



Improving the Framework for Reporting and Resolution of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Tajikistan

Базовое исследование, 2017

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СПИСОК СОКРАЩЕНИЙ

CSR	Centre of Sociological Research
CV	Curriculum Vitae
CATI	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview
DRS	Districts of Republican Subordination
F2F	Face-to-face interview
FGD	Focus group discussion
GBV	Gender Based Violence
KII	Key informant interview
LLC	Limited Liability Company
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
RT	Republic of Tajikistan
SPSS	The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
ToR	Terms of Reference

ОБЩИЕ ВЫВОДЫ

This report was prepared in the frame of the project entitled 'Improving the Framework for Reporting and Resolution of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Tajikistan', which is being implemented by the Eurasia Foundation of Central Asia (EFCA) - Tajikistan with the financial support of the European Union. The research was conducted by Z-Analytics from August to October of 2017.

The research covered five districts of the Republic of Tajikistan (RT), namely Rudaki, Bobojon Ghafurov, Panjakent, Kulob, and Vakhsh and involved both quantitative and qualitative tools for data collection. The quantitative component saw 500 individuals interviewed (100 per target district) from the general public with respondents chosen to provide the following demographics: gender (50% male and 50% female); generation (a younger generation 18-30 years of age and an older generation above 40)¹; and rural/urban (24% urban and 76% rural as per the national average). The qualitative component consisted of 35 informant interviews (7 per target district) with the key parties on reporting violence in the home, namely local leaders, *jamoat* workers, representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, representatives of the Committee of Religion, local imams (*imom hatib*), deputy district chairpersons and local police officers.

The method of data analysis used reflects the KAP approach – knowledge, attitudes and practices.

Knowledge about the Law on Family Violence

When asked what constitutes violence in the family, in connection with the Law on Family Violence, the majority of survey respondents recognised physical and psychological violence in the form of beatings (75%) and humiliation (73%). However, less than one third of respondents referred to economic violence (leaving someone without food [30%] or shelter [26%]) and sexual violence (30%) as forms of domestic violence. The disaggregated data shows that fewer men than women consider sexual violence to be a form of violence in the family (males – 27%, females – 33%). Nonetheless, the figure for both men and women is low. The difference in generational understanding demonstrates that respondent above 40 years of age were more inclined than young people to indicate psychological violence (76% versus 68%) and both forms of economic violence (34% versus 25% in terms of food, and 30% versus 21% in terms of shelter). Similarly, people residing in urban areas spoke of sexual and economic violence almost twice as often as those living in rural areas.

Key informants, namely those working at official institutions, such as deputy district chairpersons, representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and police officers, could identify the different types of violence mentioned in the law and are aware of the broader legal framework, which regulate family affairs. However, other key informants, such as local leaders, imams, *jamoat* workers, and representatives of the Committee of Religion, had mainly a vague understanding of violence in the family, referring to physical and psychological forms of violence only. Among all key informants, none made specific reference to sexual violence as a type of violence in the family.

¹ Due to the relative size of the sample and to better draw out the data regarding generational differences, respondents between the ages of 30 and 40 were not included in the survey.

When survey respondents were asked where a victim should refer to in the case of violence in the family, the majority selected parents (60%), followed by the head of the *mahalla* (33%) and then local police (28%). From the replies of key informants, three stages were clearly delineated: 1) not approaching anyone; 2) approaching non-official institutions; 3) approaching official institutions.

Attitude towards GBV

At first, survey respondents were asked general questions, such as whether a husband has the right to slap, push or beat his wife. The majority of respondents answered in the negative to these questions stating that a man has no right to beat a woman. However, the majority of respondents also held the seemingly contradictory view that a woman must tolerate violence in the family for the sake of keeping the family together.

The key informants interviewed supported the principle of resolving the problems within the families themselves, or in case of necessity, by conducting educational activities with the abuser. A common trend within key informant interviews was the strong link made between the lack of jobs, consequent alcohol addictions, and an increase in violence within the family.

When respondents were asked how they would respond if they were to witness a man beating his wife in the street, two thirds indicated that they would intervene in some manner (62%). In terms of violence behind closed doors, respondents offered a more passive position with less than half (48%) stating that they would intervene if they were to know that their neighbour beats his wife at home. This is closely related to traditional social values where family problems are kept within the family; many respondents referred to the maxim 'don't wash your dirty linen in public'².

The questionnaire also contained projective questions on sexual violence. Around 42% of interviewed respondents agreed with the statement that rape within the family was probably a result of a woman's reckless behaviour. Another statement, related to sexual violence, which the majority of those interviewed (53%) agreed on was 'If a woman does not resist, than it is not sexual violence'. The general conclusion is that the notion of sexual violence between a husband and wife is not understood. Key informant interviews, with representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs in Khatlon, revealed that cases of sexual violence usually only become known during divorce proceedings or after the divorce.

Practice

Distribution of home chores among family members

Respondents were generally in agreement on a gendered division of labour where women work at home and men have to earn money. The absolute majority of respondents (94%) agreed fully that the most important role of a young woman in the family is to prepare food and do the home chores while 84% of respondents strongly agreed that the main responsibility of a man was to earn money.

² OXFAM, Z-Analytics Group. "Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of perception of gender roles and gender-based violence in 6 districts of Tajikistan". 2016, pp.13; International Partnership for Human Rights. 'He left his footprint on my life. Domestic violence in Tajikistan: time to the right word'. 2017, p.17: <http://iphronline.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ENG-Domestic-violence-in-Taj-March-2017.pdf>

At the same time, around 44% of respondents highlighted the difficulties young men face in finding work close to their homes. In-depth interviews revealed the current tendency of families to encourage their sons to marry girls with education. Key informants from all districts and backgrounds stated their respect towards and tolerance of working women. Due to the difficulty men face finding work, young wives are encouraged by both their husbands and mothers-in-law to try and earn at least a small amount of additional income. Still, this does not preclude the possibility that women must also do the home chores. In cases where the head of a household is absent, 94% respondents supported the view that the parents of the husband are entitled to take care of the household, and look after his wife and their children.

Distribution of responsibilities in raising children

Respondents were practically unanimous (99%) in indicating the necessity of a mother's engagement in her children's everyday life. The replies of key informants were more varied with several deputy district chairpersons, *jamoat* workers and local police officers accentuating the importance of an equal engagement of both parents in the lives of their children, while still, like every respondent, emphasising the primary importance of a mother's role in a child's upbringing.

In contrast to a woman's homebound responsibilities, men are mainly engaged in a child's upbringing whenever it concerns issues outside of the home, such as earning money to provide for the family (84%), or taking their children to kindergarten (41%). Several key informants characterised the role of the father as that of the disciplinarian. Other key informants pointed out that, due to their absence in the everyday life of their children, fathers are usually very kind to their children, expressing their love and attention whenever possible.

Practicing of referring for help in case of GBV

Based on discussions with key informants it can be concluded that families tend to stick to in-group (usually within the family or sometimes communal) conflict resolution strategies; this sometimes pressurises the victims to tolerate the violence and results in daughters being taught to be a patient and good wife. Based on interviews, third parties are referred to only in cases where the violence becomes a regular practice. In general, the third party might then involve other local parties such as relatives, doctors, medical workers or local NGOs. These parties may then further engage local authorities such as the head of *jamoat*, who then conduct educational activities with the abuser. Below, several scenarios on how the cases of violence are resolved are spelled out.

Scenario #1 and #2: Most common: Approach to family members and to the head of the *mahalla*.

When violence grows into a repeat pattern and systematic practice, young women tend to first seek help from their own family members. In many cases, however, parents are reluctant to see the marriage fall apart because of both social pressure but also self-interest, in that their own households are often already overcrowded by their sons and their wives and children.

The *mahalla* head is sought out on a regular basis as a person who is well respected in the local area, and whom the aggressor might listen to. The head of the *mahalla* is approached either by the victim or by parents of the victim. Both scenarios usually lead to some form of educational activities being arranged with the abuser. These usually involve a small delegation (i.e. the head of the *mahalla*, and parents accompanied by the local imam) visiting the particular household and rendering advice and explaining why violence is not an acceptable practice in the family.

Scenario #3: Less common Approach to the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and NGOs

As per the responses of key informants, only when a woman has had enough of the violence, and the help of the *mahalla* head or their parents has no impact, will she refer to local representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs or NGOs, which she is aware of. The Committee of Women and Family Affairs and NGOs, which work with vulnerable women, offer legal consultation to the victims, direct them to doctors, and assist women in writing formal complaints with the local police. However, the step after this is extremely problematic for victims. If the victim in question has no family, or their family is unwilling to welcome them back, they will have few options as there are few temporary shelters (outside major cities) or places for a woman to stay if she doesn't want to go back to her husband.

Scenario #4. Most rare: Approach to the local police

Approaching the local police is considered to be a last resort. After visiting a doctor and getting proof of being a victim of domestic violence, doctors are obliged to direct the patients to the local police. Once the police receive the claim, they have to visit the particular household within three days and process the case within fifteen. Another argument for police being seen as a last resort was the further blame husbands may apportion to their wives when they discover that they spoke with a (male) police officer who might have examined the bruises on her body. For a victim, especially if this is a young woman, it is much more comfortable for them to share their stories with a female police officer, which, however, are rarely seen in police stations. In Sughd, one interviewer had a chance to speak with a victim of domestic violence who was in a police station at the time an interview was being conducted. The victim agreed with the sentiment of some police officers that administrative punishment and educational activities do not help to improve the situation.

Scenario #5. Approach of husbands and mothers to the local imam

According to the imams interviewed, they participate in educational activities quite often, usually on the invitation of the head of the *mahalla* or local police officers. However, direct requests from the family itself are usually done by concerned mothers who see how their sons beat their wives and children. Another reason given for bringing such incidents to the local imam is the desire to keep the family together in cases where the man has said 'Taloq'³ three times during a fight.

³ Some interpretations of the Sharia hold that a triple talaq (saying 'Taloq' three times) is a legitimate method of divorce; it has no legal force in Tajikistan.

ВСТУПЛЕНИЕ

This report was prepared in the frame of the project entitled 'Improving the Framework for Reporting and Resolution of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Tajikistan'. The project is currently being implemented by the Eurasia Foundation of Central Asia (EFCA) - Tajikistan with the financial support of the European Union. The main goal of the project is to improve the legal remedies to gender based violence in Tajikistan and strengthen respect for gender equality across the country.

Following a competitive tender process, the research group Z-Analytics was selected to conduct the research. This report contains baseline data collected between August and October 2017 with follow-up research to be conducted at the end of project implementation.

1. ЦЕЛИ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

The objectives of the research are based on those of the project, and includes the following:

- Perceptions of gender roles and discrepancies between older and younger generations.
- Perceptions about GBV and generational discrepancies;
- Awareness of 2013 Family Law and other relevant legislation;
- Level of father's involvement in children's upbringing;
- Level of employment amongst women and men, as well as type of employment;
- The prevalent methods of GBV redress (formal or informal);
- The relationship between GBV and the traditional family unit;
- The relationship between GBV and migration;
- Reporting versus non-reporting.

Taking into consideration the topic of the research, it was proposed to create both qualitative and quantitative tools for data collection. The quantitative approach consisted of face-to-face (F2F) interviews and the qualitative approach key informant interviews (KII).

2. МЕТОДОЛОГИЯ

The target districts for data collection were selected in consultations between EFCA - Tajikistan and Z-Analytics. Five of the fifteen target districts of the broader EFCA - Tajikistan project were selected, namely Rudaki, Bobojon Ghafurov, Panjakent, Kulob, and Vakhsh. These five districts were chosen based on their geographic distribution and representativeness, i.e. Rudaki for the Districts of Republican Subordination (DRS), B. Ghafurov and Panjakent for the Ferghana and Zarafshon Valleys of Sughd province, as well as Kulob for Eastern Khatlon and Vakhsh for Western Khatlon.

Based on the objectives of the research, data collection consisted of both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The quantitative approach included 500 F2F surveys (100 per target district) with the general public. The total sample took into consideration the following factors or variables:

- gender: 50% women, 50% men;
- age: in order to disaggregate the data according to generational difference, the sample consists of a younger generation (18-30 years of age) and an older generation (above 40);
- location: more than 70% of the total population of Tajikistan reside in rural areas. Therefore the sample for this research followed a similar rural/urban distribution (74%/26%).

The qualitative approach, on the other hand, involved conducting 35 KII (7 per target district) based on a semi-structured interview guide with the following target groups:

1. Local leaders;
2. *Jamoat* workers;
3. Representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs;
4. Representatives of the Committee of Religion;
5. Local imam (*imom hatib*);
6. Deputy district chairpersons;
7. Local police officers.

These target groups had to be reached in every target district of the research. As such, 7 interviews were conducted in each target district.

The distribution of respondents was thus as follows:

Table 1: Number of F2F interviews and KIIs in distribution by districts

Regions	District	Quantitative	Qualitative
DRS	Rudaki	100	7 KII
Sughd	Bobojon Ghafurov	100	7 KII
	Panjakent	100	7 KII
Khatlon	Kulob	100	7 KII
	Vakhsh	100	7 KII
Total		500	35

Challenges

The data collection process began in September 2017 simultaneously in all five districts. The trainings for enumerators (for survey data collection) and moderators (for KII data collection) was held in August of 2017. Due to the sensitivity of the topic, data collection was possible only after obtaining an official letter of support from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan (RT), which was later presented at the local *hukumat* offices and at police departments. Nonetheless, many key informants did not agree to the use of recording devices during interviews. Therefore, several deputy chairpersons and local police officers were interviewed without obtaining a proper recording. Another obstacle during the data collection (survey) arose from maintaining the gender balance and age prerequisites. In particular, the enumerators could not find the required number of young males (18-30 years old) due to the migration season. In these cases, enumerators were directed to other nearby villages.

Data processing

Qualitative data processing was conducted using a Codebook, i.e. a dataset in Microsoft Excel, which was pre-prepared and tends to highlight the findings of the key informant interviews in regard to each indicator. For this reason, every in-depth interview was transcribed and entered into the Codebook.

Quantitative data was processed by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), the dataset of which was also prepared before the beginning of the data collection process. Throughout the whole data collection process, the enumerators were sending the collected data from their tablets to the office of Z-Analytics, which enabled timely data collection and monitoring.

Data analysis

The method of data presentation used in this analyses reflects the KAP approach – knowledge, attitudes and practices⁴. As such, the report will consist of the following chapters:

- Knowledge – representing the awareness of the general population and key informants on the legal side of the issue;
- Attitude – position of the general population and key informants on violence in the family. As this topic is highly sensitive, the attitude was revealed via projective questions;
- Practice –the division of duties in the family and practice of seeking help in the case of violence.

Before proceeding to the analyses of collected data, the report will offer some brief background information on violence in Tajikistan based on previous reports and data.

⁴ This method was selected due to the clear presentation of data that it provides for the reader.

3. ОБЩАЯ ИНФОРМАЦИЯ: ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ПО ГЕНДЕРНОМУ НАСИЛИЮ В ТАДЖИКИСТАНЕ

The calamitous social and economic legacy of the 1990s, which saw the collapse of the Soviet Union and outbreak of a five year long Civil War, continue to weigh heavily on Tajikistan. The country has the highest indicators in terms of labour migration in the region, even if the numbers have fallen⁵, and the highest population growth rate⁶. Although the country also remains the poorest in the region, both highly dependent on the remittances of labour migrants and extremely vulnerable to external and internal shocks, Tajikistan continues to make strides in decreasing the poverty rate and improving the wellbeing of the population⁷.

Soon after independence, Tajikistan made a huge, positive step on women's rights issues by becoming a party to the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was ratified by the Parliament of the RT in 1993. Since then, the state has taken a number of positive measures to promote gender equality, via the adoption of laws such as 'On State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Men and Women' (2005), the 'National Strategy for Activisation of the Role of Women in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2011-2020' (2010) and approved the 'Presidential Grants for Women Entrepreneurs' (2008-2011)⁸.

Seeing the continuing challenges in gender discrimination, which have its deep roots in the family / households, the Tajik parliament passed the 'Law on the Prevention of Family Violence' (2013), an effective declaratory document that focuses on preventing violence. This Law on Family Violence

- **насилие в семье** – умышленное противоправное деяние физического, психического, сексуального и экономического характера, совершенное в рамках семейных отношений одним членом семьи по отношению к другому члену семьи, которое становится причиной нарушения его прав и свобод, причинения физической боли или вреда его здоровью или угрозой причинения такого вреда здоровью;

- **физическое насилие в семье** – умышленное противоправное деяние одного члена семьи по отношению к другому члену семьи, в результате применения физической силы, которое становится причиной нанесения физической боли или вреда его здоровью;

- **психическое насилие в семье** – умышленное психическое воздействие, унижение чести и достоинства одного члена семьи другим членом семьи путем угрозы, оскорбления, шантажа или принуждения к совершению правонарушений или деяний, опасных для жизни и здоровья, а также приводящих к нарушению психического, физического или личностного развития;

- **сексуальное насилие в семье** – умышленное противоправное деяние одного члена семьи по отношению к другому члену семьи, посягающее на половую неприкосновенность и половую свободу человека, а также действия сексуального характера, совершаемые в отношении несовершеннолетнего члена семьи;

- **экономическое насилие в семье** – экономическое насилие в семье - умышленное противоправное деяние одного члена семьи по отношению к другому члену семьи с целью лишения его жилья, пищи, одежды, имущества или средств, на которые потерпевший имеет предусмотренное законодательством Республики Таджикистан право, и это деяние может вызвать нарушение физического или психического здоровья или повлечь за собой иные неблагоприятные условия.

⁵ World Bank Group. 'Strong Growth with a Challenging Outlook'. 2017.

<http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/543471500543123667/ECA2017-TJK-003.pdf>

⁶ Statistic Agency under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan. 'Population of the Republic of Tajikistan for January 1, 2016'. http://stat.tj/ru/img/7a20337ca019c92e18235196b4e62aaa_1470198679.pdf

⁷ WFP. 'Country Program Tajikistan 200813 (2016-2020)'. February, 2016.

⁸ Public Organisations of Tajikistan. 'The Second Shadow Report on the Realization of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women'. 2013:

http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/TJK/INT_CEDAW_NGO_TJK_13364_E.pdf

was ratified and signed by the President of Tajikistan in 2013, and clearly outlines and defines the forms of violence in the family, as listed below⁹:

Under the law, victims have the right to receive medical help, psycho-social support, legal consultation, the provision of shelter¹⁰, and assistance in reporting a case of domestic violence and obtaining a restraining order. Domestic violence in Tajikistan holds administrative liability, wherein the aggressors must bear the cost of administrative punishments, should the victim wish to prosecute and punish the aggressor; he/she must bring the claim under the Tajik Criminal Code¹¹.

Still, a persistent lack of data and the prevalent tendency to not report cases, make it difficult to track the real figures for violence in the family in Tajikistan. According to a report by the U.S. Department of State from 2014, it is extremely difficult in reality to track violence in the family due to the fact that spousal abuse is considered 'commonplace', and that problems within the family should not be discussed outside of it.¹² A Z-Analytics survey of women and men conducted in 2016 in 6 districts of Tajikistan found that the absolute majority of men (97%) and three quarters of women (72%) believe that 'a woman must tolerate the violence to keep her family together'¹³. The results of the survey state that this conceptualisation suggests the likelihood of such situations having arisen in the past in or close to the respondents own family. A recent report by the International Partnership for Human Rights from March 2017 echoed these findings stating that 'as many as one in two women are subjected to domestic violence at some time in their lives by their husbands, mothers-in-law or other family members, although centralised comprehensive statistics are lacking, and underreporting means that the actual figures could be higher'¹⁴.

An OSCE Assessment Report from 2012 states that women experience multiple types of violence, especially at the beginning of an arranged marriage¹⁵. Violence can be perpetrated by husbands as well as in-laws. Due to long held tradition and the high rate of migration of Tajik males to the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan and other countries, the daughter-in-law or *kelin* normally lives in one household with their in-laws, who give the young *kelin* all the household chores and de-facto treat them as 'the help' or worse.

The Law on Family Violence provides a list of stakeholders and their responsibilities in assisting the victims of domestic violence. However, the law does not define the notion of the 'family' in the first place, which leaves women in polygamous families unprotected. The migration of many young males, as a release valve for youth unemployment in Tajikistan, has led to a gender imbalance, which has increased the number of 'second wives'. Although polygamous families are illegal in the RT, the

⁹ Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Prevention of Violence in the Family, March 19, 2013.

¹⁰ However, a 2017 report by the International Partnership for Human Rights (see footnote 14) states that there is a lack of funding for services such as shelters to protect women at risk, particularly women in rural areas.

¹¹ OSCE. 'Social and Economic Inclusion of Women from Migrant Households in Tajikistan'. Assessment Report. 2012: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/93637?download=true>; Centre for Gender and Refugees studies. 'Challenges to Implementing Laws on Violence against Women in Afghanistan and Tajikistan with special consideration of displaced women'. 2016: https://drc.dk/media/2470176/breaking-barriers_challenges-to-implementing-laws-on-violence-in-afghanistan-and-tajikistan-with-special-consideration-of-diasplaced-women.pdf

¹² U.S. DEP'T OF STATE. 'Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2014 – Tajikistan'. 2014.

<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2014&dld=236652#wrapper>

¹³ OXFAM, Z-Analytics Group. "Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of perception of gender roles and gender-based violence in 6 districts of Tajikistan". 2016, pp.13

¹⁴ International Partnership for Human Rights. 'He left his footprint on my life. Domestic violence in Tajikistan: time to the right word'. 2017, p.17: <http://iphronline.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ENG-Domestic-violence-in-Taj-March-2017.pdf>

¹⁵ OSCE. 2012.

shortage of men compels some parents to encourage, or force, their daughters to become a second wife. However, being a second wife leaves these women totally unprotected before the law, in terms of dealing with domestic violence, or to receive alimony for the children or property.

Apart from the challenges women face in polygamous families, long standing tendencies among labour migrants have led to a high number of abandoned wives in Tajikistan. In many cases, the husband moves to the country of destination, marries a local woman and leaves their wife in Tajikistan without any further support. In some of these cases, the wife may continue to live with her (former) in-laws as her own parents do not have the room for her and her children, and she may continue to experience violence at the same time she tries to learn how to earn money¹⁶. In extreme cases, women are kicked out of the homes of their in-laws and not welcomed back by their own parents at all as they do not have enough space for their daughter and her children or interpret the failure of the marriage to be the fault of their daughter and a source of shame¹⁷. OSCE survey data demonstrates that most women from abandoned migrant households are economically inactive, lacking skills and qualifications to find a job, or overburdened by household chores and child-rearing¹⁸. As such abandoned wives face limited prospects of earning a living independently.

The general understanding of the life in rural areas can be based on Oxfam report from 2016¹⁹, which provides an overview of male and female roles within the family. The results show that 91% of women considers the key role of a woman is within the household (i.e. doing home chores and raising the children). Being fully engaged in home chores or the informal sector, such as cooking food to sell or sewing clothes (without paying taxes) does not provide any social benefits, family allowances or maternity leave. Moreover, unpaid domestic labour is considered by men as insignificant work²⁰. Interestingly, the division of responsibility within the family depends on the separation of the public and private, where women are involved in homemaking, including all the work within the household, while work associated with the public space involves men.

The same report shows that 82% of the women interviewed believe that childcare is a women's prerogative, whereas only 58% of men held the same view²¹. Generational differences show how males from the elder generation, being grandfathers, are more engaged in the upbringing of children than the young fathers. The younger generation has a rather adamant idea of gender roles, where certain work is for females only (laundry, tidying, cooking) and other tasks for men (grocery shopping, house maintenance and paying bills).

In terms of conflict resolution, an Open Society report from 2012 indicates that, instead of referring to official structures, the public generally prefer to speak with their own family or communal networks, such as neighbours, relatives and friends in order to decide on the steps that should be taken. Findings suggests that men only refer to the authorities at the local level (*jamoat*, representative of *mahalla*) when their own networks cannot resolve the conflict²².

The above review suggests that gender based violence in the home is a serious topic for research and highlights the need for further improvements in the law and its implementation. The data

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Open Society Foundation. 'Legislative problems: population needs in legal services'. 2012.

¹⁸ OSCE. 2012.

¹⁹ OXFAM, Z-Analytics Group. "Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of perception of gender roles and gender-based violence in 6 districts of Tajikistan". 2016.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Open Society Foundation. 2012.

presented in the coming sections will provide in-depth information on the current situation and provide a base for the project to push for the more effective implementation of the law.

4. СОЦИАЛЬНО-ДЕМОГРАФИЧЕСКАЯ ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА РЕСПОНДЕНТОВ

The quantitative component of the current survey covered five districts, Rudaki, Vakhsh, Kulob, Panjakent and B. Ghafurov with 100 respondents per district. The gender composition of the interviewed respondents is balanced, as can be seen in Figure 1. The rural/urban composition corresponds with the data from the Statistic Agency of the RT, according to which 24% of the population reside in urban areas (see Figure 2).

Figure 1: Respondent's gender, N=500

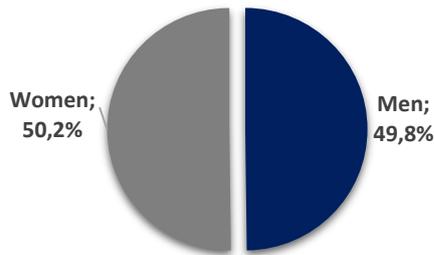
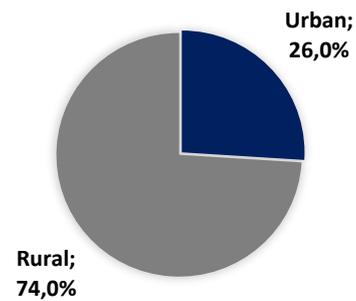


Figure 2: Area, N=500



According to the goals of the survey and to the sampling strategy, the respondents are also representative of different generations. Figure 3 demonstrates the share of respondents, where 57% are 40 years of age or older and 43% are from 18 to 30 years old. Initially, sampling demanded a balanced share, however, enumerators faced challenges in finding young male respondents due to the fact that the survey was conducted in September, when many young males are working abroad. The majority of respondents (60%) have up to secondary education, 13% obtained secondary technical education and the remaining 24% have a university degree (see Figure 4).

Figure 3: Age, N=500

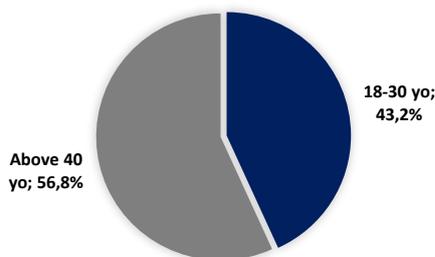
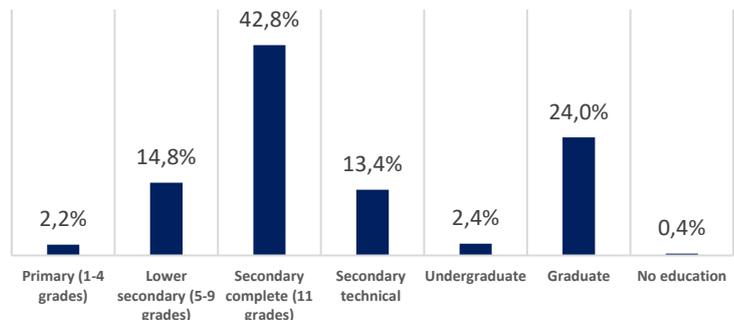


Figure 4: Education of respondents, N=500



An absolute majority of respondents are married (92%), but 5% of these respondents indicated that they have only *nikoh* (i.e. a religious marriage, without any official registration), see Figure 5. These cases can be attributed to either a lack of knowledge that a marriage has to be registered legally or to cases of second wives, which, as discussed previously, is illegal in the RT. Both possible causes of *nikoh* marriage demonstrate the vulnerability of women, as in both cases a woman would face serious difficulties in acquiring a birth certificate for her children, alimony in case of divorce and would have no right to property.

According to Figure 6, the majority of interviewed women are not currently employed. Among the interviewed respondents, 44% are employed, half of whom (20%) do not have a regular income.

Figure 6 shows a very low number of migrants, the likely explanation being the timing of the survey as discussed previously. Further lines of questioning, regarding family members, revealed that 171 respondents out of 500 have at least one family member working abroad, i.e. 34% of the households have a migrant family member out of the sampled population.

Figure 5: Marital status, N=500

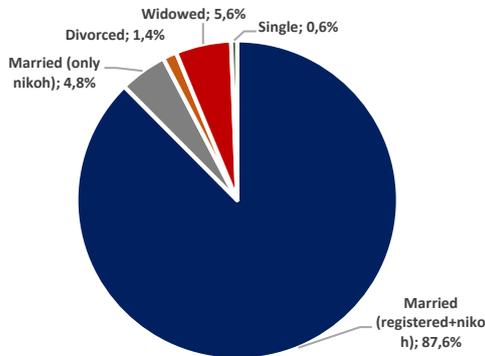
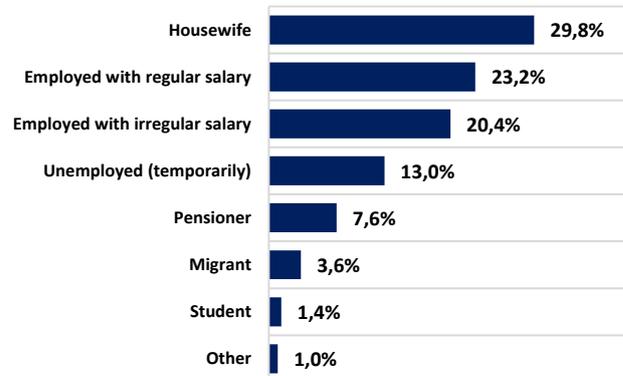


Figure 6: Employment, N=500



On average, the respondents' families consisted of six members, which corresponds to the data from Tajikistan's Census from 2010²³. The data demonstrates that the absolute majority of respondents live with their extended families, with several nuclear families living in one household with their parents and grandparents.

²³ According to RT Census 2010, the average number of household members in Panjakent is 5.7, B. Ghafurov is 6.1, in Kulob is 5.9, Vakhsh is 7.3 and in Rudaki is 6.3.

<https://statswiki.unecce.org/download/attachments/.../Tajikistan%20Atlas.pdf>

5. ЗНАНИЕ

This chapter will examine perceptions of the concept of ‘violence in the home’, as well as respondents’ knowledge of the laws which regulate the family issues and domestic violence. The views of the general populace and key informant groups are presented separately.

4.1 Насилие в семье

In accordance with the Law of the RT on Prevention of Violence in the Family²⁴, violence in the family is defined as violence of a physical, psychological, sexual or economic nature that is perpetrated within the family by one family member against another family member leading to the violation of the persons legitimate rights and freedoms, physical pain or threats to their health.

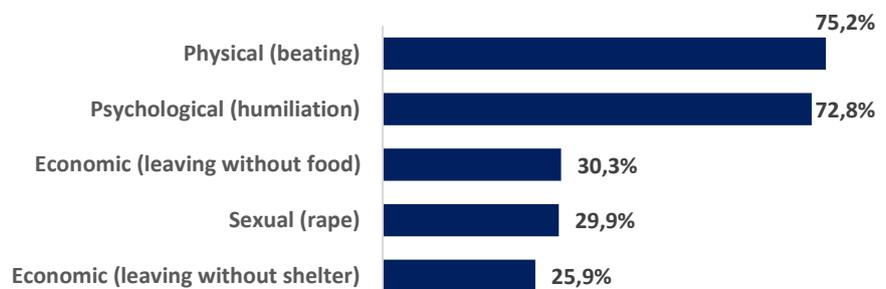
General populace

In order to understand the level of knowledge on violence in the family among the general public, respondents were asked whether their understanding of violence would include the following:

- Beating (physical);
- Humiliation (psychological);
- Rape (sexual);
- Leaving someone without food (economic);
- Leaving someone without shelter (economic).

Respondents were able to choose multiple options. From Figure 7 it can be concluded that the majority of respondents recognise physical and psychological violence in the form of beating (75%) and humiliation (73%). Less than one-third of interviewed respondents indicated that economic or sexual forms of violence (leaving without food – 30%, rape in the family – 30%, leaving without shelter – 26%) constituted violence in the home.

Figure 7: Awareness of the violence in the family, N=500, multiple choice



In distribution per gender, see Figure 8, there is a similar general understanding of violence among the respondents. There is a difference in regard to sexual violence, where fewer males consider it to be violence in the family (males – 27%, females – 33%). The difference in understanding between generations, see Figure 9, demonstrates that respondent above 40 years of age are more cognisant of psychological (76%) and economic (34% in terms of food, and 30% in terms of shelter) forms of violence in the family in comparison to the younger generation (68%, and 25 and 21% respectively).

²⁴ Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Prevention of Violence in the Family. 2013. <http://pdv.tj/en/background%20info/legal%20framework/tajik%20law/>

Figure 8: Awareness of violence in the family, N=500, per gender

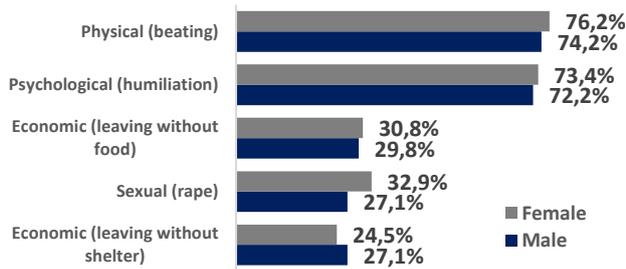
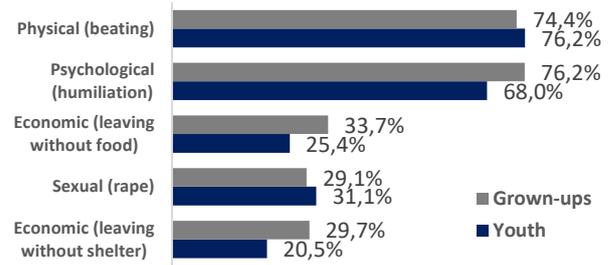
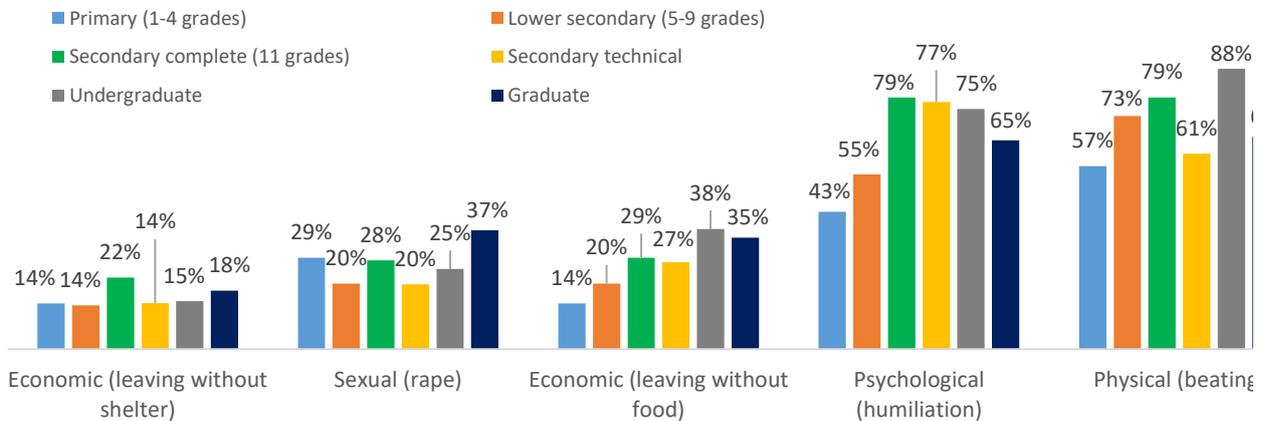


Figure 9: Awareness of violence in the family, N=500, per generation



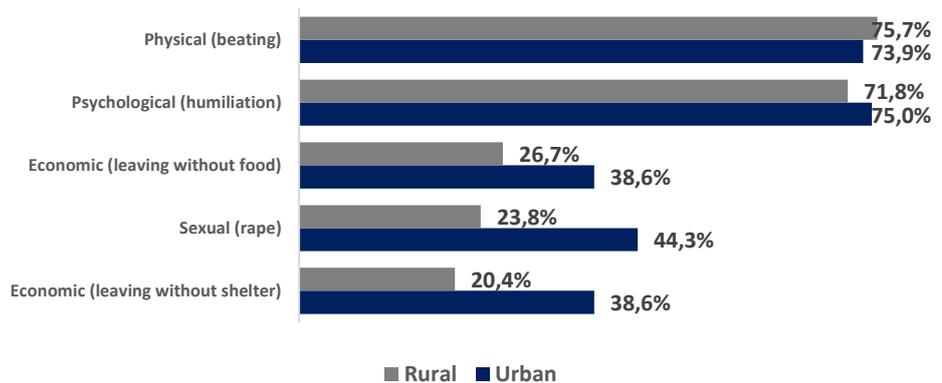
Data, disaggregated by education, shows that those with a university degree point to economic and sexual violence more often than those who have secondary or primary education, see Figure 10.

Figure 10: Awareness of the violence in the family, N=500, per education level



Interesting data was also seen according to the distribution by location, see Figure 11. People in urban areas choose sexual violence (44%) and leaving someone without shelter (39%) almost twice as often as those who reside in rural areas did (versus 24% and 20% respectively).

Figure 11: Awareness of the violence in the family, N=500, by type of location



Key informant groups

Based on their knowledge of the definition of violence, key informants can be divided into two groups. The first group is well aware of the different forms of violence (physical, psychological and economic) and consists of three categories of respondents, namely representatives of official institutions, such as the deputy district chairpersons, representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, and local police officers. While stating the definition of the violence in the family, these groups highlighted the Law on the Prevention of Family Violence. It is important to note that while listing the different forms of violence, none referred to sexual violence:

'In accordance with the law of Tajikistan in preventing family violence, violence in the family is offensive behaviour of one member of the family towards another member. There are several types of violence, such as physical, psychological and economic violence', representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 27 years old.

'Violence in the family is neglecting the rights of women, children and men sometimes... I differentiate two types of violence: physical and psychological. I think psychological is the worst', deputy chairman of the district, 61 years old.

These groups differentiated the parties to violence, saying that cases of violence can be between the husband and wife, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, sister-in-law and daughter-in-law, a father and small children. The definition of violence provided by the local police officers interviewed referred to all legally accepted forms of violence apart from sexual violence, for example:

'Violence is beating, humiliating, committing physical injuries, psychological harms, selling other's property', local police officer, 38 years old.

When asked about the legal framework, that regulates family issues, these three categories of key informants listed the Family Code, the Law on the Prevention of Family Violence and the Law on Parental Responsibility as the essential legislation regulating family issues. In accordance with these legal frameworks, these informants indicated that they are able to consult victims on what they can do next, such as submitting a claim to a police officer, getting medical attention and receiving legal consultation from local NGOs or the Committee of Women and Family Affairs.

A second group of respondents is formed from the remaining four categories of respondents, namely *jamoat* workers, local leaders, representative of the Committee of Religion and local imams. This group had a rather limited understanding of the concept of violence in the family, listing mainly its physical and psychological aspects:

'Violence is not knowing the rights of another person'....'Violence is not a good thing in the family, a person which wants to be strong, has to be patient, has to approach delicately without using the physical power', local imams.

'Violence goes mainly from the man to a woman'...'It is not respecting the rights of women in the family', local leaders.

When asked about the relevant legal framework, this group of respondents referred to the Family Code, which they have printed in their homes / offices. In the case of incidents of domestic violence, they indicated that the solution involved the cooperation of different stakeholders groups, mainly *jamoat* staff, local leaders and the local imam, who, working together, could carry out educational activities with both the victims and the aggressors.

4.2 Знание куда обращаться в случае гендерного насилия

When asked where a victim should refer to in the case of violence in the family, by far the most popular answer given was parents (60%). 33% of respondents gave the *mahalla* head as an appropriate actor to approach, with just 28% indicating the local police, see Figure 12.

Figure 12: Where should a victim refer to in the case of violence in the family, N=500, multiple choice

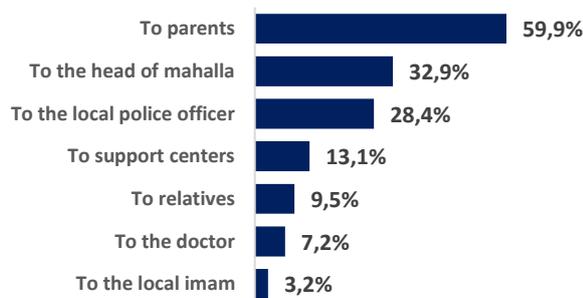
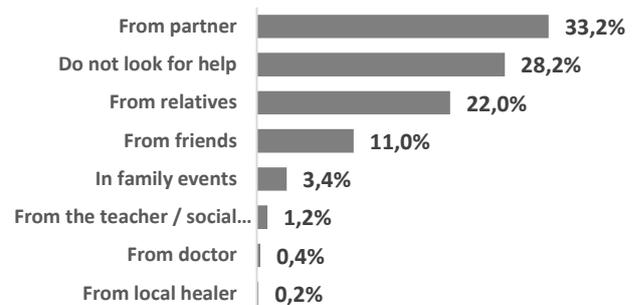


Figure 13: Where do they actually look for help in the case of trouble (not related to violence), N=500



Along with the hypothetical question, on where a victim should refer, respondents were asked where they usually refer in such cases. Respondents appear to have answered the question from Figure 12 based on accrued knowledge whereas Figure 13, provides information based on the respondents' own actual or hypothetical practice. Here the responses differed considerably. In this case, respondents were only allowed to select one person or authority which they would approach. One third said they would discuss the matter with their partner. Alarming, 28% said they would not seek help at all; this aspect will become more evident in the Practice chapter. Just over one fifth (22%) of respondents indicated that they would refer to relatives, including parents, for help. Again, the number of respondents indicating that they would approach professional help remained low.

Key informant groups

As all key informant groups have some authority on the topic of gender violence, all of respondents referred to themselves as appropriate persons to seek out. The replies of key informants describe victims has having three possible responses to incidents of domestic violence:

1) Not approaching anyone - This response is deeply rooted, and finds expressions in local sayings such as '*it is not good to take family secrets onto the street*'²⁵ akin to the English expression 'don't air your dirty laundry in public'. The saying popped up in many interviews. Another common riposte was that the victim, usually thought of as a woman, should bear with it for the good of the family:

'The violence in the families sometimes does not reach the level of violence, when a woman has to leave the family and go. Every family has their own ups and downs ('пасту баланду'). Partners fight, every family experience that. Women have to be more patient', local imam, 52 years old.

2) Approaching non-official institutions. In this instance, a victim may choose to speak with their parents, their respective *mahalla* head, or local imam in order to seek their support.

3) Approaching official institutions. This usually involves approaching a doctor, making a statement to the police and taking the case to the court. This is usually considered to be the last resort.

²⁵ «Сирри оиларо ба куча баровардан хуб нест»

6. ОТНОШЕНИЕ К ГЕНДЕРНОМУ НАСИЛИЮ

The first draft of the questionnaire prepared for the survey contained direct questions on attitudes towards violence in the family. However, during testing of the instrument, the sensitivity of the topic caused a large number of respondents to refuse to continue answering questions. As a result, the sensitive questions were later rephrased from a projective point of view, as in ‘What is your view, should a woman tolerate the violence in order to keep her family together?’

As such, this chapter on attitude towards GBV is based on answers to projective questions from both the general public and key informants.

General public

At first, respondents were asked general questions, such as whether a husband has the right to slap, push or beat his wife. The overwhelming majority of respondents rejected these statements outright (see Figure 14).

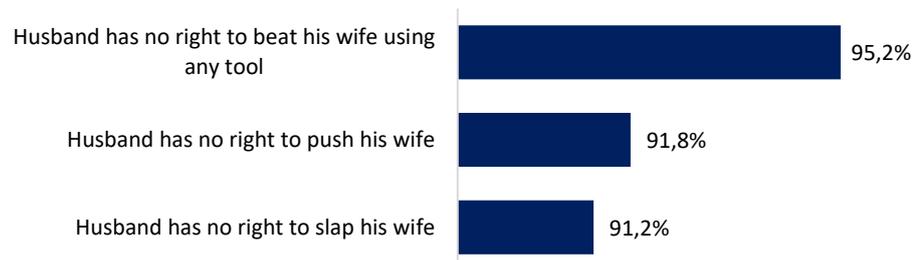
Here it is worth noting

that the small percentage of remaining respondents, who indicated that a husband has the right to slap, push or beat his wife, are mainly males aged from 18-30 and residents of rural areas.

However, when the question concerned the actions of respondent, for example how they would respond should they see a man beating his wife on the street, only two thirds indicated that they would intervene²⁶ (62%), see Figure 15. According to the distribution by the main indicators (see Table 2), the older generation, above 40 years of age, are more willing to help a woman in the street should they witness an act of violence compared to the younger generation (70% versus 51%). Men (73%) are less likely to intervene in such situations than women (53%) and people from urban areas (70%) are more likely than people from rural areas (59%) to help a women in distress on the street.

Another variable which affected responses was the presence of a migrant in a household. As mentioned previously, 34% of sampled respondents indicated that they have at least one family member working abroad. Of these respondents, 60% indicated that they would intervene should they come across such a situation, while the number was higher (66%) for families without migrants. One may posit heightened perception of risk or more rigid interpretations of traditional or religious practices as an explanatory factor here but, unfortunately, there is no data to explain this variance.

Figure 14: Reaction of respondents towards statements on violence, N=500



²⁶ Poach in in this case is defined as a respondent would engage into the mentioned situation him/herself. The exact phrasing of the question is given below:

Question 2.3: ‘Агар ман дар куча бинам, ки мард занеро зада истодааст ман рафта дахлат мекунам’

Question 2.4: ‘Агар ман донам, ки ҳамсоя зан ё духтарашро дар хонааш мезанад ман рафта дахлат мекунам’.

Figure 15: 'If I were to see a man beating his wife in the street, I would intervene', N=500

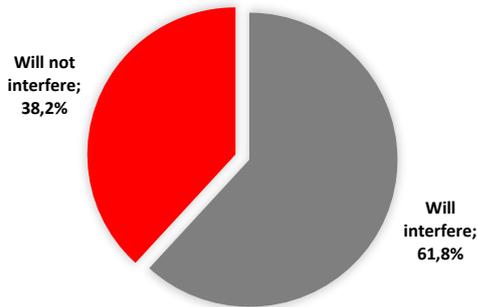


Table 2: 'If I were to see a man beating his wife in the street, I would intervene', N=500, by main indicators

Would intervene		%
Generation	Young generation	50,9%
	Elder generation	70,1%
Gender	Males	70,3%
	Females	53,4%
Type of location	Urban	70,0%
	Rural	58,9%
Migrant	Has a migrant member	59,9%
	No migrant member	65,5%

In terms of violence behind closed doors, respondents held a more passive position. In the case where they would know that a neighbour is beating his wife at home, the majority of respondents said that they would not interfere (52%), see Figure 16 and Table 3. According to the distribution as per the main variables, the older generation were almost twice as likely to interfere as youth (60% versus 32%). Again, both women (42%) and rural residents (43%) were less likely to interfere than men (53%) or urban residents (60%). The variable of having a migrant in the family did not considerably affect the response in this case, although it did follow the pattern identified above whereby a respondent with a migrant in their family was more inclined to non-intervention.

Figure 16: 'I would intervene if I knew that my neighbour beats his wife', N=500

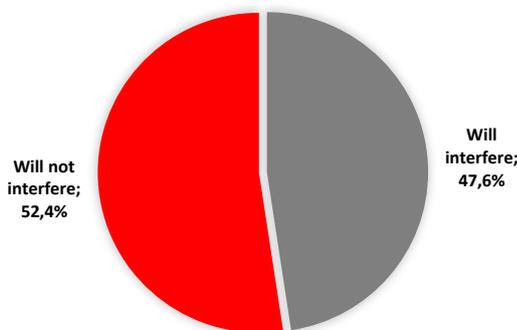


Table 3: 'I would intervene if I knew that my neighbour beats his wife', N=500, by main indicators

Would interfere		%
Generation	Young generation	32,4%
	Elder generation	59,2%
Gender	Males	53,4%
	Females	41,8%
Type of location	Urban	60,0%
	Rural	43,2%
Migrant	Has a migrant member	46,5%
	No migrant member	49,7%

In contradiction to the replies given by respondents, and presented above in Figure 14, where the majority indicated that a husband has no right to beat his woman, the majority of respondents (65%) believe that violence in the family should be tolerated in order to keep the family together (see Figure 17 and Table 4). In terms of the variables introduced previously, women hold more steadfastly to the idea that they must tolerate violence in the family in order to keep the family together (73%) than men do (59%). Looking at the distribution per generation, one may surmise that that mothers and fathers-in-law are more likely to tolerate the violence in order to keep the family of their sons in their homes. Interestingly, here the rural urban divide was less and there is little to no discrepancy between respondents with or without migrants in their families.

Figure 17: 'A woman must tolerate the violence in order to keep the family', N=500

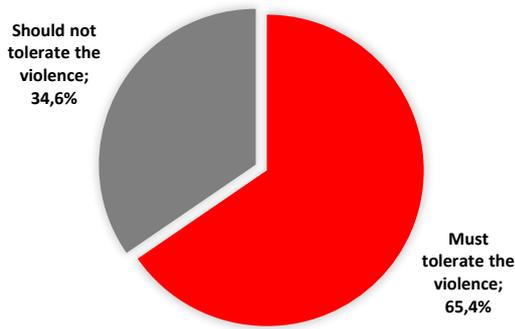


Table 4: 'A woman must tolerate the violence in order to keep the family', N=500, by main indicators

Woman must tolerate the violence		%
Generation	Young generation	63,0%
	Elder generation	67,3%
Gender	Males	57,8%
	Females	72,9%
Type of location	Urban	63,1%
	Rural	66,2%
Migrant	Has a migrant member	64,9%
	No migrant member	65,7%

The questionnaire also contained projective questions on the issue of sexual violence. Around 42% of the respondents interviewed agreed with the statement that an instance of rape was probably connected to a woman's reckless behaviour²⁷ (see Figure 18). Another statement related to sexual violence, which was agreed on by the majority of interviewed respondents (53%), concerned the issue of consent: it was phrased as follows 'If the woman does not resist, than it is not a sexual violence' (see Figure 19). The variables (generation, gender, type of location, having a migrant in the family) did not have significant an impact on the responses.

Figure 18: 'If there were an instance of sexual violence, than the woman must have behaved inappropriately', N=500

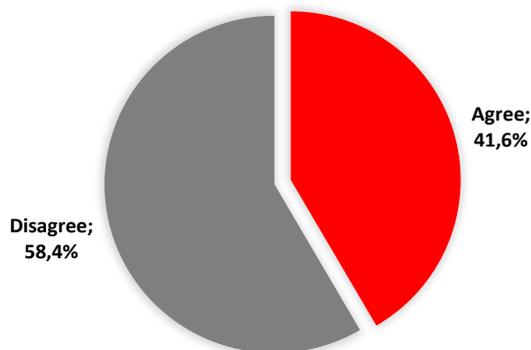
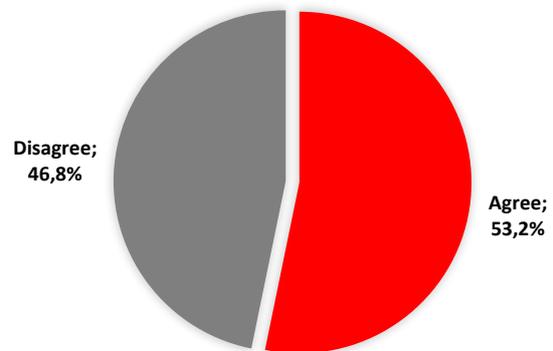


Figure 19: 'If a woman does not resist, then it is not sexual violence', N=500



Taking into consideration results from quantitative and qualitative data collection on attitudes towards sexual violence in the family, it appears that, in many instances, people do not, or cannot, accept the notion of sexual violence occurring within the family between a husband and his wife.

Key informant groups

The attitude towards violence in the family among the key informant group was somewhat conflicted. On the question of whether a woman has to tolerate violence in the home order to keep the family together, respondents answered with a clear no. Respondents, including local imams and police officers, stated that in these times a woman should *not* be patient in regard to violence. Rather, a woman should refer the incident to the local authorities and strive to change the situation:

²⁷ The exact phrasing of the question is given below: Question 2.5: 'Агар таҷовуз ба номус ба амал омада бошад, он гоҳ шояд зан беэҳтиётна рафтор кардааст, ки чунин ҳолат рух додааст '

'The rights of women and men are equal: women should not tolerate violence in the family', jamoat worker, 50 years old.

However, the same *jamoat* worker, immediately stressed the importance of the family and the need to be more patient:

'When young family members fight, a woman may then take her children and go to her parents' house. As we all have mobile phones these days, she can call her parents and tell them about the violence she has experienced. In this case, it is important for all family members to know that in order to have a strong family, people have to be patient when facing life's obstacles. Wise parents should always advise their children to be more patient', jamoat worker, 50 years old.

This kind of uncertainty was revealed in the majority of interviews. From one side the key informants are willing to stop violence in the home, but keeping the family together is more of a priority.

'The aggressor will feel sorry for beating his wife and the kid. For example, if the victim will be patient a bit, they will settle their problems already by the evening' local imam, 52 years old.

Again, key informants, such as the local imam, *jamoat* worker and local leader, believe in solving the problems within the family or, when really necessary, to invite the family members to some form of counselling or educational sessions. For example, when asked about the case of domestic violence, an imam from Khatlon stated that he quite often hears about fights in households and sees women with bruises on their faces. However, when asked about referring these incidents to doctors or local police officers, he replied adamantly that: *'Of course not! There were no problems to the extent that would justify calling for the police or running to doctor'*.

A common thread within key informant interviews was the strong link between the lack of jobs, and consequent alcohol or other substance addiction, which in turn leads to increased instances of violence within the family.

Another interesting trend was observed in Sughd, where domestic violence was felt to be reduced should a woman be earning income and or be leading the household:

'If the woman in the household starts to earn more money, there are no fights in the family. However, if the man has more income, he carries the pretence of a king ('podshoh')', local police officer, 38 years old.

Police officers from Sughd were the only ones to state that educational activities do not help to alleviate the situation faced by families. When processing the claims of victims, police officers are entitled to visit the household during the first three days. The usual practice includes a visit to the household along with a local imam and the head of the *mahalla*. However, the local police officers in Sughd stated that educational activities no longer work effectively.

'Our educational activities in the family either worsen the tension in the family, or leads to divorce', local police officer, 37 years old.

However, all other key informant groups (from all of the other districts) affirmed the effectiveness of educational activities, whereby elder respected representatives go to the families in question and advise the aggressors to change his or her behaviour.

7. ПРАКТИКА

This chapter will reveal the findings of the quantitative surveys and qualitative KIIs in regard to people's everyday life and practice, in terms of the division of labour and responsibilities at home and raising children. Also, the chapter will offer scenarios detailing how to approach both victims and aggressors. The scenarios were developed based on KII findings.

7.1 Distribution of the home chores among the family members

The researching instruments aimed to understand the responsibilities of young women (18-30 years old), young men (18-30 years old) and the responsibilities of family members above 40 years of age. The data presented below is based on both survey results and KIIs.

Responsibilities of young women

The vast majority of those interviewed (94%) are in full agreement that the most important role of a young woman in the family is preparing food and doing the household chores. This view is supported by disaggregated data from all of the aforementioned groups (gender, generation, urban / rural and having a migrant in the family).

The opinion of the key informant groups supported the view that taking care of the home chores was the domain of young women. With that said, the qualitative data collection also revealed some current trends in families. For example, young women can be divided into two broad categories:

1. Those who have higher education - These women can work in schools, hospitals, the *jamoat* or make business and sell goods in the bazaar (the case of selling goods in bazaars was mentioned only in Sughd);
2. Those who have no higher education and work at home - These women are mostly engaged in working in the field or cooking foods that can be sold on.

However, both categories are in charge of the household chores, such as cleaning, cooking, keeping the yard tidy, and looking after the children. Even if the woman is working, the household chores should come as the priority. Nonetheless, in-depth interviews revealed a trend towards a preference of marrying girls who are educated, with this becoming a bonus in the 'marriage market':

'If previously, back in my time, men did not allow women to get an education... (and) it was harder for an educated girl to get married. However, now it's vice versa, families are looking for an educated girl, (and will) let them work, because an educated girl can find an income and support the maintenance of the household', jamoat representative, 61 years old.

The heads of *mahalla*, representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and deputy district chairpersons stated how in-laws now encourage, or teach, a daughter or a daughter-in-law some skills, which could later be a source of income:

'First of all, everyone has to have a profession, skills. The daughter will get married, if she has skills she will not depend a lot (on others), will become a great mother!'
Representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 27 years old.

Key informants from all districts and backgrounds stated their respect and tolerance towards working women. Due to the hardships men face in finding work, husbands and in-laws encourage young women to try and, at least, earn some small income. The obstacles along the path of working women that were highlighted include the lack of working opportunities and the priority that must be placed on their role as a mother.

'Of course they let women work. However, in cases where a woman has two-three kids, (and) they get sick more often, she has to sit at home and take care of them. When she is above thirty years old, then she has more opportunities to work', imam, 44 years old.

Responsibilities of the young men

84% of respondents identified earning money as the main responsibility for a young male. At the same time, around 44% of respondents highlighted the problem of finding work close to their place of residence (as mentioned earlier, 34% of the 500 interviewed respondents, have at least one family member in labour migration).

The topic of male responsibilities at home were well described in the KIIs. The key informants discussed at length the common practices among the households of their districts. At first, the family pillars consist of a woman keeping the house and a man as a breadwinner.

'Males usually go out in the early morning and come back late at night, with the purpose of earning money and providing for their family', Representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 34 years old.

At the same time, all KIIs raised concern about the lack of jobs for the youth. However, a Representative of the Committee of Religion argued that: *'those who really need money will find a job anyways, those who do not want to be engaged in low paid work will be hanging around'*. Still, without a settled stable job and regular income, men tend to leave the house early in the morning and come back only late at night:

'If there is a job they work, if there is no job, they prefer to walk in the streets', Representative of the Committee of Religion, 53 years old.

Local imams and *jamoat* workers raised the issue of rising rates of alcoholism and the increasing tendency to smoke among today's youth in the districts. Key informants tend to strongly tie violence in the home to a lack of jobs and a willingness to drink alcohol and the resulting effects:

'Males that are bored by a lack of work get involved in drinking alcohol and beating family members without reason', Representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 54 years old.

Responsibilities of family members above 40 years of age

In the case where the head of the household is absent, the parents of the husband are entitled to take care of the household, and to look after his wife and their children as agreed upon by a clear majority of the interviewed respondents (94%).

Therefore, the older generation, as per the information gathered in in-depth interviews, take an active and leading role in managing the household, and in taking care of the children:

'Women usually organise events, prepare presents if they go somewhere as guests and try to support the household', local leader, 50 years old.

'My children mainly ask me to help their children to do their homework. Their parents get tired from work and household chores and, hence, cannot devote enough time to (their children's) homework', jamoat worker, 61 years old.

7.2 Distribution of the responsibilities in raising children

The survey and key informant interviews aimed to reveal the scope of parents' engagement in raising children (both fathers and mothers). The data for mothers' and fathers' respective responsibility and level of engagement in raising children is provided separately.

Responsibilities of young women

Almost every single respondent alluded to the necessity of a mother's engagement in the everyday life of her child. Taking care of children is seen as the priority, but something that also allows the

Figure 20: Women's responsibilities in raising children, N=500



mother to stay at home where she can manage to do all home chores. At the same time, the vast majority of respondents (95%) stated that women have to be constantly with a child when they are sick. The remaining 5% said that both parents should be with the children when they are sick.

The replies of key informants varied: several deputy district chairpersons, *jamoat* workers and local police officers mentioned the need for the equal engagement of both parents in the lives of their children. However, every respondent stated the overriding importance of the mother's thorough engagement in a child's upbringing. It was supported by arguments such as breastfeeding, the need to stay at home while the fathers are earning money either within the country or abroad:

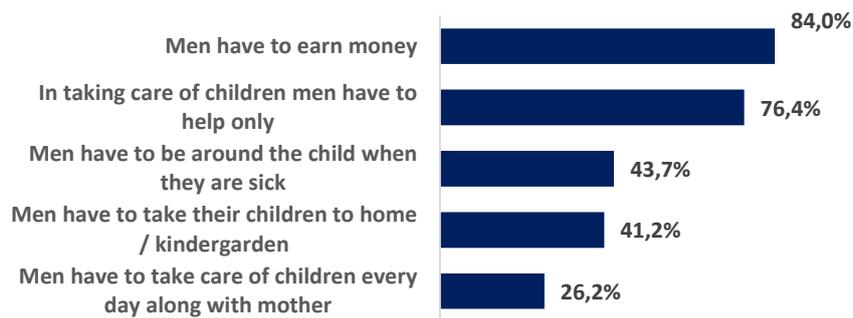
'We are aware of the laws of Tajikistan on the upbringing of children. However, women are still more engaged in the raising of children. Anyways, women are mainly at home, (so) they look after the children' jamoat worker, 50 years old.

'Mainly women are engaged in a child's upbringing, because, whether you like it or not, the child is closely connected to the mother, until up to three years old, due to breastfeeding. Also, at this time grandparents offer help in a child's upbringing', Representative of the Committee of Religion, 36 years old.

At the same time, from Figure 20 above, it can be concluded, that women are more closely engaged in the children's upbringing within the home. Responsibilities outside of the home, such as taking the child to school or to hospital, are shared between the father of the child or another male member of the family.

Responsibilities of the young men

Figure 21: Men's responsibilities in raising children, N=500



In contrast to a woman's home based responsibilities, men are mainly engaged in a child's upbringing when it concerns external issues, such as earning money to provide for the family (84%), or to take their child to kindergarten (41%).

Only one quarter (26%) of respondents stated that men have to be engaged in children's lives along with the mother on a daily basis. Three-thirds (76%) indicated that the role of a father in a children's upbringing was only in assisting the mother, and less than half said that a father needed to be constantly around the children when they are sick (see Figure 21).

The findings from key informant interviews were totally in agreement on this point. Moreover, several key informants characterised the role of the father as the harsh disciplinarian, the one whom a child should be scared of:

'If the child behaves badly, mothers should be able to say, that when father comes home and finds out about your [child's] behaviour, he will be very mad at you', local leader, 63 years old.

In support to this point of view, the local imam stated:

'When a father speaks with a child in a childish language (or plays with them), the value of and respect for the father disappears', local imam, 46 years old.

Other key informants stated that due to the absence of fathers in children's everyday lives, they are usually very kind to them, expressing their love and attention whenever possible. When the father is in Tajikistan, this happens in the evenings or at weekends, whereas with migrant fathers children have to wait several months for their fathers' attention.

7.3 Practice of referring for help in case of GBV

This section is based on the data collected from key informant interviews, drawing on actual examples, given during the interviews, and demonstrates hypothetical scenarios in which a woman might refer for help. In general, the most common cooperation is observed with informal local authorities. In this case, it is obvious that if both parties (aggressor and the victim) approach relatives, doctors, medical workers or local NGOs, all parties will actively involve local informal authorities like the head of the *mahalla* or other local leaders. The value of educational works in resolving incidents of domestic violence is highly appreciated by most respondents.

Before proceeding to the scenarios, it is important to keep in mind the information from the chapter on attitudes, where one could see that, in the beginning, households tend to tolerate violence in order to keep the family together. Based on the interviews, third parties are referred to / invited only in cases where the violence becomes a regular practice.

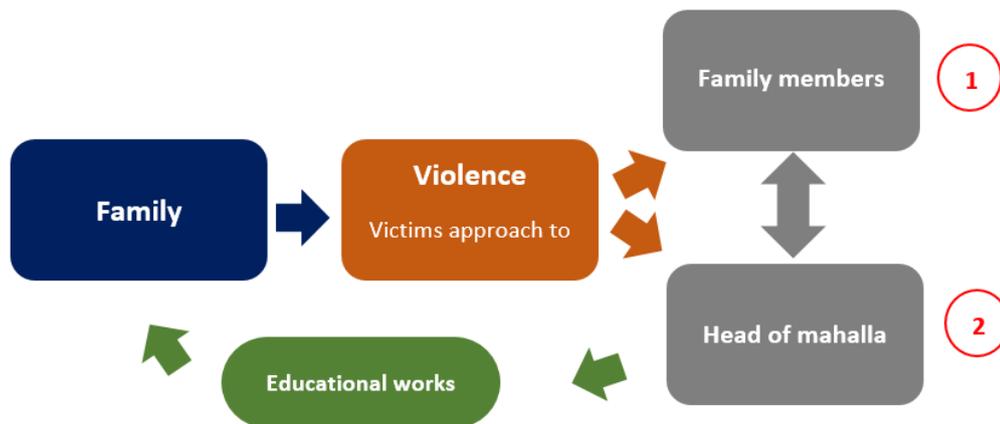
SCENARIO #1 and #2: Most common - Approach to family members or the *mahalla* head.

When violence turns into a repeat practice, young women tend to refer for help to their family members. They take their children and temporarily move to their parent's house. In many cases parents are also interested in keeping the family of their daughter together, because their own household is already overcrowded by their son(s) and daughter(s)-in-law and their children.

Another trend, which was observed in Khatlon, is that violence is being practiced not only among the younger generation, but has become more common among the older generation as well. In these cases, the victim cannot approach her parents anymore, so she starts with Scenario 2 (see below).

'When a 50 year old woman approached us, she told us that her husband regularly beats her in front of her children and daughters-in-law. She has no parents, so she referred to the jamoat and the Committee of Women and Family Affairs. All advised her to proceed with a claim to a local police officer, but she did not want to. She could not find a place to move to and, after systematic beating, committed suicide by drinking vinegar', representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 32 years old.

Figure 22: Scenarios #1 and #2. Most common cases.



The head of a *mahalla* is referred to on a regular basis, as the person who is respected in the local area, and whom the aggressor might listen to and, as a result, change their behaviour. The *mahalla* head is usually approached either by the victim or by the parents of the victim. Both scenarios normally end up with some form of educational activities being conducted. These activities tend to involve a small delegation (i.e. the head of the *mahalla*, and parents accompanied by the local imam, etc.) visiting the household in question, imparting advice, and trying explain why violence is not an acceptable practice in the family.

It is worth mentioning here, that these scenarios work when the parties to the conflict are husband and wife, or in-laws and wife.

SCENARIO #3: Less common - Approach to the Committee of women and or NGOs

As per the responses of key informants, when a woman has had enough of the violence, and the help of the *mahalla* head or their parents has no impact, a women will only then refer to the local representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs or to NGOs, which she knows of.

Figure 23: Scenario #3. Less common cases.



All interviewed representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs expressed a thorough knowledge of the existing legislation, and mechanisms for conflict resolution or providing further assistance to victims. However, they indicated that women, who approach them, are in doubt about whether to try and keep the family together or to lodge a complaint with the local

police. Representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and NGOs, which work with vulnerable women, offer legal consultation to the victims, direct them to doctors, and assist women in writing formal complaints with the local police. However, the next step can be particularly problematic. For example, if the victim as no family, or their family is unwilling to

'The woman referred to us when her whole body was covered with bruises. We consulted her, helped her to write a complaint to the police, but she did not have anywhere to go. In the past there were evening courses, which developed the skills of women through which they could earn money, now we cannot direct her anywhere. For a month she was living in a park, and refused to go to her husband's home. Recently we took her to the Deputy Chairman of the district and explained the problem. For a month now she has been living in the deputy's house. But how long can she stay there? Where should the others go?' representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 52 years old.

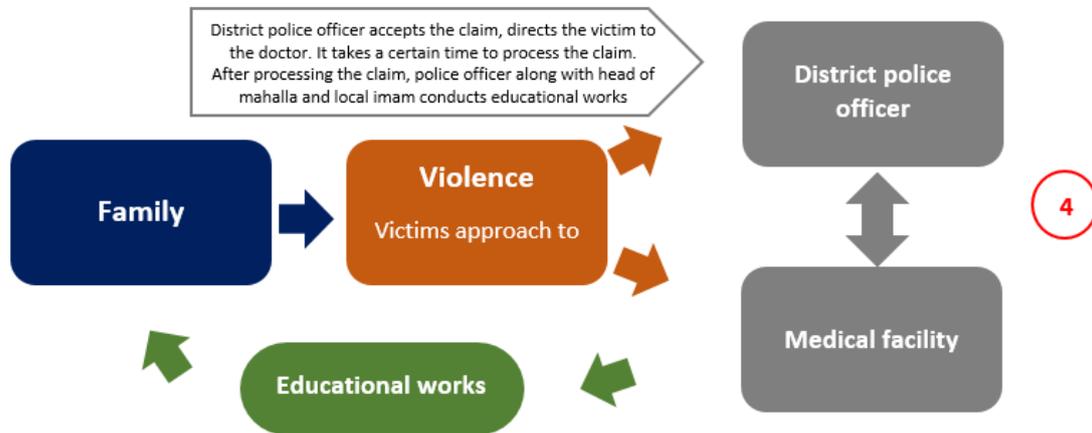
welcome them back, they will have few options as there are few temporary shelters outside of the major cities if she doesn't want to go back to her husband.

SCENARIO #4: Most rare - Approach to the local police

Having visited a doctor, and bearing the clear signs of being the victim of domestic violence, the doctor is obliged to direct the patient to the local police. As mentioned before, approaching the local police is considered to be a last resort. According to police officers, after receiving a claim, they have to visit the household in question within three days and process the case within fifteen days.

Police officers have a list of households in which violence is a constant problem and which they visit from time to time in order to keep an eye on the situation. After processing the case and issuing an administrative fine, they conduct educational activities. The process includes visiting the household with the head of the *mahalla* and the local imam and talking with family members.

Figure 24: Scenario #4. Most rare cases



Data collection in Khatlon revealed one NGO working with the local police, where the focal point is a female police officer. In this case, female victims find it easier and much more comfortable to share information and their stories with the police. During her interview, the police officer stated, that their staff needs a local psychologist who would be able to work with vulnerable women. As it is, one visit of a victim can last hours due to the series of deep and emotional stories. According to the police officer, having just one female police officer creates a line of victims who are willing to speak about the problems they face but who are unable to get the help they need in a timely manner.

'Women, who refer to the police, sometimes have even more problems afterwards in their families. A husband can question their wife on whether she showed her body with bruises to the male police officer' jamoat worker, 56 years old.

Following one interview with a police officer, an interviewer had a chance to speak with a victim of domestic violence who was in the police station at the time. The woman reiterated what one of the police officers in Sughd had noted, as discussed above, that administrative punishment and educational activities do not help to improve the situation. The interviewer briefly talked with the victim about her situation:

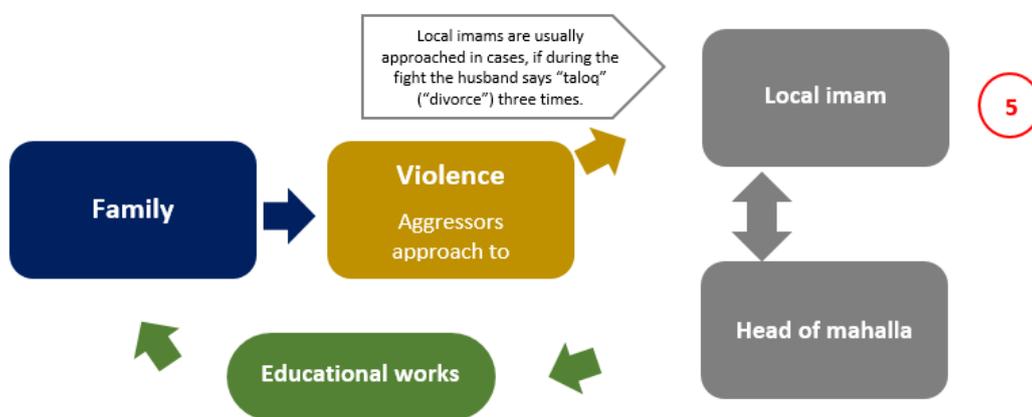
'My husband does not earn money, I do. Still he continuously beats me for working. This is not the first time that I approached the police. However, apart from education activities, the police officer does nothing. My husband listens to the officer's advice and follows them for a few weeks but then continues to beat me and my children. It would be so much better if they could imprison him for 10-15 days every time he beats my family. Maybe that way he would understand. Or (the police) could organise some social work (for the husband to do) that would serve as a kind of punishment', victim of GBV in a police station in Sughd.

SCENARIO #5: Approach of mothers and husbands to the local imam

According to the imams interviewed, they participate in educational activities quite often, usually on the invitation of the head of the *mahalla* or local police officers. However, direct requests from the family itself are usually done by concerned mothers who see how their sons beat their wives and children. According to representatives of Committee of Women and Family Affairs, a mother cannot report her son to official institutions, hence they prefer to refer him to the imam in the hopes that their son will listen to the imam's words.

Another reason given for bringing such incidents to the local imam is the desire to keep the family together in the case where the man has said 'Taloq' three times during a fight. In such cases, the man may approach the imam himself and admit that he was too passionate at the time of the fight and now regrets having said the words. The local imam is usually consulted in these cases.

Figure 25: Scenario #5. Approach of mothers and husbands to imam



7.4 Practice of referring for help in case of sexual violence

As mentioned in the chapter on attitudes, the topic of sexual violence was hardly mentioned by survey respondents or key informants. The general conclusion is that the notion, indeed plausibility, of sexual violence between a husband and wife is not truly understood. The key informant interviews with representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs in Khatlon revealed that cases of sexual violence only become known during the divorce process or after the divorce.

'When a judge tries to convince a woman not to divorce on account of (minor) acts of violence such as beatings, the woman, in such a moment, may declare loudly that her husband forces her to engage in untraditional sex, which she does not find favourable. Such arguments usually help a woman to get a divorce', representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs, 45 years old.

'There was a case, when a woman from a very educated family said in the court how her husband had sex with her. Right after the wedding, her husband, who was educated and worked as a teacher, tied her with wire and was very rude. The woman asked later his mother and sister whether it is normal, to which she was said that he is young and it will get better latter. The woman lived with him for 15 years and after couldn't bare it anymore. She applied for a divorce and used this argument in the court. The man committed suicide later; he couldn't live knowing that it got public' representative of committee of women, 32 years old.

8. ВЫВОДЫ

The key findings of the research are outlined in the following chapter.

Knowledge about the Law on Family Violence

The majority of survey respondents recognised physical and psychological violence in the form of beatings (75%) and humiliation (73%) as constituent forms of the definition of violence in the home. However, less than one third of respondents referred to economic violence (leaving someone without food [30%] or shelter [26%]) and sexual violence (30%). At the same time, respondents were asked where a victim should refer to in the case of violence in the family, the majority selected parents (60%), followed by the head of the *mahalla* (33%) and then local police (28%).

Among the key informants, those working at institutions, such as deputy district chairpersons, representative of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and police officers, could identify the different types of violence mentioned in the law. However, other key informants, such as local leaders, imams, *jamoat* workers, and representatives of the Committee of Religion, had rather a general understanding of violence in the family, referring to physical and psychological forms of violence only. None of the respondents referred to sexual violence as a form of violence in the home.

Attitude towards GBV

The survey results demonstrate a contradiction whereby respondents state that a husband has no rights to slap, push or beat his wife yet believe that a woman must tolerate violence in the family in order to keep the family together. This is closely related to the socio-cultural values, where the family problems are kept within the family and daughters are advised to be a patient and good wife.

One concern raised is that in many instances, people do not, or cannot, accept the notion of sexual violence occurring within the family between a husband and his wife. When asked directly about sexual violence in the family, around 42% of interviewed respondents agreed with the statement that rape within the family was probably a result of a woman's reckless behaviour. Key informants, mainly representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs in Khatlon revealed that cases of sexual violence usually become known only during or after divorce proceedings.

Practice

The results of the research demonstrate a strong tendency to solve problems within the family, which leads to tolerance of violence to prevent families being divided. Reporting family violence happens only when the violence becomes a regular practice. In general, the victims usually involve relatives, who encourage their daughters to keep the family together for a variety of reasons, including their due economic conditions and social pressure. Here, cooperation is evident among the family and informal local authorities (the head of *mahalla*) and religious leaders (local imam). Formal authorities are usually contacted once the victims refer to doctors, or representatives of the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and the local police.

When referring to relatives and local authority is not helpful, women approach the Committee of Women and Family Affairs and NGOs, who provide legal consultation and assist in writing formal complaints to the police. However, there are few options for women if they have no family, or their family is unwilling to welcome them back, due to the lack of shelters and their funding levels.

Key informants spoke of the problems in referring to the local police, calling it a last resort as it mainly leads to divorce. The lack of female police officers and effective punishment for repeat offenders further exacerbates the common tendency to stay away from the police.

The mothers of abusers, who see how their sons beat their wives and children, tend to directly contact local imams. Another reason given for speaking with local imams is the desire to keep the family together in cases where the man has said '*Taloq*' three times during a fight.

9. РЕКОММЕНДАЦИИ

In light of data gathered as part of this study, and drawing on our experience conducting similar studies on GBV as well as project with strong monitoring and evaluation components, Z-Analytics would like to forward the following recommendations:

1. Work with the general public – here it is important to take into account the specificity and demands of each group, for example younger men, *kelins*, parents-in-law, and children, as each requires a unique approach. In general, the following mediums can be recommended:

- Getting to hard-to-reach groups such as *kelins* through TV or other media campaigns:
 - TV campaigns – 78% of rural residents in Khatlon watch TV every day, and 9% watch 3-4 times a week²⁸; the current trend in rural areas now is to watch Turkish and Iranian TV Shows or the concerts of local celebrities, where households purchase CDs with the records and watch it at home. This trend can be used as an effective tool for delivering the information to the most hard-to-reach groups;
 - Examine the media component of the ‘Access to justice’ program run by Helvetas Tajikistan (www.muhabbatin.tj) => easy language, attractive, understandable.

- Work with the public on overcoming social pressures and expectations:
 - To find activists who have respect locally and would be effective in disseminating relevant project information;
 - To work separately with different groups (men, mothers- and daughters-in-law) to have the maximum impact;
 - To reach a critical mass that can generate neighbourhood engagement and discussion
 - To stress more attention to the gender-based violence at schools while teaching children about their rights and obligations. Disseminating the information among children would also lead to further information transfer within families.

²⁸ Z-Analytics, Market Brief, 2017.

2. Work with key parties that work on violence:
 - ☒ To conduct capacity building events with the a particular emphasis on economic violence, sexual violence and the importance of referring for help in cases of violence;
 - ☒ To conduct additional trainings for the current police officers and employ more female police officers nationwide, particularly in rural areas;
 - ☒ To increase the staff of local police offices in problematic areas by allocating a psychologist to their staff;
 - ☒ To increase the staff of the local Committee of Women and Family Affairs by allocating a psychologist to their staff.

3. To improve the communication / cooperation among the key parties that work on violence:
 - ☒ To organise round tables where key parties can meet, introduce each other's activities and build their networks;
 - ☒ To organise round tables with key parties and governmental officials to create alternative punishment approaches for repeat offenders;
 - ☒ To organise capacity building seminars / workshops where parties will learn to cooperate in the case of violence;
 - ☒ To develop and improve the system of offering temporary shelter for women in desperate need.

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ

1. Research tools (guides on FGD and KIIs).