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Exploring the Relationship Between Women's Empowerment and Gender Based

Violence Among Smallholder Farmers in La Guajira, Colombia

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By

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Bachelor of Science

San Francisco State University

2014

Thesis Chair: Kathryn Yount, PhD, MA

An abstract of

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the

Rollins School of Public Health of Emory University

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Abstract

Exploring the Relationship Between Women's Empowerment and Gender Based
Violence Among Smallholder Farmers in La Guajira, Colombia

By Camille Volper

Gender based violence (GBV) is a major public health issue affecting Colombian women.
This study examined the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV in La
Guajira, Colombia. A cross-sectional qualitative study was conducted to explore
participants perceptions surrounding their personal lived experiences, relationships with
partners, family, community, larger political context and gender normative
environment. 21 in-depth interviews were conducted with men and women smallholder
farmers, who were above the age of 18, and married or living with a partner. Interviews
took place in 11 communities in the department of La Guajira, in the northeast region of
Colombia. Women's personal lived experiences, relationships with their partners and
families heavily influenced their levels of empowerment and experiences of violence.
Furthermore, social networks, socioeconomic resources, and employment opportunities
all shaped the advancement of women in their communities. The political environment
manifested itself through participants responses. Participants cited a lack of
infrastructure, displacement, and armed conflict affecting their wellbeing. Additionally,
an un-egalitarian gender normative environment permeated every level of the social
ecology further influencing the occurrence of GBV. Cases of emotional violence, physical
violence, sexual violence and femicide were identified. The violence was situated within
a larger constellation of rigid gender norms that silenced discussions surrounding GBV.
This study was implemented in collaboration with WFP Colombia as it evaluated the
impact of the organizations gender trainings on preventing GBV. The findings from this
study have salient implications for women's empowerment interventions to further
promote gender equality and prevent GBV.

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Abbreviations

CBT	Cash Based Transfer
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
ELN	Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDG	Gender Dialogue Groups
IDI	In-Depth Interview
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IRB	Institutional Review Board
LMIC	Low and Middle-Income Countries
PI	Principal Investigator
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RA	Research Assistant
SEM	Social Ecological Model
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SHF	Small Holder Farmers
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UN	United Nations
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

Gender Based Violence

Recent studies show that gender based violence (GBV) is an extremely widespread issue. GBV includes any type of harm perpetrated against a person based on their gender and is rooted in unequal power differentials between men and women (CARE, 2013). One in three women globally have been victim to physical and/or sexual violence during their lifetime (WHO, 2018). GBV cuts across class, culture, ethnicity, and gender, however, this problem disproportionately affects Colombian women (UN, 2016). Colombia has one of the highest GBV prevalence rates in the world (Kishor and Johnson, 2004, Assaad, 2013). In Colombia, 37% of women reported experiencing physical abuse from their husband or partner in 2010 (Profamilia, 2011). Thousands of cases of GBV are reported by Colombian women each year, however, many cases go unreported, making it difficult to address the magnitude of the problem (UN, 2016).

Survivors of GBV face adverse consequences, including negative physical and mental health effects such as depression, alcohol and drug use, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), suicide, increased risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) as well as other physical injuries (Campbell, 2002; Dunkle et al., 2006). In many settings in Colombia the health services available to respond to the needs of survivors of GBV are limited and/or non-existent (WHO, 2018). In addition, many survivors of GBV may not seek medical care due to stigma and rejection from their families and larger social networks therefore

putting them at greater risk of suffering health consequences (WHO, 2018). GBV also has enormous economic costs at the community, regional and national levels (CARE, 2013). These economic costs affect a decrease in productivity, family income, health services, as well as food security thus it is a barrier to development worldwide (Krug et al., 2002; Gibson-Davis et al., 2005, CARE, 2013).

Women's Empowerment

Women's empowerment and gender equality are recognized as a central strategy to help reduce extreme poverty and gender inequality (USAID, 2016). Theory predicts women's empowerment, may help to reduce the prevalence of GBV (Tankard, Paluck and Prentice, 2019, Bulte & Lensink, 2019). There are five major realms of women's empowerment which include, production, resources, income, leadership and time (WEAI, 2018, Seymour, 2019). Feminist scholar Naila Kabeer describes empowerment as a dynamic process in which resources enable women to gain agency and/or the ability to make decisions, through which they can achieve outcomes (Kabeer, 1999). The aforementioned realms of empowerment focus on three main types of agency, intrinsic agency, instrumental agency, as well as collective agency (Kabeer, 1999, WEAI, 2018, Seymour, 2019).

Women's empowerment interventions have been implemented throughout Latin America, including in Colombia. Yet, Colombia still is one of the most unequal countries in the world with a gender inequality (GII) index of 0.383 (ranking it 87 out of 160

countries) (UNDP, 2018). An increase in Colombian women's empowerment would reduce associated negative health outcomes, as well as promote economic and social advancements for women (UNDP, 2017).

Colombian Context

Colombia has a population of 49.1 million with many people of Indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and 'Mestizo' descent (CIA, 2018). There is a large diversity of ethnic groups, considerable number of vulnerable populations, as well as the high rates of internally displaced people (IDP) (WFP, 2017). These experiences of displacement have been exacerbated by the last six decades of armed conflict in Colombia (Wirtz et. al, 2014).

Political conflict and armed violence in Colombia began in 1958 between the Colombian Government, and armed guerilla groups (Wirtz et. al, 2014). Since then Colombia has been faced with a protracted civil conflict between the government of Colombia, paramilitaries, and as well as other insurgent armed groups (CIA, 2018). Two primary insurgent groups remain active in Colombia, the rural farmer centered Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) and the urban liberation theology focused Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN) (UN,2016). Women are said to make up close to 40% of the FARC group and between 25%-33% of the ELN group (UN, 2016). Over the past six decades roughly 7.5 million people have been displaced by the conflict, from 6.6 million hectares of land (Wirtz et. al, 2014, UN, 2016). Additionally, more than half of internally displaced people in Colombia are women and girls (WFP, 2017). In Colombia, an

increase in armed groups and a decrease in security has resulted in a breakdown of social and protective networks, thus increasing women's risk of experiencing GBV (WHO, 2018).

La Guajira, Colombia

La Guajira is a distinct geographic, economic and cultural region bordering the Caribbean Sea and Venezuela. It is one of Colombia's poorest departments, with 53% of its inhabitants living in poverty (DANE, 2014). The main challenges facing communities in La Guajira include extreme poverty, lack of access to socioeconomic resources, structural unemployment and low-wage agricultural labor (Jaramillo, 2014). The region is home to a large majority of Colombia's Indigenous and Afro-Colombian populations. In La Guajira 45% percent of the population is Indigenous, and 15% percent are Afro-Colombian (DANE, 2014). Violence disproportionately affects these ethnic minorities, as they constitute 73% of the people affected by mass displacement from conflict (WFP, 2017).

Figure 1. Department of La Guajira. Shadowfox (2012). Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=22488799

The political environment in the department of La Guajira makes it difficult for people living in the department to access basic socioeconomic resources necessary for survival (Jaramillo, 2014). The barriers facing the department include structural inequalities,

weak infrastructure, armed conflict and tensions over mining (WFP, 2017). The situation is aggravated by the facts that the marginalized ethnic groups that live in La Guajira have been historically marginalized by the state (Jaramillo, 2014). In La Guajira, 90% of the dispersed rural population and victims of conflict cannot meet their basic needs (WFP, 2017).

Social Protection Programs

To promote women's empowerment in Colombia, the World Food Programme (WFP) implemented a food security and nutrition program. This program was developed for smallholder farmers associations, with a focus on women, marginalized ethnic groups and survivors of violence. The program included trainings on nutrition, gender equality, and the prevention of GBV. The prevention of GBV contributes to food security and nutrition on the basis of evidence that food insecurity correlates with the frequency of violence in households (WFP, 2017). The WFP gender rights trainings provide opportunities for women to take part in livelihood and decision-making processes (WFP, 2017). The trainings target both men and women who are members of the associations with the aim to engage men as allies to prevent GBV.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to understand the relationship between women's empowerment and gender-based violence (GBV). Additionally, it aimed to explore the perceptions and experiences surrounding women's personal lived experiences,

relationships with their partners, family, community as well as the larger political

context and gender normative environment and how these factors influence the

occurrence of GBV.

Research Objective

In order to adequately describe men and women's perceptions of personal experiences

surrounding women's empowerment and GBV in La Guajira, Colombia it is vital to

understand the influencing factors at each level of the social ecology. The aims of this

study are as follows: (1) Explore how women's empowerment manifests among

Colombian women's life course. (2) Understand how women's personal lived

experiences, relationships with their partners, family, community as well as the larger

political context and gender normative environment influence women's empowerment

and their experiences of GBV.

Significance

Research looking at the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV in La

Guajira, Colombia is limited. Thus, in-depth qualitative data on women's empowerment

and GBV are needed to understand the perceptions and experiences of those living in

the region. The present study consisted of 21 in-depth interviews (IDIs), with

participants who were members of WFP's smallholder farmer associations in the

department of La Guajira, Colombia. Findings from this thesis will assist in guiding and

expanding research and program development on pathways between women's

empowerment and GBV in La Guajira, Colombia.

Theoretical Application

An integrated social-ecological framework for understanding the etiology of GBV

informed this research. Lori Heise introduced this framework in 1998 to frame the

causes of violence in personal, historical and sociocultural context. This theoretical

framework was developed in response to the activism revolving around violence against

women (VAW). The framework accounts for and aims to understand the varying factors

that operate on different levels that influence GBV. It gives space to explain the diversity

in narratives and why violence may occur in one context but not another. It rejects the

notion that male dominance is the single factor influencing VAW and instead explains

that violence is influenced by a myriad of factors on different levels. This framework is

broken down by the individual, microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem levels. In

order to fully address GBV it is necessary to focus on each level of this framework, as

individuals are embedded in a constellation of norms. It is important to address that

there is not a simple, causal pathway to violence. To understand GBV a social-ecological

framework is necessary for a holistic interpretation that addresses the personal,

socioeconomic and structural factors at play.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to explore women's empowerment and its relationship to gender based violence (GBV). Recent studies show that GBV is a widespread issue reflecting structural inequalities in society, however, its magnitude is only beginning to be researched and recognized among the global community (UN, 2016). The full scope of the problem is not yet known (UN, 2016). The multitude of negative health effects for survivors include an increased risk of STIs, physical injuries and mental health issues (Campbell, 2002; Ahmed et al., 2006; Dunkle et al., 2006). Additionally, GBV has been shown to limit the degree to which women are able to work, earn an income and independently make decisions about their personal health, and the health of their children (Krug et al., 2002; Gibson-Davis et al., 2005).

Literature shows that the empowerment of women is recognized as a central strategy to help alleviate extreme poverty globally (WHO, 2018). A decrease in gender inequality would promote economic and social advancements as well as reduce associated negative health outcomes (UN, 2017). There is a growing interest in researching and addressing the need for interventions seeking to end GBV. This literature review further examines how interventions have worked to empower women and prevent GBV. The rationale is that skill building programs and interventions that strengthen women's empowerment reduce their risk of GBV (Gupta et. al, 2013). This following review of

literature will explore the relationship between women's empowerment and gender based violence in Colombia and globally.

Gender Based Violence

The United Nations first defined violence against women in 1993 as "any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life." In the year 2012 gender based violence was more comprehensively defined in the United States Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence Globally as "violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity, or perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity…gender-based violence is rooted in structural inequalities between men and women and is characterized by the use and abuse of physical, emotional, or financial power and control". This definition was groundbreaking in that it identified the various factors that influence GBV such as the structural factors that are present in society.

There are many physical and emotional consequences of GBV. Research shows that gender based violence negatively affects the health, safety, and autonomy of women and girls across the life course (UNFPA, 2018). Survivors of gender based violence often suffer from negative health outcomes such as unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions, STI's, HIV/AIDS, rape, physical injuries, mental health issues among others (Campbell,

2002; Ahmed et al., 2006; Dunkle et al., 2006). These negative health outcomes impact women's ability to carry out daily tasks and care for themselves and their families.

There are many risk factors for experiencing gender based violence (Stark et. al, 2018). In a study done on intimate partner violence (IPV) in Colombia, using data from the 2005 Demographic Health Survey (DHS) researchers found that violence has varying culture-specific characteristics, and risk factors in every setting (Friedemann-Sánchez & Lovatón, 2012). This study found that the main risk factors for experiencing IPV were exposure to violence as a child, rigid gender norms, lower socioeconomic status (SES), substance abuse, living in a conflict zone or being an internally displaced person (IDP) (Friedemann-Sánchez & Lovatón, 2012). Another study done in Colombia indicated that 44% of women who were affected by displacement were survivors of IPV (Sanchez Lara et al. 2008, Assaad, 2013). Research on other countries around the world that have experienced ongoing armed conflict also demonstrate that levels of gender based violence increase among women who live or have lived in areas with armed conflict (Annan & Brier 2010; Usta, Farver & Zein, 2008). An additional qualitative study looking gender based violence in conflict settings among displaced women in Colombia documented that GBV may increase in conflict settings as there is an increase in new vulnerabilities such as economic and educational disparities, post-traumatic stress, loss of social support, and financial hardship (Wirtz et. al, 2014). Gender based violence significantly increased due to these underlying factors associated with conflict and displacement (Wirtz et. al, 2014). The qualitative findings were supported by Colombia's

DHS data from 2010. In an additional qualitative study analyzing the ways in which the Indigenous people living the in the Northern rural department of La Guajira, Colombia have been affected by the armed conflict in Colombia the author specifically explored the genealogy of violence. The study consisted of 38 semi structured interviews and looked at how different actors such as the government, paramilitary groups, social programs, NGO's, Indigenous leaders, families and social networks interact and affect levels of violence (Jaramillo, 2014). The study highlighted how the Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities in La Guajira, Colombia have been historically marginalized and victimized which makes them more vulnerable and at risk for experiencing violence (Jaramillo, 2014). There is increased risk of GBV in conflict settings as social structures break down, norms regulating social behavior weaken, families are separated and there is increased military presence.

Women's Empowerment

To understand a concept as multi-faceted as empowerment, it is important to recognize that there are many definitions (Ramos & Viviana, 2017). Researchers have struggled to define women's empowerment, and have found that it varies greatly across contexts (Eyben & Napier- Moore, 2009). Naila Kabeer views empowerment as "a process of change during which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability" (Kabeer, 1999). This definition of empowerment focuses on a woman's ability to make decisions and have free will. These steps that lead to women's empowerment are shaped by women's levels of agency, achievements as well as

available socioeconomic resources (Kabeer, 1999). In a study by Valentine Moghadam

and Lucie Senftova, they define empowerment as a "multi-dimensional process of civil,

political, social, economic, and cultural participation and rights" (Moghadam & Senftova,

2005). This definition is distinct in that it looks at participation and rights as the main

indicators in women's empowerment (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005).

These definitions imply that empowerment is a constant dynamic process of change

(Kabeer, 1999). The process of empowerment entails going from being in a state of

'disempowerment' to 'empowerment' (Mahmud, Shah, & Becker, 2012). There are

many defining features to empowerment, the first being agency, which is defined as the

"ability to define one's goals and act upon them" (Kabeer, 1999). Researchers recognize

the underlying structures that constrain or support women's agency and ability to

exercise choice (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009). The realms of women's empowerment

focus on three main types of agency: intrinsic agency, or a power within and

understanding of one's rights and self-worth, instrumental agency, or the awareness of

capabilities and rights and power to make decisions in their own interest, and collective

agency, or the power gained from acting together with other people according to

shared interests (Kabeer, 1999, WEAI, 2018, Seymour, 2019).

Another element to empowerment is access to resources that a woman gains from her

family, community and surrounding economy (Mahmud, Shah, & Becker, 2012). In

exploring the conditions which limit or support women's agency, resources help guide

the process of change (Mahmud, Shah, & Becker, 2012). Resources additionally enable women to gain further agency and/or the ability to make decisions, through which they can achieve outcomes (Kabeer, 1999). Finally, women's life experience such as her family, partner, community and socioeconomic status (SES) all shape the opportunities available to her (Mahmud, Shah, & Becker, 2012). Each of these elements are vital in understanding and further measuring women's empowerment.

Although women's empowerment can be defined in many ways it is often distinguished between participation in social, economic and political spaces (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005). These different dimensions of empowerment can be mutually reinforcing. Indicators used to measure empowerment, need to be measured across different dimensions and pathways, because there may be variation in women's experiences across spaces. For example, in a quantitative research study looking at husbands' household authority among farmers in rural Guatemala, found women's own income generation was related to greater participation in household decision-making (Carter, 2004).

Literature shows empowerment is dependent on multiple factors, that are often context specific (Eyben & Napier-Moore, 2009). The process and pathways to change vary depending on the context, and even within similar settings women may not experience empowerment in the same way. For example, in a study measuring women's empowerment through participation in civil, political, social, economic and cultural

domains, researchers found that for groups who have been unequally marginalized, empowerment often comes from macro level changes in policy and legal reform, as well as through further social and economic development (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005).

Relationship Between Women's Empowerment and Gender Based Violence

Women often have little influence or agency and violence has been shown to limit the degree to which women are able to work, earn an income and independently make decisions about their own health (Cherry & Hategekimana, 2013). There are many studies that show when there is greater gender equality, there are less occurrences of GBV and associated negative outcomes (UN, 2017). A study focused on gender inequality among farmers organizations in Nicaragua found that the investment in women, has positive effects and further led to investment in rural development (Manchin & Macleod, 2010). Women's contribution is often overlooked due to their invisible labor, however through gender mainstreaming activities among rural farmers in Nicaragua, women's contributions to agriculture became increasingly visible. The women benefited from these changes and were able to claim their space and rights alongside their male counterparts (Manchin & Macleod, 2010).

There have been a select number of interventions focused on women's empowerment that have evaluated how specific programs impact rates of gender based violence. In a study done conceptualizing the agency of highly marginalized women they found that understanding women's agency and empowerment is vital when designing future interventions and policies (Campbell & Mannell, 2016). The following will highlight

interventions aimed at reducing gender based violence through the empowerment of women.

Social Empowerment Interventions

Research shows that social empowerment interventions focused on challenging harmful gender norms and biases, may play a vital role in reducing gender based violence (Gupta et. al, 2013). The rationale is that these interventions in addition to economic empowerment interventions are critical to reducing gender based violence, as on their own they may not be sufficient (Gupta et. al, 2013).

An evaluation of an intervention engaging couples in Cote d'Ivoire on a range or gender related issues as well as household dynamics, found that social empowerment interventions coupled with economic empowerment interventions can be successful in reducing GBV (Gupta et. al, 2013). Participation in gender dialogue groups (GDG) was offered to half of the women participating in a Village Savings and Loan Association (VSLA) program (Gupta et. al, 2013). The women participants who were part of the GDG's experienced lower levels of IPV than those who were only a part of the VSLA program (Gupta et. al, 2013). Women who attended at least three-quarters of the gender sessions had a 55% decrease in experiencing physical violence by the end of the program (Gupta et. al, 2013). Women in the GDGs also reported experiencing less emotional and sexual violence since participating in the program (Gupta et. al, 2013).

This indicates that interventions aimed at challenging harmful gender norms can play an important role in preventing GBV.

The engagement of men is critical on the pathway to women's empowerment. Evaluations have demonstrated that the bystander model in some cases is an effective approach in engaging men, while shifting social norms to reduce instances of gender based violence (Salazar et. al, 2014). These trainings are often resource intensive and limited in their sustainability and reach, however utilizing web based platforms to deliver health related interventions has proven to be a successful method of implementing trainings (Salazar et. al, 2014). In one study on binge drinking behaviors among college students it showed that web based trainings were preferred over in person interventions (Salazar et. al, 2014). In an additional study evaluating the development of a web based sexual violence prevention program, 'RealConsent' targeted young college students who were male and trained them using the bystander approach (Salazar et. al, 2014). The results indicate that study participants were significantly less likely to engage in sexual violence perpetration and significantly more like to intervene when they encountered a situation of sexual violence, 6 months after the study ended (Salazar et. al, 2014).

Economic Empowerment Interventions

The economic costs of gender based violence are enormous and affect the greater society as a whole (WHO, 2018). Women who experience violence may suffer from

many consequences such as lack of ability to make choices in their best interests,

isolation from their families and social networks, lack of ability to participate in the

community, unemployment and/or low wage labor (WHO, 2018). Economic

empowerment programs include agricultural interventions, cash based transfer (CBT)

programs, group savings programs, microfinance loans among others.

Research shows that economic empowerment interventions typically reduce instances

of violence. In an agricultural intervention done in post conflict Rwanda, researchers

found that when women became involved in farming cooperatives and gained a sense

of economic independence, they experienced less gender based violence (Cherry &

Hategekimana, 2013). This was achieved primarily through two activities, the first being

a 'bottom-up' process of women's empowerment at the community level through

farming cooperatives and the second being a program of security reform focusing on

reducing GBV. These strategies were effective in reducing gender based violence as they

focused on empowerment and the grassroots involvement of women in the monitoring,

policing and conflict management as well as through participation in economic activities

in their own communities (Cherry & Hategekimana, 2013). In a CBT program done in

Ecuador, the intervention assessed two CBT methods (cash and voucher transfers). This

study showed that the CBT program reduced multiple forms of IPV, and reduced

moderate physical and sexual violence by 38-43%, indicating that violence was not being

used to take control of women's economic resources (Hidrobo, Peterman & Heise,

2016). In the Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity program in

South Africa, the implementers distributed microfinance loans to low income women and included participatory training on HIV prevention, domestic violence, gender norms and sexuality (Kim et.al, 2007). Results found that women's experience of violence reduced by 55%, which suggests that economic empowerment interventions, coupled with education on domestic violence prevention can lead to overall reductions in GBV (Kim et. al, 2007).

Political Empowerment Interventions

Interventions aimed at the political empowerment of women, provide women with platforms to engage in making the decisions that affect their lives, and the lives of other women. When women are politically empowered they are able to advocate for themselves and others (Costa, 2010). These interventions also provide grass roots opportunities for women to engage in the democratic process.

Programs to develop gender based quotas to enable women to be elected to political roles have been implemented in several countries (Moghadam & Senftova, 2005). In a study looking at if gender quotas foster political engagement among women in Latin America, the quantitative analyses indicated that once in office women are often faced with patriarchal political structures that limit their political activity (Costa, 2010). There is also no guarantee that women will act in favor of women's rights (Costa, 2010).

Studies show that women have yet to achieve full participation in politics in Colombia

(UN, 2016). While national laws in Colombia require 30% of cabinet positions to be held

by women, representation is still low. Colombia is ranked number 70 out of 190

countries in terms of representation of women in political positions(UN, 2016). At the

local department level, Colombian women are extremely underrepresented in political

spheres. In 2013 women held, 9% of mayoral positions and 6% of governor positions,

and there were no women elected for either position in seven departments (UN, 2016).

In rural departments of Colombia there are many barriers to women's political

participation such as ethnic status, patriarchal gender roles, as well as lack of access to

socioeconomic resources and educational opportunities. In a report looking at the

human rights of Indigenous women in Colombia the authors found that these structural

barriers are especially hindering to Afro-Colombian and Indigenous women making it

difficult for them to participate in political positions at the community, department and

state levels (CEDAW,2013). This highlights the need for a strong feminist movement

with grassroots support because in order for women to attain empowerment,

participation in political spaces is key (Costa, 2010).

Barriers to Interventions

Although there is evidence of a relationship between women's empowerment and a

reduction in gender based violence, there are also studies that show that when women

are empowered it actually increases their risk of experiencing GBV. In a qualitative study

done exploring agency among internally displaced women (IDP) in Haiti, the authors

noted that structural factors such as patriarchal gender norms, women's financial

dependence on men, and lack of agency often silence discussions surrounding VAW

(Logie & Daniel, 2016). Although there was stigma and silence surrounding GBV, focus

group discussions (FGDs) highlighted women's experiences of multiple forms of

violence, especially physical and sexual violence (Logie & Daniel, 2016). In a previous

study on IPV in Colombia, researchers found that among certain social groups IPV is

'integral to the social norms that govern relationships among sexual partners'

(Friedemann-Sánchez & Lovatón, 2012). This study also discovered that men used

violence as a way to assert their masculinity and dominance over women (Friedemann-

Sánchez & Lovatón, 2012). Similarly, in a study on perspectives on women headed

households in Latin America and Southern Africa, research found that empowered

women are stigmatized in many ways. Drawing on case studies from FGDs in Guatemala

and Botswana, data showed that there is an aversion and social stigma surrounding the

breakdown of the typical gender roles, regardless of findings on how gender equality is

beneficial to the women, their family and society in general (Datta & McIlwaine, 2000).

Interventions must focus on the economic empowerment as well as social and political

empowerment of women because on their own these interventions often fail to

explicitly address the harmful gender norms and structures that make GBV possible.

Gaps in the Literature

There is little published research looking at the relationship between women's

empowerment and gender based violence, as there are many challenges in

implementing GBV programs. This literature review examined women's empowerment interventions impact on GBV in Colombia and globally. There were no programs that looked at empowerment interventions specifically addressing GBV. In many settings GBV is often not fully understood, highly stigmatized, and not viewed as a priority. Therefore, further research is needed in order to better understand the effectiveness of women's empowerment programs in reducing GBV.

Colombia has its own unique context, that must be taken into consideration when developing future interventions. Research can be further assessed to explore approaches that have worked and have not worked in past programs. A qualitative study exploring women's empowerment and gender based violence in La Guajira, Colombia allows for a better understanding of the level of empowerment among the women and their experiences with GBV, as well as the sociocultural context. Increased knowledge on these issues will better inform recommendations for successful programming of future interventions focused on promoting gender equality, empowering women and preventing GBV.

Chapter 3: Manuscript

Title Page

Exploring the Relationship Between Women's Empowerment and Gender Based

Violence Among Smallholder Farmers in La Guajira, Colombia

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Student Contribution [Required for Rollins Thesis Only; Not for Publication]

The student researcher conceptualized the research project with the help of the thesis chair, Dr. Kathryn Yount. Study objectives created by the student researcher and Dr. Yount were later modified by WFP Colombia. The student researcher developed the data collection tools and wrote and prepared the research proposal. Meetings took place with WFP Colombia staff to further plan the research proposal.

The student researcher conducted data collection with the assistance of WFP Colombia staff during summer of 2018. Once data was collected the student researcher worked with an undergraduate research assistant to transcribe a sub sample of 11 interviews for analysis. The student researcher then memoed and coded the transcribed sample of interviews to complete a thematic analysis. The researcher prepared and wrote the manuscript for publication, including the creation of all figures and tables.

Abstract

Gender based violence (GBV) is a major public health issue affecting Colombian women. This study examined the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV in La Guajira, Colombia. A cross-sectional qualitative study was conducted to explore participants perceptions surrounding their personal lived experiences, relationships with partners, family, community, larger political context and gender normative environment. 21 in-depth interviews were conducted with men and women smallholder farmers, who were above the age of 18, and married or living with a partner. Interviews took place in 11 communities in the department of La Guajira, in the northeast region of Colombia. Women's personal lived experiences, relationships with their partners and families heavily influenced their levels of empowerment and experiences of violence. Furthermore, social networks, socioeconomic resources, and employment opportunities all shaped the advancement of women in their communities. The political environment manifested itself through participants responses. Participants cited a lack of infrastructure, displacement, and armed conflict affecting their wellbeing. Additionally, an un-egalitarian gender normative environment permeated every level of the social ecology further influencing the occurrence of GBV. Cases of emotional violence, physical violence, sexual violence and femicide were identified. The violence was situated within a larger constellation of rigid gender norms that silenced discussions surrounding GBV. This study was implemented in collaboration with WFP Colombia as it evaluated the impact of the organizations gender trainings on preventing GBV. The findings from this study have salient implications for women's empowerment interventions to further promote gender equality and prevent GBV.

Keywords: Gender Based Violence, Women's Empowerment, Agency, Armed Conflict, La Guajira, Colombia

Introduction:

Gender based violence (GBV) is a prevalent and deeply rooted problem in Colombia

(Wirtz et. al, 2014). While GBV cuts across class, culture, ethnicity, and gender, this

problem disproportionately affects Colombian women, as Colombia has one of the

highest GBV prevalence rates in the world (Kishor and Johnson, 2004, Assaad, 2013). In

Colombia, 37% of women reported experiencing physical abuse from their husband or

partner in 2010 (Profamilia, 2011). Survivors of GBV face adverse consequences,

including negative physical and mental health effects such as depression, alcohol, and

drug use, post-traumatic stress disorder, suicide, increased risk of STI's as well as other

physical injuries (Campbell, 2002; Dunkle et al., 2006). Gender based violence also leads

to dramatic economic losses at the community and national levels. Violence has been

shown to limit the degree to which women are able to work, earn an income and

independently make decisions about their own health, thus it is a barrier to

development worldwide (Krug et al., 2002; Gibson-Davis et al., 2005).

Women's empowerment and gender equality are recognized as a central strategy to

help reduce extreme poverty (USAID, 2016). Feminist theorists predict that women's

empowerment also may help to reduce the prevalence of GBV (Tankard, Paluck and

Prentice, 2019). Empowerment is a dynamic process in which resources enable women

to gain agency and/or the ability to make decisions, through which they can achieve

outcomes (Kabeer, 1999). Women's empowerment can be explored through three

forms of agency: intrinsic agency, or a power within and sense of self-worth,

instrumental agency, or the power to make decisions in their own interest, and collective agency, or the power gained from acting with others (Kabeer, 1999).

Women's empowerment interventions have been implemented throughout Latin America, including in Colombia. Yet, Colombia still is one of the most unequal countries in the world with a gender inequality (GII) index of 0.383 (ranking it 87 out of 160 countries) (UNDP, 2018). A decrease in gender inequality would reduce associated negative health outcomes, as well as promote economic and social advancements for women (UNDP, 2017).

To promote women's empowerment in Colombia, the World Food Programme (WFP) implemented a food security and nutrition program. This program was developed for smallholder farmers associations, with a focus on women, marginalized ethnic groups and survivors of violence. The program included trainings on nutrition, gender equality, and the prevention of GBV. The prevention of GBV contributes to food security and nutrition on the basis of evidence that food insecurity correlates with the frequency of violence in households (WFP, 2017). The WFP gender trainings provide opportunities for women to take part in livelihood and decision-making processes (WFP, 2017). The trainings target men and women who are members of the associations with the aim to engage men as allies to prevent GBV.

Colombia is a multi-ethnic country with many people of Indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and 'Mestizo' descent (Sanchez and Lovaton, 2012). World Food Programme chose multiple rural departments of Colombia as study sites due to the diversity of ethnic groups, considerable number of vulnerable populations, as well as the high rates of internally displaced people (IDP) (WFP, 2017). Particularly since displaced populations are especially vulnerable to GBV (Wirtz et. al, 2014). These experiences of displacement coupled with GBV have been exacerbated by the last six decades of protracted civil conflict in Colombia, which displaced 7.5 million people (Wirtz et. al, 2014).

This study took place in 11 communities in the department of La Guajira, Colombia and aimed to assess the relationship between women's empowerment and gender-based violence (GBV) among smallholder farmers. La Guajira is a distinct geographic, economic and cultural region bordering the Caribbean Sea and Venezuela. It is one of Colombia's poorest departments, with 53% of its inhabitants living in poverty (DANE, 2014). The main challenges facing these communities include extreme poverty, lack of access to socioeconomic resources, structural unemployment and low-wage agricultural labor (Jaramillo, 2014). The region is home to a large majority of Colombia's Afro-Colombian and Indigenous populations. In La Guajira, 45% percent of the population is Indigenous, with the largest Indigenous group identifying as Wayuu, and 15% percent are Afro-Colombian (DANE, 2014). Violence disproportionately affects ethnic minorities, as they constitute 73% of the people affected by mass displacement (WFP, 2017).

Additionally, more than half of displaced people in Colombia are women and girls (WFP, 2017).

The social and political environment in Colombia makes it difficult for people living in the department of La Guajira to access basic services necessary for survival (Jaramillo, 2014). The main challenges facing the department include structural inequalities, weak infrastructure, armed conflict and tensions over mining (WFP, 2017). In La Guajira, 90% of the dispersed rural population and victims of conflict cannot meet their basic needs (WFP, 2017). The situation is aggravated by the facts that the marginalized ethnic groups that live in La Guajira have been historically marginalized by the state (Jaramillo, 2014).

Research looking at the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV in La Guajira, Colombia is limited. Thus, in-depth qualitative data on women's empowerment and GBV are needed to understand the perceptions and experiences of those living in the region. The present study consisted of 21 in-depth interviews (IDIs), with participants who were members of WFP's smallholder farmer associations in the department of La Guajira, Colombia. The purpose of this study was to explore the perceptions and experiences surrounding women's personal lived experiences, levels of empowerment, relationships, socioeconomic status, political context, gender norms, and GBV.

Theoretical Framework

An integrated social-ecological framework for understanding the etiology of GBV informed this research. Lori Heise introduced this framework in 1998 to frame the causes of violence in a personal, historical and sociocultural context. This theoretical framework was developed in response to the activism revolving around violence against women. The framework accounts for and aims to understand the varying factors that operate on different levels that influence GBV. It gives space to explain the diversity in narratives and why violence may occur in one context but not another. It rejects the notion that male dominance is the single factor influencing violence against women and instead explains that violence is influenced by a myriad of factors on different levels. This framework is broken down by the individual, microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem levels. In order to fully address GBV, it is necessary to focus on each level of this framework, as individuals are embedded in a constellation of norms. It is important to address that there is not a simple, causal pathway to violence. To understand GBV a social-ecological framework is necessary for a holistic interpretation that addresses the personal, socioeconomic and structural factors at play.

Methodology:

Study Design

This cross-sectional qualitative study intended to explore the relationship between women's empowerment and gender based violence (GBV) among smallholder farmers in Colombia. In-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted to further explore both men and

women's individual perceptions on empowerment, socioeconomic status, gender norms, perspectives on gender based violence, and potential interventions that help assist them. The study was a collaboration between the World Food Progamme (WFP) Colombia and Emory University. The study aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of trainings to increase women's empowerment and to reduce women's risk of experiencing IPV. The research presented reflects the findings from a purposive sample of eleven IDIs.

Study Setting

The department of La Guajira, in the Northeast region of Colombia was chosen as the data collection site in collaboration with WFP Colombia, due to the department's ethnic diversity, considerable number of vulnerable populations, large number of IDPs and minimal safety and security concerns relative to the rest of the country (WFP, 2017). The ethnic makeup of the IDI's was determined by the geographical location of the department. The department also was chosen, as WFP Colombia had previously established partnerships with local communities, NGO's, social protection programs and other stakeholders.

Participant Selection and Recruitment Strategy

WFP staff assisted the research team in recruitment through the use of a gate-keeper approach (Hennick, 2011). The WFP sub-office selected 11 communities in the department of La Guajira. The communities were located in five different municipalities

within the department. The municipalities were Riohacha, Uribia, Maicao, Manaure, and

Dibulla. This allowed for heterogeneity of experiences among the different communities

within the municipalities. The communities were selected due to having partnered and

received prior trainings and aid from WFP Colombia.

WFP sub-office staff contacted community leaders, who invited community members to

take part in the study. WFP staff explained the purpose of the study, eligibility criteria,

and the specific times when the research would take place. The community leaders then

invited members of their communities to take part in the study, on the specified date

and time organized by WFP. The research team was accompanied by a member of

WFP's sub-office staff to each community. The WFP staff member further explained the

purpose of the study in the native language of Wayuunaiki and recruited for volunteers.

To participate, individuals had to be members of WFP's formal network of farmer

associations, be above the age of 18, and married or living with a partner. To gain a wide

range of perspectives the principal investigator (PI) included women and men, of

different marginalized ethnic groups (Afro-Colombian and Wayuu). Incentives were not

provided to the participants of the study.

Sample Size and Stratification

To ensure saturation, a total of 21 interviews were conducted with 9 men and 12

women. One to two men and women were interviewed per community. The results

presented here are based on the findings from a sub-sample of 11 qualitative

interviews. Of the chosen sample of 11 participants, five were male and six were female. All men and five women identified as Indigenous Wayuu people, and one woman identified and Afro-Colombian. Participants all were above the age of eighteen. In addition, the PI took field notes on topics covered in each interview at the end of the day to ensure that saturation was occurring.

Data Collection Tools and Piloting

Qualitative data were collected through the use of in-depth interviews (IDIs). The IDI's allowed for the exploration of men and women's individual perceptions on empowerment, socio-economic status, gender norms, perspectives on gender based violence, and potential interventions that could help assist them. The PI developed the IDI guide in English and then translated it into Spanish. WFP Colombia's Bogota office staff gender specialist reviewed the Spanish guide to ensure that the questions were relevant to the study context. The guide was further reviewed by the WFP sub-office director in La Guajira to ensure cultural appropriateness.

Piloting of the IDI guide took place in one community in the municipality of Riohacha, La Guajira. WFP sub-office staff chose the community because community members shared similar experiences with those living where data collection would occur. A total of two IDI's were conducted providing adequate piloting of the interview guide. The PI made minor revisions to the guide, based on any confusion that participants experienced with specific questions.

Conducting In-Depth Interviews

One interviewer trained in qualitative research methods and fluent in Spanish conducted all IDIs. The interviewer conducted the interviews in Spanish. The interviewer recorded all interviews with the permission and consent of the participants. The interviews lasted between thirty minutes to one hour and all took place in private locations. Often the location was an association's regular meeting space or a participant's house. At either location, a private room or section of a patio away from other community members was used to conduct the interviews. The interviewer then explained the purpose of the interview and answered any questions. Before beginning, participants were given informed consent and asked to sign and document their consent. The interviewer also reassured confidentiality throughout the interview due to the sensitive nature of the topics covered. Interviews concluded by thanking participants and asking if they had any comments.

The interviewer continuously observed the participants' comfort level and body language during the interviews. Notes, jottings, and memos taken during the interviews were compiled at the end of each day to further ensure that saturation was occurring.

Ethics and Informed Consent

The PI submitted a research protocol to the institutional review board (IRB) at Emory University in May 2018. The research protocol was exempt and issued a non-research

determination in June 2018. Although the research was exempt all participants' personal information remained anonymous and de-identified.

Before beginning each interview, the interviewer provided participants with informed consent and further explained the purpose of the interview including risks and benefits, verified participant eligibility, and answered any additional questions participants had. The entire consent process indicated and strongly emphasized the participants' choice to participate in the research study. Participants were also informed that they could stop the interview at any time and/or skip any question that they did not feel comfortable answering. Participants had the opportunity to consent to engage in the interview and to be audio recorded for the duration of the interview. Due to the sensitive nature of the interview, participants were also informed that they could take breaks at any point throughout the interview if needed. The interviewer gave participants an opportunity to ask any clarifying question before obtaining both verbal and signed consent. Every participant invited to participate in the research study consented to the interview. To respect participants' varying levels of literacy, participants were given the option to give written consent by either signing or giving a fingerprint using a stamp provided by the interviewer. Once the participant provided consent, the interviewer started recording and began the interview.

Data Management and Transcription

The PI recorded all interviews using a WFP designated digital audio recorder. The PI

uploaded all audio files onto a password-protected computer and then transferred them

onto the secure and encrypted Emory Box drive. Audio files were then erased from the

audio recorder and the PI's computer. Emory University Research Assistants (RA's) who

are fluent in Spanish assisted in the transcription of the recordings. All RA's completed

the CITI training through Emory University and were added to the IRB protocol. The RA's

received access to the Spanish audio files through the secure and encrypted Emory Box

drive. They then listened to the audio files and provided a verbatim Spanish

transcription. While transcribing the participants' information was de-identified to

maintain anonymity and confidentiality. All transcriptions were compiled and stored on

Emory's Box drive. The Spanish transcripts were then uploaded onto the qualitative data

analysis software MAXQDA 2018 for analysis.

Data Analysis

Due to time constraints, a sample of 11 interviews were selected for transcription and

analysis. Data analysis took place using MAXQDA 2018. This software package was used

for memo writing, coding and analyzing the sample of transcripts. After transcription

was complete, the PI annotated and continued the process of memo writing all

transcripts. This allowed for initial observations, and preliminary themes to emerge

from the data. After further reviewing the data, the PI developed a codebook containing

both inductive and deductive codes (Hennick, 2011). The PI used the themes that

emerged from the data to create standard definitions for all codes created. The PI and

RA established an inter-coder reliability agreement to ensure the accuracy of all codes.

Transcripts were then re-read and re-coded using the updated and revised codebook.

The interviews were stratified by gender, which allowed for a subgroup analysis to

explore the differences and similarities between their perceptions. All analysis was

conducted in Spanish.

Results:

Figure 2. Adapted social-ecological model of relationships between personal history,

women's degrees of empowerment, socioeconomic status, the political environment

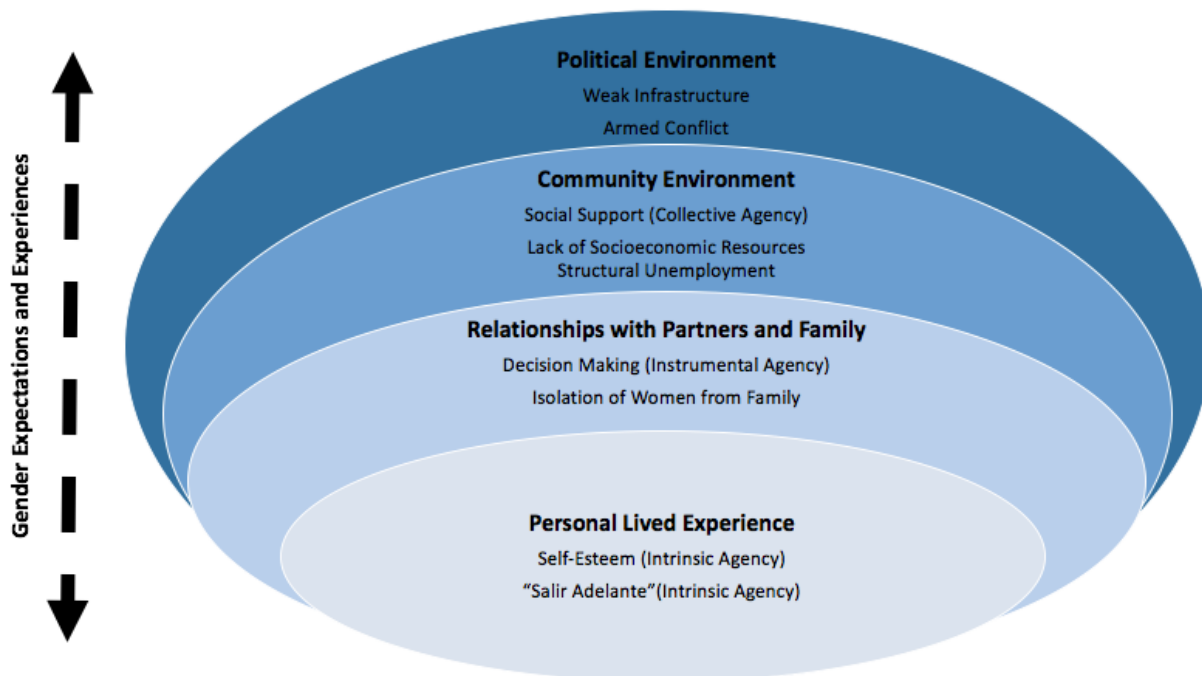and the gender normative environment surrounding GBV (Heise, 1998).

Figure 2 uses an adapted social-ecological framework to understand the multilevel causes of GBV against women (Heise, 1998). These influencing factors involve women's personal lived experiences, degrees of empowerment, through intrinsic, instrumental and collective agency, relationships within families, social support systems, lack of socioeconomic resources, availability of employment in communities, weak infrastructure and armed conflict in the department as well as rigid in-egalitarian gender norms at multiple levels of the social ecology. To understand the causality of GBV a social-ecological framework is necessary for a holistic interpretation that addresses all factors at play.

Personal Lived Experience

A wide range of women's personal lived experiences were identified that influenced their levels of empowerment and shaped their responses to GBV. A salient theme was women's varying degrees of self-esteem. All 11 participants saw women's self-esteem as salient but in different ways. Although participants shared that there were varying degrees of self-esteem among women, it was made very clear among many participants that self-esteem was essential for women to feel valued and empowered. Most participants described women's self-esteem primarily stemming from their work, and engagement in their communities. One participant stated women's entrepreneurial spirit gave them high levels of self-esteem.

Most of the women here have strong self-esteem because we are women who

are, how do I say, entrepreneurs, that aren't afraid of anything. They get ahead

of any situation that comes their way. I think that self-esteem helps one get

ahead. (W12, translated from Spanish)

While some women participants described having high levels of self-esteem, others

described feelings of low self-esteem. This was also the perception of most men, as

they described women to have low self- esteem and the inability to act independently.

One male participant stated that women are not allowed to engage openly or actively in

the community due to customary restrictive gender norms.

They attend but they do not speak because that is our custom…. of the men,

yeah, we, we…only the men are the ones who solve conflicts, the women are

there to be present and to listen. (M6, translated from Spanish)

An additional salient theme for most participants was the concept of women's

adaptability and resiliency in the face of hardships. The term *'salir adelante'* [get ahead]

is often used in Spanish to describe perseverance from difficult moments that arise in

life. Participants especially noted instances of women persevering and being resilient in

moments of extreme hardship. These instances primarily centered around women's

relationship with their partners, family, and work. One participant talked about how she

was displaced as a single mother and had to raise her two children alone. She shared

this experience as an extremely difficult time in her life, but that she knew she was going to be able to overcome it and later became stronger because of it.

Suddenly when I had to face life alone with my two children, it was intense. I was displaced and I lived over there on the street, and then I became displaced…. we lived through an intense situation, intense. I had to stick my chest out and I had to raise my two children without a father, and so it hit me hard, hard, hard. (W12, translated from Spanish)

Some women participants shared a sense of intrinsic agency and an understanding of their own selves as women and expressed a deeper understanding of their personal rights and power they had within themselves to be resilient and adapt to their living conditions for the advancement of themselves and their families. However, for the women with low self-esteem, they often had low self-efficacy, putting them at greater risk for experiencing violence. Many women participants shared that there was a constant threat of violence which affected their sense of self-efficacy and ability to act independently, or intrinsic agency. Many women shared a sense of being afraid to go out alone, out of a fear of violence. One woman remarked, on how her fear of men keeps her from leaving her house alone.

We [women] can't do that, we can't go out alone, like that carelessly. Many cases happen, ah many things happen like that. Sometimes you'll go out and

they'll throw rocks, they'll throw sticks…At women, yes on the road, so then we

don't go out. (W6, translated from Spanish)

Low intrinsic agency coupled with fear of experiencing violence can keep women from

having the self-esteem and self-efficacy to be independent and have confidence to go

out and participate in society to further develop instrumental and collective agency.

Relationships with Partners and Family

All six women participants talked about their interactions with their partners and

families, how it influenced their levels of empowerment and shaped their perceptions

on GBV. Some participants stated that they had the ability to make decisions in their

relationships, and a sense of instrumental agency. The decisions that participants stated

that women made often related to handling business as well as saving and investing

their money for their household.

Well I've heard, there are women who are strong, they work, and they fight to

get ahead and they do many things, they invent what they know with their work,

and with their salary they invest in things. They are hard working women. They

start businesses. (W8, translated from Spanish)

Although some participants stated that women had the ability to make decisions,

several male participants said that it was the men's responsibility to manage the money

in the household. Two male participants described that the husband controls all household income and has the final word on how money is spent. Many women participants didn't have the ability to make decisions with their partners. Women had a lack of instrumental agency and autonomy over their own lives, as a majority of participants viewed men as the head of the household, who can decide to sell livestock, or make any other important financial decision without their input. One woman described that she waits for her husband to bring home his earnings, and if she ever asks him for money that she has to ask him calmly in order to avoid conflict.

> *I hope he does [bring home money], I don't hurry him like that, because I know...I hope he will bring me something, and when I ask him for something, I ask him calmly, with care* (W8, translated from Spanish)

Several participants identified women's isolation from their families. In two cases, the woman had to move to where her partner lived, leaving her family behind. One male participant stated that he brought his wife to his community to start a family together from neighboring Venezuela. This participant also shared that he was in charge of all of the decision making in his relationship. Additionally, one woman participant shared that she left her family behind, to move to where her partner lived. She stated that when she first moved to be with her partner she was very happy, but she no longer feels that way. She shared that she currently does not feel safe going anywhere alone without her family nearby, and will not leave her house after dark, due to evidence of violence

against women. This participant also shared that her mother was constantly worried about her since she moved far away to be with her partner.

> *Yes, we were happy but I no longer feel it. My mother needs me, as I see it and so I go and visit her at her house, and she comes here to visit me. I see what I can help her with. Yeah, my mother [thinks] how must my daughter be doing over there, I haven't seen her.* (W6, translated from Spanish)

All participants shared the importance of family in their lives, and this is evident as many women noted the negative impacts that isolation from family members can lead to such as a lack of ability to make decisions with their partners, as well as a heightened risk of experiencing GBV. Women's partners, as well as family members, were shown to influence their actions and contribute to their lived experiences. Therefore, these close relationships women have with their partners and family can influence their sense of empowerment and put them at greater risk of experiencing violence.

Community Environment

A wide range of community level factors influencing women's empowerment and experiences of violence were identified, including social support systems, a lack of socioeconomic resources, and limited employment opportunities within communities. Social support and social networks were discussed among some participants as systems that helped to support them in their communities. Some women participants discussed

being connected to other individuals, having solidarity within their communities, and helping each other during times of need. Women participants described using collective agency and relying on others in their communities when struggling as a form of resilience. One participant shared that when her partner left her with a new baby, her neighbor was there to support and help her.

> *Ah first when I got pregnant with the baby, then there after the baby was born, I saw that my partner was distant from me. He didn't help me with the baby barely at all. I got very sick. A sister that always helped me in [town] yeah, she helped me through.* (W2, translated from Spanish)

Although some women shared a sense of collective agency through strong social networks that they built within their communities, this was not the case among all participants. Several women shared a sense of isolation from other women in their communities, and did not have a social network. Women who were isolated from social networks also shared heightened experiences of violence. One woman shared that her neighbor relied heavily on her partner even though he continuously mistreated her, because he was the only person she had, as she was isolated from other women in her community.

Yes, it was hard for that woman, she suffered tremendously because of him. And just recently her partner was sick, and she went over there looking for him because that has been her only man, the father of her children, and so she took him to the doctor, and after she took him to the doctor, he left again to be with another woman. No shame that man…. I know that she does it because it's her husband, her partner, the father of her children, the only person she has had to rely on since she was a young girl. (W12, translated from Spanish)

Although there was a sense of social support among certain women, a majority of participants stated that there was a lack of resources within their communities, especially for women. Participants underscored the urgent need for more aid and resources for the wellbeing of themselves, their families, and their greater communities. Additionally, some women participants highlighted socioeconomic stressors in their community as contributing factors that led to disagreements and conflict with their partners.

Most participants also talked about structural unemployment and low wage job opportunities present in their communities. Participants expressed how this negatively impacted their lives. One male participant described how men's lack of employment opportunities in the community influenced their perpetration of violence against women. He discussed how women become irrational and angry that they work so much

harder than men, which causes men to become angry and start fights. The participant

cited this as being a large cause of violence against women.

> *This [violence against women] could be because, there are times when women,*
>
> *they have a lot of work, and they see that the man does not think, and*
>
> *irrationally, when he comes from work and he doesn't have anything, that is the*
>
> *reason they get angry* (M3, translated from Spanish)

Political Environment

Although not all participants discussed the broader political environment in the

department it permeated and manifested through responses surrounding a lack of

infrastructure, feeling forgotten by the state, instances of displacement, as well as

experiences of conflict and violence. Weak infrastructure in the department of La

Guajira was identified as a pertinent issue among participants. All 11 participants shared

difficulties faced due to a lack of access to potable water, nutritious foods, poor

infrastructure, lack of educational opportunities, limited social programs from the state,

lack of health centers and scarce employment opportunities. The participants have been

historically marginalized by the state, making it difficult for them to access basic services

necessary for survival.

> *And we are all waiting, for the people to come. With these large necessities that*
>
> *we have, it's been awhile since they've passed us out anything. Yes, it's been a*

long time, but we have seen people that do help. And sometimes we do too, and

we see and we ask, "Why are we left behind?" because we truly need people-

someone who actually cares about us and helps us to support us to get ahead.

(M2, translated from Spanish)

All 11 participants that there needed to be greater social and economic infrastructure in the department, in order to prosper. This dispersed rural populations of La Guajira cannot meet their basic needs and this is often aggravated by the fact that they have been affected and/or displaced by the ongoing armed conflict in the department. Most participants stated that they had witnessed or knew of conflict that went on in their region. One woman participant shared that she previously took someone in who was displaced by the armed conflict in the department, and how unsafe the region previously was, especially for women.

I told him, brother, if you want-well I would give him a hand because he came

from a really difficult situation over there with people who lived in the mountains

with the paramilitaries. And yeah because they already made him leave from

there because those groups were already in the area from Riohacha to here 4

hours. And he had a little piece of land over there but he had to leave, yeah, he

left because they were going to kill him. Oh, those people killed people. (W12,

translated from Spanish)

The political environment which fostered weak infrastructure coupled with armed conflict and displacement in the department was seen to intensify patterns of discrimination against the Afro-Colombian and Wayuu communities and influence the occurrence of violence against women. Additionally, GBV has been seen to be a major reason for displacement in Colombia's ongoing armed conflict. All of these influencing factors were present in the department of La Guajira, and were reflected in participants responses. The political environment influenced women participants perceptions and experiences surrounding GBV, although the overarching gender normative environment silenced many discussions on the topic. These narratives highlight the possibilities to address the deeply rooted political barriers that influence GBV among communities in the department of La Guajira.

Gender Expectations and Experiences

The broader gender normative environment permeated all of the levels of the social ecology, and influenced women's empowerment and experiences of GBV. A prominent theme was the gender normative expectation of women as the primary caretakers of their families. Gender normative perceptions and standards prescribe women the role of caring for the needs of their partners, children, families and the households above all else. This domestic role was seen as women's primary responsibility. Strong gender expectations that women's place is in the home prevailed among all participants. This story is an illustration of how these behaviors, attitudes, and practices are embedded in gender expectations of women.

I think that one has to be at the side of their husband, helping him, or at the very least making his meals, because in the same way they are working. As a woman, one has to take on the responsibility of taking care of their husband, to be with them, and to be there looking after him…. So, I think that, that is the responsibility of every woman, taking care of her husband. (W12, translated from Spanish)

Some participants also shared instances of women who were empowered despite prescribed gender roles. Sometimes the actual lived gender experiences of women differed from the patriarchal gender norms present in their households, communities and department. One participant shared her experiences in her community, where women who are leaders and authority figures, ascribe to customary roles that have traditionally been a man's role.

Well here it is still not seen [empowered women] well actually, you do see it. Because you can see that here there are women who are authorities, and that is good because they are women and they are authority figures, they are the ones who lead...they make decisions about our community. (W4, translated from Spanish)

The gender normative environment also influenced participants perceptions on why violence against women occurs. All six women participants and two male participants had thoughts on why violence against women occurs. The main causes provided by participants included men's violent nature, their lack of respect for women, and victim blaming of women. Although participants cited many different factors that contributed to and perpetuated GBV in their communities, perceptions of the overall cause of GBV expressed by participants was men's intrinsically violent nature. This was the gender norm and expectation of men shared by most participants. Participants shared that because men are naturally violent, violence against women is naturalized.

Additionally, the gender normative environment influenced women's experiences of GBV. A common gender expectation of women that was shared by most women was that the most important way to prevent violence as a woman is to never leave your house alone or at night. One participant reported that as a mother it is her responsibility to teach her daughters to always be cautious when leaving the house and to never stay out late. This is the gender normative expectation of how women should act in society in order to avoid violence.

> *That they are not going out at night, that they are being really careful if they do go out, and if they see someone strange, to stay away. If they are working, they need to leave early and arrive early to their house. That's what women do.* (W8, translated from Spanish)

Patriarchal gender norms and attitudes held by both men and women participants, positioned women as inferior to men. The rigid gender norms and roles perpetuated violence against women as a wide range of GBV issues were identified by eight participants in the interviews including emotional violence, physical violence, sexual violence, and femicide. The violence was situated within a larger constellation of gender norms that silenced discussions surrounding GBV. Silence is often the norm, which leads to a tendency of women to not openly discuss or report cases of violence. The gender normative environment present at each level of the social ecology was seen to be a strong barrier to women's empowerment, and influenced the prevalence of violence against women.

Discussion:

Summary

GBV is a major public health issue affecting Colombian women (WFP, 2017; Wirtz et. al, 2014). These qualitative findings have salient implications for women's empowerment and resonate with the limited research on women's experiences of GBV. These findings highlight perceptions and experiences surrounding GBV as it relates to women's personal lived experiences, levels of empowerment, relationships with partners, family and their community as well as the political and surrounding gender normative environment. An adapted social-ecological model was applied to structure the findings of the study (Figure 2).

Women's varying degrees of empowerment and their experiences with GBV could be observed through their personal lived experiences. Although some participants shared that there were women who were empowered and had agency it was clear that there were several ways in which women were still not treated as equals. Some participants stated that women had high levels of self-esteem, however subsequently many women in this study reported feelings of low self-esteem and a lack of intrinsic agency. Women's levels of self-esteem were shown to be highly correlated with their desire to 'salir adelante'. Some women shared a need to 'salir adelante' or get ahead for themselves, and overcome difficulties as a form of self-efficacy or intrinsic agency. These finding related to women's experiences of GBV as research suggests that self-esteem can influence women and girl's likelihood of becoming victim to violence, which is exacerbated in conflict settings (Stark et. al, 2018). These findings are especially important for women who have been displaced or affected by the ongoing armed conflict in the country, as they are at an increased risk of experiencing GBV (Hossain et. al, 2014). Targeting inequitable gender norms at each level of the social ecology may strengthen women's self-esteem and ability to 'salir adelante' in the face of violence.

Women's relationship with their partners, as well as their relationship with their families influenced their levels of empowerment as well as their experiences of GBV. Although most participants expressed that there was shared decision making between partners, it was clear that women often don't have a say. Many women participants didn't have the

ability to make decisions with their partners. Women had a lack of instrumental agency and autonomy over their own lives, as men were viewed as the heads of household. Women's lack of instrumental agency limits their power to make decisions in their own best interest (Theis et. al, 2018). Additionally, isolation from women's family was noted as a contributing factor negatively affecting women's sense of empowerment and further contributing to GBV. One participant who lived far away from her family discussed an inability to leave her house due to the evidence of violence against women in her community. Results indicated that women who were isolated from their families were also often in situations where their partners controlled all decisions. These findings suggest that inequality among partners, male control of wealth and decision making, as well as isolation of women from their families influenced the occurrence GBV.

At the community level, women's social networks, socioeconomic resources, and employment opportunities were all seen as contributing factors to their empowerment and experiences of GBV. Social support systems were discussed among women participants as systems that helped them in difficult times, and gave them a sense of collective agency. Collective agency is important as it gave women the ability to participate in women's groups in the community, and also empowered them from acting together with others towards common goals (Theis et. al, 2018). However, isolation from social support networks was also identified by several women participants. Isolation from social networks was seen to put women at greater risk of experiencing violence within their communities. Moreover, some participants

highlighted socioeconomic stressors in the community as contributing factors that led to

disagreements and conflict with their partners. Additionally, structural unemployment

and low wage labor, was highlighted as hindering the advancement of their

communities, and influenced women's experiences of GBV. These underlying barriers

negatively affect women's empowerment as they put women more at risk for

experiencing violence as threats and harassment affected women's mobility and

consequently limited their livelihood opportunities and ability to access to

socioeconomic resources, and/or employment opportunities.

Although not all participants discussed the overarching political context it permeated

and manifested through responses surrounding a lack of infrastructure, feeling

forgotten by the state, instances of displacement, as well as experiences of conflict and

violence. Participants discussed the lack of infrastructure at the department level, and

indicated that the state of Colombia was not helping to get them any form of assistance

or resources. Pragmatic initiatives and responses from the state could mediate these

widespread issues addressed by participants. Even providing relatively low amounts of

resources would still aid these communities and make a difference. There was a

consensus among all 11 participants that there needed to be greater social and

economic infrastructure in order to prosper as a region. The weak infrastructure

coupled with armed conflict in Colombia has intensified patterns of discrimination,

inequality and violence against women (UN, 2016). All of these influencing factors were

present in the department of La Gaujira. GBV has been seen to be a major driver of

displacement in Colombia's conflict (UN, 2016). According to a UNHCR report 18% of

internally displaced women in Colombia fled their homes because of sexual violence

(UN,2016).

The gender normative environment was predictive of women's levels of empowerment

and also influenced participants perceptions surrounding GBV. The most prominent

gender expectation was that women's place was in the home while men were viewed as

the heads of the household. The patriarchal attitudes surrounding gender expectations

was seen to influence women's perceptions and experiences of GBV. Eight participants

identified instances of GBV of varying degrees including emotional violence, physical

violence, sexual violence, and femicide. The instances of violence were situated within a

larger constellation of gender norms that silenced discussions surrounding GBV. Silence

was often the norm which led to a tendency of women not wanting to openly discuss or

report cases of violence. Recent studies show that gender norms condoning traditional

patriarchal gender roles are strongly correlated with women experiencing violence later

on in their lives (Stark et. al, 2018). Given the aforementioned barriers that women

living in La Guajira face it is essential to gain a deeper understanding of how this gender

normative environment condones, influences and perpetuates GBV as the salience and

internalization of rigid gender norms may affect women's personal behaviors

surrounding GBV.

When looking at the causality of GBV through the adapted social-ecological framework, it is important to take into account factors like personal lived experiences, relationships with partners, family, and community as well as the political and gender normative environment in which the participants live (Heise, 1999). Structural barriers were present in the participants lives and influenced women's empowerment and experiences of GBV. This supports prior research that highlights the associations between GBV, inequitable relationship power differentials, low socioeconomic status and patriarchal gender norms (Logie, C. H., & Daniel, C., 2016). Additionally, the social, economic, and political marginalization of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous women contributes greatly to their structural discrimination and makes them even more susceptible to violence (IACHR,2017). These barriers and disadvantages at each level of the social ecology especially affect Afro-Colombian and indigenous women making it difficult for them to participate at the community, department and state levels (CEDAW,2013). In order to fully combat GBV and have transformative change it is necessary to address inequitable genders norms to promote women's empowerment and intervene on multiple levels of the adapted social- ecological framework.

Limitations

Some study limitations are worth mentioning. The presence of WFP staff at study sites likely influenced the nature of participants responses in order to reflect WFP in a favorable way. Participants being interviewed were a marginalized and vulnerable group

and may have felt that in order to receive further assistance from WFP, they needed to reflect the organization in a positive way, therefore swaying their answers.

Participants consisted of a purposive sample of men and women smallholder farmers living in the department of La Guajira, Colombia, which restricts the ability to generalize these findings to groups outside of this specific region. Qualitative IDIs were collected, leaving room for further research (including FGDs and surveys) to advance a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV. In particular, additional longitudinal studies are needed to understand the prevalence of GBV over time. Further research should examine a more diverse group of men and women, to better understand the many challenges Colombian's face. Finally, additional research should explore the unique experiences of people in non-heteronormative relationships.

Implications for Research

Despite the aforementioned limitations the qualitative findings presented in this study, suggest opportunities for future research. The qualitative findings from this study present opportunities for future researchers to do additional work focused on women's empowerment and GBV. Past research has conducted a series of quantitative evaluations, however there is a lack of qualitative data surrounding these themes. The lack of gender equality along with the prevalence of GBV among women in La Guajira, Colombia underscores the need to conduct more research surrounding women's

empowerment and GBV including all the influencing factors at each level of the social ecology. Past research shows that violence is preventable and there is growing evidence of what works to prevent GBV. In low and middle-income countries (LMIC) there is increasing evidence to achieve impacts on IPV, child marriage, and female genital mutilation (FGM). This study adds a qualitative component, looking in-depth at a smaller sample of participants. Future research should perform longitudinal impact evaluations to assess changes over time, as shifting attitudes and behaviors embedded in norms are temporal. The field is still in its early stages of generating evidence on what works to prevent GBV, as many researchers are hesitant to study GBV considering the topic to be too risky, however, there is a dire need for additional innovative research (WEAI, 2018).

Implications for Practice and Policy

Several interventions strategies emerge from these findings. Participants discussed and proposed many suggestions for trainings and items to help promote gender equality and prevent GBV. These items included a women's center, where women can receive trainings on how to commercialize their crafts, learn additional skills, gain financial independence, as well as receive conflict management trainings. One male participant stated that a women's center and additional trainings would help to advance women's interests in his community. Additionally, many participants suggested that additional gender rights training would be beneficial for women to gain more respect in the community and learn to resolve conflicts between couples. Participants shared that these additional trainings would help to promote gender equality in their communities.

With appropriate training, program designers can conduct further formative research to develop a community centered approach for future programming. This research could include interviews with key stakeholders and community leaders, to identify the best ways to reach these populations. This allows for a participatory approach in which the community can take ownership of the project which will lead to more sustainable results and positive uptake from the community.

There are many different elements of successful programs designed to empower women and address GBV. Interventions must ensure gender responsive implementation and engage both women and men in trainings. There must be consideration of community livelihoods in all activity planning to not disrupt current workloads and leisure time. Additionally, interventions focused on the empowerment of women must also include social empowerment components with a gender norms focus in routine programming. Interventions should also aim to address different nodes of the social-ecological model as GBV is a multi-causal phenomenon.

Conclusion

This qualitative study informs an understanding of the contextualized aspects of the social ecology, which need to be considered in future studies and efforts to empower women and reduce GBV against women. Interventions aimed at empowering women if done correctly can have a positive impact on reducing GBV. Additionally, there are unique opportunities to shift the rigid gender norms in place in order to further

empower women and prevent violence. Individuals are embedded in a constellation of norms and shifting them can have positive and long-term effects on the well-being and safety of women (Stark et. al, 2018). In order to fully combat GBV and have transformative change it is necessary to address inequitable genders norms to promote women's empowerment and intervene on multiple levels of the adapted social-ecological framework. These themes should be considered when designing future interventions for women and girls.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 4: Discussion

Summary

Recent studies indicate that GBV is a major health issue reflecting structural inequalities in society, which is disproportionately affecting Colombian women (WFP, 2017; Wirtz et. al, 2014, UN, 2016). The qualitative findings presented above have salient implications for women's empowerment and resonate with the limited research on women's experiences of GBV. These findings highlight perceptions and experiences surrounding GBV as it relates to women's personal lived experiences, levels of empowerment, relationships with partners, family and their community as well as the political context and surrounding gender normative environment.

Women's varying degrees of empowerment and their experiences with GBV could be observed through their personal lived experiences. Although some participants shared that there were women who were empowered and had agency it was clear that there were several ways in which women were still not treated as equals. Some participants stated that women had high levels of self-esteem, however subsequently many women in this study reported feelings of low self-esteem and a lack of intrinsic agency. Women's levels of self-esteem were shown to be highly correlated with their desire to 'salir adelante'. Some women shared a need to 'salir adelante' or get ahead for themselves, and overcome difficulties as a form of self-efficacy or intrinsic agency. Intrinsic agency is important for women to have as it provides them with a sense of self-worth, and confidence to participate in their respective communities (Theis et. al, 2018).

Furthermore, these finding related to women's experiences of GBV as research suggests that self-esteem can influence women and girl's likelihood of becoming victim to violence, particularly in humanitarian settings (Stark et. al, 2018). These findings are especially important for women who have been displaced or affected by the ongoing armed conflict in the region of La Guajira, as they are at an increased risk of experiencing violence (Hossain et. al, 2014). Additionally, targeting inequitable gender norms at each level of the social ecology may strengthen women's self-esteem and ability to 'salir adelante', giving them a sense of intrinsic agency, and reducing their risk of experiencing GBV.

Women's interpersonal relationships with their partners, as well with their families additionally influenced their levels of empowerment and their experiences of GBV. Although most participants expressed that there was shared decision making between partners, it was clear that women often don't have a say in decisions. Women participants had a lack of instrumental agency and autonomy over their own lives, as men were viewed as the heads of household. Women's lack of instrumental agency limited their power to make decisions in their own best interest (Theis et. al, 2018). Many women indicated that when they ask for money from their partners it can cause conflict so they have to do so with precaution. Women noted how they changed their behaviors to avoid conflict or disagreements with their partners. Increasing women's decision-making abilities and instrumental agency, can have mixed effects on their experiences of GBV, and should be done carefully (Theis et. al, 2018). Additionally,

isolation from women's family was noted as a contributing factor negatively affecting women's sense of empowerment and further contributing to GBV. One participant who lived far away from her family discussed an inability to leave her house due to the evidence of violence against women in her community. Results indicated that women who were isolated from their families were also often in situations where their partners controlled all decisions. These findings suggest that inequality among partners, male control of wealth and decision making, lack of instrumental agency, as well as isolation of women from their families influenced the occurrence of violence against women.

Women's social networks, socioeconomic resources available, and employment opportunities in their communities were all seen as contributing factors to their empowerment and experiences of GBV. Social support systems were discussed among women participants as systems that helped them in difficult times, and gave them a sense of collective agency. Collective agency is important as it gave women the ability and power from acting together with others in their community (Theis et. al, 2018). Isolation from social support networks was also identified by several women participants. Isolation from social networks, and the wider community was seen to put women participants at greater risk of experiencing violence. Collective agency is a powerful tool that can offer women freedom from violence (Theis et. al, 2018). Additionally, some participants highlighted socioeconomic stressors in the community as contributing factors that led to disagreements and conflict with their partners. Structural unemployment and low wage labor, was highlighted as hindering the

advancement of both men and women in their communities, and influenced women's experiences of GBV. These underlying barriers negatively affect gender equality and women's empowerment and put women more at risk for experiencing violence as threats, harassment, and violence in communities affected women's mobility and consequently limited their livelihood opportunities and ability to access to education, health as well as other socioeconomic resources, and/or employment opportunities.

The political environment permeated and manifested through participants responses. Participants cited a lack of infrastructure, feeling forgotten by the state, instances of displacement, as well as experiences of conflict and violence affecting their wellbeing. The lack of infrastructure at the department level, indicated that the state of Colombia was not assisting the people in La Guajira or offering any form of assistance or resources, especially to the Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. Structural discrimination and mistreatment of these ethnic groups from the state has been influenced by the country's history of colonialism, racism, civil war and extreme poverty (UN,2016). Additionally, the elite political culture in Colombia has excluded ethnic minorities, and women's contributions to society (UN,2016). All of these influencing factors exacerbate the prevalence of GBV among these marginalized groups. The weak infrastructure coupled with armed conflict in Colombia has intensified patterns of discrimination, inequality and violence against women (UN,2016). GBV, especially sexual violence has been seen to be a major driver of displacement in Colombia's conflict (UN,

2016). According to a UNHCR report 18% of internally displaced women in Colombia fled their homes due to sexual violence (UN,2016).

The patriarchal gender normative environment in La Guajira was predictive of women's levels of empowerment and also influenced participants perceptions surrounding GBV. The most prominent gender expectation was that women's place was in the home while men were viewed as the heads of the household. The patriarchal attitudes surrounding gender expectations was seen to influence women's perceptions and experiences of GBV. Eight participants identified instances of GBV of varying degrees including emotional violence, physical violence, sexual violence, and femicide. The violence was situated within a larger constellation of gender norms that silenced discussions surrounding GBV. Silence is often the norm which leads to a tendency of women to not openly discuss or report cases of violence. Recent studies show that gender norms condoning traditional patriarchal gender roles are strongly correlated with women experiencing violence later on in their lives (Stark et. al, 2018). Given the aforementioned barriers that women living in La Guajira face it is essential to gain a deeper understanding of how this gender normative environment condones, influences and perpetuates GBV as the salience and internalization of rigid gender norms may affect women's personal behaviors surrounding GBV. The patriarchal gender normative environment in place, that positions women as less than men, continues to be a strong limitation to women's empowerment, and driver of violence against women (UN,2016).

When exploring the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV through the adapted social-ecological framework, it is important to take into account factors like personal lived experiences, relationships with partners, family, and community as well as the political and gender normative environment in which the participants live (Heise, 1999). Structural barriers were present in the participants lives and influenced women's empowerment and experiences of GBV. This supports prior research that highlights the associations between GBV, inequitable relationship power differentials, low socioeconomic status and patriarchal gender norms (Logie, C. H., & Daniel, C., 2016). Additionally, the social, economic, and political marginalization of Afro-Colombian and Indigenous women contributes greatly to their structural discrimination and makes them even more susceptible to violence (IACHR,2017). GBV is extremely common during periods of conflict, major development projects and investment, as well as militarization of Afro- Colombian and Indigenous lands (IACHR,2017). Most of these occurrences are either supported or met with no response from the government of Colombia (IACHR,2017). Additionally, these communities often are excluded and not met with any form of justice (IACHR,2017). These barriers and disadvantages at each level of the social ecology especially affect Afro-Colombian and Indigenous women making it difficult for them to participate politically at the community, department and state levels (CEDAW,2013). In order to fully combat GBV and have transformative change it is necessary to address inequitable genders norms, structural discrimination, as well as the lack of access to resources to promote women's empowerment and intervene on multiple levels of the adapted social- ecological framework.

Furthermore, participants discussed the importance of the trainings and aid they received from WFP as well as from other social protection programs. All participants had favorable impressions of the trainings they received from WFP and other social programs that arrived at their communities. The participants had received many different trainings from a variety of social protection programs and at times were unsure what program provided which training. The training topics listed by participants were on a variety of topics surrounding nutrition, hygiene, agricultural practices, how to tend to livestock, the environment, parenting techniques, gender equality, and conflict management. Participants especially noted a perceived a positive change in gender equality and women's empowerment since receiving the WFP trainings. One male participant stated that previously in the Wayuu culture, men dominated their partners, however since receiving the trainings there is more gender equality. However, participants also indicated that there are limited resources and programs in place for women that specifically address GBV.

Limitations

Some study limitations are worth mentioning. The interviewer was culturally and ethnically different from participants and did not have built-in trust in the communities visited. The presence of WFP staff at study sites likely influenced the nature of participants responses in order to reflect WFP in a favorable way. Participants being interviewed were a marginalized and vulnerable group and may have felt that in order

to receive further assistance from WFP, they needed to reflect the organization in a positive way, therefore swaying their answers. Additionally, the interviewer was female which may have affected the male participants comfort discussing topics surrounding GBV.

As previously stated the participants consisted of a purposive sample of men and women smallholder farmers living in the department of La Guajira, Colombia, which restricts the ability to generalize these findings to groups outside of this specific region. Qualitative IDIs were collected, leaving room for further research (including FGDs and surveys) to advance a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between women's empowerment and GBV. In particular, additional longitudinal studies are needed to understand the prevalence of GBV over time. Further research should examine a more diverse group of men and women, to better understand the many challenges Colombian's face. Finally, additional research should explore the unique experiences of people in non-heteronormative relationships.

Implications for Research

Despite the aforementioned limitations the qualitative findings presented in this study, suggest opportunities for future research. The qualitative findings from this study present opportunities for future researchers to do additional work focused on women's empowerment and GBV. Past research has conducted a series of quantitative evaluations, however there is a lack of qualitative data surrounding these themes. The

lack of gender equality along with the prevalence of GBV among women in La Guajira,

Colombia underscores the need to conduct more research surrounding women's

empowerment and GBV including all the influencing factors at each level of the social

ecology. Past research shows that violence is preventable and there is growing evidence

of what works to prevent GBV. In low and middle-income countries (LMIC) there is

increasing evidence to achieve impacts on IPV, child marriage, and female genital

mutilation (FGM). This study adds a qualitative component, looking in-depth at a smaller

sample of participants. Future research should perform longitudinal impact evaluations

to assess changes over time, as shifting attitudes and behaviors embedded in norms are

temporal. The field is still in its early stages of generating evidence on what works to

prevent GBV, as many researchers are hesitant to study GBV considering the topic to be

too risky, however, there is a dire need for additional innovative research (WEAI, 2018).

Implications for Practice and Policy

Several interventions strategies emerge from these findings. Participants discussed and

proposed many suggestions for trainings and items to help promote gender equality and

prevent GBV. These items included a women's center, where women can receive

trainings on how to commercialize their crafts, learn additional skills, gain financial

independence, as well as receive conflict management trainings. One male participant

stated that a women's center and additional trainings would help to advance women's

interests in his community. Additionally, many participants suggested that additional

gender rights training would be beneficial for women to gain more respect in the

community and learn to resolve conflicts between couples. Participants shared that

these additional trainings would help to promote gender equality in their communities.

With appropriate training, program designers can conduct further formative research to

develop a community centered approach for future programming. This research could

include interviews with key stakeholders and community leaders, to identify the best

ways to reach these populations. This allows for a participatory approach in which the

community can take ownership of the project which will lead to more sustainable

results and positive uptake from the community.

There are many different elements of successful programs designed to empower

women and address GBV. Interventions must ensure gender responsive implementation

and engage both women and men in trainings. There must be consideration of

community livelihoods in all activity planning to not disrupt current workloads and

leisure time. Additionally, interventions focused on the empowerment of women must

also include social empowerment components with a gender norms focus in routine

programming. Interventions should also aim to address different nodes of the social-

ecological model as GBV is a multi-causal phenomenon.

Conclusion

This qualitative study informs an understanding of the contextualized aspects of the

social ecology, which need to be considered in future studies and efforts to empower

and reduce GBV against women. The positive benefits of women's empowerment are

well established and may hold importance for Colombian women living in La Guajira,

emerging from conflict, displacement and violence. Despite harsh living conditions in La

Guajira, there are unique opportunities to shift the rigid gender norms in place across

the social ecology in order to promote women's empowerment and prevent GBV. These

findings offer insight into pathways for promoting women's empowerment and

preventing GBV, across the social ecology, and highlight the need to shift rigid gender

norms especially in conflict settings.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

GUÍA DE ENTREVISTA

INTRODUCCIÓN:

Hola mi nombre, es Camille Volper. Gracias por tomarse el tiempo para hablar conmigo hoy. Trabajo con el Programa Mundial de Alimentos (PMA) en Bogotá y he venido a invitarlo/a a formar parte de un estudio. Alrededor de 24 hombres y mujeres de asociaciones de agricultores en La Guajira van a participar en este estudio y se les harán preguntas similares. La información que aprendemos de usted y otros puede ayudar a otros en su propia comunidad. Si acepta participar, ninguna pregunta es correcta o incorrecta, solo queremos conocer sus puntos de vista.

Si tiene alguna pregunta o inquietud, hágamelo saber. Dado que sus respuestas son importantes para este estudio, no quiero perder ninguna información, ¿está bien si grabo nuestra conversación? Nadie más escuchará la grabación y ninguna de la información que comparte durante nuestra conversación incluirá su nombre.

PREGUNTAS INICIALES

• ¿De dónde es originalmente?

• ¿Puede hablarme sobre las personas con las que vive?

• ¿Qué hace durante un día normal?

• ¿En qué trabaja?

PREGUNTAS CLAVES

Tema 1: Empoderamiento de la mujer

Ahora me gustaría hablar un poco sobre el empoderamiento y las fortalezas de las mujeres en su comunidad.

- ¿Qué ha escuchado de las fortalezas o del empoderamiento?

    o Indagar: ¿cómo sabe cuándo las mujeres tienen poder en su comunidad?

- ¿Quienes son los líderes en su comunidad?

- ¿Me puede contar de un momento cuando sentiste muy poderoso?

    o Indagar: ¿lo que hace sentir poderoso o fuerte? podría ser sobre su trabajo, su relación con su familia o su pareja.

- ¿Cómo describiría los niveles de confianza o de autoestima de las mujeres en su comunidad? Esto se forma por la influencia de la familia, los vecinos, los amigos, iglesia, por ti mismo/a y los medios de comunicación (radio, televisión, películas, revistas, etc.)

- o Punto de aclaración: por ejemplo, ¿tiene más confianza para hablar en público, participar en reuniones, expresar una opinión dentro del hogar, participar activamente en las asociaciones de agricultores, o cuando hay un arreglo de algún conflicto con participación del palabrero-putchipu?

- ¿Ha habido algún cambio en la confianza o autoestima entre las mujeres desde que hayan recibido la asistencia del PMA?

  - o Indagar: ¿por qué? ¿cómo?

Tema 2: Roles de género

Ahora, me gustaría hablar un poco sobre su familia, y aprender sobre las responsabilidades de la casa y las relaciones en su hogar, el trabajo y su comunidad en general.

- ¿Como empezó su relación con su pareja?

  - o Indagar: ¿cuántos años han estado juntos?

- ¿Cuántos hijos tienen?

  - o Indagar: ¿cuantos hijos? ¿cuantas hijas? ¿y cuantos años tienen? ¿y van a la escuela o a que se dedican? ¿cuáles son sus responsabilidades?

- ¿Cuál cree que es el rol principal de las mujeres en:

  - o La familia: ¿cuáles son las responsabilidades de la madre en la casa? *¿cómo se siente su pareja acerca de estos roles?*

  - o El trabajo: ¿con artesanía? ¿pastoreando? ¿actividades productivas? ¿estudian?

- La comunidad: ¿en reuniones? ¿en organizaciones? o cuando hay un arreglo de algún conflicto con participación del palabrero-putchipu

- ¿Cuál cree que es el rol principal de los hombres en:

  o La familia: ¿cuáles son las responsabilidades del padre en la casa? *¿cómo se siente su pareja acerca de estos roles?*

  o El trabajo: ¿con artesanía? ¿pastoreando? ¿actividades productivas? ¿estudian?

  o La comunidad: ¿en reuniones? ¿en organizaciones? ¿o cuando hay un arreglo de algún conflicto?

- ¿Usted y su pareja comparten los oficios de la casa?

  o Indagar: ¿quien cocina? ¿quien limpia? ¿su pareja trabaja?

- ¿Como manejan los ingresos en su hogar?

- ¿Han cambiado estas responsabilidades de la casa y relaciones en el trabajo y la comunidad desde que hayan recibido la asistencia del PMA?

Tema 3: Violencia y conflictos

Ahora voy a hacer algunas preguntas diferentes sobre su relación con su familia y la situación en su comunidad. De nuevo, sus respuestas son privadas. No tiene que responder a ninguna pregunta que no desee responder. ¿Puedo continuar?

- ¿Que tan seguro se siente su familia en su comunidad?

- ¿Cuáles son los mayores factores de estrés o preocupaciones en su familia?

- ¿El estrés o preocupaciones provoca tensiones en su familia?

- o   Indagar: ¿qué tipos de tensiones?

- ¿Ha aumentado o disminuido los conflictos en los últimos años en su:

    - o   Comunidad: ¿me puede dar un ejemplo de cómo conflictos han

        aumentado o disminuido?

    - o   Trabajo: ¿me puede dar un ejemplo de cómo conflictos han aumentado o

        disminuido?

    - o   Familia: ¿me puede dar un ejemplo de cómo conflictos han aumentado o

        disminuido?

- ¿Que significa la frase violencia domestica?

- ¿Qué ha visto o escuchado sobre el uso de la violencia doméstica o violencia

    contra las mujeres en su comunidad?

    - o   Indagar: ¿qué tipos de violencia? ¿emocional? ¿económico? ¿físico?

        ¿sexual?

- ¿Cuál cree que son las causas de la violencia contra la mujer?

- ¿Cuáles son las acciones o estrategias que las mujeres utiliza para protegerse de

    la violencia?

    - o   Indagar: ¿que cosas hacen para protegerse de la violencia?

Tema 4: Intervenciones del PMA y pasos adelante

Ahora me gustaría escuchar un poco más sobre sus opiniones sobre implementando

sesiones de capacitación enfocado en la mujer con PMA en su comunidad en el futuro y

también sobre el acceso a la información y los recursos disponibles en su comunidad.

- ¿Qué programas sociales y recursos sobre para las mujeres están disponibles en esta comunidad?

- ¿Como se siente acerca de estos programas y recursos disponibles?

- ¿Que temas gustaría ver en las capacitaciones del PMA enfocado en la mujer?

  - Indagar: los temas podrían ser responsabilidades de la casa, educación financiera (como gastar dinero), y como resolver problemas.

- ¿Qué otra sugerencia sobre el programa del PMA le gustaría compartir conmigo?

PREGUNTAS DE CLAUSURA

- ¿Como creería que se pudiera apoyar más a las mujeres en la familia y en la comunidad?

- ¿Qué más le gustaría agregar que aún no hemos discutido hoy?

Gracias por su tiempo y por hablar conmigo hoy. Sus puntos de vista son muy valiosos. Si tiene alguna pregunta, por favor comuníquese con el equipo de investigación.

[PARA DE GRABAR]

Appendix B: Codebook

Code	Memo
Demographics1	*section header - do not code this*
Demographics1\Residence	Definition: Where the participant is from, and/or where they currently live Inclusion: Include segments about where they are from, and where they live now. This can include their place of origin as well as their current place of residence Exclusion: None Example: "I: ¿de dónde es originalmente? P: ¿Nacido? De Cartagena, Bolivar. I: Ah Cartagena? P: Si. Pero me trajeron a los cinco años acá a La Guajira. Mi padre, mi papa tuvo una dificultad allá entonces le toco trasladarse acá. Éramos pequeñitos."
Demographics1\Children	Definition: The number of children the participant has Inclusion: Include internal or external conversations about the number of children, i.e. conversation about step children Exclusion: None Example: "P: Tengo 1 hijo y 3 niñas"
Demographics1\Familial Context	Definition: The home setting and family characteristics of the participant Inclusion: Include internal or external conversations about the general family make-up and conditions of the participant. This can include the families' relationships, education, and work. This can include extended family Exclusion: None Example: "I: Si. Y, ¿puede hablarme de las personas con quienes vive? P: Mi esposo, mi hijo- bueno mis dos hijos, pero el otro ya se fue a trabajar- bueno tengo tres hijos, el uno ya es casado y tiene tres hijos, el otro es el que vive conmigo pero está trabajando en una finca, y el otro es el niño que tenemos, que tiene 14 años."
Demographics1\Relationship with Partner	Definition: The participants relationship with their partner Inclusion: Include internal or external conversations about the participants relationship with their partner. This can include how their relationship began, their relationship dynamic, and positive and negative aspects of their relationship Exclusion: Any instances of conflict or violence in relationship Example: "Y bueno pues, después yo sentía que me hacía falta. Después converso conmigo, si nos casábamos, y bueno, así surgieron las cosas. Ni él fue buscando mujer ni yo tampoco buscando hombre. Y si me ha ido bien con él."
Demographics1\Religion	Definition: How religion impacts or influences the participants life Inclusion: Include internal or external conversation about how religion impacts or influences the participants daily life, work, relationship, family, etc.

	Exclusion: None Example: "Dios nos ha unido de cuerpo y de espíritu."
Income2	*section header - do not code this*
Income2\Women's Source	Definition: What women cite as their sources of income or livelihood Inclusion: What men cite as their partner's source of income or livelihoods. This can include any cash- based or non-cash based form of income-assuming that agriculture can be a form of income) Exclusion: The man's income Example: "P: Si aquí toditas nosotras, eso es lo que hacemos, tejemos, hacemos chinchorros y las mochilas lo vendemos."
Income2\Man's Source	Definition: What men cite as their sources of income or livelihood Inclusion: What women cite as their partner's source of income or livelihood. This can include any cash-based or non-cash based form of income-assuming that agriculture can be a form of income. Note: women's reports of men's sources of income are likely to be different from men's reports Exclusion: The women's income Example: "P: Si, y ya, los hombres son los que trabajan en la huerta"
Women's Empowerment3	*section header - do not code this*
Women's Empowerment3\Leadership	Definition: What the participants think about leaders in the community Inclusion: Include segments discussing and describing the qualities and roles of the leaders or authority figures in the community. This can include both men and women leaders. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Bueno, la mujer acá en este pueblo, sobre todo somos emprendedoras porque hay muchas mujeres- unas cabezas de familia que les toca luchar solas. Yo luche por varios años, por 15 años sola. "
Women's Empowerment3\Power (Salir Adelante)	Definition: What the participants think about what makes women feel powerful and/or strong Inclusion: Include segments discussing what makes women feel powerful and/ or strong especially in moments of hardship. Include segments when discussing women as resilient or how they 'salir adelante'. This could be their work, their relationship with their family or their partner Exclusion: Comments about womens leadership, self- esteem and agency Example: "I: ¿Me puede contar de un momento en donde usted se sintió muy poderosa? P: De pronto cuando me tocó enfrentar la vida sola con mis dos hijos fue fuerte, soy desplazada y viví por ahí en la vía Caretilla, y pues de ahí salí desplazada, y de allí para acá vivimos una situación fuerte- fuerte me toco ponerle pecho a la vida."

Women's Empowerment3\Self Esteem	Definition: What participants think about womens levels of self-esteem or confidence in the community Inclusion: Include participants descriptions on womens level of self-esteem as well as their understanding of women's self- worth and/ or describing women's own abilities. This could be in their artesanias, taking care of their children etc. Exclusion: Comments about women's leadership, power and agency Example: "P: La mayoría de las mujeres de acá tienen el autoestima fuerte porque somos mujeres que son, como le digo, emprendedores- que no le tienen miedo a nada. Siguen adelante por sobre lo que sea. Yo pienso que la autoestima le ayuda a uno seguir adelante"
Women's Empowerment3\ Decision Making Abilities (Agency)	Definition: Participants thoughts about women's ability to make or act on their own life choices Inclusion: Include segment on women's ability to make choices and overall decision making ability even in the face of others opposition. This could be in the household, workplace, community etc. Exclusion: Comments about women's leadership, power and self-esteem Example: "P: Yo porque desde el principio aun no éramos esposos y el me entregaba la plata. A veces hacia las cosechas y le decía "ya compre esto y esto- que compro, que hago." Se quedaba callado. Y ya cuando le decía unas cinco veces él me decía "Ay, yo no sé. Mejor quédese con su plata." Entonces así fue desde el principio. Él me dice que no guarda plata en la cartera porque si se va perder que se pierda sin un peso. Por lo menos si le pagan algo, si es que estamos los dos- y nunca esta solo porque él siempre me lleva- y la plata que le dan, sigue guardado ahí. Así que yo soy la que dirijo la economía."
Women's Empowerment3\How to Support Women	Definition: Participants thoughts on how to better support the women in their lives Inclusion: Include segments on how participants note that they can help support the women in their families and community etc. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Para que salgan más, eh, ayudarlas más. De pronto, hacer capacitaciones con ellas para de pronto decirle "no, vamos a hacer esto y aquello" Como que para que ellas se abran. Si, un programa así me gustaría más para mujeres."
Gender Norms4	*section header - do not code this*
Gender Norms 4\Perceived Gender Expectations for Women	Definition: Participants perceptions of what the social expectations of gender norms and roles are for women Inclusion: Include the different percetions of what social expectations are present surrounding gender norms and roles in the household, workplace, community etc. for women Exclusion: Exclude comments about women's actual experiences Example: " P: Responsabilidades. Más que todos nuestros hijos y a tu esposo estar pendiente, atenderlo, atender los hijos, bañarlos, lavarlos. "

Gender Norms 4\Perceived Gender Expectations for Men	Definition: Participants perceptions of what the social expectations of gender norms and roles are for men Inclusion: Include the different percetions of what social expectations are present surrounding gender norms and roles in the household, workplace, community etc. for men Exclusion: Exclude comments about mens actual experiences
Gender Norms4\ Perceived Gender Experiences for Women	Definition: Participants perceptions of what gender norms and expectactions actually are for women Inclusion: Include the different percetions of what gender norms and expectations actually look like in the household, workplace, community etc. for women Exclusion: Exclude comments about overall social expectations of women
Gender Norms4\ Perceived Gender Experiences for Men	Definition: Participants perceptions of what gender norms and expectactions actually are for men Inclusion: Include the different percetions of what gender norms and expectations actually look like in the household, workplace, community etc. for men Exclusion: Exclude comments about overall social expectations of men
Conflict5	*section header - do not code this*
Conflict5\Community Safety	Definition: Descriptions of participants perceptions on how safe they feel in their community Inclusion: Can include any personal examples of the participants perceived safety or how safe or unsafe they feel in their community Exclusion: Instances of conflict in their community or surrounding communities Example: "P: Si, es seguro. Nos sentimos muy seguros aquí "
Conflict5\ Stressors	Definition: Examples of stressors participants face Inclusion: Include segments on personal examples of stessors about money, work, environment, partner, family etc. Also code any external conversations about stressors such as the climate, illnesses, not having enough money, lack of water etc. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Bueno, mis preocupaciones cuando mis hijas estén enfermas, cuando se sienten mal, yo me preocupo mucho. Y no faltar nada, el alimento. Ellos son niños y uno tiene que estar pendiente, yo me preocupo mucho de mis hijos, si veo que no le tengo nada que dar a mis hijos, yo me preocupo y busco, y pido prestado (inaudible) Les digo prueban algo, coman algo. "

Conflict5\ Community Conflict	Definition: Description of any disagreements or arguments generally seen in their community Inclusion: Include segments on their perceptions of community conflict. Also, code if they have not seen conflict in the community, or if they have not seen conflict in their community in a long time. Also include segments on conflict in surrounding communities. This can include segments on armed conflict. Exclusion: Conflict in the workplace or household Example: "P: También hay muchos casos de que matan gente."
Conflict5\Workplace Conflict	Definition: Description of any disagreement or arguments generally seen in relation to their work Inclusion: Include segments on their perceptions of workplace conflict. Also, code if they have not seen conflict in their work, or if they have not seen conflict in a long time. Also, code anything to do with working with agriculture, working for the mine, working at the school etc. Exclusion: Conflict in the community or household Example: "P: El conflicto por aquí de los montes son la gente. Roban los animales."
Conflict5\Household Conflict	Definition: Description of any disagreement or arguments in the household Inclusion: Include segments on their perceptions of household conflict. Also, code if they do not have conflict in their household, or there has not been conflict in their household in a long time. Also, code if they describe disagreements or conflicts between parents and children etc. Exclusion: Conflict in the community or workplace Example: "I: Y ¿ha escuchado de algún conflicto dentro de los hogares, como entre parejas cuando se discuten? P: Si hay pareja que pega a su mujer, que maltrata a su esposa, que maltrata a sus hijos. "
Conflict5\Perceived Impact of WFP Training on Conflict	Definition: Description if there has been more, the less, or the same number of conflicts, disagreements or aguments since receiving WFP trainings Inclusion: Also code any sort of segments or responses surrounding reduced conflict, increased conflict, or no change Exclusion: How the trainings helped in other ways i.e. helped them to learn how to save money etc.
Gender Based Violence6	*section header - do not code this*

Gender Based Violence6\ Emotional Violence	Definition: Description of any act which causes psychological harm to an individual. Emotional or psychological violence can take the form of for example coercion, defamation, verbal isults or harrasment Inclusion: This can include any instance of a man threatening, insulting, pressuring, coercing, guilt- tripping, manipulating or using general emotional violence against a woman. Code even if they say that they don't know or have never seen it Exclusion: None Example: "P: y ya no quería vivir más con el- y ella le dijo que no quería vivir más con él y él le decía que era porque tenía otro marido que no sé qué. "
Gender Based Violence6\ Physical Violence	Definition: Description of any act which causes physical harm as a result of physcial force. Inclusion: This can include any instance of the use of physical violece. Code segments including serious and minor physcial harm. Code even if they say that they don't know or have never seen it Exclusion: None Example: "P: Le dio creo que fueron 21 puñaladas"
Gender Based Violence6\ Sexual Violence	Definition: Description of any sexual act performed on an individual without their consent Inclusion: This can include rape or sexual assault. Code even if they say they don't know or have never seen it. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Entonces él se metió al cuarto a tener relaciones con ella y ella no quiso, y de ahí empezaron a discutir con fuerza entonces el entro a la cocina, cogió un cuchillo, y empezó a darle así desnuda."
Gender Based Violence6\ Economic Violence	Definition: Description of any act or behavior which causes economic harm to an individual. Inclusion: This could include a partner threating to withdraw economic support, for example, the money that he gives her or a property that they share or any other important thing/ recognition of economic coercion. This could also include, restricting access to financial resources, education or the labour market, or not complying with economic responsibilities such as alimony. Exclusion: None
Gender Based Violence6\ Femicide	Definition: Description of any instace of femicide (a man intentionally killing a woman) Inclusion: This could include any intentional murder of women because they are women. This could includ any case of femicide, which involve ongoing abuse in the home, threats or intimidation, sexual violence or situations where women have less power or fewer resources than their partner. Also, code if they say they don't know or have never seen it. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Uff eso fue tremendo. Por celos la mato. "

Gender Based Violence6\ Witnessing Violence as a Child	Definition: Description of any instance of children witnessing violence Inclusion: Also, code if participant speaks about witnessing violence in their own childhood, or speaks about other children witnessing violence in their household. Also, code if they say they don't know or it doesnt happen. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Para que los niños vean eso, es malo también."
Gender Based Violence6\ Perception of What Causes Violence	Definition: What the participant perceives to be the causes gender based violence Inclusion: Include segments surrounding the participants perceptions on why any type of gender based violence occurs (can be emotional, physical, sexual, economic) Exclusion: How violence can be prevented Example: " I: Y ¿cuál cree que son las causas de esa violencia contra la mujer? P: Porque lo hacen puede ser que fumen drogas, alcohol, falta de respeto "
Gender Based Violence6\Violence Prevention	Definition: How the participant believes gender based violence should/could be prevented Inclusion: Include segments on any type of gender based violence prevention participants mention Exclusion: What causes gender based violence Example: " P: Es malo también. Y aconsejar a nuestras hijas, cuando vayan a crecer uno tienen que hablarles porque los niños hoy en día, los jovencitos ya beben, ya van a fiestas, tienen hijos entonces y después los culpables de eso son las madres y los padres porque no las orientan, no las aconsejan"
Gender Based Violence6\Violence Response	Definition: Participants descriptions of responses to gender based violence Inclusion: Include segments on any type of response to gender based violence participants mention. Also, code if they mention cultural or social practices to respond to GBV by using a palabrero etc. Exclusion: How to prevent gender based violence Example: " I: Y ¿qué pasa cuando hay un conflicto, viene el palabrero o viene-?P: Bueno, viene el palabrero cuando uno sabe quién es la persona, así, eso se habla y lo pagan. Pero mientras que nosotros no sabemos quienes son, nosotros no podemos mandar el palabrero a una casa porque no sabe quién es"
Trainings7	*section header - do not code this*
Trainings7\Type	Definition: Participants descriptions of the type of training that they received Inclusion: Description about the training from WFP or any other organization. This can include trainings on nutrition, sanitation and hygiene, environment etc. Include all training topics mentioned Exclusion: None Example: "P: Sobre la capacitación sobre que el habla más que todo sobre cuidar el medio ambiente "

	Definition: Participants perceptions on how the training program has helped their life Inclusion: General feelings and statements on how the trainings have assited them. This can include bonos, physical resources, trainings etc. Exclusion: None Example: "P: ya pudieron comprar lo que necesitan, porque lo que ellos ganaban para la comida no les alcanzaba. Ahora sí, ya pudieron intentar algo, comprar animales, por ejemplo yo ya tengo animales, con la primera que nos dieron, compramos chivo. Ahorramos alguito, así de poquito. I: ¿Ya están ahorrando de poquito para emergencias?P: Aja sí. En un banco, en cooperativo llega aquí mensual."
Trainings7/How the Trainings Helped	
Future Program Development8	*section header - do not code this*
Trainings8/Resources Available	Definition: Participants description of resources available in the community Inclusion: General statements on all resources, and social programs available (specifically focused on women). This can include segments on any resources available from WFP or any other organizations such as Fundacion Cerrejon, Accion Contra el Hambre etc that have given trainings, and/or aid to the community. Exclusion: None Example: "I: Como- ¿qué programas hay? P: Bueno aquí, no, no ha llegado estos programas, es primera vez que viene Acción contra el Hambre y el PMA. Esos no más porque nosotros antes no recibíamos aquí "
Trainings8/Suggestions for Future Trainings and Aid	Definition: Participants descriptions of possible solutions for topics for future training and aid Inclusion: General statements on potential topics for future trainings, interventions and aid. This can include trainings and aid from WFP or any other organization such as Fundacion Cerrejon, Accion Contra el Hambre etc. Exclusion: None Example: "P: Educación de como recursos para el trabajo de uno. Que uno le digan vamos a fomentar esto de la artesanía para que tengan como ayudarse. Claro."

Appendix C: Emory Institutional Review Board Letter

EMORY
UNIVERSITY

Institutional Review Board

Date: June 6, 2018

Camille Volper
Principal Investigator
*Ethics Center

RE: **Exemption of Human Subjects Research**
        IRB00103689
        THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WEB BASED PLATFORM TO ADDRESS GENDER
        BASED VIOLENCE IN COLOMBIA

Dear Principal Investigator:

Thank you for submitting an application to the Emory IRB for the above-referenced project. Based on the information you have provided, we have determined on **June 4, 2018** that although it is human subjects research, it is exempt from further IRB review and approval.

This determination is good indefinitely unless substantive revisions to the study design (e.g., population or type of data to be obtained) occur which alter our analysis. Please consult the Emory IRB for clarification in case of such a change. Exempt projects do not require continuing renewal applications.

This project meets the criteria for exemption under 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2). Specifically, you will conducted interviews and focus groupsin Spanish with men and women above the age of 18, who are members of the small holder farmer associations in the two rural departments of Colombia.

- Protocol:
  - Scientific Protocol Document
- Interview Guide:
  - Draft Interview Guide
- Consent:
  - Oral Consent Script/Information Sheet

Please note that the Belmont Report principles apply to this research: respect for persons, beneficence, and justice. You should use the informed consent materials reviewed by the IRB unless a waiver of consent was granted. Similarly, if HIPAA applies to this project, you should use the HIPAA patient authorization and revocation materials reviewed by the IRB unless a waiver was granted. CITI certification is required of all personnel conducting this research.

Unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects or others or violations of the HIPAA Privacy Rule must be reported promptly to the Emory IRB and the sponsoring agency (if any).

In future correspondence about this matter, please refer to the study ID shown above. Thank you.