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Terah Kalk

The Relationship between Alcohol, Conflict, and Intimate Partner Violence: A Qualitative Examination among Nepali Couples Who Participated in an Intimate Partner Violence Intervention

By Terah Kalk

Master of Public Health

Hubert Department of Global Health

Cari Jo Clark, ScD, MPH Committee Chair The Relationship between Alcohol, Conflict, and Intimate Partner Violence: A Qualitative Examination among Nepali Couples Who Participated in an Intimate Partner Violence Intervention

By

Terah Kalk

B.A., University of Florida, 2017

Thesis Committee Chair: Cari Jo CLark, ScD

An abstract of

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Rollins School of Public Health of Emory University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Health in the Hubert Department of Global Health

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## Abstract

The Relationship between Alcohol, Conflict, and Intimate Partner Violence: A Qualitative

Examination among Nepali Couples Who Participated in an Intimate Partner Violence

Intervention

## By Terah Kalk

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a major public health problem, impacting the physical and mental health of one in three women globally, with even higher rates in rural Nepal. The direct association between alcohol use and intimate partner violence is well-documented in the literature. More frequent and severe violence, including severe physical violence, stalking and harassment, risk of future homicide, and increased risk of psychological consequences for the victim, occurs when the use of alcohol is involved. Change Starts at Home was a nine month intimate partner violence intervention that took place in the Terai region of Nepal. Participant interviews taken at the end of the intervention and 16 months after the intervention were examined and patterns pertaining to alcohol and IPV within and across couples over both time points were identified. Themes that arose included conflict, violence against women, changes in alcohol use, and the problematic use of money on alcohol. Participants strongly and consistently associated alcohol use with IPV in their own relationships as well as others' relationships. As a result of the Change Starts at Home program, male participants sustained reductions in alcohol use, conflict, and perpetration of IPV. These changes have improved the quality of couples' relationships. However, there remains a need for an intervention to address the persistence of alcohol use and IPV for those who did not participate in the intervention. This is the first examination of the role of alcohol among couples in an IPV intervention in Nepal. Participants called for future interventions to be brought to their family, friends, and neighbors. Couple-based and individual-based alcohol treatment in male partners is successful in reducing IPV. Future interventions should include components that address women's autonomy and financial stability as well as address norms that promote controlling and abusive behaviors in husbands.

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#### CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

### Introduction and Rationale

The World Health Organization estimates that a third of women worldwide have experienced intimate partner violence (IPV); this violation of human rights is a major public health issue ("Violence against women", 2017). Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) is defined as "any acts of physical, sexual or emotional abuse by a current or former partner whether cohabitating or not" (Krug, Zwi, Mercy & Dahlberg, 2002). Women's experience of IPV has been linked to negative psychological and biological health outcomes including psychological stress and dysregulation of endocrine and immune-inflammatory markers (Yim & Kofman, 2018). In addition to health outcomes, reducing the rates of intimate partner violence can also lead to micro- and macroeconomic benefits (Cadilhac et al, 2015). Meta-analytic reviews of evidence show a clear link to alcohol abuse and IPV, after controlling for confounders (Foran, & O'Leary, 2008; Cafferky, Mendez, Anderson, & Stith, 2018). In steady and committed relationships, alcohol consumption by the male partner has been directly linked to the perpetration of sexual violence (Pegram, Abbey, Woerner & Helmers, 2018; Norona, Borsari, Oesterle & Orchowski, 2018; Thompson & Kingree, 2006). While many studies looking at alcohol use and IPV are based in the US, a multi-nation study with large population-based household surveys found alcohol use to be linked to physical intimate partner violence (Jeyaseelan et al, 2004). Additionally, having a husband with an alcohol use disorder was found to be an instigator for intimate partner violence for women in the urban slums of Kathmandu Valley (Deuba et al, 2016). Furthermore, alcohol use has been linked to more severe violence when compared to violence that occurs without the use of alcohol (Gilchrist et al., 2018).

While the link between alcohol use and IPV has been adequately documented, it is less clear how interventions play a role in reducing alcohol abuse and IPV. Analysis of the experience of men receiving treatment for violence and alcohol abuse confirms that the two are related (Walker, 2016). Interview data with male perpetrators showed that stopped perpetrating IPV changed their attitudes toward alcohol and their consumption of it in order to facilitate their cessation of violence (Walker, 2016). Individual-based alcoholism treatment in male partners has been found to reduce violence against their female partner (O'Farrell et al, 2003). However, a systematic review of research looking at the impact of alcohol interventions and policies on IPV reduction among adults found that the potential for alcohol interventions to reduce IPV has not been adequately tested (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014).

In Nepal, alcohol use and alcohol dependence are perceived to be socially acceptable (Shrestha, 1992). The rate of alcohol dependence among Nepali men is high at 25.8% and is influenced by socio-cultural sanctions including gender, age, level of education, marital status, and is higher in specific communities (Jhingan et al, 2003). Women in Nepal experience higher rates of IPV than the global average, with estimates between 25-33% and even higher rates for women in rural areas (Clark et al, 2019; Dalal, Wang, & Svanström, 2014; Lamichhane, Puri, Tamang, & Dulal, 2011). With these high rates of IPV, researchers have investigated the causes. Husband drunkenness has been identified as a factor associated with IPV against women in Nepal (Clark et al, 2019).

## **Problem Statement**

There are high rates of intimate partner violence and alcohol use in Nepal. There is a gap in the literature regarding the understanding of people's lived experiences with alcohol and violence within a violence prevention or treatment intervention. This study will explore the perception of the relationship between conflict, IPV, and alcohol use in the Terai region of Nepal. It provides information to inform future interventions targeting alcohol use and intimate partner violence in Nepal. With successful interventions, Nepali women may be able to live free of intimate partner violence.

## **Purpose Statement**

The purpose of this thesis was to explore the way married couples in the Terai region of Nepal, who participated in a couple-based IPV prevention intervention, describe alcohol and the occurrence of intimate partner violence to garner insight that might be used to enhance violence prevention interventions in situations where alcohol use is highly prevalent.

## Research Question & Objectives

The question that is answered is: how do Nepali couples in the Terai region, who participated in the *Change Starts at Home* intervention, perceive the relationship between alcohol and conflict, including intimate partner violence?

The objectives of this thesis are: 1) to document the ways in which couples talk about alcohol in relation to intimate partner violence and 2) to identify themes discussed regarding alcohol's relationship to conflict and intimate partner violence.

## Significance Statement

This research is significant in the global effort to eliminate IPV. By documenting the context around alcohol use and IPV, interventions can be tailored to appropriately address the needs of those experiencing IPV and reduce rates of IPV. Effectively reducing the rates of IPV can lead to both health and economic benefits (Cadilhac et al, 2015). Furthermore, addressing intimate partner violence is essential to ensuring social justice for women globally and the relationship between alcohol use and IPV must be understood in order to effectively intervene on violence against women.

## CHAPTER II. BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

## Alcohol and IPV

There is robust evidence documenting the association between alcohol use and IPV across nations, including Nepal (Foran, & O'Leary, 2008; Cafferky, Mendez, Anderson, & Stith, 2018; Pegram, Abbey, Woerner & Helmers, 2018; Norona, Borsari, Oesterle & Orchowski, 2018; Thompson & Kingree, 2006; Jeyaseelan et al, 2004; Deuba et al, 2016; Clark et al, 2018; Atteraya, Gnawali, & Song, 2015; Gautam, & Jeong, 2019). Furthermore, alcohol use is linked to more frequent and severe violence when compared to violence that occurs without the use of alcohol; including severe physical violence, stalking and harassment, risk of future homicide, and increased risk of psychological consequences for the victim (Messing, Mendoza & Campbell, 2016).

A review of the literature confirms that there is a causal relationship between alcohol and aggression (Bushman & Cooper, 1990). The link between alcohol use and IPV can be partially understood through cognitive theories on the impact of alcohol. In addition to the direct effect alcohol has on both cognitive and physical function that leads to aggression, this altered cognitive and physical functioning also leads to a reduction in self-control and individuals are in turn less capable of negotiating or facilitating non-violent solutions to conflicts in their relationships (Room, Babor, & Rehm, 2005). According to the I<sup>3</sup> theory, risk for IPV is increased when instigation is high, when provoked individuals possess aggression-eliciting impellers, and when factors are present that lower inhibitory mechanisms, such as alcohol (Straus, 2010). However, the cognitive theories of alcohol-induced aggression that attribute increased aggression seen in intoxicated

people to the combination of narrowed attention, altered memory processing, and diminished ability for abstract thinking do not account for the reality that not all intoxicated people act aggressively (Ito et al, 1996). A dyadic analysis looking at five facets of impulsivity to identify interactive and independent effects on perpetration of physical IPV found that problematic drinking, negative urgency, and lack of perseverance were all associated with physical IPV in couples (Leone et al, 2016). Other factors that play into alcohol use leading to conflict include financial difficulties, childcare difficulties, infidelity, or other family stressors that are exacerbated by excessive drinking of one partner (Shillington et al, 1995). These factors increase the risk of violence occurring as they create marital tensions and conflict between partners (Shillington et al, 1995).

Aside from our ethical obligations to intervene on intimate partner violence, reducing IPV reduces negative psychological and biological health outcomes and can lead to micro- and macroeconomic benefits (Cadilhac et al, 2015; Yim & Kofman, 2018). Literature looking at the efficacy of common IPV treatments shows that there is low long-term efficacy. A review of evidence-based practices showed that, regardless of the type of treatment, perpetrator- and partner-focused treatments have high rates of recidivism, approximating to 30% within 6 months (Stover, Meadows, & Kaufman, 2009). However, approaches that simultaneously address problems with substance abuse and aggression in couples have been shown to yield the lowest recidivism rates (Stover, Meadows, & Kaufman, 2009). This is consistent with literature reporting on the perspective of perpetrators wherein interview data with male perpetrators has showed that desisters of IPV changed their attitudes towards alcohol and their consumption of it in order to facilitate their cessation of violence (Walker, 2016). In 2014, a nationally representative study of 4,210 women of reproductive age in Nepal found that approximately 1 in 3 women in Nepal are victims of IPV (Dalal, Wang, & Svanström, 2014). Even higher rates of IPV have been found by violence-focused studies in select districts in Nepal (Clark et al, 2019) and among women in rural communities, nearly half of whom reported exposure to sexual IPV (Puri et al, 2012).

Up until 2006, the government of Nepal was reluctant to introduce legislation specifically targeting intimate partner violence or gender-based violence due to the cultural and social norms of the country, wherein public conversations surrounding these topics are generally avoided (Ghimire & Samuels, 2017). They chose instead to address the issue through a human rights approach which promoted gender equality and women's rights (Ghimire & Samuels, 2017). However, given the pervasiveness of intimate partner violence, in 2009 the government of Nepal passed the Domestic Violence (Crime and Punishment) Act (Ghimire & Samuels, 2017). For the first time, through this legislation the government recognized that domestic violence was a crime punishable by law, a major step forward for those experiencing violence (Ghimire & Samuels, 2017). However, even the Domestic Violence Act of 2009 allowed for a provision in which police officers could aid in the reconciliation between the perpetrator and victim of violence, in lieu of simply arresting and sentencing the perpetrator (MOLJ, 2009). This provision allowed for many vulnerabilities to remain since victims of violence were often pressured into "accepting their 'fate' as the society is still dominated by Hindu patriarchy with its own set of strict codes," reported Bandana Rana, a former chairperson of the National Women's Commission (Dhakal, 2008).

Although the implementation of this Act may be deeply flawed due to its vulnerabilities, the passing of this legislation did begin a national conversation surrounding gender-based violence in Nepal and in November 2009, the government of Nepal released a National Plan of Action Against Gender Based Violence, which aimed to create a centralized Complaint Management Unit in the Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers to address requests for assistance from victims when local agencies failed to respond adequately (Government of Nepal, 2009). In addition to strengthening the response to violence in Nepal, the National Plan of Action also sought to promote violence prevention efforts (Government of Nepal, 2009). A key aim in doing so was to "raise evidence-based awareness" regarding the issue (Government of Nepal, 2009).

Therefore, as local and national agencies begin to consider the ways in which legislative power can be used to both prevent and respond to acts of gender-based violence, and intimate partner violence more specifically, in Nepal, it is critical that we continue to examine the factors which promote the perpetration of these acts so that they may be adequately addressed. A systematic review of research looking at the impact of alcohol interventions and policies on IPV reduction among adults found that the potential for alcohol interventions to reduce IPV has not been adequately tested in the Nepali population (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014). This could possibly be due to the lack of focus on those who are most at risk of experiencing alcohol-related IPV, young adult populations (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014). While population-level pricing, taxation, and community-level policy or intervention studies show little to no impact on reducing IPV, couple-based and individual- based alcohol treatment studies did find that reductions in alcohol were associated with a reduction in IPV; however, the research does not attribute the changes in alcohol or IPV to treatment (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014). Positive effects were not sustained in randomized controlled trials that examined brief alcohol intervention in conjunction with batterer treatment for hazardous drinking IPV perpetrators (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014).

### CHAPTER III. METHODS

#### Introduction

Change Starts at Home is a mixed-methods, 2-armed, single-blinded, randomized trial that took place in 36 Village Development Committees in three districts (Chitwan, Nawalparasi, Kapilvastu) in the Terai region of Nepal, which were purposively selected based on existing partnerships and a high prevalence of IPV (Clark et al., 2017). The purpose of the study was to identify the impact of a multicomponent, social behavior change communication strategy on married couples compared to a control group in which married couples were solely exposed to a serial radio drama, "Change Starts at Home." Couples in the intervention who were exposed to the serial radio drama engaged in Listening Group Discussions (LDGs) and additional components to facilitate community engagement. The complementary components were designed to supplement radio drama messaging related to attitudes, behaviors, and norms associated with IPV. Couples were purposively selected to be in the intervention so that 360 couples participated in weekly LDGs. The LDGs were gender-segregated groups that listened to the serial drama together and participated in a curriculum-based group discussion to explore beliefs, attitudes, and norms with a trained facilitator. This thesis explored a sub-sample of LDG participants (n=18 couples), who were selected for individual in-depth qualitative interviews at baseline, mid-intervention, end of intervention, and post-intervention.

## Population and Sample

The *Change Starts at Home* project recruited 1800 married women in three districts of the Terai region of Nepal: Nawalparasi, Kapilvastu, and Chitwan. Randomization was achieved by purposively selecting twelve village development committees (VDCs) in each district based on distance, demographics, and logistics relating to program implementation. The VDCs were pairmatched according to demographic characteristics within each district. Using probability proportionate to size methodology, two wards within each VDC were selected. A total sample of 1440 women was obtained by using simple random sampling to recruit 20 women per ward. Inclusion criteria for the sampling frame limited the study to participants between the ages of 18–49 years who have a husband at least eighteen years old with whom they resided for a majority of the year in the study area. Weekly LDG sessions were composed of participants who were purposively selected based on their eligibility criteria, proximity to the LDG group, and agreement to participate for nine months. From the 360 couples that participated in the LDGs, six couples were selected from each of the three districts to participate in in-depth interviews.

## Research Design

The qualitative aspects of the design included several longitudinal approaches, including in-depth interviews, to understand the impact of the intervention and examine mechanisms of change. Interviews with LDG participants took place at baseline, mid-intervention, end of intervention, and 16 months after the intervention concluded. This study looked specifically at the interviews taken at the end of the intervention and post-intervention. Professionally trained facilitators

conducted individual in-depth interviews with participants within the LDG couple cohort (n=18) and their husbands separately. One male did not participate at the end of the intervention and another male did not participate post-intervention. Their wives' interviews were included in the analysis. With missing data for one male at end of intervention and another male at post-intervention, there were 35 transcripts for both time points. The interviews conducted at the end of the intervention were semi-structured with eleven open-ended questions. If participants were active in diffusing the intervention to their family or friends they were asked an additional nine questions and if they were not they were asked an additional three questions.

The interviews conducted at post-intervention were semi-structured with ten open-ended questions. If participants were active in diffusing the intervention to their family or friends they were asked an additional four questions and if they were not they were asked an additional three questions. The interviews looked at personal attitudes; beliefs and expectations; and marital, familial and community dynamics. Interviews took between 45–90 minutes. After obtaining consent, facilitators recorded the interviews and the recordings were later transcribed and translated from Nepali into English. The interviews looked at happiness of the participant and their spouse; skills developed; self-confidence; sustainability of changes in relationships with spouse and family; and activity related to the program. Participants' responses included alcohol use, changes in their behavior and their spouses', violence and conflict, and other topics.

## Procedures and Analysis

Descriptive demographic information was drawn from baseline survey data of the broader study (Clark et al., 2019). A codebook for the parent study was previously created and was revised and

finalized by team members affiliated with the project in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Nepal. The final codebook was used by three American team members to code end-ofintervention transcripts and two American team members coded the post-intervention transcripts. Intercoder reliability (ICR) testing was done to ensure consistency among team members. For the end of intervention transcripts, 10% of the transcripts were used for the first round of intercoder reliability. This included one male and one female from all three regions. For the second round, two additional transcripts were used. Following the second round, there was a team discussion to resolve discrepancies. For the post-intervention transcripts, one round of ICR was done using 10% of the transcripts. This included one male and one female from all three regions. A team meeting took place to address discrepancies. Additional insight and training was given to the two coders. Coded text for key themes including alcohol use were interrogated through thick descriptions (Figure 1). Subsequently case summaries of couples were generated and displayed in matrices so the data could be compared across time points and within couples (Figure 2). Summaries were then generated to explore patterns pertaining to alcohol and IPV within and across couples over both time points.

## Ethical considerations

The trial adhered to internationally recognized ethical standards for research on violence against women. IRB approval was obtained for the broader study from the University of Minnesota 1601S82063, Emory University IRB00091115, and the National Health Research Council in Nepal 178/2015 (Clark et al., 2017). All participants provided written informed consent.

### CHAPTER IV. RESULTS

## Population characteristics

Among the 18 couples in the final analysis, six (33%) were from the Chitwan region, six (33%) from the Nawalparasi region and six (33%) from the Kapilvastu region. Couples' ages ranged between 22 and 48 years, with a mean age of 35 years (SD=7.53). Couples' ages at marriage ranged between 15 to 24 years, with a mean age of 18.22 years at (SD=2.60). Couples' duration of marriage ranged from 2 to 32 years, with a mean of 16.78 years (SD=7.86). There were three types of marriages among participants: love marriage with their family's blessing; arranged marriage by family with couple's consent; and arranged by family without couple's consent. Two (11.11%) marriages are love marriages with family support, 14 (77.78%) marriages were arranged by their family with their consent, and two (11.11%) marriages were arranged by their family without their consent. Education level of both male and female participants ranged between little or no formal education to Secondary Leaving Certificate (SLC) and above, comparable to high school graduation or beyond. All husbands had some education, whereas not all wives did. Two (11.11%) of wives had little or no education, eight (44.44%) had a primary education, six (33.33%) had a secondary education, and two (11.11%) had SLC or above. Three husbands (16.67%) had primary education, ten (55.56%) had secondary education, and five (27.78%) had SLC or above.

### Overview

There were several themes that arose pertaining to the use of alcohol: conflict, violence against women, changes in alcohol use, and the problematic use of money on alcohol. These themes arose frequently among participants and they were linked to each other, as seen in quotes that exemplify multiple themes simultaneously. Other findings that were notable but not as prevalent include violence perpetrated against men and the need for a program to address issues related to alcohol use. Table 1 gives a summary of the overarching themes identified in the data. The first major theme was general conflict associated with men's use of alcohol and whether or not the pattern of conflict during alcohol use changed or remained the same. Many participants described violence perpetrated by husbands against wives as a specific type of conflict, while violence perpetrated against men was less frequently reported. Furthermore, there were reports of changes in drinking behaviors among husbands and others. The husbands who used to drink alcohol were seen to have reduced their consumption after the intervention. However, other males in their communities, such as neighbors, family, and friends, were seen to have persisted in using alcohol. In addition to conflict, problematic behaviors associated with alcohol use included spending money on alcohol instead of giving it to their family, which was frequently discussed. Lastly, the need for a program to address drinking habits in the community was expressed. Participants explained that because not everyone in their community participated in the program, there is a need for another intervention that focuses on the persistence of IPV and alcohol use.

Table 1: Themes

Primary Themes	Secondary Themes
General conflict	Violence against Men
Conflict was defined as any mention of confrontation, fighting, arguing, tussle, or the direct use of the word conflict.	Violence against men was defined as any act of physical, sexual, or emotional violence perpetrated against a husband or any other man.
Violence Against Women	Need for a Program
Violence against women was defined as any act of physical, sexual, or emotional violence perpetrated against a wife or any other woman.	The need for a program was defined as the perception that there are members of their social network that would benefit from a program that addressed alcohol use and IPV.
Changes in Alcohol Use	
Persistence or desistance of alcohol use was examined.	
Problematic Use of Money	
Problematic use of money was defined as any mention of money being used for alcohol that was seen as a problem or a source of stress/conflict.	

Findings

Conflict

Alcohol is seen as an instigator of conflict between partners as well as between members of their

community. This view sustained across time periods, having been described at the end of

intervention as well as post-intervention.

Conflict between couples

At both the end of intervention and post-intervention, couples frequently described alcohol use by the husband as a past instigator for conflict in their own relationship. *We had confrontation between [us] due to drunkard nature of my husband but we do not have this type of situation at this time* (Wife, Kapilbastu, end of intervention). Most couples described this change in conflict prevalence. The changes are attributed to their participation in the program where they learned about the impact of alcohol and how to avoid conflict when using alcohol. One husband learned from the intervention that getting drunk does not have to lead to confrontation. He explained how the program increased his awareness and conflict skills:

We were unknown about the problems/harms due to getting drunk before the initiation of this program but now we are aware properly for these things. Now we have learned that we don't have to do confrontation by getting drunk (Husband, Nawalparasi, end of intervention).

At the end of the intervention his wife agreed that her husband had changed how he approached confrontation and conflict due to the program. However, she did not cite alcohol use as her husband did, instead she discussed changes in emotional control. *His angriness was very high before this program. He used to get angry even for very minor things through which we didn't used to talk for long. However this has been improved nowadays* (Wife, Nawalparasi, end of intervention). The root of their conflict lay in lack of proper communication and the wife's disapproval of her husband's drinking. Due to the program the couple was able to constructively discuss their feelings and emotions, which lead to the realization that the husband wanted to engage in alcohol use after work to unwind and because he was tired. While his wife may still not approve of his drinking, she is more understanding when he drinks after work and does not scold him. In this example, the husband's use of alcohol has persisted but conflict has been reduced. Positive changes in behavior

resulting in reduced conflict were maintained post-intervention in many/most of the couples interviewed. For example one of the husbands expressed, *yes. We don't fight that much as we used to* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention). His wife also echoed this change in conflict reduction and went on to say that they communicate more than before the intervention. At the post-intervention time point she still focused on communication and emotional control rather than directly citing alcohol use. *We didn't talked when we were angry but now we discuss the problems. We don't fight* (Wife, Nawalparasi, post-intervention).

#### *Conflict in the community*

Conflict instigated by alcohol use among other members of the community such as neighbors or family is reduced at the end of intervention. However, there are mixed opinions on reduction of conflict at post-intervention compared to immediately after the intervention.

At the end of intervention couples describe conflict instigated by alcohol use in the past tense. The program provided information that allowed people with alcohol use disorder to recognize the causes of conflict. A husband describes community conflict instigated by alcohol use in the past tense and explained that this was in response to the knowledge they gained from participation in the program.

But they got understood the bad impact of these type of things after being involved in this kind of program. Likewise they were also got known about right/wrong things and causes of confrontation among couple. So it is also helpful to improve the habit of alcohol addict people. (Husband, Kapilbastu, end of intervention)

Many of the participants discussed positive changes at the community level, however, at the end of intervention one woman did not feel that there had been overall improvements regarding conflict

in her community because some people kept fighting. She explained that people who have quit drinking alcohol have changed but there are women whose husbands continued to drink alcohol and have conflict.

But the people who participate in this program have changed. They have quit drinking alcohol, some of their husbands are still drinking alcohol, and sometimes they have fought also. (Wife, Chitwan, end of intervention)

Post-intervention, one wife explains that some people had initially been receptive to her advice to not engage in confrontation if alcohol was being consumed. However, as time passed this participant observed that her advice no longer had the same effect and discussed increases in conflict to levels seen pre-intervention. *They understood when I told them but later again they used to get drunk and fight again* (Wife, Nawalparasi, post- intervention). One husband describes a couple in the neighborhood who had a reduction in conflict but he believes that they will continue fighting. The man in the community drinks and beats his wife and the husband goes to intervene. The husband tells the man's family that they should not talk to the man when he is drunk because alcohol makes people more aggressive. However, his final statement about the couple is that there has been an overall reduction in their conflict. *In comparison to the past, they don't fight that much now* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention).

#### Violence against women

Many of the participants discuss an association between consuming alcohol and violence against women in their own homes as well as among their family members and neighbors, specifically that domestic violence is attributed to alcoholism. Participants often report that they typically intervene in conflict in their community and this conflict is generally involving alcohol use of the husband and abuse against the wife. One husband explains that it is obvious to him that when a husband is irresponsible, referring to drinking, there will be a dispute between the couple. *Mostly related with husbands' drink and fight with their wives... When the husbands become irresponsible then obviously there will be dispute* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post- intervention). One woman sees alcohol as the cause for the persistence of violence against women.

Reduced in drinking habits... hasn't completely gone through... in those houses where they still have drinking habits or drug abuse they still have fights... if we could stop it, we could stop violence against women... that is my thought... I'm not saying this is the only reason... (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention).

One man explains that when conflict occurs he tries to convince men not to get drunk and beat their wives. He explains that the intervention did not have a positive change on those who did not understand the teachings and females were more involved than males.

We do say to the people if they got drunk even, sometime conflict happen even between our brothers, I do try to convince them at that time to by requesting them for not to beat their wife by getting drunk (Husband, Kapilbastu, end of intervention).

When describing violence against women in her neighborhood, one woman intervened in a case where a man is beating is his wife and her solution was to convince him to stop drinking alcohol. *In one of the families in our neighborhood, a man used to drink alcohol and beat his wife. We went there and talked to him, reminded him of his responsibilities and convinced him to quit alcohol* (Wife, Chitwan, post-intervention). This intervention on violence against women is common. Another woman explains how she also intervened with a husband who would drink and beat his wife. *There was a husband who used to get drunk and beat his wife... so we talked to him not to*  do that as it will affect their relation and children... we told him "if you change everything will change" (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention).

Experience of victimization was also described by women. A husband used to beat his wife and children and the wife explained that she wanted to leave him but she stayed for the sake of her children. She explains that after the program things have changed in her relationship with her husband and she is able to talk to her family and not hide it if he abuses her. She gave an example of a time when he came home drunk and beat her. Their neighbor saw it happen and her brother intervened. She explained that her husband has now admitted to beating her after the program. *One of my elderly neighbor was also sitting next to me one day. He came home drunk. He beat me that day too without a strong reason which also shocked my neighbor. She tried to stop him. Later my brother came and stopped him (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention). Her husband did not talk about this and he explained that their relationship is good except when she is rude to him but now he reminds her of the program to stop her from being rude.* 

## Husband's drinking behaviors

Couples frequently report changes in the husbands' drinking behaviors. All fourteen couples that brought up the husband's drinking behavior reported that he has stopped or reduced drinking alcohol. Four couples did not mention that the husband ever drank. Of the fourteen that reported changes, two of them only mentioned this change at the end of the intervention so it is unclear if they have sustained these changes post-intervention. Twelve couples had at least one partner mention at post-intervention that the husband had changed his drinking behavior. For some couples it was mentioned at both end of intervention and post-intervention but for others it was only mentioned at post-intervention. For example, one couple was in agreement about the state of their neighbors, describing a reduction in problems associated with alcohol among their neighbors but did not talk about the drinking behavior within themselves at the end of the intervention. However, post-intervention the husband reports that he has reduced his drinking and is seen as a changed man now while the wife only talks about neighbors. They say that I used to be a drunkard but now I am a changed man and ahead of my bothers (Husband, Kapilbastu, post-intervention). In another couple, only the wife reports changes in her husband's drinking behavior at post-intervention. At the end of intervention she learned that it is harmful for men to force their wives to have sex but neither couple discusses drinking behaviors. Post-intervention the husband still does not talk about alcohol but the wife reveals that his behavior has changed but recognizes that it is difficult to completely change. He used to drink and fight when came home now he comes back drunk but sleeps straightaway. It has changed I say. It's difficult to completely change your habit of drinking but his behavior is changed (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention). She described how he previously perpetrated violence against her and she would run away as a means of dealing with the violence. She talked about men being physically stronger than women and told how it was embarrassing to have bruises. She explains that things have changed and she is able to negotiate the conditions when they have sex, she does not want him to drink if they are going to have sex as his ejaculation time is longer when he drinks.

He used to drink and fight. He used to feel embarrassed that I was social worker... so it was very difficult to solve this... how I used to deal with this was... I used to run away when he got violent... it was embarrassing to anyone if I had bruises... and also men are physically stronger than us... he also wanted to have sex when he was drunk but I didn't wish to... His ejaculation time was longer than usual which I didn't enjoy either so we used to have fights on this matter too... But now after this program he is changed... now I tell him not to drink if he wants to have sex with me... he agrees on that... this is changed. (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention) Another couple had concordance at the end of the intervention and both reported reduction in the husband's drinking. The husband explains the context in which he would drink was at hotels, where he would stay out late. Sometimes I used to stay late at hotels and drink alcohol. But nowadays I don't stay at hotels and don't drink alcohol also (Husband, Chitwan, end of intervention). The reason he does not stay out late drinking anymore is because he sees alcohol as a bad thing. Alcohol is a bad thing. People fight and do bad things after getting drunk. These things... umm... have influenced us to quit alcohol (Husband, Chitwan, end of intervention). His wife is in concordance and reports reduced drinking. She clarifies that he does drink a little but he has improved a lot compared to before. Sometimes he drinks little. But last time I told him if he quits alcohol completely, I will go to temple and pray. He said he will quit drinking. But he doesn't drink alcohol; he has improved a lot compared to before (Wife, Chitwan, end of intervention). Post-intervention, the husband does not talk about alcohol at all but the wife reports sustained reduction in her husband's drinking. She describes the stress she had when he would drink and the multiple reasons behind her worries. She expresses happiness regarding his drinking changes and describes cooperation relating to the change.

We work together, and help each in household activities such as cooking rice, bread and other activities. When he used to drink, I used to have a lot of stress. I used to get worried as he had to drive motor bike and he might get injured. I was worried about the children, and their future. So, I used to get very much worried. I am happy that after listening to the radio program, he has changed a lot. I am also very happy. Not that he has quit alcohol, we are less stressed. We have a lot of communication among ourselves (Wife, Chitwan, post-intervention).

## Community drinking behaviors

At the end of the intervention there are mixed opinions on whether or not there are changes in the community regarding drinking behavior. One participant believes there was a change in that

members of her community improved their drinking and smoking habits. She attributes this change to their participation in the program and learning about the impact of drinking alcohol on their family and the community. *Most of the peoples of our community have improved their drinking and smoking habit through involving/participating/listening the program. Because they have got to know about the impacts of drinking alcohol in the family, children, and in the community* (Wife, Nawalparasi, end of intervention). When asked about the impact of the program, one participant described it as medicine for people who drink. *Some people used to drink, it (program) is like a medicine for them* (Husband, Kapilbastu, end of intervention). However, others do not see a change in their community's drinking behavior. One participant recognized that there are some people who have quit drinking alcohol but others who have not quit fighting and overall, she thinks there haven't been changes. *I feel there haven't been changes because they keep fighting* (Wife, Chitwan, end of intervention). Another participant was describing bystander intervention that he has be involved in and he explained people are still drinking in their community. *Yes, they do drink* (Husband, Nawalparasi, end of intervention).

Post-intervention, there are still mixed opinions on whether or not people in the community have reduced drinking. However, most of the participants report persistence of alcohol use in their communities. Some participants reported changes but were not clear about whether the change was reduced conflict, reduced alcohol use, or both. One husband explains that there are men around where the program took place that work during the day and drink in the evening. *They are all drivers there, who work all day and drink in the evening and fight.* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention). Another husband explains there is a man in the community who changed from the intervention, he stopped beating his wife, however, he has not stopped drinking. *We talked to him and now he stopped beating his wife. He did not stop drinking though* (Husband, Nawalparasi,

post-intervention). Another participant explains there is a man in the community who drinks and abuses his wife, even though they try to intervene and it is okay now, but he believes it will resume. *Yes it is, but that guys will again do the same* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention). A wife explains a similar situation where she intervenes in conflict in her community but after her advising, people continue to get drunk and fight. *They understood when I told them but later again they used to get drunk and fight again* (Wife, Nawalparasi, post-intervention). Two participants report changes but do not clarify exactly what the changes are. One wife explains that a neighbor used to drink and abuse his wife but that does not happen now, not explaining if the husband has stopped abusing his wife and drinking alcohol or just stopped abusing his wife. *Nearby our neighborhood, husband had drinking habits and used to abuse his wife but it doesn't happen now* (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention). However, she does also say that not everyone has changed. She explains that there are two families that are improved but not all houses have changed and there are still women who are experiencing conflict related to alcohol.

Yes, not all houses are changed. Whenever someone in the community comes drunk and fight and if the wife shares with us about the problem... we talked to both husband and wife and come to conclusive understanding point. After this program it has happened with 2 families. Now they are doing good." (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention)

A husband discussed his friend who previously drank and beat his wife but has since improved. However, he also does not specifically say if drinking and abuse has stopped or just one behavior has stopped. *I don't know about others but my friends I know. One of my friends used to beat his wife after drinking alcohol. But he has improved a lot. Others I don't know because I don't hang out that much* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention). One participant reports a change in the community, explaining that there has been a reduction in both drinking and fighting in the home among his community members. *Like discussing matters in the family... like reduction in drinking and fighting in home... that was changed...* (Husband, Kapilbastu, post-intervention).

#### Problematic use of money

All participants who mention money in relation to alcohol use have the view that it is problematic to spend money on alcohol. This view is consistent at both end of intervention and post-intervention, however, men talk about this more frequently than women. The use of alcohol is seen as a waste of money and a problem in other areas as well. *It a waste of money, disaster for your body... it ruins so many things* (Husband, Nawalparasi, end of intervention). Even though participants may have been struggling financially they previously had a tendency to use money for alcohol. *I had habit that even a little bit of money I would waste it in drinks* (Husband, Kapilbastu, post-intervention).

One husband mentions his previous problematic use of money on alcohol at both the end of the intervention and post-intervention. At the end of intervention he explains that all money earned went toward alcohol but now he has improved that habit. *We used to spend all the money for alcohol which was earned by jobs. But we improved these habits nowadays* (Husband, Nawalparasi, end of intervention). Later, he attributes this change to the program and goes further to explain that instead of spending money on alcohol after working for the whole day he is saving money.

So I went to the program and got to learn many things. Like how to save money and its advantages. Before we didn't used to save money, I used to work the whole day and drink alcohol then return home (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention).

The change in ability to save money by not drinking is brought up by multiple men. Again, using money for alcohol is a waste and it is better to save or use it on their family. Participants have been able to redirect their money towards items for their children. *When I used to drink alcohol, I wasted a lot of money. So, I can save a lot of money. The money that I used to waste in alcohol can now be used for tiffin for my child* (Husband, Chitwan, post-intervention).

One wife reports her dissatisfaction with her husband's previous behavior of drinking alcohol instead of giving money to their family. *When he earns money he doesn't give us but drinks alcohol* (Wife, Chitwan, end of intervention). Post-intervention she reiterates her point that money that he earned while working was used for alcohol. *Whenever he goes to work and earn some money, he used to drink* (Wife, Chitwan, post-intervention). Another wife describes how her husband was intoxicated to the point that he did not pay the shopkeeper for the alcohol he consumed and she was obligated to pay for his alcohol to avoid conflict. Furthermore, this use of money on alcohol prohibited their ability to save money and the benefits that would have come from having money saved.

In the past, I had to go and pay for the alcohol that he drank, sometimes as much as 10,000 or even 15,000 rupees. What can I do without paying it? The shopkeepers will come and shout at me too if we don't pay. The shopkeepers can't ask with him as he used to be drunk. So, I managed the money somehow and paid it. So, we couldn't even save any money. All our saving used to be spent on the alcohol. If we could have saved money, it would have been so beneficial for our family (Wife, Chitwan, post-intervention).

## **Other Findings**

#### Violence against men

A few interviews mentioned violence against men. One husband described his own victimization of violence perpetrated by his wife. He places the blame for the violence on himself, explaining that her abuse was justified because he was drunk.

I used to come home totally drunk, my friends had to bring me home as I used to have pass out. So my wife used to beat me and shout at those who brought me home. But now realize that I was wrong and she had a good reason to be mad. Now I even advice others not to do that (Husband, Nawalparasi, end of intervention).

Post-intervention, there are people who fight day and night and a participant explained that her husband goes to intervene with a couple that has conflict when the husband is drunk. *He tells the wife to not beat her husband when he is drunk... he made mistake to drink* (Wife, Kapilbastu, post-intervention).

Another woman described conflict between her husband when he drinks that could be emotional violence against her husband. However, the husband does not mention this so we do not have his perspective. When he comes home drunk she scolds him and he locks himself in his room and cries loudly because he does not like fighting.

If I scold him then. He can't speak up. He is very simple. Like, he goes with some other people and drinks alcohol and comes (smiling) and mom and I used to scold him. He used to lock himself in the room and cried loudly. And I asked why he was crying. Mom told me that he didn't fight nor did bad things since his childhood. He can't speak up in front of elders and me as well. No matter how much I scold him, he didn't utter a word. And he says that he doesn't like fighting. He says he don't feel like talking to anyone after having a fight and walks off the other way because he will not have to deal with it (Wife, Nawalparasi, post- intervention).
#### Need for Program

The need for a program to address issues relating to alcohol was emphasized when discussing community members who drink alcohol. This view is often expressed by husbands and it is sometimes expressed by wives. Alcohol use is seen as a norm across Nepal as demonstrated by the following quote: *According to me it would be nice if the program will be conducted throughout Nepal. (Laughs) Because usually in Nepalese society please consume alcohol and there are violence* (Husband, Chitwan, end of intervention). Many people associate alcohol use with the lower classes, often referring to the Dalit and Tharu communities as the areas with the greatest need for an intervention to address issues with alcohol use and conflict.

Such program should include people from low castes, and it would be better to include such couples. People here in community say that the program should include such couples. In the low caste couples, they have problem of alcoholism and conflicts, so, it would be better to engage them (Wife, Chitwan, postintervention).

The intervention they went through provided information that they found useful and would be beneficial for alcohol users. *It is for our own goods and if this program comes and teaches others, it will be better for them and gain more knowledge. Specially while giving knowledge to people who drink a lot of alcohol* (Husband, Nawalparasi, post-intervention).

However, a brief intervention is not seen as sufficient to address the problem observed with communities where alcohol use and conflict is prevalent. A participant explained that while he does make efforts to spread the knowledge he has gained, they need a program to go to their community and stay the same length of the program they participated in in order to be effective.

Like I told you that this program would have been more effective if it was taken to lower class or Dalit. It would fulfill its aim 100 percent. There are places here where they fight all day drink all day. Going there and talking to them for once or *twice is not enough... we haven't made any program and took it there* (Husband, Kapilvastu, post-intervention).

Furthermore, participants report a desire to participate in an intervention from people in their communities. While the program may not be suitable for every person, it could help people who are struggling with their partnership and with alcohol use.

...they do request to let them aware if this type of programs supposed to happen in our community in upcoming days. Some people may not be positive for this program but this is beneficial and impacted only to those people who are passing through the worst situation regarding the relation with their spouse. Some people used to drink, it is (program) like a medicine for them (Husband, Kapilbastu, end of intervention).

#### CHAPTER V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Participants strongly and consistently associated alcohol use with IPV in their own relationships as well as others' relationships. As a result of the program they participated in, male participants sustained reductions in alcohol use, conflict, and perpetration of IPV. These changes have improved the quality of couples' relationships. However, there is a remaining need for an intervention to address the persistence of alcohol use and IPV for those who did not participate in the intervention. This is the first examination of the role of alcohol among couples in an IPV intervention in Nepal, where alcohol is associated with IPV.

### Impact

Participants' strong association of alcohol use with IPV is consistent with literature examining the perception of the relationship between alcohol and IPV (Gilchrist et al., 2018; Ezard, 2014; Matamonasa-Bennett, 2015; Peralta, Tuttle, & Steele, 2010). Couples saw alcohol as the root of the problem and when alcohol was reduced the quality of relationships improved and IPV was reduced. A meta-analysis of qualitative studies assessing survivors' perspectives found their experiences of abuse to be closely related to intoxication (Gilchrist et al., 2018).

There was a sustained reduction in IPV and alcohol use among couples in which the male partner previously was a problematic alcohol user, even 16 months after the program due to the components of the program that targeted problematic alcohol use. This finding is similar to research showing a reduction in IPV that was related to a reduction in alcohol use. Positive effects

were found in randomized controlled trials which combined alcohol and violence treatment programs, however, effects were often not sustained (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014).

The sustained reduction in alcohol and IPV is specifically attributed to changes that the male partner has made as a result of the program. Couples reported a change in the male partners' attitude towards alcohol and how much they should consume. This is consistent with a study in which male perpetrators reported that changes in their attitudes towards alcohol and their consumption of it facilitated their cessation of violence (Walker, 2016). The desisters of IPV in the *Change Starts at Home* intervention did not stop drinking alcohol completely. It was often clarified that when they reported quitting alcohol, they actually only reduced their consumption of alcohol. Responsible drinking led to improvements in their relationships.

Evidence-based practices that reduce recidivism were utilized herein including an approach that addressed problems with substance abuse and aggression simultaneously in couples (Stover, Meadows, & Kaufman, 2009). Couples who reported IPV persistence when husbands have a relapse in drinking are consistent with the literature showing that a relapse of drinking in men who have desisted alcohol use and IPV leads to relapse in IPV perpetration (O'Farrell, & Murphy, 1995). Couples reported that the male partner has desisted in alcohol use, however, they do describe past trends involving relapse of alcohol and related relapse in IPV perpetration. Couples also reported that among their family and neighbors, men who persist using alcohol persist perpetrating violence against their wives and other members of their community. Additionally, the findings that connect financial challenges with alcohol use are also consistent with the literature in which financial hardship in an instigator for conflict in the relationship (Loi et al, 1999). Using money towards alcohol was seen as wasteful and was a major stressor within couples. Couples in which the male partner previously spent their earnings on alcohol rather than contributing to their family reported improvement in the quality of their relationship after the husband reduced alcohol consumption and in turn has been able to put money towards family needs and savings.

#### Saturation

Saturation was reached on the themes of conflict, violence against women, changes in alcohol use, and the problematic use of money on alcohol, and the need for a program to address the issues related to alcohol use. However, the data was thinner around violence perpetrated against men. These themes with thin data were mentioned infrequently and require further investigation in order to gain a better understanding of their relevance to alcohol use.

#### Limitations and delimitations

This study has a strong design, however, there are limitations that must be noted. Qualitative data was only collected from participants in the intervention-arm of the program meaning that a comparison cannot be made between those who were only exposed to the radio-program. Further, there is risk of bias when obtaining self-reported data. However, the collection of data from both partners aids in mitigating biases, including underreporting of IPV and alcohol use. The collection

of data across multiple time points gives a greater understanding to changes of perspective that might have developed without the presence of the intervention. An additional limitation of this study is that alcohol was not the focus of the interviews and perceptions of alcohol were not systematically addressed. Analysis of codes related to alcohol was limited to responses that arose naturally to questions about changes between couples and changes in the community observed by participants so sustainment of change was not easily measured. The lack of specific prompting about alcohol is simultaneously a strength because the topic of alcohol was not elicited but rather a genuine concern amongst participants. Also related to the lack of focus on alcohol, the data is thinner than it would be if there had been a focus on alcohol use. With limited depth and challenges in translations of the interviews, the analysis was limited.

#### Conclusion

The participants of this research are the experts of their communities. They have gone through the intervention *Change Starts at Home* and have learned ways to improve their relationships and their overall quality of life. As a result, they called for future interventions to bring these changes to their family, friends, and neighbors. There is a gap in literature regarding the social-ecological context in which IPV takes place. Research has examined the roles which neighborhood environments in urban United States play in IPV. However, it is not currently understood how neighborhood environments play a role in urban areas or non-US areas (Beyer, Wallis, & Hamberger, 2013). Neighborhood-level factors include residential environment, the culture of violence, access to services, quality of housing, drug use, and social isolation (Beyer, Wallis, & Hamberger, 2013). The research presented here starts to fill that gap as it shows that, in Nepal,

neighbors can and do intervene on IPV but that strategic effort, an intervention, is needed to address this complex issue. To address this need identified by participants, I recommend further investigation on how to adapt interventions that will bring behavior changes for alcohol use and conflict instigation. Previous research supports the utilization of couple-based and individual-based alcohol treatment in male partners to reduce violence against their female partner (Wilson, Graham, & Taft, 2014; O'Farrell et al, 2003). Interventions should build protective factors for women, this includes women's autonomy and financial stability (Atteraya, Gnawali, & Song, 2015; Puri et al, 2012) as well as changes the norms that promote controlling and abusive behaviors in husbands (Gautam, & Jeong, 2019; Dalal, Wang, & Svanström, 2014).

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### APPENDIX

# Figure 1: Thick descriptions

# End of Intervention

What are the different aspects?	What is the context and meaning?	How is each aspect discussed (emotions, expressions)?	How often is each aspect mentioned and by whom?	Examples
Conflict	Conflict is seen as a result of men drinking alcohol.	This behavior is seen as problematic. Improving drinking habits is often seen as the solution to this problem.	Men and women frequently talk about this.	<ul> <li>I: Do you feel you have gained any skills through your involvement in the Change project?</li> <li>R: yes, I have learned so many things through this program, Such as I have learned how to talk, I have gained ability to manage and convince people during confrontation, reminding drunk people, etc.</li> <li>I: any other?</li> <li>R: we used to get blamed by people if we tried to remind them. We were beaten by them during the management of confrontation between them.</li> <li>I: why they fought each other?</li> <li>R: because of getting drunk.</li> <li>at earlier, father used to drink excess amount of alcohol which was the cause of confrontation with mother, he used to get sleep after shouted by mother, even he used to</li> </ul>

	questioned me, 'what did you gained by involving at that program? Then I used to shout over him which makes him silent. But now, these things are changed.
	I: how do you planning give continuity for these things? Or why do you want to continue your effort for these things?
	R: because so many people use to have confrontation in this community after getting drunk, so they need some knowledge in order to improve their habit. We also do instruct some essential things.
	we were unknown about the problems/harms due to getting drunk before the initiation of this program but now we are aware properly for these things. Now we have learned that we don't have to do confrontation by getting drunk. We used to spend all the money for alcohol which was earned by jobs. But we improved these habits nowadays.
	I: for instance, can you say anything about your self confidence in order to solve any situation in your society?
	R: yes we can manage the confrontation between the peoples in our community through simple way.
	I: have you ever did these things in your community?
	R: yes, we used to convince the peoples in our community even if they get drunk.

		I: do people still use to drink alcohol in your community?
		R: yes, they do drink but they don't use to fight each other.
		I: so do you think It would be good to talk openly between couple,
		R: Yes, for example sometime it happens in our house also, there was confrontation in between my elder sister and daughter in law, also the cousin son and daughter in law have got fought many times, I told her not to speak anything with her husband during the time of getting drunk but you have to convince him in the time of fresh mind. And also you must try to express your opinion and understand his feelings simultaneously.
		We do say to the people if they got drunk even, sometime conflict happen even between our brothers, I do try to convince them at that time to by requesting them for not to beat their wife by getting drunk.
		We had confrontation between due to drunkard nature of my husband but we do not have this type of situation at this time.
		Likewise they were also got known about wright/wrong things and causes of confrontation among couple. So it is also helpful to improve the habit of alcohol addict people.

		My husband used to lose for long time after getting drunk, having simple conflict between husband and wife is common thing but we have good relation in present days.
		Like sometimes, there are fights between husband and wife in our society. People fight after drinking alcohol. I can face and manage those things now. I can manage if there is any violence in home.
		Other friends also say that my husband has left alcohol. Sometimes I shout at my husband as well when he drinks with his friends. If I don't shout at him then that habit of drinking will increase again. After that he keeps quiet.
		there is a person who involved in the program with us He got into using alcohol for 2-3 months in between. He used to make noise; we kept him with his family and threatened him. He and I are together and our house is also together. So, in hope that we could improve him I kept him with his family and said; till now I never said a work to you, (he has two families) you both stay, your four sons are abroad, now in future days if you showed the behavior you showed in last program then I will tie your hands backwards and beat you even if you are my family-in-law. I will beat you, file a case against you and then will chase you. Not to literally case him but I said so to give him a warning only.

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	R: most of the peoples of our community have improved their drinking and smoking habit through involving/participating/listening the program. Because they have got know about the impacts of drinking alcohol in the family, children, and in the community.
	I: Do you think many people in this community are benefited through this program?
	R: many people used to get fight after taking alcohol, they used to beat their wife as well, but we are not experiencing these things nowadays. Though, many people have become improved.
	I: so you are saying that every people used to get drunk but they are improved at this time.
	R: yes, they even used to tell vulgar words at earlier but we are not hearing this things in our community because of this program.
	<ul><li>R: Like I said earlier we never had such problem in our house. But the people who participate in this program have changed. They have quit drinking alcohol, some of their husbands are still drinking alcohol, and sometimes they have fought also.</li></ul>
	I: So, has there been any improvements in them or not?

				<ul> <li>R: I feel there haven't been changes because they keep fighting.</li> <li>they have many changes compared to before. Before, we used to go to solve many fights. We are the people who went to solve the fights. (Bold in tone) But now there are groups in the society, about property matters, about alcohol problems, about household violence. Everyone knows about it now. I am very happy because of this program.</li> </ul>
IPV against women	Men drink and then beat their wives while they are drunk.	People talk about how it has either stopped or continued in their community or in their own homes.	Women frequently talk about how they learned that this is a problem through the program. Two males said they stopped beating their wives after getting drunk after going through the program. One man said this stopping is a change in the community.	they said that the program is very good, they were experienced and learned so many knowledge through their involvement in this program. Where they (casts of program) used to get drunk and started to beat their wives after returning back from duty. Some housewife didn't like the drunk habit of their husbands which was the major cause to lead tussle and confrontation between them. Some people used to shout over their wives due to not cooking delicious food at home. However the street drama was much more effective end significant to make a sense to those drunk habitat peoples, we have learned so many things through these programs. All other things are ok from the beginning. We do fight sometimes, but that is normal. But my husband has never beat me, he used to come home drunk he didn't come when I called him for dinner. He used to say I will come later, you go and eat.

				My father in law and mother in law treat we well. even when my husband was drinking they used to counsel him not to do that not to treat me bad they even advised me to not be angry too much with my husband. We do say to the people if they got drunk even, sometime conflict happen even between our brothers, I do try to convince them at that time to by requesting them for not to beat their wife by getting drunk.
Stopped/ reduced drinking in husband	People reported stopped/reduced drinking by the husband has improved their relationship. This is attributed to the program. The word quit is	Women describe happiness regarding this improvement in themselves and their spouse. Men talk about this with pride. People will say they quit	Men and women talk about this frequently.	I used to get drunk every day right after the completion of my duty, which creates some tussle with wife. However I have improved this nature. impact toward the relationship with my wife is good after improving the drinking habit. (referring to himself) I: What has brought happiness?
	often clarified to mean reduced.	drinking but then clarify that they have reduced their drinking.		R: I know if this program has brought or something else. My husband has quit drinking alcohol The enemy was alcohol. After he quit alcohol he looks after the family nicely, he talks nicely and discusses with us also. So, think he is happy because of that.
				R: umm he used to help me household works from the beginning only but he never quit drinking alcohol. But now

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			after participating in this program (laughs) my husband has quit alcohol. I am extremely happy.
			I: He quit forever?
			R: Sometimes he drinks little. But last time I told him if he quits alcohol completely, I will go to temple and pray. He said he will quit drinking. But he doesn't drink alcohol; he has improved a lot compared to before. When he used to drink alcohol he used to roam around the whole night. If his hands and legs break then who will have a problem? He will also have difficulties and I will also have difficulties right?
			yes, he is also happy. Because he improved his bad habit such drinking which is minimized through the involvement in this program. He do love me more after being involved in this program.
			I: how much is her happiness due to the involvement in this program?
			R: I have improved my drunk nature. So she became happiest.
			I: what makes her happiest? Or is she became happier due to your improved nature.

				R: I used to get drunk every day right after the completion of my duty, which creates some tussle with wife. However I have improved this nature.
Drinking in community	People reported stopped/reduced drinking in their community by family members as well as non- family members. Continued drinking is mentioned and associated with continued conflict.	Reduced drinking is described as an improvement by the program. Continued drinking is described as a problem in the community.	This is talked about frequently by men and women.	<ul> <li>most of the peoples of our community have improved their drinking and smoking habit through involving/participating/ listening the program. Because they have got know about the impacts of drinking alcohol in the family, children, and in the community.</li> <li>I: So, how does your husband feel? Do you feel there are changes in your husband or not? Do you feel he is happy because of this program or not? Have you husband felt; this program has come and we have become happier because of this program or not?</li> <li>R: Like I said earlier we never had such problem in our house. But the people who participate in this program have changed. They have quit drinking alcohol, some of their husband's are still drinking alcohol, and sometimes they have fought also.</li> <li>I: So, has there been any improvements in them or not?</li> <li>R: I feel there haven't been changes because they keep fighting.</li> <li>I: So you don't think there is improvement in them?</li> <li>R: No.</li> </ul>

	at earlier time people use to drink alcohol instead of doing but nowadays they are more cooperative in terms of doing work.
	I: for instance, can you say anything about your self confidence in order to solve any situation in your society?
	R: yes we can manage the confrontation between the peoples in our community through simple way.
	I: have you ever did these things in your community?
	R: yes, we used to convince the peoples in our community even if they get drunk.
	I: do people still use to drink alcohol in your community?
	R: yes, they do drink but they don't use to fight each other.
	I: so, do you think it is impacted to them as well.
	R: yes, if it is not impacted then they would not said these things. So they do request to let them aware if this type of programs supposed to happen in our community in upcoming days. Some people may not be positive for this program but this is beneficial and impacted only to those people who are passing through the worst situation regarding the relation with their spouse. Some people used to drink, it is (program) like a medicine for them.

Spending money on alcohol	There are men who use money they make to buy alcohol instead of putting it towards their family. Some men have stopped drinking and spending the family's money on alcohol.	This is described as a positive impact of the program.	Mentioned frequently by men and women.	We used to spend all the money for alcohol which was earned by jobs. But we improved these habits nowadays When he earns money he doesn't give us but drinks alcohol We used to spend all the money for alcohol which was earned by jobs. But we improved these habits nowadays I explain them thoroughly the benefit of not drinking alcohol and the problem that we face when we drink It a waste of money, disaster for your body it ruins so many things
Roaming	Drinking is associated with roaming around at night instead of being at home.	This is discussed as an issue that should be stopped.	Two women talked about this as a past issue with their husbands.	I: He quit forever? R: Sometimes he drinks little. But last time I told him if he quits alcohol completely, I will go to temple and pray. He said he will quit drinking. But he doesn't drink alcohol; he has improved a lot compared to before. When he used to drink alcohol he used to roam around the whole night. If his hands and legs break then who will have a problem? He will also have difficulties and I will also have difficulties right? We experienced a lot of things, we used to speak loudly, walking by drunk, nowadays we do not do these things.

Need for program	Participants would like a program to address the drinking habits of men in the community to prevent violence and improve their lives.	This is talked about as important and necessary. The program is described as a medicine for people with drinking problems.	Women and men frequently talk about this.	<ul> <li>they do request to let them aware if this type of programs supposed to happen in our community in upcoming days. Some people may not be positive for this program but this is beneficial and impacted only to those people who are passing through the worst situation regarding the relation with their spouse. Some people used to drink, it is (program) like a medicine for them</li> <li>People can have chance to learn so many things through this program, for example they could get aware for the possible impact of beating wives by getting drunk, not reaching house at time, lack of cooperation etc. So many peoples are there in community like this characteristic, this program could be significant to make them understandthis program is more effective and suitable for <i>Dalit and Tharu</i> community, where most of the people use to drunk, they have lack of cooperation and mutual understanding, internal conflict etc. So drunk people may improve their habit after being participate in this kinds of program. Husband and wife could get opportunity to listen and learn so many knowledge which could be effective for them to have cooperative and long-lasting relation. Whole program could make change rather than saying solely, people might get busy once in a week and chance to learn something too so they might be changed like this way</li> </ul>
				According to me it would be nice if the program will be conducted throughout Nepal. (Laughs) Because usually in Nepalese society please consume alcohol and there are violence

IPV against men	There are women who either yell at or beat their husbands when they return home from drinking.	The violence is seen as a causation of male being drunk. Blame is put on the male.	Experience of this mentioned by one male.	Sometimes I shout at my husband as well when he drinks with his friends. If I don't shout at him then that habit of drinking will increase again. After that he keeps quiet. Now we have more understanding of the situation. Now I try to find out the reason why my wife is mad, in some cases I might be the reason. Before my friends used to say your wife is very strict I used to come home totally drunk, my friends had to bring me home as I used to have pass out. So my wife used to beat me and shout at those who brought me home. But now realize that I was wrong and she had a good reason to be mad. Now I even advice others not to do that. There was a chapter in the program in which we have to understand the reason why our family is unhappy and find solution.
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What are the different aspects?	What is the context and meaning?	How is each aspect discussed (emotions, expressions, example)?	How often is each aspect mentioned and by whom?	Examples
Conflict	Conflict is seen as a result of men drinking alcohol.	This behavior is seen as problematic. Improving drinking habits is often seen as the solution to this problem.	Men and women frequently talk about this.	<ul> <li>I: What kind of fight do you solve normally?</li> <li>R: Mostly related with husbands' drink and fight with their wives When the husbands become irresponsible then obviously there will be dispute.</li> <li>I: Did you quit drinking alcohol?</li> <li>R: Yes, I don't drink. I don't shout and fight at home.</li> <li>I: You drink less or did you completely quit alcohol?</li> <li>R: I get tired as I have to work the whole day so, I do drink a little but not too much like before. We don't argue at home anymore"</li> <li>I: Like you said earlier, your wife also felt good while attending the program, so did you find any changes in her after attending the program?</li> <li>R: My wife used to get angry a lot before.</li> </ul>

		R: Yes, (smiling). I didn't get that much angry. She used to tell me not to drink at all but you know but after all we get tired after working all day and used to drink a little bit.
		I: Of Course, you will be tired day.
		R: Yes, now she understands. But if you drink too much then any wife will get angry.
		I: Since you don't drink too much, what impact has it made on your family?
		R: There won't be fights and money is also being saved.
		I used to work and drink alcohol and arguments in the house. After getting involved in the program, I didn't drink too much alcohol.
		Many of them drink alcohol and fight where we had the program.
		If all the people lived and worked together without fighting and not drinking too much alcohol, it would be better. It will be better for the kids as well. Shouting in front of kids and talking in loud voice with them is also a kind of violence right. So, we shouldn't do that. That would be better.

Before there was no understanding between us. he didn't consult with me before taking any decision spending money at his will After that program he started consulting me before taking decisions Reduced in drinking habits hasn't completely gone through in those houses where they still have drinking habits or drug abuse they still have fights if we could stop it, we could stop violence against women that is my thought I'm not saying this is the only reason
He was happy. When we became involved in society and have better understanding, he used to say that the program would have been better if we could bring it to the people who drink and fight.
[Changes after quitting alcohol]
We didn't really used to have fights (as a couple). We used to have quarreling sometimes like I used to quarrel about the foods that she used to prepare. But now, its all fine. We do not quarrel nor fight.
R: Our relationship has always been a peaceful one. We didn't really have any major quarrels. In the past my husband used to drink alcohol, and we used to quarrel over this issue. But my husband left alcohol after joining the program, and listening to the radio programs. So, I am very happy now.

				R: Yes, in the past, he used to drink and men need that (sex). And we used have quarrels because of that. But now it has changed for good.
				R: Yes, the way he behaved with me has changed for good. In the past, he used to come home drunk and misbehaved with me. Now we have a good understanding.
				I: And what about his anger?
				R: yes, it is controlled. The problem is about the alcohol. If he doesn't drink it, there is no problem. When he is drunk, I also can not tolerate it. He also misbehaves whenever he is drunk. So we used to have a lot of fights at those times. Also now my sons are here and the situation is good. My elder sons were abroad in the past, and the other sons were quite young. Hence, my husband didn't care in front of the children. Now all my sons are here. So, the situation is good now.
IPV against women	Men drink and then beat their wives while they are drunk.	People talk about how it has either stopped or	Two woman described past	Nearby our neighborhood, husband had drinking habits and used to abuse his wife but it doesn't happen now.
		continued in their	perpetration by their	I: What did you say when you were sharing those things you got to learn?
		community or in their own homes.	husbands. This is also an issue seen in the community.	R: It is similar to rape, if husbands force their wife into physical contact without their will even if they are a married couple. Some women said that their husband drink alcohol and didn't agree on that. There are few men in the village who drink a lot of alcohol. There are 2-3 women in the village whose husbands

		drink more alcohol and they don't understand as well. I don't know how it is with them right now.
		I don't know about others but my friends I know. One of my friends used to beat his wife after drinking alcohol. But he has improved a lot. Others I don't know because I don't hang out that much.
		One of my elderly neighbor was also sitting next to me one day. He came home drunk. He beat me that day too without a strong reason which also shocked my neighbor. She tried to stop him. Later my brother came and stopped him."
		There was a husband who used to get drunk and beat his wife so we talked to him not to do that as it will affect their relation and children we told him "if you change everything will change.
		(talking about intervening in conflict)
		I: What was the problem over there?
		R: Husband was drinking and beating his wife.

Stopped/reduced drinking in husband	Report of stopped/reduced drinking by the husband has improved their relationship.	Women describe happiness regarding this improvement. Men talk about these changes with pride.	Men and women talk about this frequently.	<ul> <li>They say that I used to be a drunkard but now I am a changed man and ahead of my bothers.</li> <li>Yes, I was happy. Before he used to drink but I was happy to see him improved. He said they taught him what was bad and what was good.</li> <li>He used to drink and fight when came home now he comes back drunk but sleeps straightaway. It has changed I say. It's difficult to completely change your habit of drinking but his behavior is changed.</li> </ul>
				<ul> <li>I: Did you quit drinking alcohol?</li> <li>R: Yes, I don't drink. I don't shout and fight at home.</li> <li>I: You drink less or did you completely quit alcohol?</li> <li>R: I get tired as I have to work the whole day so, I do drink a little but not too much like before. We don't argue at home anymore. If I see anyone else drink like that, I try to advise him not to drink too much as it will lead to fights in the house and I tell to save the money rather than spending like that on alcohol only. (Pause) they might have to pay debts. If we save then we should not ask others for money. Those were the things I learned from the program.</li> </ul>
				Yes, there are many changes. Firstly, I have completed quit alcohol. I used to drink in the past. I had heard about it in the

				radio program where the husband who used to drink alcohol and always quarreled with his wife. After listening to the radio program, I also decided to quit alcohol. This program made me aware and also due to my family issues I was sure that I will spoil my life. Many people told me that I could not do it. Many people also used medicines to quit drinking but I was able to do it without the help of medicines. As I stopped drinking, cigarettes and chewing tobacco became my habit. But I don't use them in much quantity and I am
				working to stop cigarettes and tobacco too. The enemy was alcohol. After he quit alcohol he looks after the family nicely, he talks nicely, and discusses with us also. So, think he is happy because of that.
				I: By stop drinking, I mean you have not been drinking less than before?
				R: Yes, less than before.
Stopped/reduced drinking in community	Drinking in the community does not appear to have reduced or stopped.	Reduced drinking is described as an improvement by the program. Continued	This is only discussed frequently by men and women.	Yes, not all houses are changed. Whenever someone in the community comes drunk and fight and if the wife shares with us about the problem we talked to both husband and wife and come to conclusive understanding point. After this program it has happened with 2 families. Now they are doing good.

	drinking is described as a problem in the	Nearby our neighborhood, husband had drinking habits and used to abuse his wife but it doesn't happen now.
community.	They are all drivers there, who work all day and drink in the evening and fight.	
		We talked to him and now he stopped beating his wife. He did not stop drinking though.
		I: Yes, while attending the class.
		R: Yes, we did that. There was a taxi driver who got drunk and beat his wife. We used to go there and give him advices and suggestion.
		I: Is it okay now?
		R: Yes it is, but that guys will again do the same.
		I don't know about others but my friends I know. One of my friends used to beat his wife after drinking alcohol. But he has improved a lot. Others I don't know because I don't hang out that much.
		They understood when I told them but later again they used to get drunk and fight again.

				I: If you have remembered those days what kind of benefit did the community get?
				R: Yes, mostly it was about violence. they were listening the radio programs change started to show.
				I: Change in what?
				R: Like discussing matters in the family like reduction in drinking and fighting in home that was changed
				I: So your husband goes to talk. What does he say to them?
				R: He tells the wife to not beat her husband when he is drunk he made mistake to drink.
				I: So now do they understand?
				R: No.
Spending money on alcohol	There are men who use money they make to buy alcohol instead of	This change in spending is described as a positive impact of the program in	This is discussed frequently by men and mentioned	So I went to the program and got to learn many things. Like how to save money and its advantages. Before we didn't used to save money, I used to work the whole day and drink alcohol then return home
	putting it towards their family.	program in their lives and the community.	by two wives	When I used to drink alcohol, I wasted a lot of money. So, I can save a lot of money. The money that I used to waste in alcohol can now be used for tiffin for my child

				Whenever he goes to work and earn some money, he used to drink
				I had habit that even a little bit of money I would waste it in drinks
				In the past, I had to go and pay for the alcohol that he drank, sometimes as much as 10,000 or even 15,000 rupees. What can I do without paying it? The shopkeepers will come and shout at me too if we don't pay. The shopkeepers can't ask with him as he used to be drunk. So, I managed the money somehow and paid it. So, we couldn't even save any money. All our saving used to be spent on the alcohol. If we could have saved money, it would have been so beneficial for our family
Roaming	Men drinking is associated with roaming around at night instead of being at home.	This behavior is seen as wrong according to their new knowledge gained from the intervention.	This is infrequently mentioned	Before I used to wander around with my friends without caring about my home. Even if she called me I wouldn't care and answer her carelessly but after the program I realized that what I was doing was wrong. So I am changed and reduced those habits

Need for program	Participants would like a program to address the drinking habits of men in the community to prevent violence and improve their lives	This is talked about as important and necessary for lower castes. Dalit is mentioned a few times.	This is discussed somewhat frequently by males and females.	In those houses where they still have drinking habits or drug abuse they still have fights if we could stop it, we could stop violence against women that is my thought I'm not saying this is the only reason It is for our own goods and if this program comes and teaches others, it will be better for them and gain more knowledge. Specially while giving knowledge to people who drink a lot of alcohol. Such program should include people from low castes, and it would be better to include such couples. People here in community say that the program should include such couples. In the low caste couples, they have problem of alcoholism and conflicts, so, it would be better to engage them. Like I told you that this program would have been more effective if it was taken to lower class or Dalit. It would fulfill it's aim 100 percent. There are places here where they fight all day drink all day. Going there and talking to them for once or twice is not enough we haven't made any program and took it there.
				<ul><li>I: Did you teach the learning of the program to your community people?</li><li>R: Little bit I told them not to drink and it's negative sides but we see the requirement of the program in these "Dalit"</li></ul>
				<ul> <li>communities sometimes we talk to them. If we could do this project in their community, it will play a big role in changing the society.</li> <li>I: Any other suggestion or any questions do you have?</li> <li>R: others Not only radio programs and involve them who are in desperate need of this programs like who have drinking habits, who have daily flights at home, who don't pay attention to their family in the upper side of our village there are people who can't live without drinking they always have fight if those are involved it would be more effective. wise people are already wise. Conduct this program where they haven't understood</li> <li>My suggestion was if we could bring this program to other places or 15 couples instead of 10. We have "Dalits" who drink</li> </ul>
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				and fight during the day. It's not possible for us to go and talk to them energy time.
IPV against men	There are women who either yell at or beat their husbands when they return home from drinking.	A husband comes home drunk and the wife beats him and people intervene.	This is discussed by one woman	<ul><li>I: So your husband goes to talk. What does he say to them?</li><li>R: He tells the wife to not beat her husband when he is drunk he made mistake to drink.</li><li>I: So now do they understand?</li><li>R: No.</li><li>I: What do you think that can be done to make them understand and stop their fight?</li></ul>

	R: Husband doesn't work wife handles everything husband only goes and drinks doesn't even help his wife with chores
	R:she beats her husband a lot. When husband does not drink they are a lovely couple but whenever he drinks they fight a lot.
	I: That means this is violence against men. Are there other cases like this?
	R: No, only one. they are our neighbor.
	If I scold him then. He can't speak up. He is very simple. Like, he goes with some other people and drinks alcohol and comes (smiling) and mom and I used to scold him. He used to lock himself in the room and cried loudly. And I asked why he was crying. Mom told me that he didn't fight nor did bad things since his childhood. He can't speak up in front of elders and me as well. No matter how much I scold him, he didn't utter a word. And he says that he doesn't like fighting. He says he don't feel like talking to anyone after having a fight and walks off the other way because he will not have to deal with it.

## Figure 2: Couple comparison

	Endline		F	ĩnal		
Couple number	Male	Female	Male	Female	Husband changes (alcohol/IPV)	IPV/conflict related to alcohol in community/family? Change?
1	-	-	Change in community: There was a person who used to drink and beat his wife, after participating in the program he stopped beating his wife but still drinks Self: Learned from	-	Husband stopped drinking at endline (husband only), not discussed in midline	Drinking, beating wife Change: stopped beating wife, continued drinking
			Learned from program- anger			

	managment, eliminate drinking habit, and maintain harmony in the family	
2 -	Community: The most common problem he mediates is domestic violence when the husband drinks and fights with their wives, attributes alcoholism as the cause for domestic violence, talks to them to solve the problem	Drinking, beating wife

3	Change in self: Used to drink, stopped now Advises people not to drink Used to disturb community when drunk Saved money to pay off debt Alcohol is a waste of money, disaster for body, ruins so many things, ruins reputation, conflict in home when you come home Uses his personal example to teach others to limit drinking	Change in spouse: He admits conflict was his fault because he drank too much and it made her angry Spouse used to come home late/drink a lot, this made her angry and they would fight and stop talking for 7-10 days He quit before the program but the program made it better Family: In-laws used to	 _	Husband stopped drinking at midline (husband and wife), not discussed in endline Wife stopped beating husband when he was drunk at midline (husband)	Drinking (no beating wives)
	Community status: People drink but they don't beat their wives, drink in	counsel son not to drink and not to treat her bad; told her not to be			

	angry too much at husband		
Family:			
Father's drinking is a problem			
Change in spouse:			
Wife used to beat him when he came home drunk/ friends brought him because he passed out			
Need for program:			
Drinking is normal for caste so need to promote			
responsible drinking because stopping isn't realistic			

4	Change in self: Ability to manage conflict and advise drunk people Community: People blame him when he tries to intervene conflict Cause of conflict is alcohol Fighting is with wives in their homes Change in family: father used to drink excess amount of alcohol and this caused confrontation with his mother; he would sleep after the mother shouted at him; he also	Change in spouse: Improved bad drinking habit due to the program, loves her more after program Change in family: Improved drinking nature (does not elaborate) Family advises them not to drink alcohol/ have confrontation After watching the dramas father told them not to have alcohol because many people have become bad due to their drinking	<ul> <li>Self:</li> <li>Learned in program that drinking leads to unwanted fights, husband drinks alcohol and scolds and beats the wife</li> <li>She scolds him when he comes home drunk, he stays quiet when she scolds him and he cries loudly</li> <li>Change in spouse:</li> <li>he helps her out with the house now, he learned that after work he shouldn't go drink and go after other women he should come home</li> <li>Family:</li> <li>Brother in-law drinks and gambles and does</li> </ul>	Husband sustained reduction in drinking (reported by wife only)	Drinking, confrontation, fighting with wives in home Change: improved drinking
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father; things are changed now (does not elaborate)	Change in community: Improved drinking and smoking habit; learned from program the impact of drinking alcohol on family, children, and community Self: Got knowledge	not take care of his parents, she asked the mother to scold him because it is not suitable for her to scold her brother in- law	
	to stop drinking from program Need for		
	program: Many people in community have confrontation after getting		

drunk so they need knowledge to improve their habit		

Change in self: Used to drink after work and tussle with wife; used to spend all of his money on alcohol; Change in spouse: Happier now that he quit drinking; improved relationship; Community: Manages conflict related to alcohol use in the community; men drink after work and beat their wives; wives did not like their husbands drinking so it started conflict	Need for Program: Many people in the community used to drink alcohol so the program could be affective for them too Change in spouse: husband tells people not to drink alcohol and have confrontation and for them to tell others this advice as well Community: Says they think it is a good thing her husband was involved in the	Change in self: Used to drink and shout/argue at home, now he reduced his drinking and doesn't argue at home anymore (learned from program), he advises other people not to drink and then argue in their homes, didn't used to give importance to his family he just came home drunk and shout at family (gives example of shouting at wife for putting too much salt in the curry), learned to save money instead of going to drink after work, still practicing the things he learned	Change in self: Advises people not to fight and not to drink too much alcohol Community: There are 2-3 women in the community whose husbands drink and don't understand that forcing their wives to have physical contact is rape (she doesn't know how it is for them right now)	Husband sustained reduction in drinking (reported by husband only) Stopped having tussle, shouting, and arguing after drinking (reported by husband only)	Drinking, beating wives, confrontation Change (midline): reduced drinking and stopped beating wives Change (endline): not sustained
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program	Doesn't drink as much so there aren't fights with family and now money is being saved
	Change in spouse: Used to tell him not to drink but he is tired at the end of the day so she understands and doesn't get as angry now, fighting is reduced
	Need for program: There are a lot of people who drink and fight in the community where the program took place, they work all day and then drink and fight in the

			evening Community status: There was a man who drinks and beats his wife, he intervenes but he says he will keep doing it, alcohol makes a person more aggressive so he tells the family not to talk to him while he is drunk, in comparison to the past there is less fighting			
6	Self: Learned to minimize/control situations when men are drunk Tells people drinking is	Change in community: People used to fight/beat their wives/say vulgar words after drinking, many people are	and not let children	Change in community: People used to fight because of drinking but she doesn't see it now There are people who understood her advice	Husband reduced drinking at endline (husband only), not discussed in midline	Drinking, beating wives, confrontation Change (midline): improved
	temporary relaxation and they	improved	Learned from	not to drink and fight but they kept doing it		Change (endline): Husband says

	need to solve their problems instead of getting drunk Community: People used to drink and say it is due to family problem - some people listen to advice not to do this some do not		program the consequences of drinking (violent act, beating wife and kids, setting bad example for kids) Advises people not to drink too much alcohol because it will ruin their body and their house Community: IPV in community related to alcohol	anyways Things would be better if people didn't drink too much alcohol and fight		sustain, wife says not sustained
7	Community: Tried to explain to people about husbands helping wives with housework but they didn't listen because they were drunk	Family: Confrontation with cousin and wife, she advised the wife not to speak with him until he is not drunk and to express her opinion but also understand his	Community: People drank instead of coming to participate in the program	Change in self: Used to question husband if he was drinking when he comes home late but she does not do it anymore Change in spouse:	Husband changed drinking/beating wife at endline (wife only), not discussed in midline	Drinking, confrontation

		feelings		He used to drink and beat her, changed now (does not elaborate) Used to get angry with his family when he was a drunkard, stopped now IPV perpetrated against wife		
8	Change in spouse: used to get angry when he would drink, now she understands that males get drunk Change in self: used to beat his wife after getting drunk but now he doesn't behave badly after drinking Tries to convince people not to beat their wives after	Brought daughters to the street drama and they responded positively to the drunk scenes	Change in community: Reduction in drinking and fighting in home	_	Husband reduced drinking and stopped beating wife at midline (husband only), not discussed in endline	Drinking, conflict, fighting in home Change (endline): reduction in drinking and fighting in home

	getting drunk					
	Family/community: It is hard to talk to drunk people, sometimes conflict happens between brothers					
9	Change in self: Used to walk around drunk and speak loudly, learned not to do this	Change in spouse: Used to have a drunk nature before, situation is not the same now Used to have confrontation because of husbands drunkard nature, doesn't happen now	Change in self: Increase in confidence from program to intervene Advises people who have conflict not to drink	Change in spouse: husband stopped drinking Change in self: Happier because husband improved IPV in community: Husband goes out and drinks and doesn't help wife, wife beats husband when he drinks; IPV blamed on alcohol use	Husband sustained reduction in drinking (both at midline, wife at endline)	Drinking, beating wife, conflict *wife beats husband

10	- t 2 2 2 2 2 2 1	Learned that women are violated (sexually) by their husbands after husbands gets drunk and its harmful to women	Change in spouse: reduced drinking habits, not completely changed, change in understanding Comes home drunk and sleeps instead of fighting with her IPV perpetrated against wife (physical and sexual) - changed now - IPV in community: People who still drink still have fights Violence against women is because of alcohol, stopping alcohol use could stop violence against women Husband of neighbors come home drunk and fight with wives,	Husband reduced drinking and stopped beating/raping wife at endline (wife only), not discussed in midline	Drinking, violence against women, conflict in home Change (endline): one case improved
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				participant has intervened two families, now they are doing good (changed)		
11	Need for program: People want to know when the program is coming again, some people used to drink and the program is like medicine for them It is beneficial for people who are going through the worst situation with their spouse People addicted to alcohol need to be in the program continuously for 39	Change in community: People used to drink instead of working but now they are more cooperative	Change in self: used to waste money on drinks brothers say he used to be a drunkard and he is a change man now Most useful skill is to teach people not to drink when they drink and fight Need for program: Tells people not to drink but they need a program to help	Community: Husband who would get drunk and beat his wife (intervened, told him to change) Wives with husbands who drink and beat them want to participate in the program in the future	Husband reduced drinking at endline (husband only), not discussed in midline	Drinking, beating wives Change (midline): cooperation improved Change (endline): husbands still drink and beat wives

weeks	them (Dalit		
Individuals need to	communities)		
be aware of impact			
of beating wives			
after getting drunk,			
not getting home			
on time, lack of			
cooperation, etc.			
because they do			
these things (need			
program to learn)			
Dalit and Tharu			
communities need			
program because			
they drink and			
don't cooperate and			
drunk people			
improve their habit			
after participating			
People with			
addiction are most			
benefitted from the			
program			
Change in			
community:			
Program was good			

	for people addicted to alcohol Learned that women can tackle their husbands					
	Most people used to drink					
12	_	Change in spouse: Used to walk at evening and not help at home but now he helps, but he never drank husband used to drink and they would have conflict between each other and	Need for program: Dalit people fight and drink all day, going there once or twice to intervene is not enough they need a sufficient intervention	Need for program: Husband says they need to bring the program to people who drink and fight, there are people who already understand this but the program should be brought to people who have not learned	Husband reduced drinking at midline (wife only), not discussed in endline	Drinking, conflict

		with his family but not in present days	Change in self: after listening to the radio program decided to quit alcohol		Husband reduced drinking at	
13	NO DATA	-	Used to waste money on alcohol, uses money on children now Quit for 10-11 months, used to drink during the program Advises friends not to drink and fight, to spend more time with family	Spouse: Didn't drink in the past and doesn't drink now	endline (husband only), not discussed in midline *Wife says he never drank and does not drink now	

Need for program: Nepalese society consumes alcohol and there is violence so the program should be conducted throughout Nepal 14 Change in self: Able to manage fights between husband and wife (fight after drinking alcohol)	Change in community: Some people have stopped drinking but some husbands still drink and they have fights Doesn't see an improvement because people keep fighting Change in self: Learned they shouldn't drink and fight, men shouldn't come home and beat their wives or go to other women when their wife is at home				Drinking, fighting Change (midline): no improvement, still fighting
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Change in self: Used to drink alcohol but stopped because the program helped him with his self- confidence and motivated him not to drink Used to stay late at hotels drinking but doesn't do this anymore because people fight and do bad things after getting drunk	Change in spouse: husband quit alcohol, sometimes he drinks a little bit but he is improved a lot compared to before Husband used to roam around at night drinking and she was concerned if he got hurt they would have difficulties He used to come home drunk and come home late but he never beat her, thinks drinking alcohol is not good now Change in self:	Change in spouse: husband reduced drinking, they used to quarrel over the issue but he never beat her when he drank Stopped gambling when he stopped drinking, this improved relationship (better communication, division of household work) Husband used to drink and not pay shopkeepers for alcohol so she had to pay and couldn't save money Change in self: Happier, less stressed; used to be very stressed/angry about husband roaming/getting in an	Husband sustained reduction in drinking, never beat her (both at midline, wife at endline)	
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		extremely happy because husband quit drinking Shouts at husband when he drinks with his friends, does this because if she doesn't his drinking habit will increase again There are groups in the community that deal with drunk matters now		accident while drunk	
16	There is a man in the community with two families who would drink, participant threatened to tie him up and beat him so he would stop, community development	husband doesn't drink Change in self: Convinces people not to fight Women should	-	Community: A husband used to drink and beat his wife, they intervened (reminded him of responsibilities and convinced him to quit alcohol)	

	program said something to the man and he has decreased drinking alcohol	not keep quiet, questions why men should be allowed to drink to relieve stress and not women because women have tension too There is a person who gets angry easily and drinks during the daytime				
17	Change in self: Used to drink a lot of alcohol but quit because of program and family, replaced alcohol with cigarettes and chewing tobacco (did not use medicine to stop drinking) Stopped because he doesn't want to ruin his life and be	Change in Spouse: quit drinking alcohol; alcohol is enemy; looks after the family/talks nicely/discusses after quitting; happier They have a good relationship after he quit	Change in self: Quit alcohol, learned from program and because of concerns for his family Change in community norms stopped his drinking	Change in spouse: Used to drink while she was pregnant with 5th son and it made things difficult for her, he has stopped now and their relationship is better Conflict due to forced sex in the past; was angry when he drank Used to quit drinking for a few months and	Husband sustained reduction in drinking (both at midline, both at endline) *At midline wife predicts he will start drinking again	

familyStorUsed to drink alldrinday and night, useddrinto fight with wordsmodebut never beatproanyone even whenstopdrunkgetsStopped for twobecmonthsalcoAttributes his startgotsto drinking to wifefor(someone told himThishe was a snake)attributes familyattributes familyagaproblems to wifehisHe left his housedrinfor three monthsand became "fullyand became "fullywhebrought him backon a	topped tinking, started tinking for 6-7 onths (during togram), opped again ets spoiled ecause of cohol, if he tits he is a bod person hinks he will art drinking gain because of s pattern of tinking and opping hen he drinks e uses money n alcohol stead of giving	then start drinking again, used money earned from working on alcohol Husband misbehaves when he drinks (fights with her) he didn't care about fighting in front of young children but now her older sons are home so he stopped They used to not talk when he would drink but she made a paper agreement that he signed not to drink, if he drinks he would "quit home" He never beat her when he drinks, he married another woman but she doesn't mind as long as he
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		scolded him Change in self: biggest happiness is from husband quitting alcohol People advise her to try to understand husband's heart			
18	-	_	NO DATA	Need for program for people from low castes because they have alcohol and conflict issues	Drinking, conflict