

Learning from *SASA!* Adaptations In Diverse Contexts: A Summary Brief

Overview

SASA! is a community mobilization approach to prevent violence against women (VAW) and HIV, developed by Raising Voices in Uganda. SASA! works by supporting communities through a comprehensive process of social change focused on interrogating unequal power dynamics between women and men. A randomized controlled trial conducted between 2007 and 2012 demonstrated SASA!'s community-level impacts on preventing intimate partner violence (IPV) against women and reducing social acceptability of violence.¹ With this evidence, global uptake of the methodology has grown dramatically; SASA! is currently being implemented in over 25 countries worldwide.

Several critical issues have emerged as the number of organizations implementing SASA! increases:

- What are the ways SASA! can be best adapted for different settings around the globe?
- How is fidelity to SASA! determined?
- What promising, context-specific strategies exist for quality SASA! implementation?

Motivated by these questions, Raising Voices launched the three-year Learning from SASA! Adaptations Project (Adaptations Project) in 2016, supported by the UN Trust Fund. The overarching aim of the project is to strengthen global prevention programming by distilling learnings from SASA!'s adaptation in three diverse settings: the Caribbean setting of Jacmel, Haiti; a humanitarian setting in Dadaab, Kenya; and a rural setting in Kigoma, Tanzania (Box 1). Through a case comparison approach, our core objectives were to explore: (1) SASA! adaptation processes in diverse settings; (2) context-specific implementation strategies; (3) organizational structures necessary for effective SASA! programming; and (4) SASA!'s progress against expected outcomes in each site.

Raising Voices is working in partnership with Beyond Borders (Haiti), the International Rescue Committee (Kenya); the Women's Promotion Centre (Tanzania) and the University of California, San Diego (United States). In addition to detailed case study reports from each setting, the Adaptation Project research informed the development of three <u>Programming for Prevention</u> Briefs.





Box 1: Introducing the Case Study Contexts

Beyond Borders in Jacmel, Haiti

www.beyondborders. net (English) www. repansepouvwa.org (Creole)

Jacmel and surrounding communities are located in Haiti's Southeast department. Most of the population is clustered in rural communities that have daily interactions with Jacmel town. Jacmel once flourished from active trade and tourism, but its economy and tourism have declined, in part due to the 2010 earthquake that just preceded SASA! implementation.

Between 2010 and 2015. Beyond Borders conducted the first adaptation and full implementation of SASA! outside Africa, in Jacmel town and four nearby rural communities (estimated population was between 82,700 and 92,000 people in 2010).2 As part of this adaptation, Beyond Borders published the entire SASA! Activist Kit in Haitian Creole in 2014. In 2017, Beyond Borders began a second round of SASA! implementation in new communities, together with a complementary methodology called Power to Girls. Since 2014, Beyond Borders has also been providing technical assistance on SASA! to other Haitian organizations.

International Rescue Committee (IRC) in Dadaab, Kenya

www.rescue.org

Dadaab is a cluster of refugee camps in eastern Kenya formed in 1992 following the Somali civil war. Similar to many humanitarian settings, life is challenging and often characterized by food and water scarcity, poor sanitation, economic hardship and high rates of VAW.

Camp residents are unable to engage in formal employment and are dependent on humanitarian actors for the provision of basic needs. Despite these challenges, the Dadaab setting provides opportunities for VAW prevention programming, such as the potential for comprehensive reach throughout organized residential sections and the availability of quality response services.

IRC started working in Dadaab in 2009 and implementing *SASA!* in Hagadera camp in 2012. Hagadera is majority Somali, and the 2018 population is estimated at 74,036.³ As of late 2018, *SASA!* implementation is in the Support phase.

Women's Promotion Centre (WPC) in Kigoma, Tanzania www.wpctanzania.org

Kigoma is a stable and relatively peaceful rural region of Tanzania. It is located at the northeastern shore of Lake Tanganyika in Western Tanzania, approximately 1,250 kilometers from Dar es Salaam.

Due to its geographical location, there are long-residing migrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Rwanda. According to the 2012 Population and Housing Census, the Kigoma Municipality had a population of approximately 215,458.4

WPC has been implementing SASA! in Kigoma since 2014. SASA! implementation areas include approximately 40,000 people living in Gungu and Bangwe wards, with approximately 20,000 people per ward. WPC transitioned to the SASA! Action phase in late 2018.





Research Methods

Raising Voices selected a comparative case study approach to learn best from the challenges and opportunities of adapting SASA! for diverse contexts. Slightly different methods were used in each site based on practical considerations and the stage of SASA! programming during data collection (Box 2). Qualitative activities included focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs) with program staff, SASA! Community Activists (CAs), community members and other stakeholders. In addition, we drew on quantitative data from several rounds of the SASA! Rapid Assessment Survey (RAS), a 38-question survey designed to assess gender and violence-related knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviors.

Box 2: Case Study Design

Kenya & Tanzania (Prospective Design)

- 2 waves of **qualitative data collection** (FGDs and IDIs with staff, CAs, community members and key stakeholders); and
- **Secondary analysis of RAS data**: 2 waves in Tanzania (2016 and 2017); one wave in Kenya (2018) in light of a delayed start due to political tensions in Dadaab.

Haiti (Retrospective Design)

- 1 wave of qualitative data collection (FGDs and IDIs with staff, CAs, community members and key stakeholders in 2016 and 2017); and
- Secondary analysis of four rounds of RAS data (2010, 2012, 2014 and 2016), the first at baseline and subsequently at the end of each SASA! phase.

Note: We used a retrospective design for Haiti to capture knowledge from Beyond Borders' rigorous pilot of SASA! (2010-2016), including comprehensive adaptation, implementation, and in-depth monitoring and evaluation.

Safety and other sensitivities were considered carefully throughout the research and aligned with the World Health Organization guidelines for the ethical collection of data on violence against women. A detailed research protocol was approved by ethical review boards in Haiti, Kenya, Tanzania, and the University of California, San Diego. All qualitative data were collected in local languages (Creole, Somali and Kiswahili) or English by trained research teams and audio recorded (with participant consent) and later transcribed into English. We used an iterative approach for the analysis, first summarizing the data into Excel frameworks organized by common themes and respondent groups. Subsequently, partners held a series of internal calls, webinars and in-person discussions to deepen interpretation and enhance cross-site comparisons. In September 2018, we gathered for an all-partners validation workshop in Kampala, Uganda to collectively draw out implications, meaning and the potential applications of learning.





Fidelity and Adaptation

Developing successful VAW prevention programs for new contexts requires a careful interplay between two aspects of implementation: (1) fidelity — the delivery of the program as intended, and (2) adaptation — changes to delivery and/or content to ensure a program's contextual appropriateness. Maintaining fidelity requires that the four SASA! "essentials" are preserved: a gender-power analysis (recognizing power imbalances between women and men at individual and structural levels as the root cause of VAW); a phased-in approach (building on existing analysis and introducing new ideas systematically through the Start, Awareness, Support and Action phases); holistic community engagement across the key circles of influence (building a critical mass for change); and activism (inspiring critical reflection through organic engagement that is led by the community).

Raising Voices has outlined five main adaptation modalities for SASA!: translation, cultural changes, issue integration, focused populations, and implementation innovations (Figure 1).

Figure 1: SASA! Adaptation Modalities



Three distinct adaptation modalities are represented across the case study sites:

- Haiti **Cultural Changes:** Comprehensive translation of the complete *SASA!* Activist Kit into Creole, as well as revised colors, design elements and illustrations to better reflect the Haitian socio-historical and cultural setting.
- Kenya **Implementation Innovations:** SASA! is implemented alongside IRC's other VAW prevention and response activities (rather than as a stand-alone program), creating a synergistic approach, with limited translation and/or cultural adaptation during the initial years of SASA! programming.
- Tanzania **Translation:** Content identified as relevant for *SASA!* programming in Kigoma translated from English to Kiswahili through a careful process to ensure that the meaning and intention of *SASA!* key concepts are maintained.



Key Learnings

A summary of individual case study findings from Haiti, Kenya and Tanzania are presented in the Annex. Analysis across sites reveals several shared experiences in adapting and implementing SASA!, as well as unique aspects with implications for future programming.

Findings from all three sites highlight that **adaptation** is complicated and can add significant time to SASA! implementation. For example, deciding on appropriate translations in local languages that are easily understood and also consistently reflect the nuance of SASA! concepts (e.g. various types of power) can be challenging. For primarily oral languages, determining the most widely recognized translations requires in-depth consultations. Partners also experienced a need to travel or otherwise access services in the capital or outside the country (e.g. the U.S., Nairobi, and Dar es Salaam) to print SASA! materials, which caused delays and made it harder to pre-test and make quick revisions.

Partners identified three core ingredients for a successful adaptation process: moving slowly through a step-by-step process (e.g. adapting and implementing one SASA! phase at a time); taking deliberate actions to test revised versions; and integrating community feedback throughout. In addition, both Beyond Borders and IRC hired specialized consultants to support with cultural and religious aspects, with the aim of deepening the salience of adapted SASA! materials in the communities. Importantly, we found that SASA! had a strong resonance at the community level across contexts, suggesting the universality of SASA! themes, as well as the usefulness of SASA!'s personalized approach for sparking critical reflection on these topics.

Shared **implementation** experiences include:

- Initial resistance to SASA!, particularly among men, some of whom misperceived the program as "for women." In all sites, managing this tension required finding and engaging influential allies to promote SASA! within the community, with religious leaders emerging as critical members of the SASA! team.
- Expectations for financial compensation when participating in and/or facilitating SASA! activities, which largely stem from an "incentive culture." Although this was most acute in Dadaab, partners in Jacmel and Kigoma experienced a similar initial response.
- Challenges in sustaining enthusiasm and commitment among SASA! CAs—the community volunteers who receive training and mentorship and are expected to lead SASA! activities. Although partners differed in their specific response to this challenge (Box 7), establishing personal relationships with CAs and supporting them beyond SASA! appear to be promising approaches.
- Some anxiety resulting from the perceived need to demonstrate quick progress to donors, including around outcomes that were at times misaligned with the SASA! phases (e.g. expecting a shift in the prevalence of VAW early in SASA! implementation).
- Other external factors particularly elections and political violence negatively affected programming, with the potential for CAs and program staff to appropriate SASA! activities for politicking. Other external influences included natural disasters, repatriation campaigns, and HIV interventions that provide financial incentives in the community (thus exacerbating community expectations).





Box 3: Common & Unique Approaches to Supporting SASA! Community Activists (CAs)

Shared Approaches

- **Be clear and consistent about CA motivation from the beginning.** Emphasize the personal element of *SASA!* (e.g. CAs' role in preventing VAW) and clarify that becoming a CA is not an employment opportunity; instead, highlight other benefits such as increased visibility and status, contributing to community wellbeing, etc.
- Connect CAs to professional development opportunities. For example, Beyond Borders sent CAs to external human rights training sessions; IRC links CAs to NGOs requiring community mobilizers in Dadaab as well as external courses for refugees; and both Beyond Borders and WPC prioritize their CAs for short-term paid assignments.
- **Foster personal relationships**. Engage with CAs beyond *SASA!*. For example, celebrate birthdays, recognize personal milestones such as graduations, attend family burials, etc.

Beyond Borders in Jacmel, Haiti

IRC in Dadaab, Kenya

WPC in Kigoma, Tanzania

- Promote accountability and ownership.
 M&E findings are frequently shared with CAs, allowing time for questions and to collectively celebrate program achievements.
- Internship system.
 Every three months,
 two highly motivated
 CAs (one woman, one
 man) are provided a
 remunerated internship
 opportunity at the
 office to build skills and
 leadership.
- Compensation. Beyond Borders provides direct reimbursement for transport costs and provides food and snacks to CAs during all-day trainings.

- Build skills to navigate community resistance. IRC trained CAs on identifying and addressing common backlash in the community.
- CAs are unpaid, they are provided gumboots and other materials and given a "cash voucher" for household goods (approximately 10 USD) for participation in trainings. Refugee Community Workers, who supervise CAs and also facilitate SASA! activities, are given a modest stipend of 80 USD per month and have a formal contract with IRC.
- Celebrate successes.

 WPC will provide
 certificates of completion
 for CAs at the end of the
 Action phase.
- Engage CAs in other organizational work. For example, CAs are brought on to support other WPC programs when appropriate.
- **Compensation**. CAs are given a small monthly allowance (approximately 9 USD) for transport, with the expectation of facilitating at least four SASA! sessions per month.



Finally, across partners there was a shared sense that SASA! had a strong influence on the implementing **organization** itself, including individual staff members' beliefs about gender, power and violence against women; the broader organizational culture; and the practice of community engagement beyond SASA!. As one staff member explained: "While we adapt SASA!, SASA! also adapts us!." For instance, all three partners have integrated SASA!'s training and communication materials into other program areas. SASA! inspired Beyond Borders to establish a committee of key staff from each of its programs to examine and improve gender-power dynamics within the organization. At WPC, several staff described profound internal shifts as a result of their engagement with SASA!, such as boosting self-confidence and creating a personal identity as activists. At IRC, the senior management team examined how gender and power were affecting turnover of female staff at an organizational level, culminating in an all-staff workshop that was structured using SASA! materials.

Implications for Practice

Findings highlight several essential strategies for adapting and implementing SASA!, as well as special considerations for humanitarian settings.

Essentials for Adaptation (see Adapting SASA!: Tips and Tools):

- Allocate time and financial resources for adapting SASA! into donor proposals and work plans.
- Identify the adaptation modality that is required and feasible for the context; establish a
 structured process for the adaptation and designate required resources before any SASA!
 programming begins. Consider both logistical (e.g. printing) and technical (e.g. engaging
 individuals with specialized expertise) aspects.
- Consider which strategies and activities are most relevant for the context. At a minimum, translate these key materials into local language(s) through a multi-step process (e.g. discuss possible translations, test with the community and integrate feedback before finalizing) and revise any artwork that may be inappropriate and/or not relevant.

Essentials for Quality Implementation (see <u>Assessing SASA! Programming: Tips and Tools</u>):

- Ensure organizational support (e.g. commitment to SASA! at the senior management level and a dedicated SASA! team in place), and secure financial resources for a minimum of 18 months and, ideally, 3.5 years of SASA! programming.
- Preemptively identify potential areas of backlash and take mitigating steps as early as possible.
- Establish and adhere to recommended ratios of staff and CAs, based on the size and location of your SASA! communities.
- Develop personal relationships with CAs and use creative strategies to sustain motivation, help them navigate potential community resistance, and support their personal and professional development in areas beyond SASA!.
- Monitor intended and unintended consequences using the SASA! monitoring and assessment strategy, and hold regular sessions to discuss findings and adjust programming accordingly.

Note: Throughout both adaptation and implementation, it is essential to create a tight feedback loop between the *SASA!* partner and the community, based on open communication and mutual respect.



Essentials for SASA! in Humanitarian Contexts (see <u>Implementing SASA!</u> in Humanitarian <u>Settings: Tips and Tools)</u>:

- Develop contingency plans for possible program delays due to renewed conflict and/or substantial mobility within the community (e.g. large-scale in or outflows of refugees) and factor this into the overall program timeframe.
- Consider the specific economic opportunities and "incentive culture" within your context when deciding whether or not to provide any compensation for SASA! CAs. Work to offset the potential for incentives to detract from community ownership and sustainable activism.
- When using an "implementation innovations" approach (e.g. integrating SASA! alongside other VAW prevention and response activities), ensure basic alignment of core concepts in all program components to mitigate the potential for confusion and "mixed messages."
- Before starting SASA!, ensure the "do no harm" principle can be maintained for staff and the community, and periodically re-assess.

Final Word

The experiences of Beyond Borders in Haiti, IRC in Kenya, and WPC in Tanzania demonstrate that *SASA!* is adaptable in diverse settings, with the potential to provoke personal and organizational reflection, shift harmful attitudes and behaviors, and prevent violence against women.

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Available online at http://raisingvoices.org/innovation/disseminating-ideas/

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Annex: Summary of Case Study Findings

Beyond Borders in Jacmel, Haiti

Background: This case study focuses on how the Caribbean country of Haiti and the organizational structure of Beyond Borders influenced *SASA!*'s adaptation, implementation, and the achievement of intended outcomes in Jacmel and nearby communities. Challenging contextual aspects included a mostly oral culture (leading to variable literacy and language use in the community); a rural, dispersed setting; and lack of local staff skilled in violence prevention work at the outset of implementation. There were also unique opportunities, including Beyond Borders' well-established presence and strong community relationships, and a high involvement of local communities and individual activists who took ownership of the program, increasing its chances of sustainability.

Adaptation: Beyond Borders completed the first adaptation of *SASA!* outside the African context. Its approach can be considered a "cultural changes" adaptation because it was critically important for *SASA!* to be tailored to reflect Haitian voices and culture in all programming aspects. This adaptation modality has many advantages, such as establishing and deepening engagement of local community members and involving and amplifying the work of local artists and designers. However, there are also challenges; in particular, it took significant time and staff resources to adapt *SASA!* in this comprehensive way. Other notable aspects of a "cultural changes" adaptation include the importance of local engagement with community members' hands-on collaboration and the inclusion of local leadership to ensure programming takes into account political, social, and cultural dynamics. Beyond Borders' creation of a "*SASA!* translation dictionary" was essential for ensuring consistency in translations across materials.

Implementation: Several characteristics of Beyond Borders as an organization were key for quality SASA! programming in Jacmel and surrounding communities, including: their longstanding presence and relationships within the community; the alignment between SASA! and other Beyond Borders programming; and that many of those deeply involved in implementing SASA! "turned into activists." Implementing SASA! was not without its challenges. Jacmel's large, rural operational area made it challenging to reach all of the communities with the same frequency. Several Community Activists (CAs) experienced initial resistance to the intervention among community members, primarily linked to traditional attitudes about gender and violence. Given the rural area and need for community buy-in, the lack of strong expertise in VAW prevention at the outset of the program created another obstacle. Finally, a large component of SASA! is volunteerism that excludes financial compensation, which made it difficult to engage and sustain CAs and community members in need of financial support.

Progress Towards Outcomes: Overall, the adaptation and implementation of SASA! in Jacmel had a substantial and positive impact. Knowledge about violence increased in all categories, particularly with regard to understanding the impact of VAW on other areas, such as HIV risk. At baseline, most respondents to the quantitative Rapid Assessment Survey (RAS) reported attitudes in support of gender-equitable norms and against VAW, and these positive trends were retained over the course of SASA! implementation. Both women and men reported significant increases in their familiarity with SASA! materials and ideas by the final phase of the methodology.





International Rescue Committee in Dadaab, Kenya

Background: This case study focuses on how the humanitarian landscape and IRC's organizational structure influenced *SASA!* in Dadaab. Challenging contextual aspects include high turnover among staff (common to many humanitarian settings), fluidity within the refugee community due to repatriation and resettlement, frequent insecurity and restricted movement. There are also unique opportunities, including the possibility for comprehensive outreach and various "points of contact" between IRC and camp residents. In addition, it is possible that the rapid fissures of social networks provoked by displacement can create space for new, more equitable social norms and practices to emerge.

Adaptation: IRC's adaptation can be considered an "implementation innovations" modality, where SASA! is being implemented alongside complementary VAW prevention and response activities. This has many advantages, such as amplifying opportunities for engagement, deepening trust, and establishing a trained group of activists who can be mobilized for diverse activities. However, integration also has the potential to confuse community members if core concepts are not well aligned, and limits the ability to isolate SASA! outcomes. Therefore, case study findings are best interpreted as the cumulative influence of IRC's entire Women's Protection & Empowerment portfolio. Other notable aspects include the explicit integration of IRC's existing referral and case management process into SASA! activities, intensified engagement with religious leaders (e.g. hiring a religious scholar to link SASA!'s core messages to Qur'anic texts), and the use of Refugee Community Workers (RCWs) – who have a contract with IRC and are provided a modest monthly stipend – as lead SASA! facilitators (IRC has opted for this strategy for both pragmatic and ethical reasons, given the lack of formal earning opportunities in the camp). Up until 2018 there was limited formal translation of SASA! materials into Somali or contextualization/revision of the SASA! artwork.

Implementation: Several of IRC's organizational assets emerged as integral for quality SASA! programming in Dadaab, including: IRC's longstanding presence and trust in the community; an explicit programmatic mandate around prevention; and existing service infrastructure which allows for timely, survivor-centered referrals. Additional strengths include a strong, committed team of RCWs and the systematic planning and implementation of SASA! through a phase-specific approach. Findings consistently point to the strong resonance of SASA! concepts, particularly around "peace" and "power within," enhancing motivation for participation. Several challenges, however, disrupted SASA! momentum, perhaps most prominently high staff turnover, occasional rapid influx of refugees unacquainted with SASA!, and uncertainty around the Kenyan government's camp closure announcement in 2016. Finally, the reliance on RCWs rather than unpaid CAs may dilute community ownership and sustainable activism.

Progress Towards Outcomes: Qualitative research participants were overwhelmingly enthusiastic about SASA! and other IRC programs, and shared examples of meaningful changes in the community. For example, some community members described SASA! as an "eye-opening" experience that challenged the acceptability of violence against women and girls. Importantly, a gender-power analysis is taking shape in the community, with most participants expressing intolerance of VAW (with the exception of marital rape, where views are more ambiguous) and linking violence to power inequalities between women and men. Although patriarchal attitudes in Dadaab remain (with some participants narrating experiences of stigma around survivors of sexual violence, and blaming women for some instances of violence), the case study uncovered several promising shifts, including more support for women experiencing violence, men's increased contributions in domestic work, and perceptions of lower levels of violence overall.



Women's Promotion Center in Kigoma, Tanzania

Background: The Women's Promotion Centre's (WPC) case study examines the process of adapting SASA! for a rural context in Tanzania. Primary goals are to assess the challenges and successes WPC experienced and recommend practical insights for other groups adapting SASA! for a rural sub-Saharan African context. WPC is currently implementing SASA! in the Kigoma-Ujiji Municipality of the Kigoma region. This is a rural community on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika with an estimated population of over 215,000 people. The two SASA! communities are Gungu and Bangwe wards, with approximately 20,000 residents each.

Adaptation: SASA!'s community-based approach is advantageous in a rural setting like Kigoma where people are approachable and easy to find near their homes or fields. WPC faithfully adapted SASA! as a stand-alone VAW prevention program, and each SASA! phase has been carried out comprehensively using the relevant activities and materials. WPC's adaptation required strong organizational capacity to conduct a thorough translation from English to Kiswahili, as well as pilot testing in the community to gauge the cultural acceptability of the adapted materials. Milestones in WPC's adaptation process include: identifying topics and materials most suitable for Kigoma; mapping existing resources/groups and identifying potential allies for SASA! in the community; drawing on the social connectedness of rural communities to enhance reach and diffusion; ensuring people understand the meaning of "power" in the context of SASA! and in their own lives; solving logistical difficulties related to printing; and allocating substantial time to communicate the link between VAW and men's power over women.

Implementation: WPC prioritized involving religious leaders, community leaders, and other community gatekeepers to gain support for SASA!. In the early stages, they also focused on identifying and correcting misconceptions about the program (e.g. some community members believed that SASA! was intended "for women"). The case study highlights key implementation successes, such as involving religious leaders as impactful agents of change due to their trusted and influential roles in society; making CAs central to all aspects of SASA!; and focusing on accessible and personal activities (e.g. sharing real-life stories, films/theatre). In terms of challenges, some religious leaders resisted change due to values and customs unsupportive of gender equity and some men felt threatened by SASA!, particularly in the initial period. Community members also expected financial incentives from the SASA! CAs and WPC found the SASA! M&E tools difficult to use.

Progress Towards Outcomes: Although quantitative trends from two rounds of the SASA! Rapid Assessment Survey were mixed, the qualitative findings were highly encouraging. By 2017 – three years after starting SASA! – most participants in the study (including women and men) perceived that IPV decreased substantially in their community. Both women and men narrated that awareness about how to define and recognize physical, sexual, and economic IPV increased both among individuals and the community as a whole. Some participants described how they had come to realize that power imbalances between women and men are at the root of all forms of violence against women. SASA! was also perceived to have had a particular impact on women experiencing IPV, e.g. positively influencing their decisions to seek help.





Endnotes

- 1 Abramsky, T., Devries, K., Kiss, L., Nakuti, J., Kyegombe, N., and Starmann, E. (2014) Findings from the SASA! Study: a cluster randomized controlled trial to assess the impact of a community mobilization intervention to prevent violence against women and reduce HIV risk in Kampala, Uganda. BMC Medicine, 12(122), pp.1-17.
- 2 Estimates extrapolated from Republique d'Haiti Ministere de l'economie et des finances, Institut Haitien de Statistique et d'informatique (IHSI). (2012). Population totale, Population des 18 ans et plus menages et densites estimes en 2012. Port-au-Prince. Direction des statistiques demographiques et sociales.
- 3 UNHCR. (2018). Dadaab Refugee Complex. Retrieved from: http://www.unhcr.org/ke/dadaab-refugee-complex.
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