pointers emerged in the text about the importance of these factors. The experience of caste-based discrimination, for example, may have predisposed one interviewee to understand gender-based discrimination, but this was not particularly explored in the interview.

In the area of violence against women, however, gender difference is profoundly important at every level, and every stage of a person's journey of change. A few examples are given here, and of course appear throughout the text.

Women's experience of violence was much more extensive than men's, including not only physical and emotional abuse at home, but constraints and discrimination in most spheres of their lives, such as mobility, education, decision-making, economic life, marriage and so on. These restrictions were held in place by threats and violence.

For women, the prizes of change were freedoms in a wide range of areas of their lives, as well as from the devastating effects on their sense of self-worth of violence and abuse.

For women, moving towards these freedoms involved not just changes in their own sense of possibility, but in the attitudes

and behaviour of those around them who constrained them. This was complicated and dangerous, provoking conflict at home and in some cases violent responses from relatives, as well as trying to run counter to powerful social norms from a relatively powerless position.

For the men interviewed, the experience of violence in their families was directed primarily at women, not themselves, and in some cases they were perpetrators of violence in their natal homes, and subsequently in their marital homes.

Some men said they had always rejected the violence, at least internally, before speaking out. Others said they did not realize their own complicity in violence against women, and their contact with Campaign messages opened the possibility of taking responsibility to change their attitudes and behaviour in relation to women.

Their personal experience of context differed significantly – access to education, economic opportunities, mobility in public space and so on was taken for granted, but they had to stand out against opposition from their male peers to advocate for changes in attitudes towards women. They too faced violent reactions, and particularly in Pakistan, from religious fundamentalists.

Because women are generally more constrained at home, a parent or relative who supports their efforts to resist or overcome violence and discrimination is particularly significant, as is the support or intervention on their behalf of respected people in the community. Men face fewer obstacles at home, but in this study valued community approval, as well as in some cases seeking an authority figure to guide them.

There are many other issues, but the important point is that gender difference is at the heart of social and personal change in relation to violence against women, and must always be part of analysis and the planning of interventions.

5. Routes to Change

Interviewees approached change along several different routes, and it is worth paying attention to these.

First, they were strongly motivated to join the Campaign by wanting to change their lives and circumstances. Trapped in violent relationships, or distressed by the violence around them, they wanted to change the situations in which they found themselves.

Second, those who did not come from violent backgrounds, but were concerned about violence and discrimination against women, or already involved in organizations working in the field of social justice, wanted to find more effective ways of tackling the issues.

Third, individuals, predominantly women, who were not exposed to physical and emotional violence, but were struggling to overcome other forms of discrimination, such as limitations on education, mobility, decision-making and so on. Already involved in trying to make changes, they found in the Campaign support and new tools and strategies to pursue their goals.

Fourth, individuals, predominantly men, became aware through their exposure to the Campaign, of their own perpetration of violence, or their complicity in it, and wanted to change their own behaviour.

In all cases, exposure to the Campaign and its message of self-change took these individuals into further dimensions of change, and some into new roles in the community and their organizations, while others continued in their existing work, with new approaches and strategies.

6. Support figures, Guides and Mentors

It was notable in many of the accounts that particular individuals played an absolutely crucial role in helping the interviewee contemplate change in their lives, and take steps

to do so. Sometimes these were family members – an aunt, a mother, a father – and sometimes a close friend, or a figure of authority in the community. Sometimes a person connected with the Campaign, or another social or women’s organization, appears as a significant figure. The role of the figure was often to introduce the interviewee to the Campaign, to guide them to a source of information, support and solidarity. Sometimes this person continued to play the role of mentor, supporting and advising the individual as they tried to make changes. Most often the ‘mentor’, who sometimes became a powerful role model, was a Campaign Change Maker, or Ally, or both. For any change process, it is important to look at the role of support figures and guides, and take this into account in understanding and planning interventions..

7. The Will to Go On

The Stages of Change model includes the ‘maintenance’ concept – what is it that maintains the change? It is a crucial question for ‘We Can’, given that the scale it works on as a mass campaign, precludes direct support to most of its recruited Change Makers.

As the study shows, individuals faced a wide range of barriers to the changes they were trying to make, and devised an equally wide range of strategies to overcome them. As touched on above, individuals come into the Campaign along different routes and with different motivations. For many, the Campaign offers support, a sense of belonging, new information and ideas, practical tools for change, and a different way of approaching violence against women – namely, that to tackle it effectively, people have to change themselves.

The motivation to continue the process in the face of considerable challenges is very varied, as evidenced in the study. However, the point that people need visible rewards and practical benefits as well as the powerful experience of developing greater self-belief and control over their lives, was strongly made by interviewees.

For some, this took the form of recognition in their communities, and by their families. Status and respect in the community, as well as the sense of being valued and useful for particular skills and knowledge, was cited by some as the best outcome of their involvement with the Campaign and the changes they had been engaged in.

The achievement of practical goals, such as going on to further education, and enhanced mobility and decision-making, was for women a highly motivating factor to keep on working for change – for themselves and others.

Reduction of conflict at home, and happier family lives and relationships, with greater respect and autonomy for women, were important rewards for many Change Makers and Allies. And for Allies in particular, positive changes in their organisations, involving not only influencing management practices and the condition of women workers, but changing the attitudes and behaviour of the members, was a strongly motivating goal.

Change Makers and Allies alike spoke of the high levels of satisfaction they experienced in seeing changes in the lives of women around them – either within their family and extended family circles, or in schools, or in the public sphere. A Pakistan ally speaks movingly of seeing women marching in the street on International Women’s Day for the first time in his town, and another of the local Jirga decision to ban the practice of Sawara – the exchange of women to settle disputes.

And, finally, Change Makers, especially women, related how the engagement with the Campaign and its approach to change enabled them to find their voices, to speak out, to address big groups of people, to challenge their families and advise their friends – in effect, to kill the fear and liberate their capacity to sing.

In summary, we have identified six essential components for understanding the ‘We Can’ change process, which have arisen from this study. It is not, of course, an exclusive list –

the exploration of the dynamics and meaning of change will continue as long as people change, and as long as the Campaign continues to evolve and change in the various countries where it is active.

- Self-change is an essential component in social change processes
- Attitude and behaviour change are not always causally linked and need to be addressed both separately and together
- Personal experience, personal resources and the socio-political and cultural contexts of individuals determine many aspects of the change process and must be taken into account
- Gender, caste, class, ethnicity, race and age are, inter alia, are all important determinants in the change process, and while this study was not broad enough to draw conclusions on all aspects of difference, gender differences emerged strongly – and always will. Gender analysis is foundational to change work on violence against women
- Guides, Mentors and role models all play a central role in the change process of individuals, at different stages, and this source of support should be recognised and fostered
- Motivation to stay with a difficult initiative such as tackling violence against women requires not only benefits and encouragement such as a sense of personal value and self-belief and internal empowerment, but visible and practical rewards, such as seeing improvements in the situation of women, and the achievement of personal goals.

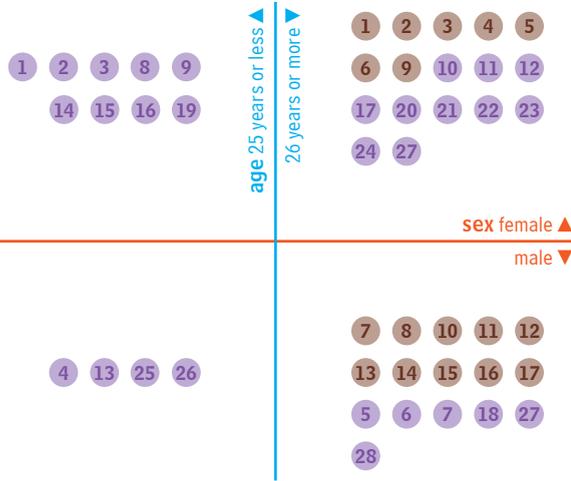


The image features a solid purple background. In the center, the word "annexes" is written in a white, serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, thin white circles of varying sizes, creating a decorative, abstract pattern. The circles are positioned around the text, with some overlapping it and others framing it.

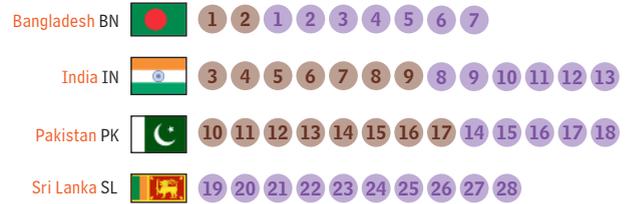
annexes

annex 1

Change Makers & Allies Interviewed : by age, sex & country



Allies	see pages	Age	Sex	Country
1. Shahida Parveen Shikha	35, 49, 65	54	F	BN
2. Shamim Ara Begum	1, 37, 48, 64		F	BN
3. Sophia Khan	5, 11, 14, 22, 37	42	F	IN
4. Jayantamma		42	F	IN
5. Shaila Tiwari	48	43	F	IN
6. Farhat Amin	35, 64	46	F	IN
7. Mohan Lal	9, 41	43	M	IN
8. L.T. Maheswaran	39		M	IN
9. Anuradha Rajan			F	IN
10. Mauladad Utmankhel	15, 20, 48, 50	26	M	PK
11. Akhtar Nawaz	28	28	M	PK
12. Rehmat Bukhsh Chana	21	32	M	PK
13. Syed Imtiaz Haider Naqvi	13	36	M	PK
14. Mhd. Munir Abro	11, 31, 44	39	M	PK
15. Hafiz Manzoor Ahmed	9, 27	39	M	PK
16. Musarrat Shah Kakakhel	25, 28	40	M	PK
17. Rooh-Ul-Amin	1, 47	45	M	PK



Change Makers	see pages	Age	Sex	Country
1. Aklima Akhtar Sumi	36	24	F	BN
2. Mabia Akhtar	25, 63	25	F	BN
3. Israt Jahan Sonali	13, 19, 31, 44, 63	25	F	BN
4. Mhd. Nazrul Islam Jony	33, 34, 41, 63	18	M	BN
5. Mhd. Modiful Islam	11, 35, 41, 65	27	M	BN
6. Waliur Rahman Chandan	10, 41	38	M	BN
7. Prof. Tulsi Kumar Das	37		M	BN
8. Shaheena Javed	1, 26, 27, 32	20	F	IN
9. Krishna Goldar	15, 41	22	F	IN
10. Sumati Devi	5, 26	26	F	IN
11. Sugiya Naik	5, 36	30	F	IN
12. Sheik Rasheeda	15, 16	35	F	IN
13. Sanjay Kumar	16, 26, 45	25	M	IN
14. Tahreem Zafar	45	22	F	PK
15. Rabia Jan	11, 20, 32	22	F	PK
16. Tahreem Malik	14, 30	25	F	PK
17. Tahira Jabeen		30	F	PK
18. Musa Khan	25	42	M	PK
19. Vasuki Sudasivam	31, 45	22	F	SL
20. Selvaranjani Mukkaiah	1, 40	26	F	SL
21. Sithie Naseema	16, 40, 64	38	F	SL
22. Srichitra Kadiravel	12	39	F	SL
23. Ranjani Wewelagama	11, 25, 36, 63	43	F	SL
24. Khema Ranasinghe	20	58	F	SL
25. Raviraghu Rasalingam		19	M	SL
26. Deshapriya Dissanayake	22, 65	23	M	SL
27. V. Chandrakumar	21, 25	26	M	SL
28. Dr. Mhd. Junaid Nowfel	11	42	M	SL

annex 2

Research Methods

Detailed face-to-face interviews were conducted with 28 Change Makers, 15 allies and one other person - the consultant who led the India assessment, 2008 and the Phase II regional assessment, 2011. (See Annex 1 for details of individuals interviewed)

Interviewees were selected by the 'We Can' Secretariat in the respective countries against the following criteria:

Change Makers

- the individual should be someone who is reflective and has a story to tell – both about their own personal change and about the change they have encouraged or influenced in their immediate 'circle of influence';
- the individual should have experienced a considerable personal journey of change – even if the outward manifestation of change appears relatively modest;
- the individual should have personal experience of 'We Can' since at least 2006/07;
- the individual must be willing to be profiled in the publication, including the possible use of photographs or audio-visual material.

Case studies should provide a balance between:

- women and men
- younger and older
- married and single
- In rural and urban settings.

Alliance Members

- the individual should be someone who is reflective and has a story to tell;

- the individual should work in an organisation that has been directly involved in the implementation of 'We Can';
- the individual should have personal experience of 'We Can' since at least 2006 (and hence have seen some growth in and evolution of the Campaign);
- the individual should be willing for them self, and their organisation, to be profiled in the publication, including the possible use of photographs or audio-visual material.

Case studies should provide a balance between:

- organisations that engage in national and local level alliance structures;
- organisations that have a history of work (prior to 'We Can') on VAW and organisations that have only become involved in work on VAW through engagement with 'We Can';
- NGOs and non-NGOs;
- senior and mid-level staff in the alliance member organisations;
- women and men.

Interviewers were selected by the 'We Can' Secretariat/ Leads in each country, again against set criteria. Interviewers were provided with detailed guidance on conducting interviews and documenting case studies.

Interviews were conducted using semi-structured question guides. Where required, the interviewer worked through a translator.

Case studies were mostly conducted in the home of the interviewee or in a convenient office, often of a 'We Can' ally.

Case studies were written up by the interviewer. The case studies were written up verbatim as far as possible. Where the interviewer paraphrased an interviewee this was recorded.

In the text of the document, verbatim quotes are indicated by

coloured italic text style, and where the interviewer’s paraphrasing is used, this is indicated by *italic text style*.

Whilst the document has sought to use the actual words of the interviewees as far as possible, it should be recognised that these words have been recorded by an interviewer and sometimes through a translator. In a small number of case studies conducted in Bangladesh, the initial draft in English was edited by a second writer to make them easier to read in English. Whilst the authors have sought to stay true to the actual words of interviewees we acknowledge that there may have been some unintended loss of accuracy through this process.

annex 3

‘We Can’ Memorandum of Understanding

Early in 2008, mindful of the interest in the Campaign from agencies around the world and concerned that any new campaign carrying the ‘We Can’ name would follow its core principles – those leading the Campaign in South Asia worked on a brief Memorandum of Understanding. This sets out the following principles or ‘non-negotiables’.

- This is a Campaign with a clear and singular focus on challenging and changing social attitudes, behaviour and practices that maintain and promote violence against women. It is preventive rather than reactive.
- The Campaign’s focus is on prevention of violence against women through mobilizing diverse individuals and communities.
- The Campaign recognises that any and all forms of violence against women are unacceptable but in its direct strategy focuses on domestic violence (as the most widespread and common form of violence) to engage and mobilize communities.
- The Campaign does not, in its direct strategies, include any components of support to survivors, advocacy, legal aid, etc., but complements all such existing interventions with its focus on changing social attitudes, behaviour and practices.
- The Campaign is positioned within the context of the existing body of work on women’s rights in the particular region/country and is open to and inclusive of all agencies already have a long history of work on this issue as well as others who are taking up this work for the first time.
- ‘We Can’, fundamentally is, a campaign of mass scale. A relevantly large scale is required for the changes in attitudes, behaviour and practices to be effective and sustained.
- As a result of its scale it is necessarily a campaign led by an extensive, flexible, diverse and dynamic alliance of institutions and individuals that works across society.
- The Campaign expects all allies to believe and to promote that belief that women and men have equal rights and to commit to and exhibit a mutual stand of zero tolerance towards violence against women.
- The central strategy of the Campaign is the deeply personal, voluntary and self-propelled change at the individual level of the ‘Change Makers’ – ordinary men, women and young people who commit to changing themselves and then taking the change to at least 10 other people in their spheres of influence.
- The focus of this personal change is to build a large body of Change Makers who, by their small actions build a ‘tipping point’ that normalizes ??
- The campaign strategy is informed by the adapted ‘Stages of Change Theory’
- This change at the individual level is supported and consolidated through a clearly articulated communications strategy, and documentation
- The campaign has its specific logo that is representative of the existing body of work that is the WE CAN campaign.

annex 4

Review, assessment and evaluation processes in 'We Can'

'We Can' has undertaken a range of review, assessment, evaluation and documentation processes, at a regional and country level, since the Campaign was launched in late 2004.

These processes are summarised below:

2004 – 2005

- Initial efforts to develop monitoring frameworks for 'We Can' – with focus on developing a baseline to measure change at the level of Change Makers.

2006 – 2007

- A series of country level peer reviews – with focus on the initial development of country strategies and alliances.

2007 – 2008

- A detailed assessment of change as experienced by Change Makers in phase one (the 'raising awareness' stage) was undertaken in three states of India over 2007 with a final report produced in 2008. This combined a qualitative 'reflective dialogue'¹³ process with 900 Change Makers over 15 months and a quantitative 'situation analysis' - two rounds of detailed surveys conducted with the same group of respondents – in total 919 Change Makers.
- A process of reflective dialogue was undertaken in Bangladesh with a total of 170 Change Makers involved over two rounds of dialogue. Its aim was to understand what motivates someone to become a Change Maker; to

examine the change experienced by Change Makers as result of their engagement with the Campaign; to identify particular challenges to the Campaign arising from the context in Bangladesh and to assist allies and Change Makers in developing a common approach to addressing challenges within the Campaign.

2008 – 2009

- A Mid-Term Review of the Nepal Campaign was conducted in late 2008 and early 2009 looking at change experienced by Change Makers and the development of the country alliance.
- A South-Asia wide process documentation was conducted over 2008, culminating in the publication of 'We Can' – The Story So Far, 2009.
- A more local process documentation was also conducted with allies in three states in India in 2008.
- A Review and Reflection Alliance Meeting was conducted and documented in Nepal in March 2008.
- An evaluation of Oxfam Novib's engagement with 'We Can' Campaigns outside South Asia was undertaken for Oxfam Novib, finalized in May 2009.
- The 'We Can' Campaign in British Colombia, Canada conducted a process documentation in 2009.

2010

- An assessment of the pilot Campaign in Kenya and Tanzania – looking both at change experienced by Change Makers and the development of campaign alliances – was undertaken in early 2010.
- A comprehensive region-wide assessment process has been undertaken over 2010 and finalised in January 2011. This assessment considers achievements of the objectives for Phase II of the Campaign.

¹³ A collective, periodic reflection and analysis of experience, learning and insights in a group setting

Phase II Regional Assessment

Over late 2009 and 2010, a large-scale, regional assessment of Phase II of the Campaign was initiated in Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India.

Full details are available in 'Regional Report of the Assessment of 'We Can' Phase II, December 2010 (Draft Version)' by Anuradha Rajan and Swati Chakraborty.

The purpose of this study was to understand:

- whether the Phase II objective of 're-engaging' Change Makers and deepening their experience of change was working; and
- whether the change process had moved beyond the Change Makers into their 'circles of influence'.

This regional assessment was conducted in twenty-one sites across five countries and involved 1,762 respondents - of whom 560 were Change Makers and 1202 were people from the 'circles of influence' of these Change Makers.

A common design and framework, combining qualitative and quantitative methods, was used for the assessment across the five countries.

Because 'We Can' does not prescribe the change it expects – but values all positive changes as a step towards reduced social acceptance of violence against women – the assessment had to find ways to categorise the many different types of changes described by Change Makers in the assessment. The stories of change described by participants were carefully categorised into four levels of change.

Those who experienced 'significant deepening of change' felt most strongly about the issue of violence against women, regularly talked to others and sought to engage them with the issue, had examples of actions or behaviour change in their own life and examples of taking actions in situations involving other people.

Change Makers who showed 'some deepening of change' were similar to the first group. However changes were largely restricted to their own lives and relationships, though some were beginning to take initial steps in intervening in situations involving violence against others.

Respondents who have stayed at the level of feeling and thinking about the issue fall into the third grouping – 'change in awareness'. This group can be seen as one that is 'preparing to act'.

Change Makers who felt that the Campaign has not impacted them in any way, fell into the fourth category of 'no change' as a result of associating with 'We Can'.

Findings from the assessment show that deepening of change has been experienced by Change Makers and that the Campaign is playing an important role in reducing tolerance to violence against women amongst those engaging directly with the Campaign and amongst those influenced by Change Makers.

- Overall the assessment found that 79% of respondents - or almost 8 out of 10 Change Makers - showed either significant deepening of change or some deepening of change as a result of re-engagement with the Campaign.
- The largest category of Change Makers, 53% - over half of all Change Makers surveyed - were those showing significant deepening of change.
- Less than 4% of Change Makers surveyed had experienced no change.
- The assessment findings show a distinct relationship between the deepening of change among Change Makers and changes (in behaviour or thinking) in the people around them, suggesting that changes in the Change Maker sustain changes in the people they influence and vice versa.
- Over 90% of people in the Change Maker's circle of influence reported personal change due to the Change

Maker and/or the Campaign. Interestingly, over 60% of this group also consider themselves Change Makers, regardless of whether they had provided details and been registered by the Campaign as Change Makers.

It was clear from the study that Change Makers and the people influenced by Change Makers were aware of a wide spectrum of violence against women - from everyday forms of discrimination such as controlling mobility of girls and verbal harassment to more severe forms such as dowry-related violence, rape and wife beating.

Change Makers and the people they had influenced also showed evidence of greater gender sensitivity in the form of sharing housework, not teasing girls, not using offensive language; and an appreciation of the constraints faced by women.

The assessment also shows that deepening of change among the Change Makers is influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors that seem to play an important role

include an individuals' own level of discomfort with the issue; exposure to violence in the family or surroundings; a sense of purpose and personal characteristics such as tenacity and determination.

Among the external factors, the presence, or absence, of a supportive family environment; the presence of a circle of influence which is changing itself and by doing so changing the Change Maker; and the recognition and appreciation gained by the Change Maker in their community; seem to work in association to influence the deepening of change.

Number of Change Makers and Allies for South Asia

At September 2010 the Campaign had records of over three million people who have signed up as Change Makers in South Asia. As at June 2010 the number of organisations working as allies within 'We Can' totalled 3,313. Numbers of Change Makers (CM) and Allies by country are as follows:

Country	CM in Database	Male	Female	Sex not recorded	Forms awaiting input	Total Change Makers	Allies
Afghanistan 				not recorded			6
Bangladesh 	543,940	46%	54%	-	79,400	623,340	517
India 	1,957,944	32%	39%	29%	225,123	2,183,067	2000
Nepal 	77,514	38%	62%	-	1,500	79,014	170
Pakistan 	299,177	71%	29%	-	25,000	324,177	550
Sri Lanka 	36,210	47%	53%	-	22,000	58,210	70
Total	2,914,785	39%	41%	20%	353,023	3,267,808	3,313

Suggestions for the 'We Can' Campaign made by interviewees

Many of the interviewees had ideas about ways forward for the Campaign, some general and some more specific. General ideas are mostly concerned with greater outreach, more public campaigning, and use of the mass media, greater influence on policy and government institutions and strengthening local organizations. Some mention the desirability of linking the Campaign with economic programmes, and the importance of enough funding in the future for the Campaign. Specific suggestions include working with religious structures, adjusting materials for different audiences and making the messages more sophisticated. Some of these ideas are presented below.

Link with economic programmes

On being asked what kind of support she expected from the campaign, **MABIA AKHTAR**, Change Maker from Bangladesh said : *helping with livelihoods, such as sewing, can make a difference... legal and financial planning and livelihood support can play a huge role in improving women's lives and keeping them violence free.*

due to poverty and unemployment people might be in a situation not to follow their commitment as Change Maker. Since marriage is a way to make money, the young boys tend to marry early and to take dowry. They might think that there is no benefit to be a Change Maker if it cannot remove poverty from our life. Therefore, if it is possible to remove unemployment then it will help to reduce child marriage which ultimately leads to reduction of domestic violence in association with child marriage and dowry.

MOHAMMAD NAZRUL ISLAM JONY, Change Maker, Bangladesh

More resourcing

WC cannot end. We want to carry We Can forward to other parts of this district and across Sri Lanka if we can find the means to do this. We are in a drama group and we would like to go all over the country spreading the message of WCC but we get stuck on finances... Now we take it as our own responsibility and I do that instinctively. But if we could find means to do this in an official way we can do more.

RANJANI WEWELAGAMA, Change Maker, Sri Lanka



RANJANI WEWELAGAMA

Link with religious structures

We Muslim women don't have ways to get exposed like Christian and Buddhist women. We cannot go meet and mix with people at the mosque, but Christian and Buddhist women mix and go for celebrations, Puja rituals and they get ideas and exposure. I feel if WCC works through the mosque it would be good. They can make a group with mosque groups.

SITHIE NASEEMA, Change Maker, Sri Lanka

Make materials more relevant

We Can material are not always relevant for Muslim women. The images illustrating family scenarios are challenging for Muslim women to relate to. For example, for Muslim women work place harassment and related laws are not as relevant as property and maintenance laws. In Muslim culture it is common for women to eat after the rest of the family, it is because of poverty as well as hierarchy within the family. It will be difficult to convince a Muslim woman that eating after everyone else is inequality. An image illustrating the impact on the health of a woman with poor nutrition and skipping meals would be more effective.

FARHAT AMIN, We Can Ally, Orissa, India



SITHIE NASEEMA

Link with policy work

To sustain change, **ISRAT SONALI**, Change Maker, Bangladesh thinks it is important to increase women's participation in decision making at the policy level. Women have to talk about the issue of discrimination. People will try to stop them but they have to create their own ground to talk. Besides, government should play a strong role to give women scope for development as well as scope of work.

Involve more men

...It is important to involve more men in the programme as changing their attitude is the key to stopping VAW.

SHAMIM ARA BEGUM, 'We Can' Ally, Bangladesh

Target workers

SHAHIDA PARVEEN SHIKHA, 'We Can' Ally, Bangladesh suggests: If we can develop a huge workforce that is aware and enlightened about social injustice issues, the workforce will motivate other people to be just. At the same time Shikha sees the importance of continuing to use the media to pro-



MOFIDUL ISLAM

DESHAPRIYA



MABIA AKHTAR

mote these messages. She also wants to see these messages shared with young people so as to offer them an alternative way of life.

Target young people

With the awareness that we raise, we give ideas and information to the community. Among young people, especially, they learn this at a young age and they grow up knowing what is right and wrong on the issue of VAW. Young people see and they remember the meaning of the issues. They are able to carry this forward in to the future.

DESHAPRIYA DISSANAYAKE, Change Maker, Sri Lanka

We should organise more street meetings and events on GBV and DV, Bangladeshi songs about the end of VAW and so on. People will think about it repeatedly when they see the campaign messages. We should provide them with an ideology, have new personalities talk about it to more people. Young children and adolescents must be especially targeted because their support will be more powerful since parents will be more sensitive to what their kids have to say.

MOHAMMED MOFIDUL ISLAM, Change Maker, Bangladesh

authors



SUZANNE WILLIAMS is an international consultant in social development, a feminist, an anthropologist, an artist and more recently, a keen photographer of bees. With some 30 years' experience of a wide range of work on human rights, gender equality and ending violence against women, she has been documenting We Can (with enthusiasm) for several years. She worked in Oxfam GB in various countries, and has authored several books and articles published by Oxfam and others. She is often heard to say things like: 'but its more complicated than that', and 'I need more coffee'. She lives near Oxford in the UK with cats, parrots, a wild garden, a daughter in London and an occasional husband.



ALLISON ALDRED has worked as a management consultant and held senior positions in organisations in the UK and Ireland. She worked with Oxfam GB in South Asia from 1998 to 2008, including 6 years as Regional Director for South Asia. In this role, Allison was privileged to be involved in the idea that has become the 'We Can Campaign' and continues to watch, learn from, laugh with and sometimes contribute to the Campaign. After 16 years in South Asia, Allison is now based in West Cork in Ireland where she works on issues of strategy and impact in the Irish NGO sector and muses on how attitudes and beliefs form and change. Married to a writer and publisher, they are kept busy and greatly entertained by their three children.



FARHAT



IMTIAZ



JONY



MOHAN LAL



KRISHNA



MUNIR



MUSA



MUSSARAT



RASHEEDA



ROOH-UL-AMIN



SANJAY



SRICHITRA



SELVARANJANI



SUGIYA



SUMATI



VASUKI



wecanendvaw.org

Thanks to We Can Secretariats in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka for research coordination

INTERVIEWS NAHEED SAJNEEN LABONEE, ANN JYOTHIS, MALINI GUPTA, SHIPRA JHA, HARRIS KHALIQUE, MANORI GUNATILLEKE **PHOTOGRAPHS** ANN JYOTHIS, FAUSTO AARYA DE SANTIS, FREDERIK RENANDER **DESIGN** THOUGHTSHOP FOUNDATION

Copyright © We Can Campaign, 2011
All rights reserved

The South Asia Regional **WE CAN END ALL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN** Campaign was a 6 country, 6 year Campaign, implemented in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Afghanistan – from 2004 to 2011.

As part of the larger documenting, evaluation and learning processes marking the culmination of We Can, this body of work – **change making** – is a critical and comprehensive reflection on the nature and extent of change that has taken place at the level of the Change Makers - who are at the heart of the campaign.

Through 40 detailed case studies from across the sub continent, this publication explores and documents the nature and extent of change, as articulated by individuals involved in and mobilised by the Campaign, whilst putting this in the context of major learning from the various reviews and assessment processes undertaken by the Campaign.