

Engaging Men for the Elimination of Gender Based Violence in Nicaragua

Background

Trócaire has had specific programmes to prevent and respond to gender based violence in Nicaragua since 2006. This work is contributing to an important need in the country, as is evidenced by the high levels of violence experienced by women in Nicaragua. The first major study on GBV in Nicaragua¹ in 1996 found that 60% of women interviewed reported that they had suffered physical, psychological or sexual violence at some point in their life. Three-quarters of these women (45% of all of the women surveyed) had been subjected to conjugal violence at the hands of their husbands or common law partners, making this the most common type of violence reported by women. Latest Nicaraguan government statistics released in 2007² indicate that 47.8% of women who have been married or in a common-law relationship have been subject to verbal or psychological violence at one point in their life, 27% to physical violence and 13% to sexual violence. In recent years, femicide has become a major concern for the Women's Movement in Nicaragua and figures indicate that 85³ women were assassinated by their partners or former partners in 2012 and 73⁴ in 2013.

Trócaire's work on "Men Against Violence" in Nicaragua

Trócaire was one of the first international development agencies to support the work of the Association of Men against Violence (AHCV). This stemmed from a need to establish a space for men to reflect and analyse their "machismo" and advocate for women's right to live free from violence. Seen as an urgent contribution to the struggle for women's empowerment, gender work with and among men entailed an approach to gender that sought changes not only in and for women but also in men and in the power relations between men and women, and as such a commitment to working directly with men.

In 2010, in cooperation with 11 partner organisations in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Trócaire launched an innovative 5 year GBV programme. The programme includes a specific component on "engaging boys and men", whose purpose is to enable them to reflect critically on their own behaviour, values and attitudes and develop non patriarchal ways of being men and of relating to women and other men. The men that are engaged by Trócaire's GBV programme are from the same communities where counterpart organisations promote women's empowerment and access to justice. Some of the men are related to female survivors



"I'm a man, unafraid, more participative, more active and sensitive, respectful towards young women. I know about women's rights and now I know we are the same." (Adolescent boy)

of GBV who are already receiving support from Trócaire’s programme. Concrete changes in these men can contribute to significant improvements in women’s lives, in their own lives and gender relations.

The programme adopts the ecological model in order to promote changes in both women and men, in local communities, and in structures at local and national levels. Figure 1 shows how the ecological model is used to explain and tackle men’s violence against women.

The ecological model highlights GBV as a multi-causal problem that is influenced by gender, social, economic, psychological, legal, cultural and biological factors. It takes into account risk factors, such as alcohol and drug abuse, poverty, and witnessing or experiencing violence in childhood, that contribute to the incidence and severity of violence against women.

In 2013, Trócaire’s GBV programme in Nicaragua used a process of “Systematisation” to reflect and learn from their experiences of engaging men. Box 1 provides a brief synopsis of what this process entailed.

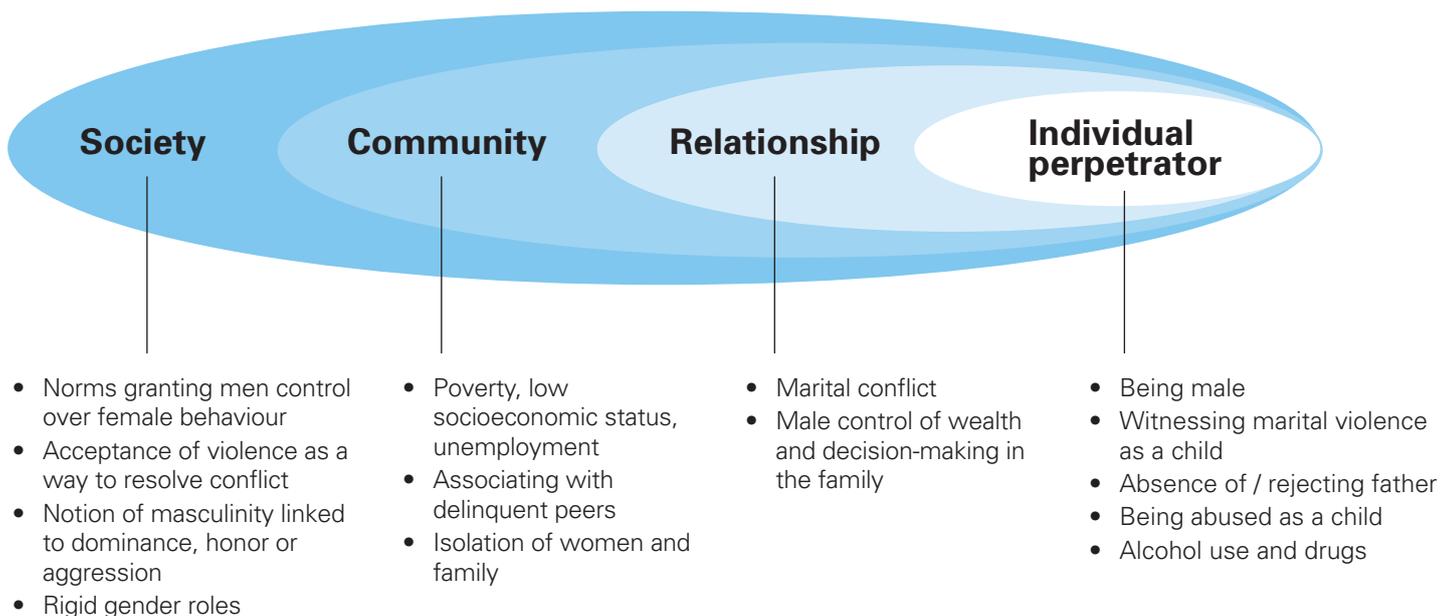
Box 1: Systematisation Process

Systematisation is a process of reflection, analysis and learning from practice. Its purpose is to improve, enrich and transform practice. Trócaire in Nicaragua used this method to analyse the strategies and methodologies developed for engaging men, the changes they were experiencing and the importance of these for women’s empowerment and the elimination of GBV.

The systematisation process in Nicaragua included the following:

- One day workshop with staff of partner organisations to learn about systematisation, decide on the core analysis issues and plan the process.
- Two day workshop with 22 participants (2 staff members from the technical teams of each partner organisation) to critically analyse the experiences of working with men in the programme.
- 20 Focus groups (10 with adult men, 8 with adult women and 2 with adolescents) who had been trained by the programme to allow them to reflect on the processes of change they are experiencing and analyse the methodology implemented.
- Two day workshop with 22 partner organisations and 3 Trócaire staff to analyse the findings critically and to articulate the achievements, learning and challenges.
- Development of final analysis report shared with partners to inform programming.

Figure 1: Ecological model of factors associated with violence against women



Source: L. Heise, M. Ellsberg y M.Gotemoeller, highlighted in PAHO (1999), ‘Violence against Women: the Health Sector Responds’ (online), <http://www.paho.org/English/AD/GE.VAWChapter1.htm>

Strategy and approaches

Within Trócaire's GBV programme in Nicaragua, the strategy that has been developed to engage men for the elimination of GBV in Nicaragua hinges on three core approaches:

Community based popular education: This approach uses participatory methodologies that bring men together, enabling them to reflect critically on their life experiences, placing a particular emphasis on how they have been socialised as boys (attitudes, values, behaviour). The methodology used draws on the work of Paulo Freire and on processes of feminist popular education carried out in Nicaragua and other parts of Latin America. One of the benefits of this approach is that it creates safe spaces for men to reflect, share, exchange and question patriarchal ways of being men, which helps to articulate proposals to changes in attitudes and behaviour that contribute to gender equality. Relating this to the ecological model - the changes realised can be of an individual/personal nature (relating to attitudes, values, behaviour), connected to relationships (especially how power is used in an intimate partner relationship), and also in relation to the community and society as a whole (for example men's mobilisation and advocacy for gender justice).

"Psychosocial" approach: This approach to working on GBV entails the conscious inclusion of trained psychologists as facilitators of the community based popular education processes mentioned above. The facilitators/psychologists, as part of multidisciplinary teams, also count on the support of other professionals in the work they do with men, such as social workers and lawyers. Awareness raising and training is carried out directly in the communities, at the individual level, with women at high risk of GBV and men close to them, in order to influence their beliefs, customs, ideologies and attitudes in relation to GBV. Within the training processes, the psychologists help men to process their emotions and feelings in a constructive and healthy way by avoiding self blame and promoting ethical and moral responsibility. The psychologists generally facilitate workshops/ sessions with groups of men, but in certain circumstances one to one sessions are also provided. The inclusion of the psychosocial approach enables facilitators to draw on techniques from psychology that when integrated into the popular education processes equips participants with additional tools to strengthen their resolve to change and ability to do so.

Box 2: Principles of popular education for engaging boys and men

Popular education methodology as applied to working with boys and men rests on 5 fundamental guiding principles:

1. It takes men's own reality and experiences as a starting point - their beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviour, relations, etc. associated with their masculinity.
2. It promotes safe spaces for collective processes of critical, analytical reflection on social and cultural norms around gender and masculinity.
3. It allows critical questioning of attitudes, values and behaviour that leads to their transformation.
4. It ensures that individual and collective proposals for change in patriarchal behaviour are articulated.
5. It enables those changes to be put into practice in everyday life and in partner, family and community relations.

Training and Information for community leaders and state institutions:

This approach largely focuses on working with leaders and service providers in the community, for example with teachers, police, religious leaders and hospital staff. It includes the provision of training to increase awareness on the causes and consequences of GBV, to facilitate information on national and international legislation on GBV and on women's rights more generally. The training and information that community leaders receive on issues like GBV can be an eye opener and is often a catalyst for individual change and collective action to challenge and promote changes in social and gender norms and legislation.



Working with Men and Boys through Art. Trócaire partner FUNARTE, City of Estelí

A mixed methodology approach

Within the conceptual framework of community based popular education that combines a psychosocial approach, the training processes that are carried out directly with men and in the community at large use a range of methods and techniques. A sample of these methods are outlined in Box 3.

Men meet in “reflection groups” of between 15-25 participants either once a week or once a fortnight. Facilitators also carry out regular home visits which are held to keep men engaged in the programme. The programme did not develop a standardised training proposal/manual for addressing the issues of gender and violence with the men. In practice, each of the partner organisations’ in the GBV programme designed its own process for engaging men based on their needs, the organisations specific interests and degrees of specialisation as well as local conditions. Generally, the preferred method adopted was the “workshop” – organised into short to medium term processes that dealt with issues such as the socialisation of masculinity, power, violence, alcohol and drug abuse and responsible fatherhood.

Using a mixed methodology approach in the training workshops with men helps to keep them engaged in a safe environment and allows for critical analysis and debate on macho culture and the importance of gender equality. Educational techniques such as the presentation and discussion of movies and videos, the painting of murals, and the analysis of stories were particularly successful in the workshops with groups of men.

Box 3: Methods and techniques used in engaging men for eliminating GBV

Methods	Techniques
<p>That involve the direct participation of men:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training workshops • Mural workshops • Reflection sessions • Exchanges of experience (between young and adult men) • Sports (e.g. football) <p>That involve the community at large:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community exchanges • Municipal level debates • Video forums • Health fairs • Visits to health centres, police stations (talks, training sessions) • Visits to local neighbourhoods (house-to-house visits, talks, training sessions) 	<p>Used in educational activities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group work • Plenary sessions • Analysis of videos • Analysis of pop songs • Case studies • Storytelling and analysis • Role plays • Hug therapy • Practicing domestic work <p>Used at a community level with the participation of men:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designing murals in public places • Participation in marches

The role of the facilitators

In the training processes with men, there are two facilitators, one of whom is usually a male trained psychologist. His role is to guide individual and collective reflection and analysis, ensure confidentiality, inspire change, promote democratic and respectful relationships and help to keep men engaged in the programme. Box 4 highlights several qualities of a good facilitator that were identified during the process of systematisation.

Given that evenings and weekends are the times that many men are free to come together as a group and discuss issues, facilitators tend to work long hours without extra pay, an indication of their commitment to the programme. Facilitators tend not to refer to themselves as “psychologists” in the communities, as negative connotations around this term in Nicaragua are prevalent. Facilitators' roles are based on maintaining mutual respect and a willingness to share their own experiences with men in the community. It is important for the facilitators to understand community tensions and political rivalries at a local level and promote respect for the different ideological and religious stances that often surface in the groups

Investing in staff

Ongoing staff training and development has been a key issue of the GBV programme given that psychologists,



Fundación Fútbol por la Vida, San José Costa Rica Workshop on fatherhood, 2013

lawyers and social workers do not necessarily receive in-depth gender training as part of their professional formation. As part of a society where macho culture continues to be pervasive, ensuring that time and resources are dedicated to internal processes of gender analysis and reflection with staff is critical. It is imperative that staff truly believe in gender equality and that they have the knowledge and methodological skills necessary to train at a community level. The programme found that having reflection groups for facilitators was very important as it allowed them the opportunity to work through their own issues which they were experiencing.

Box 4: Role and qualities of a good facilitator

Amongst the skills and abilities that good facilitators should have in order to promote processes of training with men on issues of gender are:

- Technical competence combined with patience, sensitivity and human kindness
- Sharing of own personal experiences related to change
- Promotion of horizontal, democratic and respectful relationships between facilitators and participants as well as amongst participants
- Promotion of active participation and the ability to listen to others
- Promotion of collaboration and collegiality
- Nurturing of power relationships that are not based on the control, domination and exploitation of others
- Enable freedom of expression of ideas and opinions
- Encourage sharing of feelings and emotions and ability to deal with them constructively and respectfully
- Flexibility in relation to the content and methodology taking into account the needs of the group and to address unexpected situations
- Ability to create a positive, safe learning environment where trust and confidentiality are valued and honoured
- Sensitivity to sexist, racist and homophobic comments and the will to challenge them firmly but decisively
- Practice what they preach in their own relationships, families, work places and communities

Lessons Learned

Positive Changes

The systematisation process has revealed important positive changes in men and in their relations with their partner and families, as a result of engaging them in Trócaire's GBV programme. These include:

- **Increased knowledge of gender issues and GBV.**

On understanding that machismo is not genetic but is rather a social construction, many men come to realise that being chauvinist is a fact of nurture not of nature.

"The change I've experienced is due to the new ideas and thoughts I came across in the workshops. The opportunity to learn more about gender and masculinities creates new expectations and allows us to live with greater dignity and to treat other people, especially women with respect. I know now that our biological "sex" makes men and women different but that we are all equal."

- **Changes in men's attitudes and behaviours.** Many of the men have learnt how to deal with their anger and have a more "tranquil" approach to life, which is beneficial for them, their wives/partners and families.

"As a result of the reflections and new knowledge gained I think I've straightened myself out and I'm trying to be a better man – quite frankly, I'm a lot happier now than before."

- **More respect.** Some men are less controlling of their partner and wives, attempting to respect their right to freedom and independence to visit family members and friends and to have their own social life.

"Previously I wasn't violent or kicked her or anything like that, but I trampled her rights. I didn't like her to leave the house and if she did it was with my permission or together. And now I've changed. Today it is different. I know that she has the right to go out, to have her own free time. She can go wherever she wants, as long as there's respect and communication and she lets me know where she's going."

- **Reductions by some men in their alcohol consumption.**

Some men have been able to recognise that their drinking habits are intimately related to macho culture and that alcohol abuse has led to serious problems in the family and at work. As such they are making efforts to reduce their alcohol consumption.

"When I was a heavy drinker my life was a disaster. I was sacked from 2 jobs and as a result of my drinking I lost my way. The booze changed how I related to my children, my wife and my work. But I've given up now, thank God. The reflections in the workshops really helped me change my ways. I'm happier with my family and my loved ones now and I try to get on well with my mates. My life has changed and I can see the sun more clearly now – all the dark clouds have disappeared..."



"I used to be a real macho man and hated doing household chores. I scolded my sister a lot but now I don't fight with her anymore. And I no longer talk back to my mum. I'm different now; I play my part responsibly at home. I listen to my sister and keep myself under control. Eight months ago I made a promise not to fight with anyone at home and I've kept that promise!" (Adolescent boy)

- **Increase in joint decision-making in the household.**

Many women are now consulted on key decisions which affect the household.

“My wife appreciates the changes in my attitude. I consult her now on the decisions I need to take. This has had a positive effect on her self esteem. And the community looks up to me now. Beforehand we were divided by endless problems whereas now we are more united and able to resolve situations together.”

- **Greater participation in domestic work.**

Many men have learned to value and appreciate the work that women carry out within the home and a number of them have begun to do more domestic work themselves, encouraging their sons to do the same.

“If we’ve both got paid jobs and get home tired, we have to share the housework. “I’ll do the rice and beans if you prepare the tortilla”. I’m aware now of the need to share all the work that needs doing at home.”

- **Reduction in violence.**

Many of the men who took part in the workshops expressed that their awareness of what violence is and how to prevent it and stop it has increased. The 2010 baseline for the GBV programme indicated that 52% of women in the programme area were beaten that year. In 2012, 32% of women have reported beatings which may indicate a shift in violent behaviours and attitudes.

“I used to beat her but now I don’t and I don’t fight with her. The workshops wake you up and help you realise that you’ve been violent.”

- **Increase in role as care giver.**

Participation by men in the family (as responsible fathers and husbands) has improved, as they recognise their role and responsibilities in care giving and in relation to domestic work.

“Our attitude to communicating with others (greetings, affections) has changed; we’re more open and frank in our relationships. At home we all maintain close relationships. The relationship with our wives has greatly changed, now our self-esteem has grown. At home everyone relates in ways that are more communicative, pleasant and cordial and responsibilities are shared out...”

- **Responsible fatherhood.**

The programme managed to persuade teachers to change the times of parent-teacher meetings so that men can also attend. Previously these meetings were held at times when men were at work and culturally it is nearly always only women who typically attend. The issue of responsible fatherhood is one that many men have begun to take on board as a result of their participation in the workshops.

“I used to see kids run out on to the street shouting “daddy, daddy” and that really annoyed me. I’d say to mine “leave me alone, go away, I’m tired, let me get some rest”. Today though I’m improving the way I relate to my kids and my grandchildren. One of my sons is 13 and he really needs my support. It’s amazing to experience these changes and how good they make you feel.”

- **Community activism.**

Many of the men have taken initiatives to talk to other men in their neighbourhoods about their own change processes and to discuss issues like GBV and fatherhood.

“It’s catching! Other men see the changes we have experienced, and start to analyse their own situation. When a man that no one liked because he was so domineering and arrogant changes and becomes tender and caring, others want to do the same”.



APADEIM, July 2013, “La Bahiona”, El Viejo, Chinandega, Nicaragua

The importance of men's changes in women's processes of awareness and empowerment

In general, women who were consulted in the process of systematisation reported that they themselves had experienced many changes through their participation in the programme, emphasising the following:

- **A sense of liberation or of being "freer":**

"I used to believe that I had to ask permission to go out but now I understand I don't need to. I just tell him where I'm going and if he doesn't believe me well he can come and look for me!" (Woman)

- **No longer feeling afraid:**

"At one point he was very violent and I was really timid. Now it's different. We talk things over, he does housework, he brings me coffee to bed. It's thanks to my participation in the programme that he has changed." (Woman)

- **Able to dedicate more time to themselves:**

"My sons cook now, sweep the floors and make up their own beds – they take responsibility for the house work." (Woman)

- **No longer on the defensive all the time:**

"My husband is happy now. He hasn't had a drink in 4 months. He comes home early and we go to church together. I've learned to be tolerant and have patience. We come to agreements now on issues in a civilised way without having to fight." (Woman)

- **Ability to negotiate in moments of conflict:**

"Previously in my family, communication was null. He would say one thing, I would say another and there was no discipline for the kids. Now there's no more shouting, there are no more fights. Beforehand we argued all the time and there was no communication between us. He has changed a little bit. But he hasn't always participated in the programme. When he has, he's implemented all that he learned there." (Woman)



APADEIM, July 2013, "La Bahiona", El Viejo, Chinandega, Nicaragua)

- **Increased sharing of caring giving role:**

"He never used to go to the school and didn't ever get involved in house stuff – he just put the money on the table. Now he takes the kids to school, helps them with their homework – he's changed quite a bit." (Woman)

Not all of these changes, of course, were experienced by all of the women, in the same way or to the same depth. They are rather indicative of the major changes that they reported in the focus groups. To a large extent changes in the women are due to having had access to collective and individual spaces to share experiences, reflect, analyse and propose changes to improve their own lives. The women, at the same time, confirmed that they've seen changes in the men and generally agree with many of the changes that the men claim to have experienced. They also affirm that their own changes have been made easier by the fact that men too have been reflecting and changing and not only them as women.

Some changes that need further attention

Since this programme only started in 2010, deeper and more systemic changes related to macho culture in Nicaragua have been harder to achieve. Two key issues which still need addressing in the programme are the following:

- **Jealousy and control over women.** When a woman gets married in Nicaragua she typically ends up in a relationship in which the man exercises high levels of control over her body, her opportunities in work and education and her social mobility. Patriarchal masculinity leads many men to develop a deep sense of ownership of their partners/wives who in a real sense become part of their property. Non compliance by women to this set-up can result in men becoming jealous, at times to extremes. This, in turn, can heighten the control that they exercise over women which is often expressed through the use of psychological and physical violence. Ownership and control is also related to concepts of romantic love in a patriarchal context that propagate the idea that *“if s/he isn’t jealous, s/he doesn’t really love me”*.

While the programme is encouraging men (and women) to reflect on these issues, more time and investment in activities which help to deconstruct deeply ingrained cultural notions of patriarchal love (in which women are expected to love their husbands unconditionally, enduring severe personal sacrifice if necessary) and build relationships built on mutual respect and trust and gender equality.

“Most men know that these days two salaries are needed to make ends meet. But loads of macho guys just don’t like to see women work, because they are jealous. - What will people think if I let her work in the factory? No way! Some other guy will hit on her.”

- **Men demonstrating feelings to other men.** In Nicaraguan culture, physical contact and showing emotions between men is frowned upon and linked to homophobic attitudes and behaviour. If men feel more able to talk about their fears and concerns with other men, it helps to break down barriers and “machismo” culture. While encouraging men to talk about their personal feelings and emotions with other men has been difficult, the programme has made some progress in this area, but further change is required.

“Many men are still incapable of expressing their emotions and feelings openly and spontaneously, especially to other men”.



Sensitisation process with men, APADEIM, El Viejo, Chinandega

Challenges faced by the programme

The programme in Nicaragua has introduced a number of innovative approaches to addressing GBV. It includes 11 partners each of whom work intensively in approximately 15 communities. The approach developed for the programme was new to a number of partners which posed a number of challenges that needed to be addressed.

- **Experience of working with men:** Seven partners had no experience of working with men, and some partners came from feminist and women's movement backgrounds and were fearful that including men in the programme would dilute the important women's rights messaging. Trócaire staff had to invest time in convincing some partners of the importance of working with men. Once partners were convinced, time and resources were needed to increase partner's capacity in implementing strategies for engaging men.
 - **Finding suitably qualified male staff who believe in gender equality:** Each partner organisation has two psychology graduates (one male, one female) and a female lawyer. However, the psychology courses in Nicaraguan universities do not cover issues of gender equality and GBV, and finding male psychology graduates with an interest and belief in gender equality in Nicaragua has been challenging. This emphasizes the importance of staff development programmes that combine the theoretical, methodological and technical elements with processes of ongoing personal transformation (beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviour and relations).
 - **Staff rotation:** When this staff is trained by partner organisations, they tend to be subsequently head-hunted by other organisations. As such, it has been a considerable challenge for partner staff to retain key staff for engaging boys and men in the programme.
 - **Lack of experience in Popular Education Methodology:** While the popular education methodology was first developed in Latin America, it is not something that all partner staff are comfortable with or have the skills to use. This has proved a challenge when trying to use this approach in communities if partners are not fully trained in the methodology and how to apply it to engaging boys and men.
 - **Poor activity planning:** Some partners have struggled to ensure men are engaged throughout the programme, particularly in rural areas. This is partly a result of men's work commitments in farming and harvesting activities which are a particularly busy time of year. Partners need to ensure that their activities are planned at quieter times of year in the agricultural cycle so that men have time to participate in meetings and activities.
- As well as challenges faced at a partner level, there were also a number of challenges the programme had to address in engaging men:
- **Time required for engaging men:** It took one full year for partner staff to get men together to discuss issues of gender and masculinity. During this time, partners did house visits, spoke with leaders in the community, and liaised with women who were already part of the programme. Partner staff were successful in including the male partners of 50% of the women who were already engaged in the programme.
 - **Issues of trust:** The programme is positioned within a women's rights' framework which puts the safety of the woman above all else. There have been instances where men who have been part of a men's group have been violent to their partner, and programme staff have supported the woman to report the abuse and charge the man. This has meant that some men have felt "betrayed" during the process of change. It also affected the dynamics of the training process of the groups that such men took part in.

These complex situations also had severe repercussions for the facilitators/psychologists both in relation to their physical security (some faced threats) and the long and arduous process of regaining the trust of the group. This was only possible by a series of home visits to discuss with the members of the group to convince them that it was the responsibility of the programme to respect the wishes of the women who had decided to press charges; and that men committed to gender equity and the elimination of GBV should also take this stance even when the man implicated is a close friend or colleague.

- **Strategies for including new men into men's groups:** Partner staff have struggled to find ways of including new men into well established men's groups. This is because men in the established groups have already been through a process of change and developed a level of trust and less rigid ways of relating and communicating with each other. Including new men into these groups has caused tensions (the new members often don't understand the dynamic of the group, the things that are talked about, body language and expressions of affection), which has led to the new members feeling confused and ostracised.
- **Lack of spaces to facilitate processes of gender training with men:** At present the programme has limited resources to develop adequate physical spaces to hold training sessions with men. Many of the sessions are generally held outside, with men sitting on blocks or on the ground, or in classrooms that are poorly equipped and often without windows or doors. As many of these sessions take place in public areas, others can overhear the discussions, which limits the extent to which men feel comfortable in speaking out about their issues. Finding more appropriate, confidential, safe spaces is important for this programme to progress.



Testimonials from men, IMPULSO, Managua

Conclusion

Trócaire's GBV programme in Nicaragua applies a range of innovative strategies to engaging men and boys. The programme is currently only mid way through a five year programme cycle, but already the results are promising. Crucial to the success of the programme's work on engaging men is ensuring that it is framed within a context of gender and development and women's rights, and that there has been a high level of investment in key programme staff who believe in gender equality. Whilst the guiding principle that 'changes in men contribute to women's empowerment and access to rights and opportunities', it is also important that men discover that their own lives and relationships (partner and family) do improve when they relinquish the patriarchal model of being men. Changes in men's beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviour brings benefits to everyone, albeit in different ways.

The possibility of sustaining the change processes that men are experiencing is promising and is linked to the "mixed methodology" approach that Trócaire has pursued – combining popular education methodology with a psychosocial focus which enables men to take ownership of their own processes of change. To achieve this Trócaire's partner organisations, rather than 'reinventing the wheel', have made use of existing methodologies and training manuals for engaging boys and men, adapting them as appropriate and developing new training modules and activities as necessary. Emphasis has been placed on the establishment of organised groups of men in the communities to continue to nurture their own change processes, become catalysts of change for other men and take part in lobbying and advocacy initiatives (locally and nationally) to promote and protect the rights of women. This focus will be developed further as the programme continues.

Endnotes

- 1 Ellsberg, Mary, Rodolfo Peña, Andrés Herrera, Jerker Liljestrand, and Anna Winkvist, *Confites en el Infierno: Prevalencia y Características de la Violencia Conyugal hacia las Mujeres en Nicaragua, 1998*, Managua, Nicaragua, second edition. Study carried out by NNWV with the University of León in northern Nicaragua, and supported by the University of Umeå in Sweden
- 2 ENDESA (Nicaraguan Survey on Demographics and Health 2006/2007 – National Institute of Development Information) http://www.inide.gob.ni/endesa/Endesa_2006/InformeFinal06_07.pdf (Accessed 22 January 2014)
- 3 <http://www.elnuevodiario.com.ni/nacionales/307768-asesinadas-72-mujeres-nicaragua-2013> (Accessed 22 January 2014)
- 4 http://www.reddemujerescontralaviolencia.org.ni/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=138:informe-anual-de-femicidio-rmcv-2012&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=57 (Accessed 22 January 2014)

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