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교육학석사학위논문

**Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF)'s
Education Programmes in the Freirean
Perspective:
The Case of Bangladesh**

프레이리 시각으로 본 염산테러생존자재단 (ASF)의 교육
프로그램 논의:
방글라데시 사례

2016년 2월

서울대학교 대학원
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ABSTRACT

**Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF)'s
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The Case of Bangladesh**

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Many developing countries in the world struggle from a diverse range of challenges that persist and hinder national development in spite of various developmental efforts that are being implemented. Persisting gender inequality and violence against women are considered to be one of the biggest obstacles that hamper the progress of development in developing countries. This study looks at a particular issue of gender-based violence, acid attack, which has been recognized as an international phenomenon, in the context of a specific country, the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Although Bangladesh is a young country struggling with countless difficulties, it had been recognized as having already achieved and was on

track to meet many targets of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) before the promised deadline of 2015.

However, in spite of various measures, Bangladesh still faces difficulty in graduating from poverty and completely combating violence against women. Interestingly though, in the midst of such struggle, there is one specific case in which Bangladesh's response is considered as a role model and a success story by other countries that face the same issue. Known as acid attack, acid violence or acid throwing, this criminal activity is a vicious form of violence exercised primarily against women, but against the underprivileged, oppressed population in general. Acid attack takes place across the world from developing countries to developed countries. In fact, these countries have attempted to replicate the exact work that are carried out by the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh), the principle organization with the objective to fully eradicate acid attack in the country, in order to witness the same significant decline of the crime in their own countries as well. As a country that is still a recipient of aid with numerous problems, such phenomenon is an interesting case that is worth examining in greater detail.

ASF Bangladesh gives credit for its successful reduction of acid throwing in the country to its Bio-Psycho-Social approach, including the

educational, awareness-raising initiatives that are designed for both acid survivors and the remaining population – non-victims and the general public. The purpose of this study is to explore the key characteristics of the educational activities of ASF Bangladesh, which is considered to be an integral aspect of the organization’s initiatives in eradicating acid attack. Paulo Freire’s theoretical frameworks are explored and confirmed through the examination of the pertinent literature on ASF Bangladesh and its work, as well as the interviews from the author’s field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh. Paulo Freire’s core concepts of conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue have been identified to be embedded in the activities of ASF Bangladesh that are geared towards both the acid survivors and the general public.

Overall, the work of ASF Bangladesh is recognized as a success story by many countries that also wish to join the movement in completely eradicating acid attack. The approach of ASF Bangladesh in rehabilitating and reintegrating acid survivors as well as raising awareness among the general population of Bangladesh are deemed to be effective with its adoption of Paulo Freire’s perspectives such as conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue. Education programmes in developing countries can be interpreted and disseminated to other countries; in the case

of ASF Bangladesh, it will be to show the Freirean case. Therefore, countries that struggle from the persistent perpetuation of acid violence should also implement appropriate measures, with the above-mentioned core Freirean concepts amply incorporated, in order to observe similar results from those of ASF Bangladesh – or de-oppression to the level of liberation through the delivery of their education programmes – and contribute to the social development at the national context in the long-term.

Keywords: Acid Violence, Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh Education Programmes, Freirean Frameworks

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and Statement of the Problem

Numerous efforts in different fields have taken place in order to contribute to the development of the Third World. With the official establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that have replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in September 2015, the international community has reaffirmed its dedication to continue collaborating and working together towards the achievement of the globally concurred objectives. Since the establishment of the MDGs in 2000, there has been dramatic progress in the education sector pertaining to MDG 2, achieving universal primary education (UNDP, 2015). The total enrolment rate in developing areas reached 91 percent in 2015 and the number of children out of school has shown a decline by almost half (UNDP, 2015). Significant increase in literacy rate and the number of girls enrolled in school are also indicators that prove the successful achievement of MDG 2 (UNDP, 2015).

However, challenges still continue to exist in developing regions that result from poverty, armed conflicts and other emergencies (UNDP, 2015). Disparities – between urban and rural regions as well as between low-

income and middle-income households – still remain high and barriers to education persist in spite of the efforts to eliminate them, leaving the marginalized secluded (UNDP, 2015). Exercising violence against the marginalized, especially girls, is one effective way to discourage them from being educated.

It is evident that the focus was mainly on the formal education system, working to increase the enrolment rates in developing regions. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all as one of its 17 goals that officially replaced the MDGs. In addition to ensuring the completion of free primary and secondary schooling for all boys and girls by 2030, this goal includes equal access to affordable vocational training and eradicating gender and wealth inequalities (UNDP, 2015). Here, the focus has expanded to non-formal education as well, including educational activities outside the established formal system.

There are numerous forms of non-formal education for the marginalized that are taking place across the world today. This study looks at the education initiatives of the Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF) in Bangladesh, the principle agency that aims to not only completely eradicate acid attack but also the successfully reintegrate acid survivors through its educational activities. Other countries that struggle with the persistence of

acid violence consider ASF Bangladesh as a role model and attempt to replicate its work of using education as a tool in order to witness the same decline of the crime that Bangladesh was able to. The core concepts of Paulo Freire were present in the educational initiatives carried out by ASF Bangladesh.

1.1.1. Overview of Bangladesh

The People's Republic of Bangladesh is one of the countries that have made significant progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at the national level by the promised deadline of 2015 (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b; UNDP Bangladesh, 2014b). According to the *Millennium Development Goals: Bangladesh Progress Report 2013* (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b)¹ and UNDP Bangladesh (2014b)'s Annual Progress Report 2013|2014, Bangladesh met and remained on track to meet several targets of the eight MDGs, such as but certainly not restricted to the reduction of poverty gap ratio, increase in primary school enrollment rate, achievement of gender parity at both primary and secondary education as

¹ The *Millennium Development Goals: Bangladesh Progress Report 2013* is the seventh report monitoring the progress of MDGs in Bangladesh since 2005. Released on September 7, 2014, the report highlights where Bangladesh stands in terms of meeting the eight MDGs by the target year of 2015.

well as reduction of under-five mortality rate (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b; UNDP Bangladesh, 2014a). Among these attainments, some of its principle positive developmental works that deserve attention belong to MDG 2 and MDG 3, ‘achieve universal primary education (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a)’ and ‘promote gender equality and empower women (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013c)’ respectively. Bangladesh has made remarkable strides towards full enrollment in its primary education programme (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a; UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b). As a result of continuous efforts to increase equal access to education in the country, the net enrollment rate has reached 98.7 percent – 99.4 percent for girls and 97.2 percent for boys – in addition to the decrease in dropout rates and improvement in the completion cycle (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a). Furthermore, gender equality has been achieved in both primary and secondary levels, and a number of quality enhancement measures have been implemented in primary education (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a). However, Bangladesh still faces the challenge of reaching the minority population, such as physically and/or mentally challenged children, who continue to remain excluded from the public schooling system. In terms of MDG 3 – promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment – there has been steady and consistent improvement in the social and the political empowerment scenario of women in Bangladesh (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013c). Such progress comes from the

increased commitment by the Government of Bangladesh to ensure gender equality and empowerment of women across the country. However, gender-based violence continues to take place affecting the lives of women and young girls in spite of promising efforts taken by both national and international actors to eradicate it (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013c).

With Myanmar and India as its neighbors, Bangladesh is the ninth most populous nation in the world housing a large population of almost 170 million people², where the capital city of Dhaka alone holds more than 15 million people (Bangladesh, 2014). Yet the size of the country is slightly smaller than the state of Iowa, making Bangladesh one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in the late 1971 and has continuously suffered from numerous economic, political, social and environmental challenges, such as but not limited to poverty, political instability, slow and weak implementation of economic reforms, corruption, climate change and poor infrastructure (Bangladesh, 2014).

In spite of such challenges, Bangladesh's economy has grown around 6 percent per year since 1996 (Bangladesh, 2014). However, despite such rapid economic growth, almost 32 percent³ of the Bangladeshi

² Estimated by the Central Intelligence Agency in July 2014.

³ Estimated by the Central Intelligence Agency in 2010.

population still lives below the poverty line of living less than \$1.25 per day (Bangladesh, 2014). Moreover, Bangladesh continues to struggle to meet the targets of MDG 6, 7 and 8 – combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development – especially in areas such as climate change, sanitation, nutrition and certain aspects of gender equality and hunger (UNDP Bangladesh 2014a). However, there is a case in which Bangladesh’s response to a certain form of gender-based crime has been recognized as a successful model by countries such as Uganda, Cambodia and Pakistan; in fact, these countries are working to replicate Bangladesh’s exact works in order to witness the same remarkable reduction of the crime that Bangladesh did. This form of violence is known as acid attack, which is one of the most dangerous and vicious examples of gender-based violence that takes place in Bangladesh as well as across the globe. This paper attempts to supply an overview of acid attack in Bangladesh and evaluate in the perspective of Paulo Freire the education programmes that are designed and executed by Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF), a non-governmental organization (NGO) that has been fighting for the complete eradication of acid attack in Bangladesh since 1999.

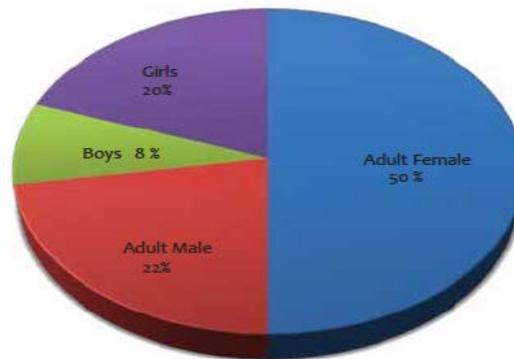
1.1.2. Acid Attack in Bangladesh

Commonly referred to as acid violence or acid throwing, acid attack⁴ lacks a universally established definition; however, many different definitions of acid attack capture the same essence. Acid violence, where 80 percent of the victims are women (ASTI, 2012) could be defined as “an attack against an individual in which sulfuric, hydrochloric, or nitric acid is employed as a weapon to cause severe burns (Wesson, 2002, p.96).” According to Acid Survivors Trust International (ASTI), a registered charity based in England and Wales in which its sole objective is to completely eradicate acid throwing across the world, acid violence is “a form of premeditated violence, usually against women, involving throwing corrosive acid at the face of the victim (ASTI, 2008, p.4).” ASF in Bangladesh describes acid throwing as “a particularly vicious and damaging form of violence in Bangladesh where acid is thrown in people’s faces (ASF, 2015a). In the case of Bangladesh, acid attack typically takes place in rural regions over urban areas and the perpetrators are usually those who know the victims well, such as the victim’s husband, an immediate family member or a neighbor (ASF, 2012). The breakdown of the victims and the perpetrators

⁴ Throughout this paper, the author uses the terms ‘acid attack,’ ‘acid violence’ and ‘acid throwing’ interchangeably.

as well as the rural-urban variation of the attack in Bangladesh are depicted in the figures below:

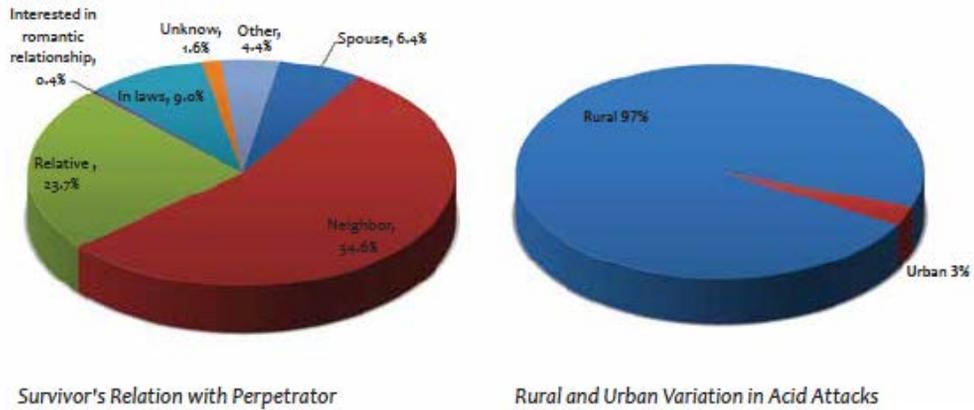
Figure 1. Profile of Acid Victims in Bangladesh



Source: ASF Annual Report, 2012

The first documented acid attack in Bangladesh goes back to 1967 (UNFPA, 2009), while Begum (2004) argues that it stems back to 1961. Either way, both periods were before Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in 1971. More details on the perpetrators and push factors of acid attack will be supplied in Chapter 2.

Figure 2. Profile of Perpetrators and Rural-Urban Variation of Acid Attack in Bangladesh



Source: ASF Annual Report, 2012

1.2. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

As stated previously, the purpose of this research is to examine and evaluate the education programmes for acid victims that are designed and implemented by ASF Bangladesh in the perspective of Paulo Freire, an influential figure of the critical pedagogy movement. However, it is important to first understand the reasons for investigating in acid attack as well as the rationale for applying Freire's framework to assess the impacts of the education programmes for the victims of acid violence. In the subsections below, the reasons for choosing acid throwing over other critical

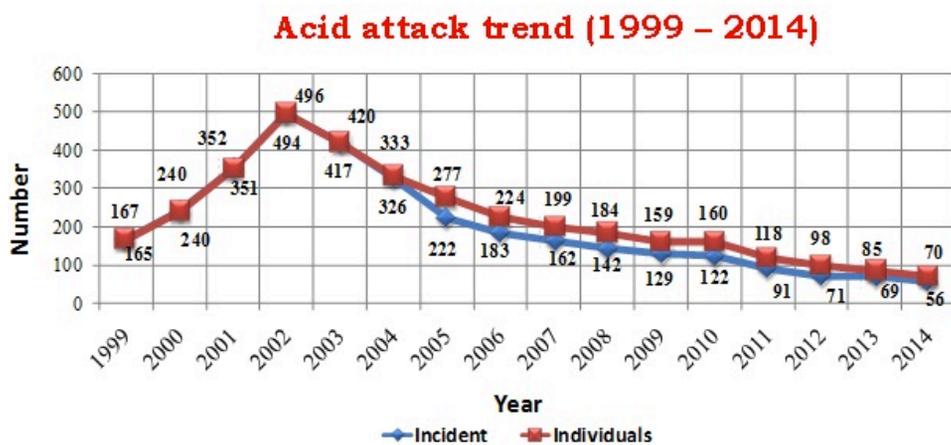
issues that are present in Bangladesh are explained. Furthermore, the author justifies why Freire's framework serves as an appropriate tool to evaluate the impacts of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes.

- *Why acid attack in Bangladesh?*

Acid attack is a worldwide phenomenon that is not restricted to a particular racial group, religion or geographic location (ASTI, 2008). Incidents of acid violence have been reported across the globe, from Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa to the West Indies and the Middle East (ASTI, 2008). Furthermore, anecdotal evidence and improved media coverage suggest the occurrences of acid attack in other regions as well, such as in Laos, China, Japan, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Kenya, Algeria, Mexico, Afghanistan, Iran, Greece, Turkey, Australia and the United Kingdom (ASTI, 2008). In other words, it is not a problem of South Asia (ASTI, 2012) or of Bangladesh alone (Anwary, 2003; Chowdhury, 2007); just in Colombia, there were 150 and a further 100 recorded incidents of acid attack in 2011 and the first seven months of 2012 respectively (ASTI, 2012). Countries with a common set of characteristics – such as poverty, gender inequality and weak judiciary and policing systems – appear to struggle with highest records of acid attack (ASTI, 2012). Evidently, acid

throwing is not a local phenomenon that is native to a certain country or culture (ASTI, 2012), but a global challenge that needs to be tackled and eventually eradicated both at the national and international level (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). Historically, Bangladesh was known for its common practice of acid violence – overwhelmingly against women and children – and had struggled with an alarmingly high rate of acid attack within the country (ASTI, 2008). In fact, Bangladesh had once marked the highest reported incidences of acid throwing in the world (ASF, 2012), constituting nine percent of total burn injuries in the country (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). Figure 3 numerically expresses the recorded episodes and the victims of acid violence in Bangladesh from 1999 to 2014:

Figure 3. Prevalence of Acid Throwing in Bangladesh (1999 –2014)



▪ 1999 – 2014, 3582 persons were acid attacked from 3240 incident.

Source: <http://www.acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/2>

As illustrated above, there has been a consistent and significant reduction of acid violence in Bangladesh (ASF, 2012; ASTI, 2012). ASTI (2008) recognizes ASF Bangladesh as an inspiration and an excellent role model for successfully reducing the episodes of acid attack and treating the survivors, as well as implementing national decrees and changing societal attitudes. In fact, Bangladesh is one of the only countries that have adopted specific laws in order to criminalize acid throwing as well as to curtail the easy access and availability of acid at the national level (Kalantry &

Kestenbaum, 2011). Countries that have also been wrestling with the prevalence of acid throwing, such as Cambodia, India and Pakistan, are working to model after ASF Bangladesh's measures and approaches in order to replicate the same significant decline of acid violence that Bangladesh was able to witness (ASF, 2013). According to ASTI (2012), Bangladesh appears to be progressing towards the absolute destruction of "this horrific form of gender-based violence (p.3)." Interestingly, Bangladesh is still categorized as a developing country that is in desperate need of aid in order to combat its existing issues and sustain the progress in national development. But Bangladesh is receiving international attention for good practices and this alone suggests that the issue of acid attack deserves as much attention as other critical concerns that are present in the country. Acid violence should be explored at a deeper level, not only by discussing what the crime entails but also by assessing the various activities and education programmes that are designed for the victims for their successful recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration to society.

- *Why Paulo Freire?*

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire was a Brazilian educator and philosopher well known for his foundational text on the critical pedagogy movement,

Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Freire has greatly inspired educators across the globe with his enormous contribution to education (Stromquist, 2014). Although Freire's focus was more centered on class struggle, he did acknowledge the disadvantage that stemmed from race and gender as well, recognizing the existence of patriarchy and sexism (Stromquist, 2014). Freire's core theoretical frameworks, such as 'Conscientization,' 'Dialogue,' 'Problem-posing education' and 'Culture of silence' are believed to function as an apt analysis tool to conceptually analyze and examine the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh. Furthermore, Freire's concepts of the oppressed and the oppressors as well as his perspective on the marginalized, in addition to his advocacy for constant struggle for liberation and breaking the culture of silence, will help better understand acid violence and ASF Bangladesh's education programmes in a critical standpoint. The spirit is to adopt the perspectives of Freire and examine the process of de-oppression and going to liberation by the pertinent parties involved in the issue of acid attack through the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh, which already appear to contain the above-mentioned concepts of Freire. Therefore, the author believes there is no better tool to interpret the case of acid violence, the rehabilitation process and the empowerment that are all part of ASF Bangladesh's activities.

- *Research questions*

The main research questions for this study are presented below:

1. What are Paulo Freire's key concepts and in what ways are they embedded in ASF Bangladesh's education programmes?
2. What are the key characteristics of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes? Why are Freire's frameworks appropriate to adopt in the examination of the education initiatives of ASF Bangladesh?
3. What is the role of education in combating acid attack in Bangladesh? What are the results or outcomes of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes on the victims, potential perpetrators and the general public?

1.3. Significance of the Study

This study is to serve as a significant contribution to the academic discussion on education for the marginalized. Through the lenses of Freire's key theoretical themes and core concepts, this research attempts to analyze the impacts of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes for acid victims – the oppressed – who are considered to be one of the most marginalized groups in Bangladesh due to their permanent scars and disfigurement from the attack, as well as for being women. This study also aims to look at the

education programmes geared towards potential perpetrators – the oppressors – of acid attack. It has been proven by the declining trend of acid attack incidents that the activities of ASF Bangladesh are extremely effective. In other words, the initiatives of the organization are what seem to be playing a key role in the reducing rate of acid attack, thus the work of ASF Bangladesh are being replicated by other countries facing similar struggle as noted previously. This is an interesting phenomenon, as Bangladesh is still facing numerous social, political and economic challenges that it needs to overcome but it is being internationally recognized for their successful work in combating acid attack. From the author's insider and outsider perspective as a one-time resident in Bangladesh and a current research student in Korea, this fact alone – learning from a developing country – certainly deserves international attention.

However, there is no previous academic study that has been carried out that meticulously evaluates the effects of the education programmes for either the acid victims or potential perpetrators in ASF Bangladesh; in fact, most academic literature focus on the simple narration of the issues of acid violence, describing the motivations and consequences of the crime. In other words, despite being recognized as an integral procedure to fight acid attack, detailed information on the educational activities that are intended to have

lasting effects not only on the acid victims but also on potential perpetrators and the general public are missing in the international discourse on the elimination of acid violence. Therefore, this research is expected to take a deeper look at the actual components of educational programmes of ASF Bangladesh on both acid victims, potential perpetrators and the public. In addition, it is expected to introduce a new outlook to the currently ongoing discussion on the importance of non-formal education, especially for the marginalized, in the field of development and practice. It will also contribute to the learning and the understanding of the impacts of such programmes through the voices and in the perspectives of the acid victims and those who participated in ASF Bangladesh's educational activities. There is a question of generalizability but acid attack occurs for similar reasons across the globe and the physical, psychological, emotional trauma can be considered as uniform.

1.4. Methodology

For this research, the author attempts to evaluate in the Freirean perspective the education programmes for acid victims that are designed and executed by ASF Bangladesh, the principle NGO that fights for a Bangladesh free of acid violence. This research will be a qualitative study,

in which enhances the collected data and narrates the critical features of the case more clearly (Ragin, 1994). Ragin (1994) asserts that through qualitative research, one can draw hidden messages, various interpretations, non-obvious aspects and unheard voices. Furthermore, qualitative studies often exemplify one or more key theoretical procedures (Ragin, 1994), in which seems fitting for the purpose of this thesis.

In order to do so, the author has first collected and conducted literature review of various key documents to gain a better understanding of the nature of acid violence. Then, the author has reviewed Freire's theoretical themes in order to apply them as an analysis tool to conceptually evaluate ASF Bangladesh's education programmes. An evaluation framework developed by the author using Freire's core concepts will be used in order to analyze the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh. The author has visited the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh throughout her two-week stay in the capital city of Dhaka in June. During the visit, the Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh, the representatives of the Programme Unit of ASF Bangladesh and former victims or current survivors of acid attack were interviewed during the field visit. All interviews were coordinated and arranged by the head of Monitoring and Evaluation of ASF Bangladesh, and some staff members volunteered to

provide in-person interpretation during the interview with survivors of acid attack. The initial plan was also to conduct nonparticipant observation of the raising-awareness activities with the permission of ASF Bangladesh as well as to interview men and the public that attended any form of education carried out by ASF Bangladesh; unfortunately, it could not take place due to time constraint and difficulty in securing transportation. The author has also requested for and received materials such as posters, branded materials, publications and annual reports of ASF Bangladesh that have been used in awareness-raising activities in order to carry out documentary research. As noted above, this study will incorporate qualitative methodologies, as personal effects of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes are not suitable for quantification.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will first examine pertinent literature on the relationship between domestic violence, education and development. It will also discuss why the issue of domestic violence is, in reality, a problem of the international community that deserves global attention and cooperation. Then, it will attempt to review the link between the education programmes for the prevention of domestic violence, the perspectives of Paulo Freire and educational development.

The author will then review the available literature on acid attack in Bangladesh. However, due to the scarcity of accessible sources that focus exclusively on acid attack, the author has decided to apply an alternative approach and expand the focus to domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. Such method was deemed appropriate, as acid throwing is one of the examples of violence against women that takes place in Bangladesh, primarily carried out by husbands, relatives or individuals that the victims have some form of relationship with. By doing so, the author hopes to draw implications on the discussion points of domestic violence against women that is being discoursed in the academia. This section looks at the risk factors of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh and studies the help-seeking behavior of abused women in the country. Then, the following

sections discuss the critical issues of acid throwing in Bangladesh and the details of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes that are provided for acid victims. Then, Paulo Freire's theoretical themes and core concepts from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as well as *The Politics of Education* are explored in relevance to acid violence in Bangladesh.

2.1. Relevance between Domestic Violence, Education and Development

2.1.1. The Role of Education on Development

The following sections will examine the past studies on the role non-formal education in development. Both formal and non-formal education and their relationship with development will be reviewed.

The role of formal education on development

The role of education in development has been proven to be important in past research. Ozturk (2001) argued that education served as a foundation for development, especially the economic development of a developing country. It is impossible for any country to attain economic development without investing in human capital through basic education, training, aptitude building and research (Ozturk, 2001). Education, skills

and knowledge have been identified as critical components of a nation's productivity during the twentieth century, leading to the expanded access to basic education (Ozturk, 2001). In addition, according to Ozturk (2001: p.39), educating girls and women is the most effective investment for a developing country, contributing to the promotion of not only the economic development but also the productivity of a nation. Therefore, investing in education is the pathway to lift the poor from poverty, as it boosts economic efficiency, overall productivity and social consistency of the workforce (Ozturk, 2001).

The role of non-formal education in development

Non-formal education became a topic of discussion for the international community in the late 1960s and the early 1970s (Smith, 2001). Non-formal education is defined as “an addition, alternative and/or complement to formal education within the process of the lifelong learning of individuals (Yasunaga, 2014: p.7).” Non-formal education contains the following four principle characteristics: relevance to the needs of disadvantaged groups, concern with specific categories of person, a focus on clearly defined purposes and flexibility in organization and methods (Smith, 2001: p.2).

According to Smith (2001), non-socialist countries started to pay attention to the idea of launching mass non-formal education by the mid 1970s, when it became clear that economic and social development could only take place with changes in people's thinking. Donor organizations working in the South began to realize that "development primarily depended on the people themselves and that much more stress should be placed on improving their quality of life (Smith, 2001: p.8)." Such realization served as a driving force in the movement for non-formal education, especially for the neglected and the marginalized such as the urban and rural poor (Smith, 2001). Vermaak (1985) classified the non-formal education programmes as the following (p.414):

- Striving to improve the quality of life;
- Supporting development at local or national level;
- Offering manpower training opportunities to the unskilled;
- Offering upgrading, retraining or refresher opportunities for those already trained;
- Closely linked to formal education, for instance these programmes enabling the learners to comply with the requirements of the formal school.

The distinctive characteristics of formal and non-formal education is summarized in the table below:

Table 1. Ideal-type models of normal and non-formal education

	Formal	Non-formal
Purposes	Long-term & general; Credential-based	Short-term & specific; Non-credential-based
Timing	Long cycle/preparatory/full-time	Short cycle/recurrent/part-time
Content	Standardized/input/centred-academic	Individualized/output/centred-practical
Delivery system	Institution-based, isolated from environment; Rigidly structured, teacher-centered and resource intensive	Environment-based, community related; Flexible, learner-centered and resource saving
Control	External/hierarchical	Self-governing/democratic

Source: Table reorganized by the author from <http://infed.org/mobi/what-is-non-formal-education/>

2.1.2. Domestic Violence as an International Concern

Domestic violence is often considered as an issue of various disciplines, such as but not limited to social, gender and public health. However, one might not be able to recognize its relevance to development

and education. Therefore, this section reviews the past literature that recognizes domestic violence as a problem of the international community.

Agnihotri, Agnihotri, Jeebun and Purwar (2006, p.30) define domestic violence as “a pattern of assault and corrective behavior including physical, sexual and psychological attacks, by a person against his/her own intimate partner.” They also note that women were more frequently the victims of domestic violence than men and that domestic violence was one of the most commonly practiced forms of torture in women (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Agnihotri et al. (2006) further argue that domestic violence was a major international social and public health problem in both developed and developing countries, undermining the foundation for sustainable human development. They support their argument by presenting the global scenario of domestic violence, also termed intimate partner violence (IPV), in different parts of the world. For example, women are subject to violence throughout their “life cycle,” as fetuses may be aborted once the sex is identified as female or female infants may be killed once they are born (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Such practices of female infanticide and sex selective abortions have existed in Asia and North Africa (Agnihotri et al., 2006). In addition, women – whether they are married or not – constantly face the risk of experiencing some types of abuse wherever they are (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Domestic violence against women takes place in

developed regions as well where women have equal rights and status, such as the United States and Canada in North America and the United Kingdom in Europe (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Therefore, domestic violence is definitely not just a domestic concern, but an international problem where more than 160 countries have recognized the need to respond globally and have ratified the UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (Agnihotri et al., 2006).

- *Relationship between domestic violence and education*

Agnihotri et al. (2006) argue that domestic violence not only has numerous effects on the victims, but also challenges sustainable human development by violating the human rights of the victims. However, domestic violence could be prevented through the implementation of projects that deal with preventative strategies (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Primary prevention projects aim to avoid a violent activity from happening, while secondary projects are applied in order to avoid its repetition in the event that a violent act has already been carried out (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Tertiary prevention is geared towards the avoidance of key damages, attempting to improve the quality of life of the victims (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Agnihotri et al. (2006) further notes various projects that focus on

advocacy and awareness-building, capacity-building, training, action research, literacy as well as prevention/deterrence activities in order to eradicate domestic violence, especially against women in developing countries.

Kaur and Garg (2008) also note the need for primary prevention programs that respond to gender inequality and combat the root causes of domestic violence. More specifically, it is important to raise awareness through the production and dissemination of apt materials that emphasize positive images of women in the society as well as increasing male responsibility to put an end to domestic violence (Kaur & Garg, 2008). Furthermore, these programs must address the needs of the victims, including self-efficiency and livelihood skills post attack (Kaur & Garg, 2008). In order to ensure the effectiveness of these programs, Kaur and Garg (2008) note the dire need to involve the survivors of domestic violence in their planning process and their implementation by acting as change agents who have successfully changed their lives. The most important step in eliminating domestic violence is a change in mindsets, as the ratification of a law is simply not enough in preventing the occurrence of violent activities (Kaur & Garg, 2008). Therefore, Kaur and Garg (2008) underscore the need to address and respond to domestic violence with an integrated approach, applying preventative measures to tackling the issue.

- *Educational Development, Paulo Freire and Education Programmes of ASF Bangladesh*

It is clear from the review of literatures in the previous sections that education and awareness-building programs play a pivotal role in combating domestic violence. The reviewed literature emphasize the importance of implementing preventative programs that focus on awareness-raising and addressing the root causes of domestic violence. More specifically, programs that not only focus on establishing self-efficacy and promoting livelihood skills of the victims but also highlight the increasing role of the male population in ending domestic violence are deemed as critical, necessary responses. Kaur and Garg (2008) emphasize an effective response to violence as the following:

An effective response to violence must be multi-sectoral; addressing the immediate practical needs of women experiencing abuse; providing long-term follow up and assistance; and focusing on changing those cultural norms, attitudes and legal provisions that promote the acceptance of and even encourage violence against women, and undermine women's

enjoyment of their full human rights and freedoms (Kaur & Garg, 2008: p. 4).

These characteristics appear to be in line with Paulo Freire's core concepts, such as but not limited to the oppressor-oppressed relationship – the victims and the perpetrators of domestic violence – and conscientization – helping relevant parties of a violent activity realize the problems and the potential actions they can take in order fight against domestic violence. Interestingly, the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh contain the above multi-sectoral characteristics that Kaur and Garg (2008) note as a successful response to violence. The upcoming sections of this chapter will look at the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh in detail.

2.2. Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh

2.2.1. Risk Factors of Domestic Violence against Women

Bates, Schuler, Islam and Islam (2004) identified several socioeconomic factors that are associated with domestic violence in rural Bangladesh from both their qualitative and quantitative findings. According to their data, the factors of domestic violence against women in rural

Bangladesh were revealed to be the practice of dowry and women's financial influence⁵ to the family (Bates et al., 2004). Physical violence still took place regardless of the capability of paying dowry to the groom's family by the bride's family (Bates et al., 2004). In addition, women who worked and brought monetary income to the household experienced physical violence from their husbands, who were afraid of their authority being threatened by the financial contribution from their wives. The participants of the study reported their belief that higher education, payment of dowry and higher monetary income would decrease the risk of domestic violence. However, both qualitative and quantitative findings indicated education to be the only factor that would actually contribute to the reduction of physical violence. Hence, Bates et al. (2004) argued that accessible, high quality education for rural women was needed in order to reduce the risk of domestic violence. Parveen (2007), who studied farmwomen in rural Bangladesh in order to identify the most common forms of violence that took place in the country, also called for the need to use

⁵ It is noteworthy that Hadi (2005)'s findings, which revealed a negative association between marital assault and women's participation in economic activities such as microcredit programs, do not align with the results from Bates et al. (2004)'s study discussed above. However, Hadi (2005) does point out that the participation of credit programs alone cannot be a significant determinant to reduce the likelihood of violence against women in Bangladesh.

education as one of the key implement strategies to empower rural women in Bangladesh.

Naved and Persson (2005) also studied the factors that led to domestic violence against women, but in both urban and rural regions of Bangladesh. Based on their findings, they concluded that the most influential determinant of spousal assault was the abuse history of the husband's mother by his father (Naved & Persson, 2005). Another significant factor was the husband's education level; in other words, women were less likely to be beaten if the husbands received a college-level education for those who resided in rural areas⁶ (Naved & Persson, 2005). Naved and Persson (2005) argued that it was extremely necessary to provide education for the male population in order to curtail spousal violence in Bangladesh.

Dalal, Rahman and Jansson (2009) observed the risk factors of spousal assault to be the husband's socioeconomic status and low educational status for both husbands and wives. Dalal et al. (2009) described intimate partner violence in Bangladesh as the 'normalization of violence,'

⁶ For the couples from urban districts, women were less likely abused if their husbands received secondary education (Naved & Persson, 2005).

as it appeared to be a culturally accepted phenomenon that was expected to take place as part of one's daily routine. They further argued for the urgent need to come up with interventions that would protect women from such form of assault (Dalal et al., 2009).

2.2.2. Help-Seeking Behavior of Abused Women

Naved, Azim, Bhuiya and Persson (2006) studied the help-seeking behavior of women who were assaulted by their husbands in Bangladesh. Through the in-depth interviews with 28 women with a history of spousal assault and the examination of previously conducted studies on domestic violence that occurred from 2000 to 2004, Naved et al. (2006) discovered that the prevalence rates of wife abuse were high in both rural and urban Bangladesh⁷. Furthermore, their findings indicated that the rate of help-seeking behavior and disclosure of spousal violence by abused women were very low, as the majority of abused women in both urban and rural districts decided not to reveal their experience of physical violence (Naved et al., 2006). However, there was a positive association between the severity of the violence and the likelihood of the disclosure of the incident by assaulted

⁷ The rates of spousal violence in urban and rural Bangladesh were 40 percent and 42 percent respectively (Naved et al., 2006).

women (Naved et al., 2006). This correlation was present among women who completed education beyond 10th grade; in other words, women with higher levels of education were more likely to report their abuse history (Naved et al., 2006). Naved et al. (2006) concluded that in spite of the high prevalence rate of physical abuse in both rural and urban Bangladesh, the majority of assaulted women refrained from seeking help. They also proposed the combination of the two most powerful tools, education and the mass media, in order to stop the occurrence of physical abuse against women in Bangladesh (Naved et al., 2006).

Most of the above literatures resort to education – for both men and women – as an effective strategy to prevent physical violence against women in Bangladesh. The authors argue that education is an important factor in reducing the risk of spousal violence as well as physical assault against women. Yet, there appears to be a lack of detailed discussion that looks at education at a deeper level, in terms of why and how education can contribute to the prevention of physical assault against women in Bangladesh. Therefore, this research attempts to fill that gap by closely examining and evaluating the education programmes that are geared towards educating both the abused and the abusers. ASF Bangladesh's education programmes seem to be an apt case to explore, as they advocate

for a holistic approach to the victim's rehabilitation process and work not only with the victims but also with the public in order to raise awareness of and to reduce the risk of one of the most vicious examples of gender-based crime that is still present in Bangladesh.

2.3. Critical Issues of Acid Attack in Bangladesh

2.3.1. Effects of Acid Attack

It is extremely easy for one to commit acid violence, but tremendously challenging for its victims to cope with the consequences of the crime. As the name of the crime implies, sulfuric⁸, hydrochloric or nitric acid is thrown typically in the face and/or body of the targeted individuals, often to women by men⁹ (Wesson, 2002; Anwary, 2003; Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007). Not only does such act causes blindness and/or hearing

⁸ Sulfuric acid is a dense, oily, highly corrosive liquid (Govindnathan, 2010, p.8).

⁹ Wesson (2002) notes that although acid violence is identified as a gendered violence, there is evidence that suggests the occasional involvement of women in acid throwing as well. Most common example is mothers-in-law helping their sons or male relatives to commit the crime against their daughters-in-law. According to Wesson (2002), 12 of the recorded attacks in 2000 included women among the culprits, where a mother-in-law was sentenced to death together with her son for attacking her daughter-in-law with acid.

loss if the acid is struck in the eyes or the ears (Wesson, 2002; Begum, 2004; Govindnathan, 2010), but also permanently destroys and disfigures the victims' physical appearances (Wesson, 2002; Anwary, 2003; Begum, 2004). Those who get splashed with acid immediately become disoriented as a burning or scorching sensation instigates severe pain that leaves them in complete shock (Govindnathan, 2010). Areas that come in contact with the corrosive substance become numb as the acid continues to eat into the skin and tissue (Wesson, 2002) and impairs the nerve endings (Govindnathan, 2010). This in turn results in a painful recovery process for the victims as the damaged nerves slowly repair (Govindnathan, 2010). The corrosive nature of the acid causes the skin tissue to melt at an extremely rapid rate, typically exposing the bones below the flesh (Wesson, 2002; Chowdhury, 2007) or even dissolving the bones itself (Chowdhury, 2007). Permanent and extensive scars form on the wounded areas, leaving the victims visibly scarred, completely disfigured and brutally disabled (Wesson, 2002; Wahed & Bhuya, 2007). Those who are splashed with acid are required to undergo expensive, specialized medical treatment and a number of complicated reconstructive surgeries for an extensive amount of time (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014).

There are more than physical consequences of being attacked with acid. Even after physical recovery, survivors experience difficulty with reintegration back to school, workplace or society due to their evidently scarred features (Anwary, 2003; Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). Due to the stigma attached to the physical disfigurement, unmarried victims are no longer eligible to enter the marriage market and their value as women is greatly reduced (Anwary, 2003; Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). In other words, the victims are left physically disfigured, mentally traumatized, socially excluded and economically vulnerable, in desperate need to find alternative livelihood options (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the majority of the victims of acid violence consist of the adult female population¹⁰. There are a number of push factors that lead men throw acid on women, with the most common motivation being land dispute (Wahed & Bhuya, 2007; Govindnathan, 2010; ASF, 2015b). Both Anwary (2003) and Chowdhury (2007) argue that the patriarchal culture of Bangladesh contributes to the stubborn survival of acid violence in the country. It is one way for men to express authority over women and prohibit women from deviating from traditional practices and cultural customs. Men also target women who wish to pursue a higher

¹⁰ It has been identified in Wesson (2002)'s study that the victims of acid violence are usually from lower income groups.

education, those who cannot afford to pay dowry or those who reject marriage proposals or romantic advances (Wahed & Bhuya, 2007; Govindnathan, 2010).

Academic research that focuses solely on acid attack is extremely scarce, and the available scholarships pay greater attention on supplying an overview of acid violence and its consequences on the victims. Among the accessible literature, Anwary (2003) argues that globalization is a significant factor that leads to the increase of acid attack incidents in Bangladesh. More specifically, Anwary (2003)'s theory suggests that globalization is responsible for giving birth to various issues that challenge the traditional gender-based norms and division of labor, resulting in the reinforcement of gendered crime in the country. Furthermore, globalization of the national economy has forced the Government of Bangladesh to make amendments in the existing policies as well as to establish new protocols in order to better attract multinational corporations that wish to take advantage of the cheap labor offered by the country (Anwary, 2003). As a result, sectors such as export-oriented garment industry with high demands for untrained or semi-skilled women were greatly expanded (Anwary, 2003). On the other hand, employment opportunities for men became extremely limited due to the significant decline of the economy, which have in turn led more women to join the labor force (Anwary, 2003). Such phenomena were interpreted as a

challenge to the traditional male supremacy in Bangladesh (Anwary, 2003). As a result, many employed women – especially those who resided in rural regions – had no choice but to face hostility from men and to be blamed for their underperformance in juggling dually their household duties with their job responsibilities (Anwary, 2003). In summary, Anwary (2003) claims globalization to be responsible for strengthening gender-based violence in Bangladesh, including acid violence, leading to a substantial increase in demand for unskilled or semi-trained female workers in the labor pool.

Chowdhury (2007) emphasizes the need to understand the increase of acid attack that was present in the country in the context of “a deteriorating law and order situation, and the uneven impact of neoliberal development policies and globalization and their attendant contestation of existing gender divisions in Bangladesh (p.862).” Both Anwary (2003) and Chowdhury (2007) stress the need to look at acid attack by not only in the context of the perpetuating gender inequality in Bangladesh, but also through the lenses of the political, socioeconomic and cultural climate that fluctuate constantly as a result of globalization and the country’s development strategies.

2.3.2. Challenges in Fighting Acid Attack

The consequences and challenges of acid violence in Bangladesh will be examined through the case study of Nurun Nahar¹¹, which was presented in Chowdhury (2007)'s work.

Nurun Nahar was splashed with sulfuric acid by a young college student, Jasim Sikdar, who broke into her house with his friends after she rejected his marriage proposal. Nahar's family called the village doctor right after the attack; however, in spite of their ability to afford medical care, the village doctor refused to examine her wounds as he was afraid that Sikdar and his friends would cause him harm as well. As a result, Nahar and her family had no choice but to travel to the closest hospital in Barisal, which required extensive travel via boat and bus. Nahar was hospitalized in Barisal for three days until she was later transferred to another medical facility in the capital city of Dhaka, which was a ten-hour trip from Barisal. What Nahar had to endure for eight months in Dhaka were not just medical treatment and repetitive surgeries, but also social ostracism and isolation

¹¹ Nurun Nahar is a former victim of acid attack and an active advocate against acid violence. Her stories are often shared as an inspiration to the acid victims in Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 2007).

from other patients who thought that nobody but she was responsible for getting what she deserved.

In the meantime, Nahar's mother attempted to file a police report in their village three days post-attack. However, the police refused to investigate her case without a doctor's note, which took three extra days to obtain. Such delay in action allowed ample time for Sikdar and his fellow perpetrators to escape. The police started the actual investigation only after Nahar's mother contacted the media and legal services for support. The police threatened Sikdar's family and as a result, Sikdar and his friends ultimately submitted themselves to the police after spending several months on the run. However, Sikdar's family constantly threatened Nahar's family to drop charges against them, which eventually led Nahar's mother and sister to move out of the village. Sikdar and one of his fellow culprits received a death sentence after another year, while some men were proven innocent.

- *Easy access to acid*

Sulfuric acid, which is the most commonly chosen tool that is used in acid throwing, is an easily accessible commodity to any individual at a

very cheap cost¹² (Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007; Govindnathan, 2010). Any individual who wishes to procure sulfuric acid can do so at any convenience stores in the streets such as auto-repair establishments, jewelry shops (Begum, 2004; Govindnathan, 2010), pharmacies or goldsmiths (Wesson, 2002). Sulfuric acid is widely and readily available across the country because it is legally and abundantly utilized by many sectors in Bangladesh, such as the auto-mechanic industry and garment businesses (Wesson, 2002; Govindnathan, 2010). In other words, its unregulated and widespread accessibility as well as its cheap price of the product make sulfuric acid the most perfect weapon that is available for revenge, disciplinary action or exertion of authority (Anwary, 2003; Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007). It only requires a cupful of sulfuric acid for a perpetrator to observe the most desired outcome he could ever wish for, as the victim is physically, psychologically, emotionally and spiritually scarred for the rest of his/her life (Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007).

¹² According to Begum (2004) and Chowdhury (2007), a small bottle of sulfuric acid costs 15 Bangladeshi Taka (equivalent to approximately 25 US cents), while a 2.5 Liter bottle ranges from 900 to 1800 BDTaka (around 15.70 to 31.50 US Dollars).

- *Silence in abusive relationships and inaccurate statistics*

Govindnathan (2010) criticizes the incomplete categorization of acid attack, noting that acid violence is not considered as a form of sexual offense when it should be along with child molestation and rape. It is extremely difficult for women in Third World countries, including Bangladesh to voice their opinion as the authority figures are mainly dominated by the male population (Govindnathan, 2010). Arrest and conviction rates are low as most victims are from a poor economic background with little to no access to education (Wesson, 2002; ASF, 2012). Therefore, they are unaware of their legal rights and the judiciary system (Wesson, 2002). Furthermore, Govindnathan (2010) discusses how women are always at risk for isolation and social stigmatization when they attempt to deliver their voice. Therefore, help-seeking behavior from women is often discouraged, as there is very limited option for them to turn to for help. Such discouragement leads many women to remain silent and abstain from reporting their cases of acid attack or any form of violence, which in turn results in inaccurate statistics in the number of acid attacks (Wesson, 2002; Wahed & Bhuya, 2007).

2.4. ASF Bangladesh's Education Programmes

2.4.1. Process of Holistic Victim Care

ASF Bangladesh applies a Bio-Psycho-Social model of treatment for its victims. Its holistic victim care entails “the physical, psychological and social aspects of care and protection of their rights (ASF 2012, p. 17)” for the victims’ sustainable rehabilitation. The Bio-Psycho-Social application also focuses on physiotherapy, psychological well-being and social integration of the survivors post-physical therapy. Recognizing the need for long-term psychological and psychosocial support, ASF Bangladesh arranges various therapeutic activities such as music and art therapy during the patients’ stay in the ASF hospital. In addition, social skills development training is also available for the survivors. Most importantly, ASF Bangladesh helps the patients identify themselves as survivors instead of victims and assists them with the development of a positive self-image.

2.4.2. Educating the General Public

In order to eradicate acid attack, its root causes – in which ASF Bangladesh has identified as inequality and discrimination against women –

must be tackled (ASF 2012, p.44). ASF Bangladesh has engaged survivors and local communities in prevention campaigns in order to raise awareness of acid throwing as a human rights violation. Furthermore, ASF Bangladesh also carries out community awareness raising campaigns to educate the public on the appropriate actions that should be taken in the case of acid attack. The “pour water” campaign that promotes the immediate application of clean water on the burn is the most successful example, as it resulted in a significant increase in the number of victims who were able to minimize their injuries by pouring water on their burn injuries (ASF, 2012; ASF, 2013). Such knowledge is especially crucial, as many victims come from a poor economic background and thus cannot afford the necessary treatment at their local clinics (ASF, 2013).

In 2012, ASF Bangladesh conducted 26 school campaigns, where more than 4,200 students and teachers participated in order to learn about social responsibility and gender equality (ASF, 2012). ASF Bangladesh also engaged with rural communities by hosting 26 bazaar campaigns with almost 8,500 participants in 2012, where brochures, posters and leaflets on acid violence were distributed. Such measures, which involve all stakeholders from the media to students, take credit for a substantial reduction of acid attack in the country (ASF, 2012).

Details on educational activities that are carried out to the acid victims and potential perpetrators are not available to the public. Such information was acquired during field visits and through online communication with ASF Bangladesh.

2.5. Paulo Freire's Theoretical Framework

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator and philosopher who made significant contributions to adult education and the critical pedagogy movement. His core concepts of the oppressed-oppressor relationship, conscientization, culture of silence and problem-posing education from his foundational piece, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, will be applied to the issue of acid attack in Bangladesh. Then, an evaluation framework will be developed based on Freire's frameworks in order to conceptually analyze the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh.

2.5.1. Conscientization

- *The oppressed, the oppressors and the culture of silence*

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1972) refers to the relationship between the teacher and the student in a traditional educational

approach as that of the oppressed and the oppressor, where the student is the oppressed and the teacher is the oppressor. According to Freire (1972), the role of the oppressed is to constantly struggle against the oppressors that oppress them in order to liberate not only the oppressed themselves, but also the oppressors. The oppressors do not have the power to free themselves, as “only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (Freire, 1972, p.21).” In addition, Freire (1972) argues that there is no other group other than the oppressed population themselves that better comprehends the consequences and the struggle of an oppressive society, and thus that are thirstier and better prepared for liberation. Freire (1972) questions:

Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation (Freire, 1972, p.22)?

In order for the oppressed class to free themselves, they must first become aware of their oppressive surroundings and struggle for their rights. They must emerge from their submersion in the “culture of silence,” which

was created by the oppressors, and look at their world through a critical lens (Freire, 1972). Freire (1972) further states:

The latter [the oppressed], whose task it is to struggle for their liberation together with those who show true solidarity, must acquire a critical awareness of oppression through the praxis of this struggle. One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge men's consciousness. [...] one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it (Freire, 1972, p.27-28).

This is where Freire's critical pedagogy comes in to help the oppressed break free from being submerged in the "culture of silence" and become critically aware of their oppressive environment, as Freire (1972) believed every person was capable of assessing his/her world in a critical manner, in spite of his/her level of ignorance or regardless of the depth of his/her submersion in the culture of silence. It is the first stage of the pedagogy of the oppressed known as conscientization¹³. In *The Politics of*

¹³ Conscientization – or *conscientização* in Portuguese – is also referred to as consciousness raising or critical consciousness.

Education, Freire (1985, p.68) states that the starting point of conscientization is when a man critically comprehends his existence as a being, both *in* and *with* the world, together with other men. What Freire also notes in *The Politics of Education* is the need for the marginalized to realize the various spheres of their reality:

Those who consider them marginal must, nevertheless, recognize the existence of a reality to which they are marginal – not only physical space, but historical, social, cultural and economic realities – that is, the structural dimension of reality (Freire, 1985, p.47).

From the gender perspective, Freire's framework of conscientization is critical (Stromquist, 2014). His emphasis on the need for the oppressed class to struggle can be interpreted as "an awareness of the importance of fighting patriarchal ideologies (Stromquist, 2014, p.547)." Freire's advocacy for breaking the culture of silence can be translated as an effort to ensure the delivery of the voice of the oppressed, who attempt to address issues or subjects in which they were forced to remain silent – such as domestic violence, sexual harassment and rape (Stromquist, 2014).

Although the notion of empowerment is often attributed to Freire, the actual terminology never surfaces in his works (Stromquist, 2014). However, the concept of empowerment is an evident extension of Freire's conscientization that women across the world have engaged in. For them, empowerment was an imperative concept that they needed in order to struggle and take action against the oppressive components of their surroundings, such as patriarchal customs (Stromquist, 2014). It is important to remember that empowerment entails the clear identification of specific objectives as well as the development of apt tools (Stromquist, 2014).

2.5.2. Problem-posing education

Freire (1972)'s unique analysis of the traditional relationship between teacher and student is termed "banking education," where the teacher deposits knowledge or information into the student, who are considered to be nothing more than an empty vessel that is ready to receive these deposits. The teacher is expected to assume the oppressor role and thus have control in deciding what information to deposit, and the student to remain passive and submissive, clearly lacking the ability to think critically or to recognize their critical presence in the world. Freire (1972) rejects the banking approach and proposes an alternative form of education to the

conventional education model, which he calls problem-posing education. Freire (1972)'s model of problem-posing education is structured in a way that completely breaks the vertical transfer of knowledge from the teacher to the student. In other words, the traditional pattern of depositing knowledge from the oppressor to the oppressed is no longer valid in Freire (1972)'s proposed model of education. Instead, the teacher and students are to form and foster a horizontal relationship, or a partnership that promotes dialogue between the parties involved in order to reach and establish solutions:

The teacher is no longer merely the one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow (Freire, 1972, p.67).

In summary, the teacher and students work together and learn from each other, rather than the act of learning taking place in a vertical direction.

2.5.3. Dialogue

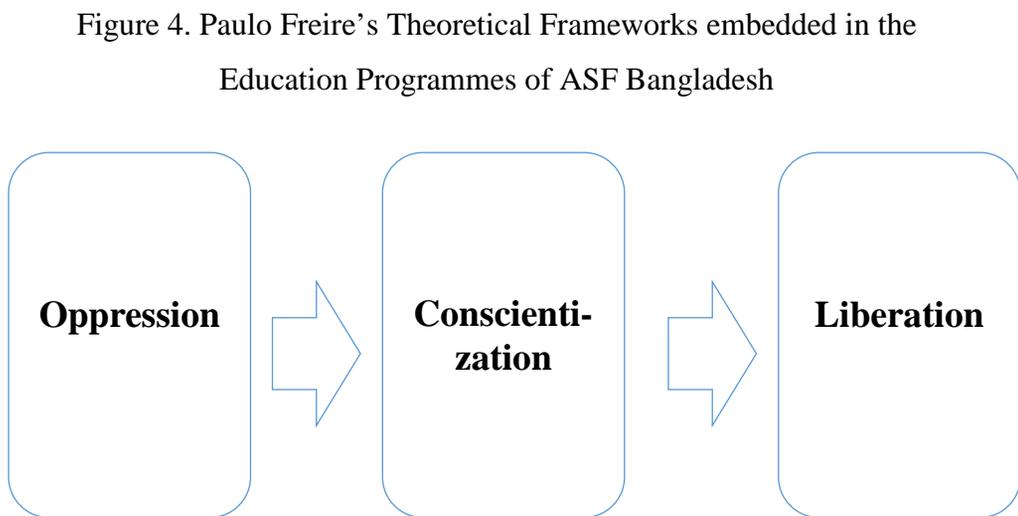
Dialogue is one of Freire's critical concepts and key components of his model of problem-posing education. Freire (1972) argued, "Critical and

liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever the stage of their struggle for liberation (p.52).” Here, liberation is considered as people thinking – or reflection – and acting – or action – in order to transform the world that they live (Durakoglu, 2013). Such idea of action-reflection is also known as praxis, or the two dimensions of reflection and action in order to transform the world of the oppressed (Freire, 1972, p.75). Freire (1972) defines dialogue as the “encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world (p.75).” He emphasizes that dialogue cannot take place between those who take away the right of the others to voice their opinion and those whose right to speak has been robbed (Freire, 1972, p.75). Hence, those who have been denied their right to express their word must reclaim their lost right as the first step to prevent the perpetuation of their dehumanization (Freire, 1972, p.75). Furthermore, dialogue cannot take place without strong love, humility and faith of the world and the people; dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship between dialoguers only when love, humility and faith are found within its core (Freire, 1972, p.77–80). Because dialogue is an existential reality, it must be applied to the pedagogy (Durakoglu, 2013).

Lastly, hope is required for dialogue to exist (Freire, 1972, p.80). Hope stems from men’s sense of incompleteness, which leads them to

constantly search with other men (Freire, 1972, p.80). Hope is constantly fighting and struggling, rather than waiting inactively (Freire, 1972, p.80). Freire (1972) argues that dialogue cannot exist in a climate of hopelessness, where those engaged in dialogue do not expect anything from their efforts (p.80). Therefore, hope is an essential basis for dialogue among men.

Given the above exploration of Paulo Freire’s core concepts and a brief overview of the activities of ASF Bangladesh, the key frameworks that appear to be embodied in the organization’s education initiatives have been identified as the following:



Source: Figure organized by the author

The next chapter will discuss the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh that the author was able to learn about during her field trip to the Headquarter of the organization. Then, Chapter 4 attempts to identify the role and significance of the agency's initiatives in the above-illustrated figure.

CHAPTER 3. ACID SURVIVORS FOUNDATION'S EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

This chapter will discuss the work done by Acid Survivors Foundation in Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh) that the author has learned from the interviews during the field trip to the Headquarter (HQ) of ASF Bangladesh in June 2015. Four groups of stakeholders were interviewed at the HQ of ASF Bangladesh. The first two groups consisted of two acid survivors each, who were currently employed at the HQ of ASF Bangladesh, totaling the number of survivor interviewees to four. The third group of interviewees was the staff members of the Programme Unit of ASF Bangladesh, including the Programme Manager and three Programme Officers. The fourth and final interviewee was the Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh, whom assumed the position in 2013. Interpretations were provided by the staff members of ASF Bangladesh for the interviews of the first two groups, as the survivors did not speak English. The table below summarizes the information on the interviewees:

Table 2. List of Interviewees from the HQ of ASF Bangladesh

	Interviewees	Department	Date of Interview
Group 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ms. T • Ms. R 	Survivor Support Services	June 23, 2015
Group 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ms. N • Ms. S 	Medical Unit	June 23, 2015
Group 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Manager • Programme Officers (3) 	Programme Unit	June 23, 2015
Group 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ms. S. Ahmed 	Executive Director	June 25, 2015

Source: Table organized by the author

The first section supplies a brief summary on ASF Bangladesh. Then, the programmes of ASF Bangladesh for the acid survivors as well as their various initiatives for the non-survivors, such as the family members, the general public and the community, are discussed extensively in order to better understand their relevance to the field of international development and education. Such overview will facilitate with the process of identifying whether the core concepts of Paulo Freire are incorporated in the education initiatives of ASF Bangladesh in Chapter 4.

3.1. Acid Survivors Foundation's Activities for Acid Survivors

- Acid Survivors Foundation in Bangladesh

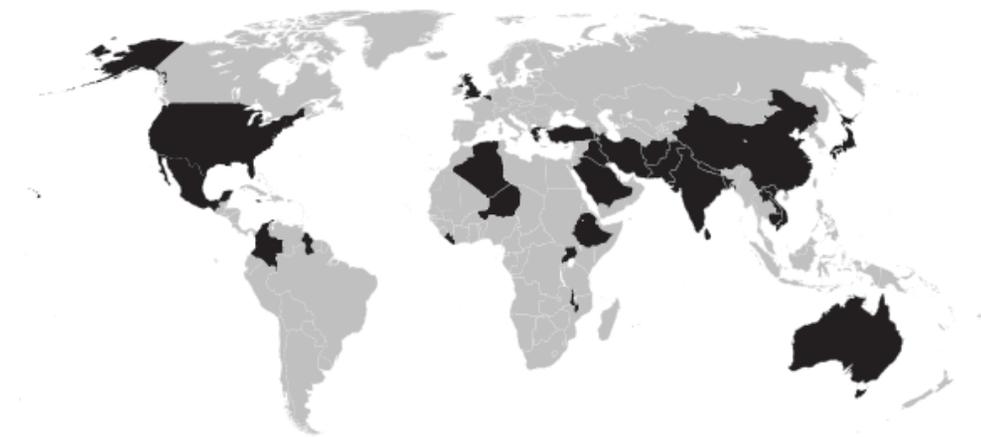
ASF Bangladesh is a non-governmental organization that was established in 1999 in response to the increasing trend of acid violence in Bangladesh. It was also the only organization in the world that was devoted to addressing acid attack as a vicious form of gender-based violence (ASF, 2013). ASF Bangladesh houses a diverse range of facilities that are required for the successful treatment and reintegration of acid victims within its complex. The vision of the organization is not only to reduce the incidents of acid attack, but also to completely eradicate the criminal activity in Bangladesh in the near future. There is no universally established definition of acid throwing, and many organizations that exist to combat acid throwing have their own ways of explaining the criminal activity; however, these different explanations still capture the same essence of the violent nature that is involved in acid attack. As briefly noted in Chapter 1, ASF Bangladesh defines acid violence as “a particularly vicious and damaging form of violence in Bangladesh where acid is thrown in people’s faces (ASF, 2015b).” Furthermore, it also states that acid attack is “a form of gender-

based violence that reflects and perpetuates the inequality of women in society (ASF, 2015a).”

In the meantime, Acid Survivors Foundation India (ASFI) identifies acid attack as “a vicious, premeditated crime, involved throwing of corrosive acid on the face or exposed part with intent to scar and disfigure the victim (ASFI, 2013).” ASFI (2013) further notes that acid attack rarely kills, but devastates the life of the victim in every possible aspect – mentally, morally, physically and financially. On the other hand, Acid Survivors Foundation Pakistan (ASF Pakistan), a non-profit organization that was founded in 2006 with the support of ASTI, defines acid violence as “a particularly outrageous form of torture which involves throwing corrosive acid at the victims’ faces (ASF Pakistan, 2015).” ASTI, which is a registered charity based in the United Kingdom and the only organization that exists today that aims to end acid attack at the international level, defines acid violence as “the deliberate use of acid to attack another human being (ASTI, 2015).” While these organizations have different definitions of acid attack, they concur that acid violence is a global phenomenon that is unrelated to race, religion or location and that it occurs significantly amongst the poor and primarily against the female population. Acid violence takes place worldwide in both developed and developing countries such as but not limited to Laos, China, Japan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Jamaica,

Mexico, Guyana, Algeria, Uganda, Afghanistan, Iran, Greece, Turkey, Belgium, the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom (ASFI, 2013). The map below highlights the countries where incidents of acid attack have been reported over the past decade:

Figure 5. Prevalence of Acid Violence across the world

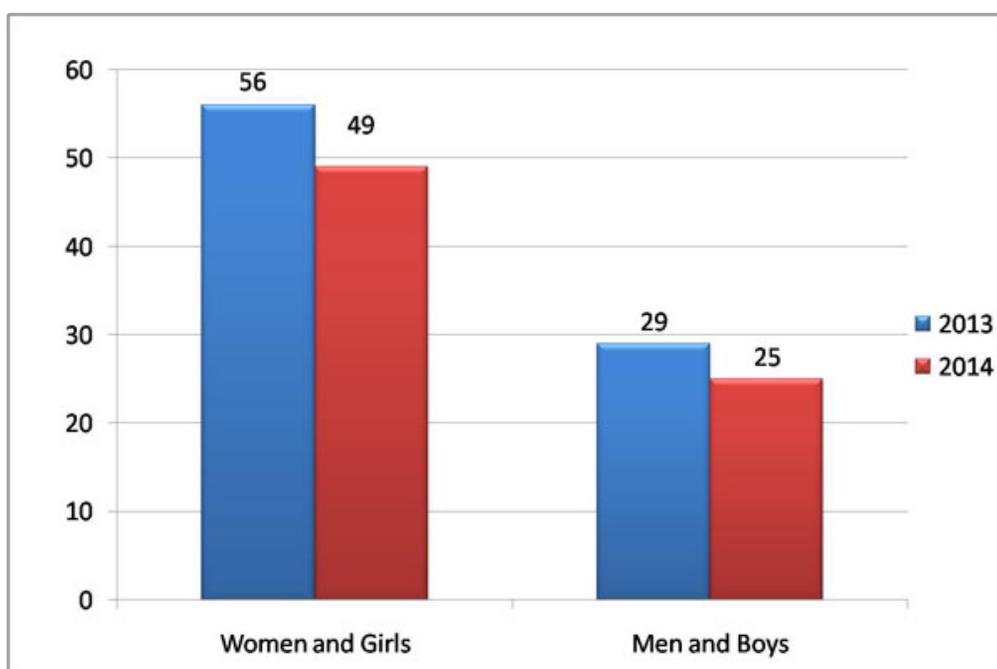


Source: <http://projectsaave.org/mission/>

Although the above-mentioned agencies have different ways of defining acid violence, they still share the same vision of completely removing the crime from their country and ensuring the protection of the human rights of acid survivors.

While the majority of the victims of acid throwing in Bangladesh are overwhelmingly women, whom many are below the age of 18 when they are attacked, older women, children and men can also become victims of the crime as illustrated in Figure (ASF, 2015b; ASF, 2015c):

Figure 6. Acid Attack Statistics in Gender Perspective: Comparison of the number of attacks in 2013 and 2014



Source: <http://acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/2>

As mentioned in Chapter 1, ASF Bangladesh notes that there are many reasons that acid violence continues to take place in the country. The principle push factors are known to be family-related disputes, land disputes,

marital disputes and refusal or rejection of love, marriage and/or sexual advances (ASF 2015c). The table below outlines the main reasons for committing acid violence in Bangladesh in 2014:

Table 3. Push Factors of Acid Attack in Bangladesh in 2014

Reasons	Number of Male Victims	Number of Female Victims	Number of Child Victims
Dowry	-	5	-
Family-related dispute	1	2	-
Land/property/money dispute	12	13	7
Marital dispute	1	6	-
Refusal/rejection of love/marriage/sex	1	5	2
Unknown	2	6	2
Others	3	-	2
Total	20	37	13

Source: Reorganized by the author based on the table from

<http://www.acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/2>

ASF Bangladesh fully recognizes that such form of gender-based violence, just like any form of violence against women, hampers the right and potential of the victims to engage and participate as members of society.

Acid throwing is a powerful practice of violence in the sense that it can strip away every important right of the victim in an instant, such as but not limited to economic and social well-being, self-worth and political participation. Furthermore, acid survivors experience difficulty reintegrating to society after their treatment, being forced to stop their education and/or suffer from discrimination in the labor market. As a result, the potential of the acid survivors and the contribution they could make toward the betterment of society go unrealized. Therefore, ASF Bangladesh strives to not only reduce and eventually eliminate acid attack in the country, but also to assure the dignity of the acid survivors in order that they remain as proactive members of society and do not face isolation, dependency and vulnerability. ASF Bangladesh helps acid survivors rebuild their lives after the attack through their holistic approach of victim care and rehabilitation of acid survivors. The table below displays the statistics of the number of acid incidents in Bangladesh from 1999 to 2014:

Table 4. Number of Acid Throwing and Number of Survivors from 1999 to 2014 in Bangladesh

Acid Attack Statistics (1999 – 2014)		
Month	Number of incidents	Number of survivors
1999	165	167
2000	240	240
2001	351	352
2002	494	496
2003	417	420
2004	326	333
2005	222	277
2006	183	224
2007	162	199
2008	142	184
2009	129	159
2010	122	160
2011	91	118
2012	71	98
2013	69	85
2014	59	74
Total	3243	3586

Source: <http://acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/1>

According to Table 4, the trend of acid attack in Bangladesh has demonstrated a diligent decline since reaching its peak in 2002. Figure 3 in Chapter 1 illustrates the above data in a graphic form. Table 5 below is a

compilation of the figures of incidents and survivors of acid violence in Bangladesh by month in 2015:

Table 5. Statistics of Acid Attack in 2015

Month	Number of incidents	Number of survivors
January	4	8
February	3	5
March	4	4
April	3	8
May	5	6
June	3	3
July	8	9
August	9	10
September	2	2
October	12	13
November		
December		
Total	53	68

Source: <http://acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/1>

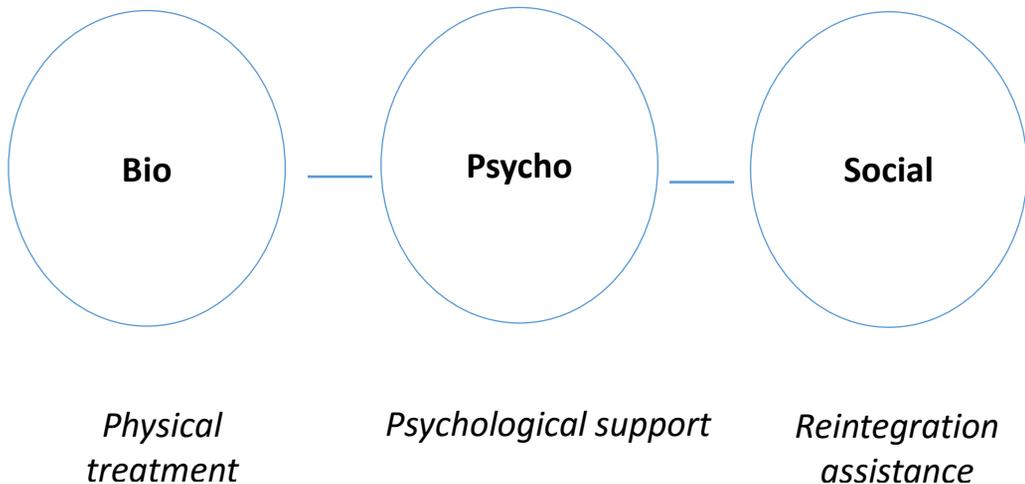
As Table 5 illustrates, the number of both the incidents and survivors of acid violence have decreased since 2014, contributing to the consistent reduction of the criminal activity in the country since 2002. The following

sections will examine in detail the programmes of ASF Bangladesh that are designed for the treatment and the rehabilitation of the victims of acid throwing.

3.1.1. The Holistic Bio-Psycho-Social Approach

Also referred to as the multi-stakeholder approach or the holistic model, the Bio-Psycho-Social approach is ASF Bangladesh's key method of intervention and victim care. As the name states, it is an integrated model developed by ASF Bangladesh that other organizations with the similar objective as that of ASF Bangladesh have recognized as good practice in effectively responding to acid throwing and hence have applied the approach in their own countries (ASF, 2013). The holistic approach can be illustrated as the following:

Figure 7. ASF Bangladesh's Multi-stakeholder Approach



Source: Figure reorganized by the author based on personal communication with S. Ahmed, Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh

The rationale of ASF Bangladesh for incorporating the approach of holistic healing as part of their intervention strategy is that the care for acid victims cannot be considered comprehensive unless it not only tends to the physical wounds and psychological trauma of the victims, but also ensures their successful reintegration to society after the completion of the necessary treatment. In other words, the multi-stakeholder approach of ASF Bangladesh must be carried out in order to promise the successful treatment of acid victims (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh applies its Bio-Psycho-Social approach, which entails the healing of physical, psychological, emotional and social trauma

of acid victims altogether, as an ideal method of rehabilitation (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

The concept of the holistic approach stemmed from the realization that the simple provision of medical services to acid victims was not enough, as the victims face difficulty in reintegrating not only to society, but also back to their family and to the community that they came from due to the stigma that is attached to the permanent scars and physical disfigurement from being attacked with acid (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). In other words, there are numerous socioeconomic factors that should be taken into consideration and need to be addressed beyond the medical measures of rehabilitation, as they greatly hamper the successful recovery of acid survivors (ASF, 2013). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh implements community mobilization, awareness raising initiatives, community-based psychosocial support, economic support, legal support and advocacy to assist with the effective reintegration of acid survivors (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). S. Ahmed stressed the significance of applying the multi-stakeholder approach by highlighting its vital role in reducing acid violence in the country (personal communication, June 25, 2015):

The successful reduction of acid attack incidents in Bangladesh was possible because of our joint efforts in implementing the Bio-Psycho-Social approach, or the multi-stakeholder approach. We have prevention and protection work to prevent acid attack and to prevent negative consequences of acid attack...those aspects we are working with Bio-Psycho-Social model. In this model actually, the multidisciplinary professionals and stakeholders are engaged, so it's [the survivors] not alone in this fight. We work with government, media, corporate sectors, and survivors play a great role...also have team leader working previously in our organization, Board of Trustee members also contributed a lot. The international community supported a lot as well as donors. We fought together and got good results.

As the name implies, the Bio-Psycho-Social model of treatment for acid victims is executed in a cyclical order that consists of immediate physical treatment, social support, legal advice and rehabilitation assistance. Because the lives of the victims have been changed forever in a fraction of a second and that the consequence that is brought by that split second is so significant, it is extremely difficult for the survivors to overcome their trauma, cope with the stress that is associated with the incident and continue with their normal lives that they were living just before they were attacked. Hence, it is crucial that the patients receive holistic cure, which

encompasses the healing of physical, psychological, emotional and social wounds altogether. With the services of holistic healing, ASF helps the survivors cope with their trauma, rebuild their collapsed lives and start a new, normal and productive life.

Immediate physical treatment, which is the very first step of the holistic healing process, entails customized medical support such as nutritional care, surgery, skin grafting, wound dressing, physiotherapy and the proper application of splints or other appropriate medical accessories. A multi-disciplinary team of experienced doctors, plastic and reconstructive surgeons, nurses, physiotherapists, nutritionists, psychologists and social workers carries out the necessary medical support services in the 20-bed hospital of ASF Bangladesh in order to ensure the optimum results for the patients (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). This medical facility is a full-fledged hospital equipped with ambulance, 24-hour hotline and other appropriate support (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). ASF Bangladesh provides treatment from acute burns to post burns, where skilled plastic surgeons volunteer and perform plastic surgery and reconstructive operation to the victims to minimize their physical deformity and functional complications as much as possible (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). In addition to treating the acid patients, these medical personnel participate

in the overall burn care management in the country through knowledge sharing and capacity building (ASF, 2013). The ASF Bangladesh hospital admits 10 to 15 patients on average on a monthly basis (ASF, 2013), where majority of them are women and girls (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). A total of 541 acid survivors received treatment at the hospital in 2013, whom 89 of them underwent some form of surgical procedure.

The next step in the Bio-Psycho-Social process is psychotherapy for the victims, which begins upon their admission to the ASF Bangladesh hospital (ASF 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Different types of psychotherapy by trained psychotherapists are available at ASF Bangladesh after the assessment of the psychosocial distress level, including individual counseling, group counseling, family counseling, emotional support and social skills training. The table below lists the therapeutic activities that were provided to the patients of ASF Bangladesh hospital in 2013:

Table 6. Psychotherapeutic Activities of ASF Bangladesh in 2013

Psychotherapy Services Provided in 2013:						
Sl. No	Activities	No. of Sessions Conducted	Types of Client			
			Men	Women	Children	Total
01	Individual Psychotherapy	67	23	29	3	55
02	Individual Counseling	200	35	103	18	156
03	Group Counseling/Therapy	15	10	56	13	79
04	Family Counseling	09	-	-	-	-
05	Emotional Support	264	53	187	20	160
06	Support to DMCH (July- December)	166	68	26	29	123
07	Support to VSC (July- December)	20	0	4	16	20
08	Support to Taranga (Only July)	14	0	7	2	9
09	Art Therapy Session	48	08	144	37	189
10	Music Therapy Session	47	52	165	20	137
11	Social Skills Training	07	08	50	13	71

Source: ASF Annual Report 2013

Physiotherapy is a critical component of the rehabilitation process of acid burn victims that takes place after the completion of necessary surgical procedures and when the professional personnel judge that they are ready for physical movement (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Physiotherapeutic procedures encompass physical exercises and manual therapy carried out by a qualified physiotherapist that aid the recovery of key muscles and limbs, such as massage, mobilization, stretching, exercises, manual manipulation, application of pressure garments, positioning, splinting and other necessary activities that speed up the regaining of a survivor's physical functions (ASF, 2013). The two main

objectives of physiotherapy are to help the victims regain their previous physical capability and functionality before their attack and to prevent contracture and reduce scarring as much as possible (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

The social aspect of ASF Bangladesh's comprehensive multi-stakeholder approach entails rehabilitation and reintegration of acid survivors at every level – social, economic, personal and psychological (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). According to statistics of ASF Bangladesh, 69 percent of the acid victims are women and girls from poor economic background with little to no education (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). The perpetrators typically have some form of relationship with the acid victims, such as being a family member or coming from the same neighborhood or community (ASF, 2013). A woman's value in Bangladesh is determined by marriage and her ability to carry a child, and thus female acid survivors face discrimination from society with their permanent scars and visible disfigurement (ASF, 2013). Therefore, socioeconomic rehabilitation and reintegration of acid survivors are extremely important steps of ASF Bangladesh's holistic victim care.

The rehabilitation strategy of ASF Bangladesh includes on two tracks of development: personal development through psychological and psychosocial support and socioeconomic development through capacity

development and networking opportunities (ASF, 2013). The aspects of personal and socioeconomic developments that ASF Bangladesh deem important are outlined in the table below:

Table 7. Factors of Personal and Socioeconomic Development for Acid Survivors

Personal Development	Socioeconomic Development
Self esteem	Access to resources
Courage	Legal rights
Confidence	Social integration work/school
Strength	Reintegration into family/community
Solidarity	Improved social capital/networks
Sense of control	
Dignity	
Vision for the future	

Source: Table reorganized by the author based on the information from ASF Annual Report 2013

One of the many barriers that acid survivors are forced to face is the complete removal of their ability to work or study (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Once the victims became survivors, they struggled to reintegrate not only in society but also back in the community where they came from (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

The financial burden caused by their inability to secure an income-generating activity leads them to fall into poverty. Hence, acid survivors must undergo rehabilitation in order to be able to continue with their education and/or training so that they can live a better quality life after treatment (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25). ASF Bangladesh expedites the social rehabilitation process for the acid victims upon their release from the hospital in order that they are well prepared for their reintegration and are ready to rebuild their collapsed lives, whether it be returning to their family and community or starting a new life in a new place in the event that the attacker was a family member (ASF, 2013). The two tables below summarize the rehabilitation and reintegration interventions carried out by ASF Bangladesh:

Table 8. Rehabilitation Measures for Acid Survivors in Bangladesh

Rehabilitation Support:	
Type of Support	Number of acid survivors
Family assistance	29
Education support	159
IGA grant	36
Legal grant	44
Financial aid from District Acid Control Committee (DACC)	106
Khas land	2
Support through CSR/individual	56

Source: ASF Annual Report 2013

Table 9. Reintegration Support for Acid Survivors in Bangladesh

Types of Support	Number
Community meetings	156 meetings
Community clinics	24 clinics
Telephonic counseling	Continuous
Door-to-door visit	988 visits
Group meetings	190 meetings

Source: Table reorganized by the author based on the information on ASF Annual Report 2013

Since its establishment in 1999, ASF Bangladesh recognized the need for the state and the government to take responsibility in not only preventing acid attack in the country, but also ensuring and protecting the rights of acid survivors (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). In order to hold the state accountable, ASF Bangladesh has worked hard to mobilize government, civil society, community elites and other pertinent actors (ASF, 2013). Furthermore, ASF started transforming acid survivors into change agents in 2010, and there are currently twelve change agents working in six districts across the country mobilizing relevant parties and raising awareness of acid attack as a crime, in addition to advocating for the

rights and protection of acid survivors that they deserve (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). More details on these grassroots community workers, also known as ambassadors, and their role as key players will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.2. Awareness Raising Initiatives for Acid Survivors

Raising awareness of acid attack as a criminal activity is a crucial component of ASF Bangladesh. The Programme Unit at ASF Bangladesh, also commonly referred to as Survivor Support Services (SSS), implements comprehensive measures that are categorized into three different parts: the Development Programmes, Prevention Programmes and the Protection Programmes. The Development Programmes are geared towards the acid survivors while the Prevention Programmes entail raising awareness among the general public who are not acid victims, such as the community and particularly the male population. The Protection Programmes are tailored for both acid survivors and the general public. This section will look at the Development Programmes in close detail, while the following sections will discuss the remaining two programmes.

Development Programmes

According to the Programme Manager of SSS, the main objective of ASF Bangladesh is to establish independent organizations solely led by acid survivors themselves (personal communication, June 23, 2015). The principle activities of the Development Programmes consist of organizing group meetings at the community level with the six partner agencies of ASF Bangladesh, conducting the annual leadership training for survivors, providing income-generating training for acid survivors and assisting with their job placement (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

There are currently a total of 21 survivor groups in six districts across the country, in which each group is composed of 15 to 20 participants of both sexes (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). These numbers add up to a total of almost 300 survivors who participate in diverse activities, such as the monthly group meetings, meetings with the government, meetings with the local community and other pertinent actors (ASF, 2013). The change agents or the ambassadors lead and facilitate these meetings (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager justified the reason of ASF Bangladesh for working with the survivors – whom have

become ambassadors or change agents – as the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

Ambassadors are also survivors, representing, mobilizing other survivors and encouraging them, developing them, to be a role model. Ambassadors are important because we need role models and leadership. Other survivors can follow the ambassadors and realize their own potential as a person and overcome their trauma from acid attack. We feel that ambassadors can make a very good role model for other survivors to create a mission, have an objective of life, have new dream and new hope.

S. Ahmed also commented on the importance in engaging survivors in the work of ASF Bangladesh by noting the following (personal communication, June 25, 2013):

Their [the survivors] engagement is important because they themselves faced this violence, pain, their resilience and power to overcome...so when they talk, their appeal and our appeal is not the same. Their appeal is much stronger than ours. It is question of their dignity as well, when they survive and overcome their trauma, they can be a role model for other survivors. That's why it's important.

As mentioned previously, the ambassadors lead the meetings. Each 21 survivor group in the country has a leadership committee composed of a president, secretary, treasurer and a savings group that is responsible for organizing the meetings, and the president of each group usually chairs the group meetings (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The topic of each meeting is selected based on the needs of the participants and changes every time. Some examples include gender issues, violence against women, root causes and reasons of acid attack, human rights, patriarchy and possible prevention measures in the event of a violent incident in the community (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The meetings focus on real life issues and are typically carried out in the form of an open conversation, where the participants can freely discuss their feelings, problems, challenges and suggestions. They also invite experts of a specific field – for example, an expert from one of the partner NGOs on the issues of human rights – to come in and conduct a training workshop to the survivors. Staff members from the six partner NGOs as well as the staff from ASF Bangladesh attend and participate the group meetings (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In addition to these meetings, the Programme Unit of ASF Bangladesh conducts a four-day annual leadership training workshop for survivors, where the leadership committee of the survivor groups participate

and discuss the root causes of violence in Bangladesh, capability of leadership etcetera (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

Another important activity of the Programme Unit is assisting with the job placement of acid survivors (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). ASF Bangladesh communicates with job providers and brings some advocacy for creating jobs for themselves. The Programme Unit is also responsible for monitoring the situation of the survivors once they have secured a job; furthermore, they also ensure their well-being and that the survivors are actually generating income (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager highlighted the fact that the goal is not solely simple provision of employment for the acid survivors, but also making sure that they are fully reintegrated in society healthy and happy (personal communication, June 23, 2015). The types of employment opportunities for the acid survivors range from the health sector, corporate jobs, beauty parlor, software, garments, government jobs and so on (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Other income-generating training for acid survivors are provided by ASF Bangladesh, such as computer training, software design, graphic design, basic knowledge on Information Technology, outsourcing and basic English (Programme Manager, personal

communication, June 23, 2015). In addition, there is training on the production of pressure garments that entail the utilization of a sewing machine and various other skills, which is a specific training that is run by an acid survivor in ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

Conducting research with survivors is a new initiative by ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). The Programme Manager explained the importance of the launch of this new initiative as the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

We collect [mobilize] all the leaders through our survivors and provide participatory action research (PAR). It's a new initiative at ASF. We feel that if we include our survivors in that process of PAR, which is dynamic research and if any person in that research they feel the potential to do something more, they can flourish themselves and they can figure out their own life. This is our mission, to make them established and independent in their life. We have already started that process and we are providing four PAR with our survivors in different districts and the response is very inspirational. They [the survivors] are feeling that it is very good for them and have expressed why they are only starting to do this now. Basically, the survivors are representing in

this kind of training and workshop, and they are the main researchers. They research about their life, problems of their life, how they can overcome their problems...they take decisions on what they should do to overcome the problems and so on.

3.2. Acid Survivors Foundation's Programmes for the General Public

The previous section of this chapter looked at the activities of ASF Bangladesh for survivors. The following section will discuss the different initiatives that are geared towards the general public and the non-victims of acid attack.

3.2.1. Prevention Programmes

Campaign work is the main integral component of the prevention programmes of ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The key campaigns that ASF Bangladesh carries out are school-based and market-based, while they also do protests and demonstrations when they deem necessary (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The objective of carrying out various campaign work is to advocate to the NGOs and the government of

Bangladesh. The Programme Unit plans the campaigns in collaboration with their partners such as The Hunger Project and BRAC¹⁴ (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager noted that ASF Bangladesh must engage its network members to carry out campaign programs as acid attack can happen anywhere across the country and because ASF Bangladesh alone cannot combat the crime (personal communication, June 23, 2015). The campaign schedule depends but there are several campaign programs that are carried out regularly on a monthly basis in bazaar and school areas (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). An average of about 20 campaign programs are done every month (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Campaigners and acid survivors also participate in district-gathering, where every survivor who resides in a particular district invites a government representative or a service provider, in order to march in the streets or to organize a human chain (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In this way, the

¹⁴ BRAC is the largest non-governmental development organization in the world based in Bangladesh. It is present across the country in all 64 districts in addition to the countries in Asia and Africa such as Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Philippines, Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan, Liberia and Sierra Leone. BRAC was previously known as the Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee and then as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, but today it does not represent an acronym. It was established in 1972 after Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan.

participants raise various issues that take place in their district, in addition to questioning the lack of justice for acid survivors and the absence of appropriate treatment for them in the public sector. A human chain is also created after an occurrence of acid attack in order to raise awareness or to protest against the criminal activity, which is considered to be a part of immediate response (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

ASF Bangladesh's school campaigns are carried out nationwide in high school and in college (ASF, 2011; Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Survivors mainly participate in school campaigns, where they themselves go to the schools and talk about their situations in order to promote zero tolerance on acid violence and promote for the protection of the rights of acid survivors (ASF, 2011; Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager explained how the school campaigns are done (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

For school campaigns, we talk about students' roles, what their responsibilities are as human beings, how to protest that kind of occurrence [acid attack] if it happens in their community. We also discuss the reasons of acid attack, root causes, what is their [the students'] role, how they can

become a person with moral and a good human being. They [school campaigns] happen every month. We have partnership with The Hunger Project, who have good communication with school, so school campaigns are collaboration between ASF Bangladesh and The Hunger Project. One school campaign is three to four hours long and it is done to both boys and girls. It is our objective to raise some conscience to boys to become a good person and fight against acid attack, [and] prevent them from becoming perpetrators.

Through a network of students, ASF Bangladesh has been able to raise awareness of acid violence in the country (ASF, 2011). Teachers are also involved in the school campaigns (ASF, 2011). In 2011, a total of 8,559 students and more than 100 teachers from 46 schools across the country participated in ASF Bangladesh's school campaigns, where a diverse range of discussion took place on why acid violence happens in the country, the consequences of committing the criminal activity, first aid response that should be done in the event of an acid attack and the services that acid victims are entitled to from the government and the NGOs (ASF, 2011).

Bazaar campaigns are independent initiatives of AFS Bangladesh and not a part of The Hunger Project (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Market-based campaigns are geared

towards the male population and are carried out in bazaar areas of a village, where a big audience comprised of men can be found (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). It is a useful and an easy way to share the messages of ASF Bangladesh to the male community to make them more aware of acid attack (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The venues for market-based campaigns are selected based on the rate of incidence; in other words, ASF Bangladesh chooses to carry out bazaar campaigns in violence-prone regions in order to raise awareness of the crime (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). ASF Bangladesh utilizes posters and the acid survivors who participate in the bazaar campaigns act out actual scenarios through presentations, thematic songs, dances, drama, choreographic performances and folk songs, which are considered to be effective in raising awareness, communicating with the mass public and disseminating the messages of ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

However, there are challenges that exist for conducting campaigns to the male population in Bangladesh. The Programme Manager commented on some challenges in carrying out market-based campaigns and convincing the male community in the country as the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

They [the male population] feel that they are much more educated than us [ASF Bangladesh]. They have their own perception to throw acid; they find reasons to use acid to destroy one person. It is very challenging to make them aware and resist themselves to do that kind of occurrence [acid attack]. Most people feel that they know everything...[ASF Bangladesh] always feel the need to do more but it is very tough, very touch to change their [the male community's] mentality and perception. But we are finding some changes proved by the reduction of acid attack. We can say that change has happened with our work but it is not enough. We [ASF Bangladesh] have to focus on education process, a person's ethics, socialization process and many more.

There are several goals and objectives for the above-mentioned raising awareness activities of ASF Bangladesh that the Programme Manager explained in detail (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

One [goal] is the community effectively role-play in a sudden incident or accident. In our community they don't know to pour water...[so the goal is to raise awareness on] the role of community members, how they can take initiative to pour water on a victim.

The above goal is extremely crucial, as most community members simply do not know that their effective response – for example, pouring water in areas where acid made contact with – can play a critical role in reducing a victim’s chance of scarring, being physical disfigured and any other complications that can occur (Programme Officer, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In summary, the school-based and market-based campaign activities are carried out in order to help the community members realize the roles that they can play in saving a victim’s life and in participating in the movement to eradicate acid violence in the country (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

Other important objectives of the campaign initiatives of ASF Bangladesh are to expedite the process of medical treatment, to raise awareness of the legal procedures among the community – for example, the acid sellers acquiring the acid license before they start selling the product to customers – and to convince them to follow those legal steps after an incident of acid attack in order that people (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In addition, the awareness-raising initiatives focus on changing the community’s perception on acid survivors (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). As mentioned previously, there is stigma that is attached to a burned face and physical disfigurement in Bangladesh (S. Ahmed, personal communication,

June 25, 2015). ASF Bangladesh found that most community members have previously neglected acid survivors and repeatedly blamed them for being attacked with acid (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). As a result, acid survivors face difficulty reintegrating to society as there is a high chance that their family members and the community might outcast them, leaving the acid survivors nowhere to return to after the completion of their treatment (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh works hard to convince the community that the acid survivors are the victims and thus should not be blamed for what happened to them (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager further noted the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

...It is important to make the community aware that this is not their [acid survivors'] fault, that basically most of our survivors are facing problems to gain [back] their previous life, job and education. They are not entitled to participate in any social programs or gatherings.

ASF Bangladesh engages the leaders of the communities in order to help them accept acid survivors when they return to where they came from (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The

engagement of leaders and government representatives results in the creation of an environment that is much friendlier for acid survivors (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). When the leaders of the community are involved, the rest of the community automatically feels the pressure to follow their actions (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager noted the challenge that is involved in convincing the community leaders (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

We [ASF Bangladesh] are not doing this issue [engagement of community leaders] in one day. It is a long-time process. We won't achieve this in one day. So we have regular programs. When we do any community programs, we always have a plan to visit the survivor's house. Before we go, we prepare ourselves on what survivors are there, what is our role with them...we plan to visit every community to knock on the door, to watch their situation again. Every time we're discussing the leader or work with community members, to know the progress of the situation. We are also trying to train the community leaders on violence against women, acid attack issues. The community leaders, who are elected representatives of the community, are working with us to raise awareness of the community. We also include women because they also think the same way as men. The blame [towards acid survivors] comes from women as well. The sellers of acid is also part of the

community, so we tell them not to sell them; if people could not use it [acid], they [perpetrators] will not be able to attack anyone.

The community leaders – such as but not limited to leaders from the government or NGOs, social leaders, social workers, journalists, teachers, religious persons, elected representatives from the government, government officials – are mobilized for community meetings, workshops and training that the Programme Manager mentioned in the above statement. During these meetings, the community leaders learn how to respond properly in the incident of an acid throwing, such as pouring water for at least 30 minutes on all the affected areas including eyes and ears (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). They are also informed to contact the hotline to the ASF Bangladesh hospital to reach out for help, where the number for the hospital is disseminated at every meeting (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The important message that is delivered during the meetings of the community leaders is that it is the community's responsibility to respond to the attack as quickly as possible and to send the victims to the hospital ideally within 24 hours of the incident (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

The Programme Manager stressed the significance of the awareness-raising initiatives of ASF Bangladesh once again by summarizing the below (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

It [awareness-raising activities] is important because basically we know people have misconception on what they should do after an attack. We have experience where people didn't pour water but used egg, mud, milk, oil or not putting anything, so it's a serious problem. It's very much important issue to raise awareness of our community on what they should do, what their responsibility is to sensitize them and respond quick, how do they quickly respond if any attack happens because it's very sudden, so what they could do, pouring water if situation happens and call the hotline. At the same time, awareness is needed to make the person notice the tough situation of the survivors post acid attack. It's not just a question of beauty but it's also life threatening. People can't relate to that issue. So when they know that it's a deep issue with long consequences, they can re-think about throwing acid. And we always repeatedly try to say that a person of good quality does not throw acid, so every person has that inner feeling to be a good person, a social standard person accepted by everyone. So when a good person/bad person concept [is applied], no one wants to be a bad person. In our community, in Bangladesh, we are always blaming survivors for their attack. But now it's shifting to men

because we're trying to establish that the person who threw acid are men, the main perpetrator and they're the main problem. So the blame is shifting from victim to perpetrator, and their social acceptance is in jeopardy when they throw acid.

The Programme Manager reiterated the challenges that ASF Bangladesh faces in implementing awareness-raising activities (personal communication, June 23, 2015). First is that the perpetrators of acid violence are usually powerful members of the community who have financial and political power. On the other hand, acid victims are usually the underprivileged members of the community with no power. Therefore, the fight against such powerful members of society can be difficult. This is why the community leaders with financial and political power are involved in the training and workshops so that they can reach out to this group of men (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). There is also difficulty in not only reaching out to the members of parliament who pay the perpetrators to throw acid, but also fighting them in high court (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In such cases, ASF Bangladesh can only fight in low-level court or district-level court (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

The most difficult challenge that the Programme Manager and the Programme Officers noted was rebuilding a survivor's life. Because acid attack is a very sudden, unexpected issue that destroys the dream of the victim in a split second, it is extremely tough and challenging for the survivors to rebuild their life (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

3.2.2. Protection Programmes

As part of its protection plan, ASF Bangladesh visits survivor homes and community clinics, where survivors identify their problems and discover apt solutions based on their own thinking, judgment and effort (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). By encouraging the survivors to do so, ASF Bangladesh strongly believes that they will be able to restore their lives with their own capacity (Programme Officer, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

There is also a survivors' conference, which is a daylong program where ASF Bangladesh mobilizes all the acid survivors in a district (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). At the conference, survivors are re-encouraged by meeting with other fellow survivors, sharing their experiences and challenges and discussing how they

overcame their obstacles. The Programme Manager described the survivors' conference in detail below (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

It [survivors' conference] is a process of sharing. It's very festive and survivors participate in dancing, singing, drama etcetera. We also invite different stakeholders like government officials, NGO officials, acid sellers and users, doctors, journalists, civil society, community leaders...whoever's concerned about this issue, we invite them in this event and share our views, raise our voice to stop acid attack, and we can receive recommendation. The government officials can know the problems of the survivors and have some initiatives to work for acid survivors when they know what types of problems are faced by survivors.

Another important conference that is organized as part of the protection plan is the meeting of acid sellers and users, where ASF Bangladesh invites acid sellers and users in a community. During the meeting, ASF Bangladesh informs the sellers and users that it is illegal to sell acid without a license, and insists them to get the license in order to sell acid (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

ASF Bangladesh is also working to sensitize the media, as it is aware that the work of ASF Bangladesh alone is insufficient and ineffective in

disseminating its messages to the residents in distant areas (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh cooperates with the media in order to maximize its reach across the nation.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

Chapter 2 discussed the relevance between domestic violence and international educational development. Furthermore, it examined the issue of domestic violence, especially violence against women, in Bangladesh and defined the critical issues of acid attack in the country. The chapter continued by discussing the education programmes that were known to be carried out by the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh), the principle agency in the country that exists to eradicate acid violence in the country. Then, the theoretical framework of Paulo Freire, and his educational philosophy were introduced.

In Chapter 3, the author discussed in great detail the activities of ASF Bangladesh for both acid survivors and the general public that she learned from her field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh in June 2015. The chapter was divided into two different sections, one reviewing the initiatives of ASF Bangladesh for acid victims and the other examining the activities that are carried out by the organization for the general public and the non-victims.

Having reviewed the various initiatives that are implemented by ASF Bangladesh and the core concepts of Paulo Freire, Chapter 4 will identify the key Freirean frameworks that are embedded in both types of

activities of ASF Bangladesh for acid survivors and those for the non-survivors in the country. The following chapter will also look at the limitations of the Freirean application on the above-mentioned initiatives of ASF Bangladesh.

4.1. Application of Paulo Freire's Framework on the Acid Survivors Foundation's Education Programmes

In this section, the author will identify and discuss the incorporation of the following concepts of Paulo Freire that were reviewed in Chapter 2 – the oppressor-oppressed relationship, culture of silence, conscientization, problem-posing education, dialogue and generative themes – in the initiatives for both acid survivors and the general public that are implemented by ASF Bangladesh. Following the identification of the key frameworks of Paulo Freire in the practices of ASF Bangladesh, the limitations of Freirean application will be discussed.

4.1.1. Freirean Concepts embedded in Victim Care

The process of victim care provided by ASF Bangladesh entails the application of its Bio-Psycho-Social approach, which is the holistic healing

and rehabilitation process customized for the acid victims. The Bio-Psycho-Social model, also known as the integrated approach or the multi-stakeholder approach, focuses on physiotherapy, psychological well-being and social integration of the acid survivors after the completion of their physical treatment (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). ASF Bangladesh justified its application of the multi-stakeholder approach by noting that simply providing medical services to the acid victims was not enough, as they were forced to face challenges that were beyond the measures of physical assistance (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Acid survivors face discrimination and struggle to reintegrate not only in society but also back into the community in which they came from due to the visible physical disfigurement and permanent scars. Therefore, ASF Bangladesh provides psychological support and social support in addition to physical treatment to acid victims, emphasizing that the rehabilitation process is incomplete and ineffective without taking into consideration their physical, psychological and social aspects.

The Freirean concepts of the oppressor-oppressed relationship, culture of silence, conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue can be identified in the psycho and the social components of ASF Bangladesh's integrated model. First, Paulo Freire's oppressor-oppressed relationship can be applied to understand the relationship between acid

victims and the perpetrators, whom utilize acid as a tool to oppress their target. Whatever their reasons may be for such action – land disputes, marital disputes, revenge and so on as discussed in Chapter 2 – the perpetrators throw acid to whoever they wish to exercise control, punish them and/or show that they are the higher, powerful figures, or the oppressors. The acid victims, who were already part of the oppressed population even before they got attacked with acid if they are women, are forced to remain as the oppressed ones due to their permanent physical disfigurement that prevent them from attaining freedom.

It is noted in Chapter 2 that the help-seeking behavior of women in Bangladesh is discouraged due to lack of assistance available for them, and that such discouragement results in the female victims to be silent and abstain from reporting their cases of violence, including acid throwing (Chowdhury, 2007). Such behavior can be identified as Paulo Freire's concept of the culture of silence, which is a state created by the oppressors that the oppressed class must break in order to attain liberation from their oppressed status (Freire, 1972). But Freire (1972) notes that in order for the oppressed population to free themselves, they must first become critically conscious of their oppressive surroundings. Because Bangladesh is a patriarchal society, violence against women is considered as a normal cultural custom instead of an oppressive practice (Dalal et al., 2009); such

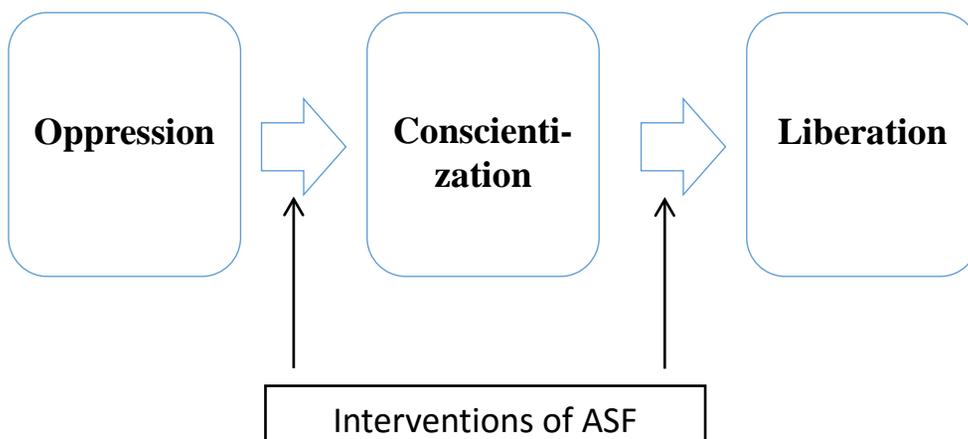
‘normalization of violence’ of the country is discussed in Chapter 2. Because violence against women is recognized as a cultural phenomenon in the country, it is important for them to first realize that gender-based violence is an oppressive act against the oppressed by the oppressors. In other words, it is important for the acid victims and the potential victims to emerge from their submersion in the culture of silence and fully fathom that they are being oppressed by the oppressors – the perpetrators or the potential perpetrators of acid attack - in an oppressive environment – a patriarchal society. Such consciousness-raising, or the development of consciousness of the oppressed that have the power to transform the world, is the first stage of Freire’s pedagogy of the oppressed also known as conscientization. It is vividly reflected in the awareness-raising initiatives for acid survivors implemented by ASF Bangladesh. Various activities such as group meetings, training and workshops that are designed for acid victims focus on helping the acid survivors develop consciousness and realize that what happened to them is not their fault in spite of the stigma that the society places on them. Furthermore, these initiatives help the acid survivors understand that acid attack is a violent practice that should not be accepted as a cultural phenomenon. In order to conduct effective consciousness-raising of the acid survivors, ASF Bangladesh invites experts from various fields, such as human rights, in order to help them critically

comprehend the issue of acid violence as a criminal activity, not a cultural practice. In addition, these initiatives are carried out in the form of a dialogue – a horizontal conversation among pertinent parties that explore issues, ideas and concepts, or generative themes, that hinder their fulfillment as dignified human beings.

The above-mentioned Freirean concept of conscientization is a crucial component of ASF Bangladesh's initiatives, as a large number of acid survivors are involved in the implementation after the completion of their holistic treatment. As noted in Chapter 3, S. Ahmed explained that ASF Bangladesh actively engages acid survivors because there is no other party that better understands the pain and consequence that are brought by acid throwing (personal communication, June 25, 2015). Such approach reflects two frameworks by Freire: the role of the oppressed, which is to constantly struggle against the oppressors and that there is no other group than the oppressed ones themselves that better understands the consequences and the struggle that result from an oppressed social fabric (Freire, 1972). The involvement of the acid survivors – who are the oppressed – and their struggle to fight their oppressors and the oppressed society, can be interpreted as their thirst to witness liberation, or the complete eradication of acid attack in the country in the short-term and a

step to eliminate the existing social obstacles in the long-term. Such argument can be illustrated as the following:

Figure 8. Freirean Frameworks in the Initiatives of ASF Bangladesh



Source: Figure organized by the author

4.1.2. Freirean Concepts embedded in Initiatives for the Non-Victims/General Public

The activities of ASF Bangladesh designed for the non-victims and the general public include campaign work with the objective to raise awareness among the community and potential perpetrators of acid throwing as a criminal activity that must be eradicated in the country. The two

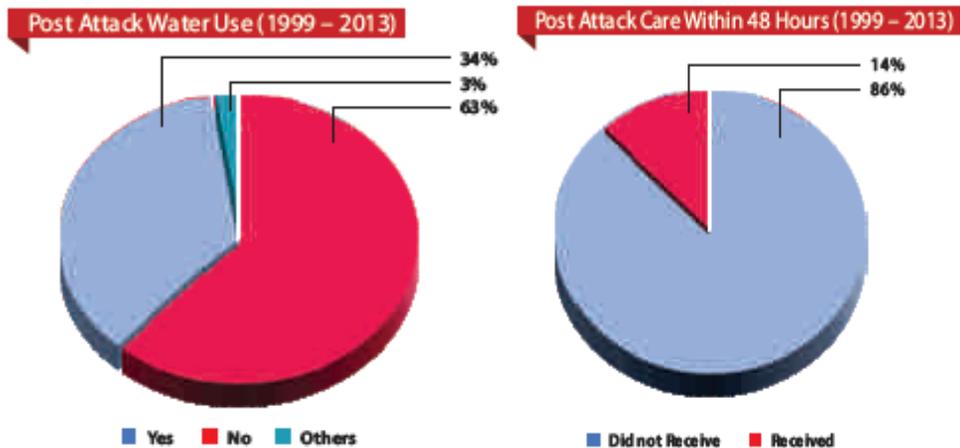
principle campaign activities are school-based and market-based, in which the target audience are students and the male population respectively.

The Freirean framework of consciousness-raising as well as generative themes is evident in both school-based and market-based campaigns. For the school-based campaigns, the survivors themselves visit schools across the country in order to promote zero tolerance on acid attack and promote for the protection of the rights of acid survivors (ASF, 2011; Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). They do so by telling their personal story on how they became a victim and then a survivor. On the other hand, market-based campaigns – which are carried out in regions where violent activities have been reported in the past – are done through the utilization of visual posters and through the presentations, thematic songs, dances, drama, choreographic performances and folk songs by the acid survivors who decide to participate. Such method is proven to be an effective way in raising awareness among the general public and delivering the messages of ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

In addition to the participating survivors telling their stories, roles and responsibilities of students and community members are discussed extensively as part of campaign work. For example, the appropriate and timely first aid responses for the victims in the event of an acid attack and

the services that the survivors are entitled to from the government and the NGOs are two important topics that are constantly on the agenda for campaign activities (ASF, 2011). It is crucial that the community and the general public are aware of these issues as they can play a significant role in minimizing the injuries of an acid attack on a victim. The figures below illustrate the numeric figure of the appropriate execution of first aid responses:

Figure 9. Water Use Post Acid Attack and Receipt of Care within 48 Hours of Attack



Source: ASF Annual Report, 2013

It is discussed in Chapter 3 that most acid victims do not receive proper first aid response when they are attacked with acid. This is because

the family members or the community are simply unaware of what the proper medical response is when a person is hit with acid. S. Ahmed noted that there has been incidents where substances such as mud, egg and milk were applied on the areas where acid had come in contact with, when only water should have been applied (personal communication, June 25, 2015). Such improper first aid technique worsens the injury and complicates the process of physical treatment for acid victims. Therefore, ASF Bangladesh focuses on raising awareness on the responsibilities of the community, which the Freirean concept of conscientization is actively incorporated.

Both school-based and market-based campaigns aim to raise consciousness among the non-survivors and the general public in order to prevent the birth of potential perpetrators of acid violence and combat the criminal activity in Bangladesh. Through ASF's campaign initiatives, students and the community members learn about the root causes of acid violence, the consequences of committing the crime and the apt first aid responses that they should carry out if they witness acid throwing. Although the principle purpose of the campaign works is to educate the general public on what their roles are, these activities are carried out in the form of an open discussion in a horizontal fashion, demonstrating Freire's framework of problem-posing education. ASF Bangladesh and the acid survivors who participate in the organization's activities do not follow the traditional

structure of depositing knowledge to the learners, which Freire (1972) calls and criticizes as the banking approach. Instead, they encourage open discussion in which the teacher – in this case, the acid survivors – and the students – the general public learning from the acid survivors – establish a horizontal relationship that promotes cooperation in an attempt to reach a solution. ASF Bangladesh and acid survivors promote the critical understanding of the general public on the issue of acid throwing in the country, help them fully fathom their roles and responsibilities and advocate for their active participation in the movement to completely eliminate the crime in Bangladesh. S. Ahmed noted that such activities played a significant role in reducing acid attack in the country, and Freire would remark the reason of its success as the implementation of the problem-posing education instead of the traditional banking approach.

4.2. Limitations of the Freirean Application on the Acid Survivors Foundation's Initiatives

ASF Bangladesh has incorporated a wide range of activities in order to reduce the number of acid attack in the country. As a result of its diligent work, the number of acid incidents and the number of survivors in Bangladesh have demonstrated a significant decline since 2002. In fact,

other countries where acid violence is also present considers the case of Bangladesh as a success story and attempts to replicate its strategies in order to observe the same reduction of the criminal activity that Bangladesh was able to.

However, the initiatives of ASF Bangladesh cannot be considered to contain all the core concepts of Paulo Freire. Firstly, although it may seem clear that acid violence is an important issue of gender-based violence that must be discussed at both the national and the international levels, its link with education development may seem unclear and irrelevant to many. Furthermore, although the practices of ASF Bangladesh entail educating the stakeholders – acid survivors and the general public including potential perpetrators of the crime – involved in the issue of acid attack, they are not officially known, called or acknowledged as an education program. Therefore, in spite of the analysis that the initiatives of ASF Bangladesh reflect and represent Paulo Freire's key theoretical frameworks, some may consider the application itself as forceful, inappropriate and impertinent.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

The People's Republic of Bangladesh is an extremely young country that was created in the late 1971 after the Liberation War against Pakistan. Since then, it has struggled with numerous challenges from diverse spheres that has hindered its national development, such as but not limited to political, social, economic and environmental problems. However, with the country's consistent effort to overcome its wide range of challenges from poverty to gender inequality, Bangladesh has been recognized as one of the countries that were on track to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It especially received international attention on its remarkable achievement in meeting MDG 2 and MDG 3, achieving universal primary education and promoting gender equality. Unfortunately, Bangladesh continues to face difficulty with existing challenges – such as perpetuating poverty and gender inequality – in spite of its accomplishment that has been acknowledged worldwide. Although gender inequality still hampers the process as well as progress of development in the country, one particular issue has been receiving attention by the international community as a success story. This research explores how Bangladesh has gained such title by examining the response of the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh), the principle organization in the country that fights the

criminal activity – acid attack – and its activities that attribute to the successful decline of the crime rate in the country. A brief summary of the previous chapters is outlined in the sections below.

5.1. Summary

In the Introduction chapter, the author supplies an extensive overview of Bangladesh. Chapter 1 introduces Bangladesh as one of the countries that have been recognized at the international level for its diligent work and consistent progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the promised deadline of 2015. Bangladesh was particularly acknowledged for its remarkable achievement in meeting the targets of MDG 2 and MDG 3, ‘achieve universal primary education’ and ‘promote gender equality and empower women.’ More specifically, Bangladesh has made extraordinary progress in increasing the net enrollment rate at the primary level to 98.7 percent, where the figures for girls and boys peaked to 99.4 percent and 97.2 percent for girls and boys respectively. Furthermore, gender equality was observed in both primary and secondary schools, and various efforts have been carried out in order to enhance the quality of primary education in the country. It also introduces the issue of acid attack in the context of Bangladesh by providing different

definitions of the criminal activity. In addition, it states that acid violence is not a problem strictly local to Bangladesh; rather, it is a global phenomenon that takes place from a wide range of developing and developed countries. The author states that the way in which Bangladesh has witnessed a significant reduction of acid throwing in the country and its response to the crime has received a lot of international attention and has been recognized as a success model by the international community. Such successful decline of the violent practice in Bangladesh is a result of the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh)'s education programmes that are implemented across the country. With other countries with acid violence working to replicate Bangladesh's work in reducing the rate of the crime, the case of Bangladesh is deeply explored in order to identify the strategies and the characteristics in its response.

Chapter 2 reviews previous literature that links the issue of domestic violence with the field of international development and education. This section is included in order to strengthen the relevance between acid throwing and international educational development, as it may not appear as transparent. The reasons domestic violence is considered as an international concern is also reviewed in order to enhance the argument that acid violence is a pertinent issue of international development. Then, domestic violence in the context of Bangladesh is reviewed, followed by the critical issues of acid

attack in the country. The fourth section of Chapter 2 discusses the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh from the available literature and introduces Paulo Freire's core concepts that the author has deemed to be embedded in the education initiatives of ASF Bangladesh.

The findings from the author's field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh are narrated in Chapter 3. The author was able to interview four different groups, in which the first two groups were acid survivors who currently work as staff members of ASF Bangladesh HQ today. The third group consisted of staff members from the Programme Unit, which designs and implements various awareness-raising activities across the countries. Finally, the fourth group was the Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh, whom supplied an extensive overview of the organization and its role in combating acid attack in the country.

Chapter 4 explores the various Freirean frameworks that are embodied in the activities of ASF Bangladesh. It also notes that although the terminology 'education programmes' are used in the reviewed literature on ASF Bangladesh, the initiatives carried out by the agency do not reflect the system of the formal education. The participants from the author's field trip to the HQ of ASF Bangladesh used the terminology 'awareness-raising initiatives' in order to refer to the 'education programmes' that were described in the available literature. The chapter is divided into two sections

and studies the Freirean concepts that are incorporated in programmes that are geared for both acid survivors and the remaining population – the non-victims and the general public. The author further takes note of the limitations of applying the concepts of Paulo Freire on the awareness-raising activities of ASF Bangladesh.

The following section will proceed to an academic discussion on the author's research by including limitations of the research and potential direction that the research could have taken and discourse that could be included to enhance the study. Suggestions for future research are also discussed.

5.2. Implications of Paulo Freire's Core Concepts in the Acid Survivors Foundation's Education Programmes

This study consists of two main components: the discussion on the educational initiatives of ASF Bangladesh and the exploration of the Freirean frameworks that were embedded in its programmes. The issue of acid attack can be interpreted in accordance to a diverse range of disciplines, from public health and gender to human rights. For this research, the author has decided to look at acid throwing as a case of gender-based violence, focusing on education among the numerous crosscutting issues mentioned

above. The rationale for choosing education among other important cross-cutting components of acid attack is that educational initiatives or the awareness—raising programmes of ASF Bangladesh were accredited for the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of acid survivors as well as the remarkable reduction of the crime rate by raising awareness of the general public on the criminal activity in the literature that was reviewed. Furthermore, their activities for both acid survivors and the general public and the non-victims that are described in the contents of the programme and the documents of ASF Bangladesh can be interpreted with the frameworks of Paulo Freire. The author's field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh confirmed the embodiment of Paulo Freire's key concepts in the activities that are carried out by ASF Bangladesh, both for acid survivors and the remaining population, such as conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue. Therefore, because of the adoption of the Freirean frameworks in such initiatives, the work of ASF Bangladesh is considered to be successful and to be a crucial aspect in contributing to the reduction of the prevalence rate of acid attack in the country.

However, there are several limitations to this study. The author's research looks at the issue of acid throwing, a global phenomenon, in a specific country, Bangladesh. Therefore, not all acid survivors across the world will experience the same effects of the educational activities that are

carried out by ASF Bangladesh. In other words, it is difficult to say whether the effects of the educational initiatives of ASF Bangladesh can be applied and generalized across the world. This is an important point to take into consideration in order to enhance the research, as many countries are turning to Bangladesh for advice and assistance in combating acid attack in their own countries as mentioned in the beginning of the study. Another suggestion for improvement is to incorporate the gender framework in addition to the Freirean concepts, as acid attack is an issue of gender-based violence. Although this study simply focused on Paulo Freire's representative perspective as the aim was to explore the educational activities of ASF Bangladesh, bringing a gender perspective to the discussion table and establishing a linkage with the applied Freirean frameworks will solidify the research.

Bangladesh is a country that has consistently struggled, and still continues to struggle from a wide number of challenges. Although gender inequality remains as a pressing issue of the country, its response to acid attack, a serious criminal offense against the underprivileged, oppressed population, is recognized at the international level as a success story. The educational, awareness-raising initiatives of ASF Bangladesh – more specifically, its Freirean case – have been proven to play a key role in fighting the crime, and thus should be considered as a model approach for

other countries suffering from the stubborn survival of the criminal activity. In other words, its education programmes should be interpreted and disseminated to other countries that wish to completely combat acid throwing. Those countries should deliver education programmes that adequately reflect the key Freirean perspectives in their own implementation of strategies at the national context in order to de-oppress to the level of liberation.

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국문초록

프레이리 시각으로 본 염산테러생존자재단(ASF)의 교육 프로그램 논의:
방글라데시 사례

수많은 개발도상국가들은 여전히 국가 발전을 저해하는 여러가지 장애물을 겪고있다. 지속되는 성 불평등과 여성에 대한 폭력은 한 국가의 발전을 방해하는 가장 큰 장애물로 간주된다. 이 논문은 국제적인 현상으로 인식되어온 여성에 대한 폭력 문제인 염산테러를 방글라데시라는 한 국가의 케이스로 관찰한다. 방글라데시는 수많은 정치적, 사회적, 경제적 문제를 안고 있는 어린 국가이지만 몇가지 새천년 개발 목표 (Millennium Development Goals)를 종결연도인 2015 년 이전에 달성한 점으로 국제사회로부터 인정을 받고 있다.

그러나 이런 성취에도 불구하고 방글라데시는 여전히 빈곤 졸업, 여성 폭력 퇴치 등 여러가지 어려움에 직면해있다. 하지만 흥미롭게도, 한 여성 폭력에 대한 방글라데시의 대응이 똑같은 문제를 겪고 있는 다른 국가들에게 롤모델과 성공 사례로 알려져있다. 염산테러 (acid attack)로 알려진 이 범죄 활동은 주로 여성에 대한 폭력이지만 일반적으로 소외 계층과 억압된 사회에 많이 일어나는 폭력이다. 염산테러는 우간다, 캄보디아, 라오스 등의 개발도상국은 물론 영국, 일본, 호주등의 선진국을 포함해 전 세계에서 일어날 수 있는 현상이다. 염산테러가 일어나는 국가들은 이 범죄의 발생률 감소를 위해 염산테러생존자재단 방글라데시 (ASF Bangladesh)에서 수행하는 활동과 작업을 똑같이 실행하려 하고 있다. 다양한 경제적, 정치적, 사회적 문제로 인해 아직 원조가 절실히 필요한 개발도상국가인 방글라데시가 이렇게 국제적 관심을 받는다는 것 자체가 매우 의미있는 일이라고 볼 수 있다.

ASF Bangladesh 는 염산테러의 효과적인 발생률이 Bio-Psychosocial 모델 덕분이라고 말한다. 이 모델은 염산테러의 피해자들은 물론 비 피해자와 일반 대중을 위한 교육 활동과 인식 제고 활동을 모두 포함하고 있다. 이 논문의 목적은 염산테러 발생률 저하에 큰 영향을 미치는 ASF Bangladesh 의 교육 활동의 주요 특성을 분석하는 것이다. 관련 문헌 조사와 ASF Bangladesh 본사 방문을 통한 인터뷰 등에서 파울루 프레이리의 대표적 이론 프레임워크를 탐구 및 확인할 수 있었다. 프레이리의 ‘의식화 (conscientization),’ ‘문제제기 교육 (problem-posing education)’ 및 ‘대화 (dialogue)’가 피해자들은 물론 비피해자들을 대상으로 한 ASF Bangladesh 의 교육 및 인식 제고 활동에 적절하게 반영되어 있음을 ASF Bangladesh 와의 인터뷰를 통해 확인할 수 있었다. 이렇게 개발도상국가의 교육 프로그램이 다른 나라에게로 전해질 수 있고, 방글라데시의 경우 프레이리의 케이스가 되는 것이다.

ASF Bangladesh 의 활동은 세계적으로는 물론 염산테러를 퇴치하고 싶은 국가들로부터 성공 사례로 인정받고 있다. 염산테러 생존자들의 재활과 사회 복귀에 대한 ASF Bangladesh 의 접근 방식은 물론 비피해자와 일반 대중의 인식 제고 활동은 의식화, 문제제기 교육, 대화 등 프레이리의 이론적 시각을 반영함에 따라 효과적인 것으로 간주된다. 그러므로 이러한 국가들 또한 프레이리의 시각이 반영된 교육 프로그램을 이행함으로써 방글라데시와 유사한 염산테러 발생률 감소에 기여할 수 있을 것이다.

주요어: 염산테러, 염산테러생존자재단 방글라데시 (Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh) 의 교육 프로그램, 파울루 프레이리 교육 시각

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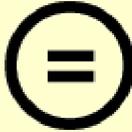
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교육학석사학위논문

**Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF)'s
Education Programmes in the Freirean
Perspective:
The Case of Bangladesh**

프레이리 시각으로 본 염산테러생존자재단 (ASF)의 교육
프로그램 논의:
방글라데시 사례

2016년 2월

서울대학교 대학원
협동과정 글로벌교육협력전공
진수림

**Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF)'s
Education Programmes in the Freirean
Perspective:
The Case of Bangladesh**

지도교수 유 성 상
이 논문을 교육학석사학위논문으로 제출함

2016년 2월

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진수립의 석사학위논문을 인준함

2016년 2월

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ABSTRACT

**Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF)'s
Education Programmes in the Freirean Perspective:
The Case of Bangladesh**

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Many developing countries in the world struggle from a diverse range of challenges that persist and hinder national development in spite of various developmental efforts that are being implemented. Persisting gender inequality and violence against women are considered to be one of the biggest obstacles that hamper the progress of development in developing countries. This study looks at a particular issue of gender-based violence, acid attack, which has been recognized as an international phenomenon, in the context of a specific country, the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Although Bangladesh is a young country struggling with countless difficulties, it had been recognized as having already achieved and was on

track to meet many targets of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) before the promised deadline of 2015.

However, in spite of various measures, Bangladesh still faces difficulty in graduating from poverty and completely combating violence against women. Interestingly though, in the midst of such struggle, there is one specific case in which Bangladesh's response is considered as a role model and a success story by other countries that face the same issue. Known as acid attack, acid violence or acid throwing, this criminal activity is a vicious form of violence exercised primarily against women, but against the underprivileged, oppressed population in general. Acid attack takes place across the world from developing countries to developed countries. In fact, these countries have attempted to replicate the exact work that are carried out by the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh), the principle organization with the objective to fully eradicate acid attack in the country, in order to witness the same significant decline of the crime in their own countries as well. As a country that is still a recipient of aid with numerous problems, such phenomenon is an interesting case that is worth examining in greater detail.

ASF Bangladesh gives credit for its successful reduction of acid throwing in the country to its Bio-Psycho-Social approach, including the

educational, awareness-raising initiatives that are designed for both acid survivors and the remaining population – non-victims and the general public. The purpose of this study is to explore the key characteristics of the educational activities of ASF Bangladesh, which is considered to be an integral aspect of the organization’s initiatives in eradicating acid attack. Paulo Freire’s theoretical frameworks are explored and confirmed through the examination of the pertinent literature on ASF Bangladesh and its work, as well as the interviews from the author’s field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh. Paulo Freire’s core concepts of conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue have been identified to be embedded in the activities of ASF Bangladesh that are geared towards both the acid survivors and the general public.

Overall, the work of ASF Bangladesh is recognized as a success story by many countries that also wish to join the movement in completely eradicating acid attack. The approach of ASF Bangladesh in rehabilitating and reintegrating acid survivors as well as raising awareness among the general population of Bangladesh are deemed to be effective with its adoption of Paulo Freire’s perspectives such as conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue. Education programmes in developing countries can be interpreted and disseminated to other countries; in the case

of ASF Bangladesh, it will be to show the Freirean case. Therefore, countries that struggle from the persistent perpetuation of acid violence should also implement appropriate measures, with the above-mentioned core Freirean concepts amply incorporated, in order to observe similar results from those of ASF Bangladesh – or de-oppression to the level of liberation through the delivery of their education programmes – and contribute to the social development at the national context in the long-term.

Keywords: Acid Violence, Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh Education Programmes, Freirean Frameworks

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and Statement of the Problem

Numerous efforts in different fields have taken place in order to contribute to the development of the Third World. With the official establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that have replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in September 2015, the international community has reaffirmed its dedication to continue collaborating and working together towards the achievement of the globally concurred objectives. Since the establishment of the MDGs in 2000, there has been dramatic progress in the education sector pertaining to MDG 2, achieving universal primary education (UNDP, 2015). The total enrolment rate in developing areas reached 91 percent in 2015 and the number of children out of school has shown a decline by almost half (UNDP, 2015). Significant increase in literacy rate and the number of girls enrolled in school are also indicators that prove the successful achievement of MDG 2 (UNDP, 2015).

However, challenges still continue to exist in developing regions that result from poverty, armed conflicts and other emergencies (UNDP, 2015). Disparities – between urban and rural regions as well as between low-

income and middle-income households – still remain high and barriers to education persist in spite of the efforts to eliminate them, leaving the marginalized secluded (UNDP, 2015). Exercising violence against the marginalized, especially girls, is one effective way to discourage them from being educated.

It is evident that the focus was mainly on the formal education system, working to increase the enrolment rates in developing regions. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all as one of its 17 goals that officially replaced the MDGs. In addition to ensuring the completion of free primary and secondary schooling for all boys and girls by 2030, this goal includes equal access to affordable vocational training and eradicating gender and wealth inequalities (UNDP, 2015). Here, the focus has expanded to non-formal education as well, including educational activities outside the established formal system.

There are numerous forms of non-formal education for the marginalized that are taking place across the world today. This study looks at the education initiatives of the Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF) in Bangladesh, the principle agency that aims to not only completely eradicate acid attack but also the successfully reintegrate acid survivors through its educational activities. Other countries that struggle with the persistence of

acid violence consider ASF Bangladesh as a role model and attempt to replicate its work of using education as a tool in order to witness the same decline of the crime that Bangladesh was able to. The core concepts of Paulo Freire were present in the educational initiatives carried out by ASF Bangladesh.

1.1.1. Overview of Bangladesh

The People's Republic of Bangladesh is one of the countries that have made significant progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at the national level by the promised deadline of 2015 (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b; UNDP Bangladesh, 2014b). According to the *Millennium Development Goals: Bangladesh Progress Report 2013* (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b)¹ and UNDP Bangladesh (2014b)'s Annual Progress Report 2013|2014, Bangladesh met and remained on track to meet several targets of the eight MDGs, such as but certainly not restricted to the reduction of poverty gap ratio, increase in primary school enrollment rate, achievement of gender parity at both primary and secondary education as

¹ The *Millennium Development Goals: Bangladesh Progress Report 2013* is the seventh report monitoring the progress of MDGs in Bangladesh since 2005. Released on September 7, 2014, the report highlights where Bangladesh stands in terms of meeting the eight MDGs by the target year of 2015.

well as reduction of under-five mortality rate (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b; UNDP Bangladesh, 2014a). Among these attainments, some of its principle positive developmental works that deserve attention belong to MDG 2 and MDG 3, ‘achieve universal primary education (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a)’ and ‘promote gender equality and empower women (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013c)’ respectively. Bangladesh has made remarkable strides towards full enrollment in its primary education programme (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a; UNDP Bangladesh, 2013b). As a result of continuous efforts to increase equal access to education in the country, the net enrollment rate has reached 98.7 percent – 99.4 percent for girls and 97.2 percent for boys – in addition to the decrease in dropout rates and improvement in the completion cycle (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a). Furthermore, gender equality has been achieved in both primary and secondary levels, and a number of quality enhancement measures have been implemented in primary education (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013a). However, Bangladesh still faces the challenge of reaching the minority population, such as physically and/or mentally challenged children, who continue to remain excluded from the public schooling system. In terms of MDG 3 – promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment – there has been steady and consistent improvement in the social and the political empowerment scenario of women in Bangladesh (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013c). Such progress comes from the

increased commitment by the Government of Bangladesh to ensure gender equality and empowerment of women across the country. However, gender-based violence continues to take place affecting the lives of women and young girls in spite of promising efforts taken by both national and international actors to eradicate it (UNDP Bangladesh, 2013c).

With Myanmar and India as its neighbors, Bangladesh is the ninth most populous nation in the world housing a large population of almost 170 million people², where the capital city of Dhaka alone holds more than 15 million people (Bangladesh, 2014). Yet the size of the country is slightly smaller than the state of Iowa, making Bangladesh one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in the late 1971 and has continuously suffered from numerous economic, political, social and environmental challenges, such as but not limited to poverty, political instability, slow and weak implementation of economic reforms, corruption, climate change and poor infrastructure (Bangladesh, 2014).

In spite of such challenges, Bangladesh's economy has grown around 6 percent per year since 1996 (Bangladesh, 2014). However, despite such rapid economic growth, almost 32 percent³ of the Bangladeshi

² Estimated by the Central Intelligence Agency in July 2014.

³ Estimated by the Central Intelligence Agency in 2010.

population still lives below the poverty line of living less than \$1.25 per day (Bangladesh, 2014). Moreover, Bangladesh continues to struggle to meet the targets of MDG 6, 7 and 8 – combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development – especially in areas such as climate change, sanitation, nutrition and certain aspects of gender equality and hunger (UNDP Bangladesh 2014a). However, there is a case in which Bangladesh’s response to a certain form of gender-based crime has been recognized as a successful model by countries such as Uganda, Cambodia and Pakistan; in fact, these countries are working to replicate Bangladesh’s exact works in order to witness the same remarkable reduction of the crime that Bangladesh did. This form of violence is known as acid attack, which is one of the most dangerous and vicious examples of gender-based violence that takes place in Bangladesh as well as across the globe. This paper attempts to supply an overview of acid attack in Bangladesh and evaluate in the perspective of Paulo Freire the education programmes that are designed and executed by Acid Survivors Foundation (ASF), a non-governmental organization (NGO) that has been fighting for the complete eradication of acid attack in Bangladesh since 1999.

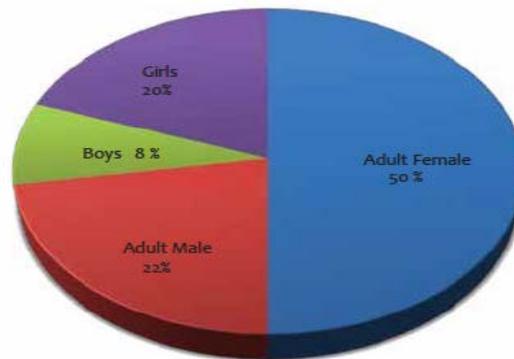
1.1.2. Acid Attack in Bangladesh

Commonly referred to as acid violence or acid throwing, acid attack⁴ lacks a universally established definition; however, many different definitions of acid attack capture the same essence. Acid violence, where 80 percent of the victims are women (ASTI, 2012) could be defined as “an attack against an individual in which sulfuric, hydrochloric, or nitric acid is employed as a weapon to cause severe burns (Wesson, 2002, p.96).” According to Acid Survivors Trust International (ASTI), a registered charity based in England and Wales in which its sole objective is to completely eradicate acid throwing across the world, acid violence is “a form of premeditated violence, usually against women, involving throwing corrosive acid at the face of the victim (ASTI, 2008, p.4).” ASF in Bangladesh describes acid throwing as “a particularly vicious and damaging form of violence in Bangladesh where acid is thrown in people’s faces (ASF, 2015a). In the case of Bangladesh, acid attack typically takes place in rural regions over urban areas and the perpetrators are usually those who know the victims well, such as the victim’s husband, an immediate family member or a neighbor (ASF, 2012). The breakdown of the victims and the perpetrators

⁴ Throughout this paper, the author uses the terms ‘acid attack,’ ‘acid violence’ and ‘acid throwing’ interchangeably.

as well as the rural-urban variation of the attack in Bangladesh are depicted in the figures below:

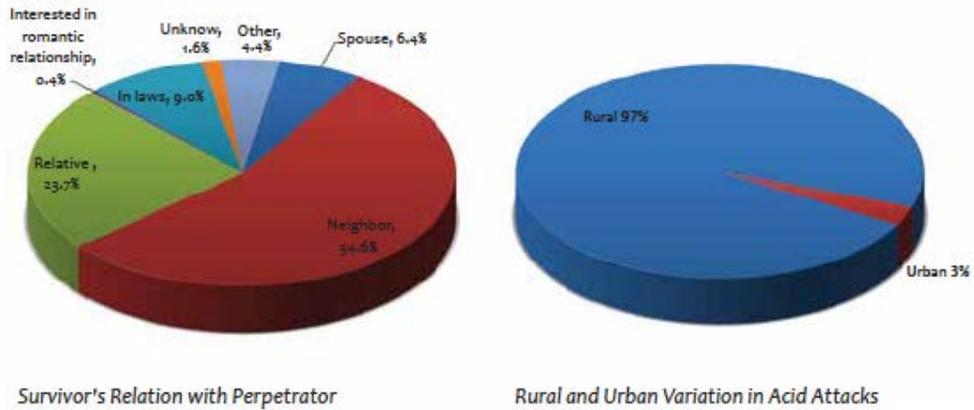
Figure 1. Profile of Acid Victims in Bangladesh



Source: ASF Annual Report, 2012

The first documented acid attack in Bangladesh goes back to 1967 (UNFPA, 2009), while Begum (2004) argues that it stems back to 1961. Either way, both periods were before Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in 1971. More details on the perpetrators and push factors of acid attack will be supplied in Chapter 2.

Figure 2. Profile of Perpetrators and Rural-Urban Variation of Acid Attack in Bangladesh



Source: ASF Annual Report, 2012

1.2. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

As stated previously, the purpose of this research is to examine and evaluate the education programmes for acid victims that are designed and implemented by ASF Bangladesh in the perspective of Paulo Freire, an influential figure of the critical pedagogy movement. However, it is important to first understand the reasons for investigating in acid attack as well as the rationale for applying Freire's framework to assess the impacts of the education programmes for the victims of acid violence. In the subsections below, the reasons for choosing acid throwing over other critical

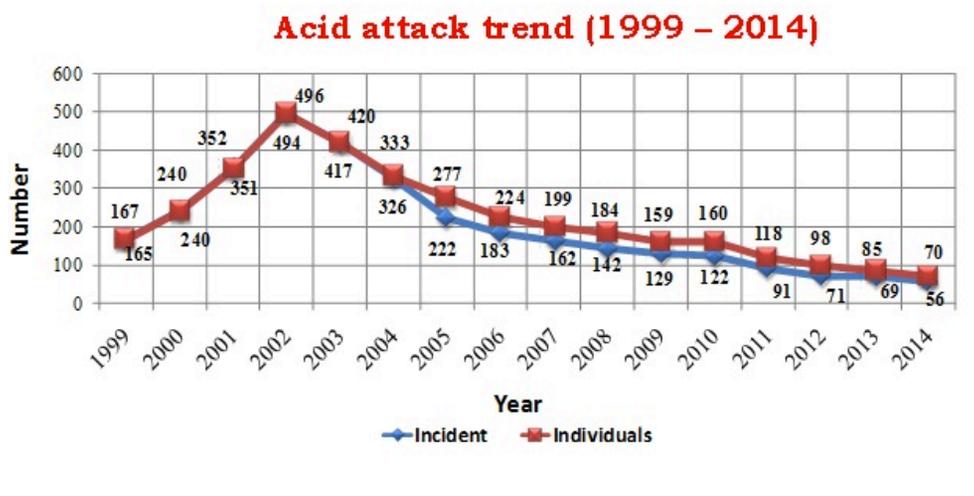
issues that are present in Bangladesh are explained. Furthermore, the author justifies why Freire's framework serves as an appropriate tool to evaluate the impacts of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes.

- *Why acid attack in Bangladesh?*

Acid attack is a worldwide phenomenon that is not restricted to a particular racial group, religion or geographic location (ASTI, 2008). Incidents of acid violence have been reported across the globe, from Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa to the West Indies and the Middle East (ASTI, 2008). Furthermore, anecdotal evidence and improved media coverage suggest the occurrences of acid attack in other regions as well, such as in Laos, China, Japan, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Kenya, Algeria, Mexico, Afghanistan, Iran, Greece, Turkey, Australia and the United Kingdom (ASTI, 2008). In other words, it is not a problem of South Asia (ASTI, 2012) or of Bangladesh alone (Anwary, 2003; Chowdhury, 2007); just in Colombia, there were 150 and a further 100 recorded incidents of acid attack in 2011 and the first seven months of 2012 respectively (ASTI, 2012). Countries with a common set of characteristics – such as poverty, gender inequality and weak judiciary and policing systems – appear to struggle with highest records of acid attack (ASTI, 2012). Evidently, acid

throwing is not a local phenomenon that is native to a certain country or culture (ASTI, 2012), but a global challenge that needs to be tackled and eventually eradicated both at the national and international level (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). Historically, Bangladesh was known for its common practice of acid violence – overwhelmingly against women and children – and had struggled with an alarmingly high rate of acid attack within the country (ASTI, 2008). In fact, Bangladesh had once marked the highest reported incidences of acid throwing in the world (ASF, 2012), constituting nine percent of total burn injuries in the country (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). Figure 3 numerically expresses the recorded episodes and the victims of acid violence in Bangladesh from 1999 to 2014:

Figure 3. Prevalence of Acid Throwing in Bangladesh (1999 –2014)



▪ 1999 – 2014, 3582 persons were acid attacked from 3240 incident.

Source: <http://www.acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/2>

As illustrated above, there has been a consistent and significant reduction of acid violence in Bangladesh (ASF, 2012; ASTI, 2012). ASTI (2008) recognizes ASF Bangladesh as an inspiration and an excellent role model for successfully reducing the episodes of acid attack and treating the survivors, as well as implementing national decrees and changing societal attitudes. In fact, Bangladesh is one of the only countries that have adopted specific laws in order to criminalize acid throwing as well as to curtail the easy access and availability of acid at the national level (Kalantry &

Kestenbaum, 2011). Countries that have also been wrestling with the prevalence of acid throwing, such as Cambodia, India and Pakistan, are working to model after ASF Bangladesh's measures and approaches in order to replicate the same significant decline of acid violence that Bangladesh was able to witness (ASF, 2013). According to ASTI (2012), Bangladesh appears to be progressing towards the absolute destruction of "this horrific form of gender-based violence (p.3)." Interestingly, Bangladesh is still categorized as a developing country that is in desperate need of aid in order to combat its existing issues and sustain the progress in national development. But Bangladesh is receiving international attention for good practices and this alone suggests that the issue of acid attack deserves as much attention as other critical concerns that are present in the country. Acid violence should be explored at a deeper level, not only by discussing what the crime entails but also by assessing the various activities and education programmes that are designed for the victims for their successful recovery, rehabilitation and reintegration to society.

- *Why Paulo Freire?*

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire was a Brazilian educator and philosopher well known for his foundational text on the critical pedagogy movement,

Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Freire has greatly inspired educators across the globe with his enormous contribution to education (Stromquist, 2014). Although Freire's focus was more centered on class struggle, he did acknowledge the disadvantage that stemmed from race and gender as well, recognizing the existence of patriarchy and sexism (Stromquist, 2014). Freire's core theoretical frameworks, such as 'Conscientization,' 'Dialogue,' 'Problem-posing education' and 'Culture of silence' are believed to function as an apt analysis tool to conceptually analyze and examine the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh. Furthermore, Freire's concepts of the oppressed and the oppressors as well as his perspective on the marginalized, in addition to his advocacy for constant struggle for liberation and breaking the culture of silence, will help better understand acid violence and ASF Bangladesh's education programmes in a critical standpoint. The spirit is to adopt the perspectives of Freire and examine the process of de-oppression and going to liberation by the pertinent parties involved in the issue of acid attack through the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh, which already appear to contain the above-mentioned concepts of Freire. Therefore, the author believes there is no better tool to interpret the case of acid violence, the rehabilitation process and the empowerment that are all part of ASF Bangladesh's activities.

- *Research questions*

The main research questions for this study are presented below:

1. What are Paulo Freire's key concepts and in what ways are they embedded in ASF Bangladesh's education programmes?
2. What are the key characteristics of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes? Why are Freire's frameworks appropriate to adopt in the examination of the education initiatives of ASF Bangladesh?
3. What is the role of education in combating acid attack in Bangladesh? What are the results or outcomes of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes on the victims, potential perpetrators and the general public?

1.3. Significance of the Study

This study is to serve as a significant contribution to the academic discussion on education for the marginalized. Through the lenses of Freire's key theoretical themes and core concepts, this research attempts to analyze the impacts of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes for acid victims – the oppressed – who are considered to be one of the most marginalized groups in Bangladesh due to their permanent scars and disfigurement from the attack, as well as for being women. This study also aims to look at the

education programmes geared towards potential perpetrators – the oppressors – of acid attack. It has been proven by the declining trend of acid attack incidents that the activities of ASF Bangladesh are extremely effective. In other words, the initiatives of the organization are what seem to be playing a key role in the reducing rate of acid attack, thus the work of ASF Bangladesh are being replicated by other countries facing similar struggle as noted previously. This is an interesting phenomenon, as Bangladesh is still facing numerous social, political and economic challenges that it needs to overcome but it is being internationally recognized for their successful work in combating acid attack. From the author's insider and outsider perspective as a one-time resident in Bangladesh and a current research student in Korea, this fact alone – learning from a developing country – certainly deserves international attention.

However, there is no previous academic study that has been carried out that meticulously evaluates the effects of the education programmes for either the acid victims or potential perpetrators in ASF Bangladesh; in fact, most academic literature focus on the simple narration of the issues of acid violence, describing the motivations and consequences of the crime. In other words, despite being recognized as an integral procedure to fight acid attack, detailed information on the educational activities that are intended to have

lasting effects not only on the acid victims but also on potential perpetrators and the general public are missing in the international discourse on the elimination of acid violence. Therefore, this research is expected to take a deeper look at the actual components of educational programmes of ASF Bangladesh on both acid victims, potential perpetrators and the public. In addition, it is expected to introduce a new outlook to the currently ongoing discussion on the importance of non-formal education, especially for the marginalized, in the field of development and practice. It will also contribute to the learning and the understanding of the impacts of such programmes through the voices and in the perspectives of the acid victims and those who participated in ASF Bangladesh's educational activities. There is a question of generalizability but acid attack occurs for similar reasons across the globe and the physical, psychological, emotional trauma can be considered as uniform.

1.4. Methodology

For this research, the author attempts to evaluate in the Freirean perspective the education programmes for acid victims that are designed and executed by ASF Bangladesh, the principle NGO that fights for a Bangladesh free of acid violence. This research will be a qualitative study,

in which enhances the collected data and narrates the critical features of the case more clearly (Ragin, 1994). Ragin (1994) asserts that through qualitative research, one can draw hidden messages, various interpretations, non-obvious aspects and unheard voices. Furthermore, qualitative studies often exemplify one or more key theoretical procedures (Ragin, 1994), in which seems fitting for the purpose of this thesis.

In order to do so, the author has first collected and conducted literature review of various key documents to gain a better understanding of the nature of acid violence. Then, the author has reviewed Freire's theoretical themes in order to apply them as an analysis tool to conceptually evaluate ASF Bangladesh's education programmes. An evaluation framework developed by the author using Freire's core concepts will be used in order to analyze the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh. The author has visited the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh throughout her two-week stay in the capital city of Dhaka in June. During the visit, the Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh, the representatives of the Programme Unit of ASF Bangladesh and former victims or current survivors of acid attack were interviewed during the field visit. All interviews were coordinated and arranged by the head of Monitoring and Evaluation of ASF Bangladesh, and some staff members volunteered to

provide in-person interpretation during the interview with survivors of acid attack. The initial plan was also to conduct nonparticipant observation of the raising-awareness activities with the permission of ASF Bangladesh as well as to interview men and the public that attended any form of education carried out by ASF Bangladesh; unfortunately, it could not take place due to time constraint and difficulty in securing transportation. The author has also requested for and received materials such as posters, branded materials, publications and annual reports of ASF Bangladesh that have been used in awareness-raising activities in order to carry out documentary research. As noted above, this study will incorporate qualitative methodologies, as personal effects of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes are not suitable for quantification.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will first examine pertinent literature on the relationship between domestic violence, education and development. It will also discuss why the issue of domestic violence is, in reality, a problem of the international community that deserves global attention and cooperation. Then, it will attempt to review the link between the education programmes for the prevention of domestic violence, the perspectives of Paulo Freire and educational development.

The author will then review the available literature on acid attack in Bangladesh. However, due to the scarcity of accessible sources that focus exclusively on acid attack, the author has decided to apply an alternative approach and expand the focus to domestic violence against women in Bangladesh. Such method was deemed appropriate, as acid throwing is one of the examples of violence against women that takes place in Bangladesh, primarily carried out by husbands, relatives or individuals that the victims have some form of relationship with. By doing so, the author hopes to draw implications on the discussion points of domestic violence against women that is being discoursed in the academia. This section looks at the risk factors of domestic violence against women in Bangladesh and studies the help-seeking behavior of abused women in the country. Then, the following

sections discuss the critical issues of acid throwing in Bangladesh and the details of ASF Bangladesh's education programmes that are provided for acid victims. Then, Paulo Freire's theoretical themes and core concepts from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as well as *The Politics of Education* are explored in relevance to acid violence in Bangladesh.

2.1. Relevance between Domestic Violence, Education and Development

2.1.1. The Role of Education on Development

The following sections will examine the past studies on the role non-formal education in development. Both formal and non-formal education and their relationship with development will be reviewed.

The role of formal education on development

The role of education in development has been proven to be important in past research. Ozturk (2001) argued that education served as a foundation for development, especially the economic development of a developing country. It is impossible for any country to attain economic development without investing in human capital through basic education, training, aptitude building and research (Ozturk, 2001). Education, skills

and knowledge have been identified as critical components of a nation's productivity during the twentieth century, leading to the expanded access to basic education (Ozturk, 2001). In addition, according to Ozturk (2001: p.39), educating girls and women is the most effective investment for a developing country, contributing to the promotion of not only the economic development but also the productivity of a nation. Therefore, investing in education is the pathway to lift the poor from poverty, as it boosts economic efficiency, overall productivity and social consistency of the workforce (Ozturk, 2001).

The role of non-formal education in development

Non-formal education became a topic of discussion for the international community in the late 1960s and the early 1970s (Smith, 2001). Non-formal education is defined as “an addition, alternative and/or complement to formal education within the process of the lifelong learning of individuals (Yasunaga, 2014: p.7).” Non-formal education contains the following four principle characteristics: relevance to the needs of disadvantaged groups, concern with specific categories of person, a focus on clearly defined purposes and flexibility in organization and methods (Smith, 2001: p.2).

According to Smith (2001), non-socialist countries started to pay attention to the idea of launching mass non-formal education by the mid 1970s, when it became clear that economic and social development could only take place with changes in people's thinking. Donor organizations working in the South began to realize that "development primarily depended on the people themselves and that much more stress should be placed on improving their quality of life (Smith, 2001: p.8)." Such realization served as a driving force in the movement for non-formal education, especially for the neglected and the marginalized such as the urban and rural poor (Smith, 2001). Vermaak (1985) classified the non-formal education programmes as the following (p.414):

- Striving to improve the quality of life;
- Supporting development at local or national level;
- Offering manpower training opportunities to the unskilled;
- Offering upgrading, retraining or refresher opportunities for those already trained;
- Closely linked to formal education, for instance these programmes enabling the learners to comply with the requirements of the formal school.

The distinctive characteristics of formal and non-formal education is summarized in the table below:

Table 1. Ideal-type models of normal and non-formal education

	Formal	Non-formal
Purposes	Long-term & general; Credential-based	Short-term & specific; Non-credential-based
Timing	Long cycle/preparatory/full-time	Short cycle/recurrent/part-time
Content	Standardized/input/centred-academic	Individualized/output/centred-practical
Delivery system	Institution-based, isolated from environment; Rigidly structured, teacher-centered and resource intensive	Environment-based, community related; Flexible, learner-centered and resource saving
Control	External/hierarchical	Self-governing/democratic

Source: Table reorganized by the author from <http://infed.org/mobi/what-is-non-formal-education/>

2.1.2. Domestic Violence as an International Concern

Domestic violence is often considered as an issue of various disciplines, such as but not limited to social, gender and public health. However, one might not be able to recognize its relevance to development

and education. Therefore, this section reviews the past literature that recognizes domestic violence as a problem of the international community.

Agnihotri, Agnihotri, Jeebun and Purwar (2006, p.30) define domestic violence as “a pattern of assault and corrective behavior including physical, sexual and psychological attacks, by a person against his/her own intimate partner.” They also note that women were more frequently the victims of domestic violence than men and that domestic violence was one of the most commonly practiced forms of torture in women (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Agnihotri et al. (2006) further argue that domestic violence was a major international social and public health problem in both developed and developing countries, undermining the foundation for sustainable human development. They support their argument by presenting the global scenario of domestic violence, also termed intimate partner violence (IPV), in different parts of the world. For example, women are subject to violence throughout their “life cycle,” as fetuses may be aborted once the sex is identified as female or female infants may be killed once they are born (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Such practices of female infanticide and sex selective abortions have existed in Asia and North Africa (Agnihotri et al., 2006). In addition, women – whether they are married or not – constantly face the risk of experiencing some types of abuse wherever they are (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Domestic violence against women takes place in

developed regions as well where women have equal rights and status, such as the United States and Canada in North America and the United Kingdom in Europe (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Therefore, domestic violence is definitely not just a domestic concern, but an international problem where more than 160 countries have recognized the need to respond globally and have ratified the UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (Agnihotri et al., 2006).

- *Relationship between domestic violence and education*

Agnihotri et al. (2006) argue that domestic violence not only has numerous effects on the victims, but also challenges sustainable human development by violating the human rights of the victims. However, domestic violence could be prevented through the implementation of projects that deal with preventative strategies (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Primary prevention projects aim to avoid a violent activity from happening, while secondary projects are applied in order to avoid its repetition in the event that a violent act has already been carried out (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Tertiary prevention is geared towards the avoidance of key damages, attempting to improve the quality of life of the victims (Agnihotri et al., 2006). Agnihotri et al. (2006) further notes various projects that focus on

advocacy and awareness-building, capacity-building, training, action research, literacy as well as prevention/deterrence activities in order to eradicate domestic violence, especially against women in developing countries.

Kaur and Garg (2008) also note the need for primary prevention programs that respond to gender inequality and combat the root causes of domestic violence. More specifically, it is important to raise awareness through the production and dissemination of apt materials that emphasize positive images of women in the society as well as increasing male responsibility to put an end to domestic violence (Kaur & Garg, 2008). Furthermore, these programs must address the needs of the victims, including self-efficiency and livelihood skills post attack (Kaur & Garg, 2008). In order to ensure the effectiveness of these programs, Kaur and Garg (2008) note the dire need to involve the survivors of domestic violence in their planning process and their implementation by acting as change agents who have successfully changed their lives. The most important step in eliminating domestic violence is a change in mindsets, as the ratification of a law is simply not enough in preventing the occurrence of violent activities (Kaur & Garg, 2008). Therefore, Kaur and Garg (2008) underscore the need to address and respond to domestic violence with an integrated approach, applying preventative measures to tackling the issue.

- *Educational Development, Paulo Freire and Education Programmes of ASF Bangladesh*

It is clear from the review of literatures in the previous sections that education and awareness-building programs play a pivotal role in combating domestic violence. The reviewed literature emphasize the importance of implementing preventative programs that focus on awareness-raising and addressing the root causes of domestic violence. More specifically, programs that not only focus on establishing self-efficacy and promoting livelihood skills of the victims but also highlight the increasing role of the male population in ending domestic violence are deemed as critical, necessary responses. Kaur and Garg (2008) emphasize an effective response to violence as the following:

An effective response to violence must be multi-sectoral; addressing the immediate practical needs of women experiencing abuse; providing long-term follow up and assistance; and focusing on changing those cultural norms, attitudes and legal provisions that promote the acceptance of and even encourage violence against women, and undermine women's

enjoyment of their full human rights and freedoms (Kaur & Garg, 2008: p. 4).

These characteristics appear to be in line with Paulo Freire's core concepts, such as but not limited to the oppressor-oppressed relationship – the victims and the perpetrators of domestic violence – and conscientization – helping relevant parties of a violent activity realize the problems and the potential actions they can take in order fight against domestic violence. Interestingly, the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh contain the above multi-sectoral characteristics that Kaur and Garg (2008) note as a successful response to violence. The upcoming sections of this chapter will look at the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh in detail.

2.2. Domestic Violence against Women in Bangladesh

2.2.1. Risk Factors of Domestic Violence against Women

Bates, Schuler, Islam and Islam (2004) identified several socioeconomic factors that are associated with domestic violence in rural Bangladesh from both their qualitative and quantitative findings. According to their data, the factors of domestic violence against women in rural

Bangladesh were revealed to be the practice of dowry and women's financial influence⁵ to the family (Bates et al., 2004). Physical violence still took place regardless of the capability of paying dowry to the groom's family by the bride's family (Bates et al., 2004). In addition, women who worked and brought monetary income to the household experienced physical violence from their husbands, who were afraid of their authority being threatened by the financial contribution from their wives. The participants of the study reported their belief that higher education, payment of dowry and higher monetary income would decrease the risk of domestic violence. However, both qualitative and quantitative findings indicated education to be the only factor that would actually contribute to the reduction of physical violence. Hence, Bates et al. (2004) argued that accessible, high quality education for rural women was needed in order to reduce the risk of domestic violence. Parveen (2007), who studied farmwomen in rural Bangladesh in order to identify the most common forms of violence that took place in the country, also called for the need to use

⁵ It is noteworthy that Hadi (2005)'s findings, which revealed a negative association between marital assault and women's participation in economic activities such as microcredit programs, do not align with the results from Bates et al. (2004)'s study discussed above. However, Hadi (2005) does point out that the participation of credit programs alone cannot be a significant determinant to reduce the likelihood of violence against women in Bangladesh.

education as one of the key implement strategies to empower rural women in Bangladesh.

Naved and Persson (2005) also studied the factors that led to domestic violence against women, but in both urban and rural regions of Bangladesh. Based on their findings, they concluded that the most influential determinant of spousal assault was the abuse history of the husband's mother by his father (Naved & Persson, 2005). Another significant factor was the husband's education level; in other words, women were less likely to be beaten if the husbands received a college-level education for those who resided in rural areas⁶ (Naved & Persson, 2005). Naved and Persson (2005) argued that it was extremely necessary to provide education for the male population in order to curtail spousal violence in Bangladesh.

Dalal, Rahman and Jansson (2009) observed the risk factors of spousal assault to be the husband's socioeconomic status and low educational status for both husbands and wives. Dalal et al. (2009) described intimate partner violence in Bangladesh as the 'normalization of violence,'

⁶ For the couples from urban districts, women were less likely abused if their husbands received secondary education (Naved & Persson, 2005).

as it appeared to be a culturally accepted phenomenon that was expected to take place as part of one's daily routine. They further argued for the urgent need to come up with interventions that would protect women from such form of assault (Dalal et al., 2009).

2.2.2. Help-Seeking Behavior of Abused Women

Naved, Azim, Bhuiya and Persson (2006) studied the help-seeking behavior of women who were assaulted by their husbands in Bangladesh. Through the in-depth interviews with 28 women with a history of spousal assault and the examination of previously conducted studies on domestic violence that occurred from 2000 to 2004, Naved et al. (2006) discovered that the prevalence rates of wife abuse were high in both rural and urban Bangladesh⁷. Furthermore, their findings indicated that the rate of help-seeking behavior and disclosure of spousal violence by abused women were very low, as the majority of abused women in both urban and rural districts decided not to reveal their experience of physical violence (Naved et al., 2006). However, there was a positive association between the severity of the violence and the likelihood of the disclosure of the incident by assaulted

⁷ The rates of spousal violence in urban and rural Bangladesh were 40 percent and 42 percent respectively (Naved et al., 2006).

women (Naved et al., 2006). This correlation was present among women who completed education beyond 10th grade; in other words, women with higher levels of education were more likely to report their abuse history (Naved et al., 2006). Naved et al. (2006) concluded that in spite of the high prevalence rate of physical abuse in both rural and urban Bangladesh, the majority of assaulted women refrained from seeking help. They also proposed the combination of the two most powerful tools, education and the mass media, in order to stop the occurrence of physical abuse against women in Bangladesh (Naved et al., 2006).

Most of the above literatures resort to education – for both men and women – as an effective strategy to prevent physical violence against women in Bangladesh. The authors argue that education is an important factor in reducing the risk of spousal violence as well as physical assault against women. Yet, there appears to be a lack of detailed discussion that looks at education at a deeper level, in terms of why and how education can contribute to the prevention of physical assault against women in Bangladesh. Therefore, this research attempts to fill that gap by closely examining and evaluating the education programmes that are geared towards educating both the abused and the abusers. ASF Bangladesh's education programmes seem to be an apt case to explore, as they advocate

for a holistic approach to the victim's rehabilitation process and work not only with the victims but also with the public in order to raise awareness of and to reduce the risk of one of the most vicious examples of gender-based crime that is still present in Bangladesh.

2.3. Critical Issues of Acid Attack in Bangladesh

2.3.1. Effects of Acid Attack

It is extremely easy for one to commit acid violence, but tremendously challenging for its victims to cope with the consequences of the crime. As the name of the crime implies, sulfuric⁸, hydrochloric or nitric acid is thrown typically in the face and/or body of the targeted individuals, often to women by men⁹ (Wesson, 2002; Anwary, 2003; Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007). Not only does such act causes blindness and/or hearing

⁸ Sulfuric acid is a dense, oily, highly corrosive liquid (Govindnathan, 2010, p.8).

⁹ Wesson (2002) notes that although acid violence is identified as a gendered violence, there is evidence that suggests the occasional involvement of women in acid throwing as well. Most common example is mothers-in-law helping their sons or male relatives to commit the crime against their daughters-in-law. According to Wesson (2002), 12 of the recorded attacks in 2000 included women among the culprits, where a mother-in-law was sentenced to death together with her son for attacking her daughter-in-law with acid.

loss if the acid is struck in the eyes or the ears (Wesson, 2002; Begum, 2004; Govindnathan, 2010), but also permanently destroys and disfigures the victims' physical appearances (Wesson, 2002; Anwary, 2003; Begum, 2004). Those who get splashed with acid immediately become disoriented as a burning or scorching sensation instigates severe pain that leaves them in complete shock (Govindnathan, 2010). Areas that come in contact with the corrosive substance become numb as the acid continues to eat into the skin and tissue (Wesson, 2002) and impairs the nerve endings (Govindnathan, 2010). This in turn results in a painful recovery process for the victims as the damaged nerves slowly repair (Govindnathan, 2010). The corrosive nature of the acid causes the skin tissue to melt at an extremely rapid rate, typically exposing the bones below the flesh (Wesson, 2002; Chowdhury, 2007) or even dissolving the bones itself (Chowdhury, 2007). Permanent and extensive scars form on the wounded areas, leaving the victims visibly scarred, completely disfigured and brutally disabled (Wesson, 2002; Wahed & Bhuya, 2007). Those who are splashed with acid are required to undergo expensive, specialized medical treatment and a number of complicated reconstructive surgeries for an extensive amount of time (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014).

There are more than physical consequences of being attacked with acid. Even after physical recovery, survivors experience difficulty with reintegration back to school, workplace or society due to their evidently scarred features (Anwary, 2003; Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). Due to the stigma attached to the physical disfigurement, unmarried victims are no longer eligible to enter the marriage market and their value as women is greatly reduced (Anwary, 2003; Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014). In other words, the victims are left physically disfigured, mentally traumatized, socially excluded and economically vulnerable, in desperate need to find alternative livelihood options (Rahman, Bhuiyan & Lovely, 2014).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the majority of the victims of acid violence consist of the adult female population¹⁰. There are a number of push factors that lead men throw acid on women, with the most common motivation being land dispute (Wahed & Bhuya, 2007; Govindnathan, 2010; ASF, 2015b). Both Anwary (2003) and Chowdhury (2007) argue that the patriarchal culture of Bangladesh contributes to the stubborn survival of acid violence in the country. It is one way for men to express authority over women and prohibit women from deviating from traditional practices and cultural customs. Men also target women who wish to pursue a higher

¹⁰ It has been identified in Wesson (2002)'s study that the victims of acid violence are usually from lower income groups.

education, those who cannot afford to pay dowry or those who reject marriage proposals or romantic advances (Wahed & Bhuya, 2007; Govindnathan, 2010).

Academic research that focuses solely on acid attack is extremely scarce, and the available scholarships pay greater attention on supplying an overview of acid violence and its consequences on the victims. Among the accessible literature, Anwary (2003) argues that globalization is a significant factor that leads to the increase of acid attack incidents in Bangladesh. More specifically, Anwary (2003)'s theory suggests that globalization is responsible for giving birth to various issues that challenge the traditional gender-based norms and division of labor, resulting in the reinforcement of gendered crime in the country. Furthermore, globalization of the national economy has forced the Government of Bangladesh to make amendments in the existing policies as well as to establish new protocols in order to better attract multinational corporations that wish to take advantage of the cheap labor offered by the country (Anwary, 2003). As a result, sectors such as export-oriented garment industry with high demands for untrained or semi-skilled women were greatly expanded (Anwary, 2003). On the other hand, employment opportunities for men became extremely limited due to the significant decline of the economy, which have in turn led more women to join the labor force (Anwary, 2003). Such phenomena were interpreted as a

challenge to the traditional male supremacy in Bangladesh (Anwary, 2003). As a result, many employed women – especially those who resided in rural regions – had no choice but to face hostility from men and to be blamed for their underperformance in juggling dually their household duties with their job responsibilities (Anwary, 2003). In summary, Anwary (2003) claims globalization to be responsible for strengthening gender-based violence in Bangladesh, including acid violence, leading to a substantial increase in demand for unskilled or semi-trained female workers in the labor pool.

Chowdhury (2007) emphasizes the need to understand the increase of acid attack that was present in the country in the context of “a deteriorating law and order situation, and the uneven impact of neoliberal development policies and globalization and their attendant contestation of existing gender divisions in Bangladesh (p.862).” Both Anwary (2003) and Chowdhury (2007) stress the need to look at acid attack by not only in the context of the perpetuating gender inequality in Bangladesh, but also through the lenses of the political, socioeconomic and cultural climate that fluctuate constantly as a result of globalization and the country’s development strategies.

2.3.2. Challenges in Fighting Acid Attack

The consequences and challenges of acid violence in Bangladesh will be examined through the case study of Nurun Nahar¹¹, which was presented in Chowdhury (2007)'s work.

Nurun Nahar was splashed with sulfuric acid by a young college student, Jasim Sikdar, who broke into her house with his friends after she rejected his marriage proposal. Nahar's family called the village doctor right after the attack; however, in spite of their ability to afford medical care, the village doctor refused to examine her wounds as he was afraid that Sikdar and his friends would cause him harm as well. As a result, Nahar and her family had no choice but to travel to the closest hospital in Barisal, which required extensive travel via boat and bus. Nahar was hospitalized in Barisal for three days until she was later transferred to another medical facility in the capital city of Dhaka, which was a ten-hour trip from Barisal. What Nahar had to endure for eight months in Dhaka were not just medical treatment and repetitive surgeries, but also social ostracism and isolation

¹¹ Nurun Nahar is a former victim of acid attack and an active advocate against acid violence. Her stories are often shared as an inspiration to the acid victims in Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 2007).

from other patients who thought that nobody but she was responsible for getting what she deserved.

In the meantime, Nahar's mother attempted to file a police report in their village three days post-attack. However, the police refused to investigate her case without a doctor's note, which took three extra days to obtain. Such delay in action allowed ample time for Sikdar and his fellow perpetrators to escape. The police started the actual investigation only after Nahar's mother contacted the media and legal services for support. The police threatened Sikdar's family and as a result, Sikdar and his friends ultimately submitted themselves to the police after spending several months on the run. However, Sikdar's family constantly threatened Nahar's family to drop charges against them, which eventually led Nahar's mother and sister to move out of the village. Sikdar and one of his fellow culprits received a death sentence after another year, while some men were proven innocent.

- *Easy access to acid*

Sulfuric acid, which is the most commonly chosen tool that is used in acid throwing, is an easily accessible commodity to any individual at a

very cheap cost¹² (Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007; Govindnathan, 2010). Any individual who wishes to procure sulfuric acid can do so at any convenience stores in the streets such as auto-repair establishments, jewelry shops (Begum, 2004; Govindnathan, 2010), pharmacies or goldsmiths (Wesson, 2002). Sulfuric acid is widely and readily available across the country because it is legally and abundantly utilized by many sectors in Bangladesh, such as the auto-mechanic industry and garment businesses (Wesson, 2002; Govindnathan, 2010). In other words, its unregulated and widespread accessibility as well as its cheap price of the product make sulfuric acid the most perfect weapon that is available for revenge, disciplinary action or exertion of authority (Anwary, 2003; Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007). It only requires a cupful of sulfuric acid for a perpetrator to observe the most desired outcome he could ever wish for, as the victim is physically, psychologically, emotionally and spiritually scarred for the rest of his/her life (Begum, 2004; Chowdhury, 2007).

¹² According to Begum (2004) and Chowdhury (2007), a small bottle of sulfuric acid costs 15 Bangladeshi Taka (equivalent to approximately 25 US cents), while a 2.5 Liter bottle ranges from 900 to 1800 BDTaka (around 15.70 to 31.50 US Dollars).

- *Silence in abusive relationships and inaccurate statistics*

Govindnathan (2010) criticizes the incomplete categorization of acid attack, noting that acid violence is not considered as a form of sexual offense when it should be along with child molestation and rape. It is extremely difficult for women in Third World countries, including Bangladesh to voice their opinion as the authority figures are mainly dominated by the male population (Govindnathan, 2010). Arrest and conviction rates are low as most victims are from a poor economic background with little to no access to education (Wesson, 2002; ASF, 2012). Therefore, they are unaware of their legal rights and the judiciary system (Wesson, 2002). Furthermore, Govindnathan (2010) discusses how women are always at risk for isolation and social stigmatization when they attempt to deliver their voice. Therefore, help-seeking behavior from women is often discouraged, as there is very limited option for them to turn to for help. Such discouragement leads many women to remain silent and abstain from reporting their cases of acid attack or any form of violence, which in turn results in inaccurate statistics in the number of acid attacks (Wesson, 2002; Wahed & Bhuya, 2007).

2.4. ASF Bangladesh's Education Programmes

2.4.1. Process of Holistic Victim Care

ASF Bangladesh applies a Bio-Psycho-Social model of treatment for its victims. Its holistic victim care entails “the physical, psychological and social aspects of care and protection of their rights (ASF 2012, p. 17)” for the victims’ sustainable rehabilitation. The Bio-Psycho-Social application also focuses on physiotherapy, psychological well-being and social integration of the survivors post-physical therapy. Recognizing the need for long-term psychological and psychosocial support, ASF Bangladesh arranges various therapeutic activities such as music and art therapy during the patients’ stay in the ASF hospital. In addition, social skills development training is also available for the survivors. Most importantly, ASF Bangladesh helps the patients identify themselves as survivors instead of victims and assists them with the development of a positive self-image.

2.4.2. Educating the General Public

In order to eradicate acid attack, its root causes – in which ASF Bangladesh has identified as inequality and discrimination against women –

must be tackled (ASF 2012, p.44). ASF Bangladesh has engaged survivors and local communities in prevention campaigns in order to raise awareness of acid throwing as a human rights violation. Furthermore, ASF Bangladesh also carries out community awareness raising campaigns to educate the public on the appropriate actions that should be taken in the case of acid attack. The “pour water” campaign that promotes the immediate application of clean water on the burn is the most successful example, as it resulted in a significant increase in the number of victims who were able to minimize their injuries by pouring water on their burn injuries (ASF, 2012; ASF, 2013). Such knowledge is especially crucial, as many victims come from a poor economic background and thus cannot afford the necessary treatment at their local clinics (ASF, 2013).

In 2012, ASF Bangladesh conducted 26 school campaigns, where more than 4,200 students and teachers participated in order to learn about social responsibility and gender equality (ASF, 2012). ASF Bangladesh also engaged with rural communities by hosting 26 bazaar campaigns with almost 8,500 participants in 2012, where brochures, posters and leaflets on acid violence were distributed. Such measures, which involve all stakeholders from the media to students, take credit for a substantial reduction of acid attack in the country (ASF, 2012).

Details on educational activities that are carried out to the acid victims and potential perpetrators are not available to the public. Such information was acquired during field visits and through online communication with ASF Bangladesh.

2.5. Paulo Freire's Theoretical Framework

Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator and philosopher who made significant contributions to adult education and the critical pedagogy movement. His core concepts of the oppressed-oppressor relationship, conscientization, culture of silence and problem-posing education from his foundational piece, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, will be applied to the issue of acid attack in Bangladesh. Then, an evaluation framework will be developed based on Freire's frameworks in order to conceptually analyze the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh.

2.5.1. Conscientization

- *The oppressed, the oppressors and the culture of silence*

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1972) refers to the relationship between the teacher and the student in a traditional educational

approach as that of the oppressed and the oppressor, where the student is the oppressed and the teacher is the oppressor. According to Freire (1972), the role of the oppressed is to constantly struggle against the oppressors that oppress them in order to liberate not only the oppressed themselves, but also the oppressors. The oppressors do not have the power to free themselves, as “only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (Freire, 1972, p.21).” In addition, Freire (1972) argues that there is no other group other than the oppressed population themselves that better comprehends the consequences and the struggle of an oppressive society, and thus that are thirstier and better prepared for liberation. Freire (1972) questions:

Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation (Freire, 1972, p.22)?

In order for the oppressed class to free themselves, they must first become aware of their oppressive surroundings and struggle for their rights. They must emerge from their submersion in the “culture of silence,” which

was created by the oppressors, and look at their world through a critical lens (Freire, 1972). Freire (1972) further states:

The latter [the oppressed], whose task it is to struggle for their liberation together with those who show true solidarity, must acquire a critical awareness of oppression through the praxis of this struggle. One of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge men's consciousness. [...] one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it (Freire, 1972, p.27-28).

This is where Freire's critical pedagogy comes in to help the oppressed break free from being submerged in the "culture of silence" and become critically aware of their oppressive environment, as Freire (1972) believed every person was capable of assessing his/her world in a critical manner, in spite of his/her level of ignorance or regardless of the depth of his/her submersion in the culture of silence. It is the first stage of the pedagogy of the oppressed known as conscientization¹³. In *The Politics of*

¹³ Conscientization – or *conscientização* in Portuguese – is also referred to as consciousness raising or critical consciousness.

Education, Freire (1985, p.68) states that the starting point of conscientization is when a man critically comprehends his existence as a being, both *in* and *with* the world, together with other men. What Freire also notes in *The Politics of Education* is the need for the marginalized to realize the various spheres of their reality:

Those who consider them marginal must, nevertheless, recognize the existence of a reality to which they are marginal – not only physical space, but historical, social, cultural and economic realities – that is, the structural dimension of reality (Freire, 1985, p.47).

From the gender perspective, Freire's framework of conscientization is critical (Stromquist, 2014). His emphasis on the need for the oppressed class to struggle can be interpreted as "an awareness of the importance of fighting patriarchal ideologies (Stromquist, 2014, p.547)." Freire's advocacy for breaking the culture of silence can be translated as an effort to ensure the delivery of the voice of the oppressed, who attempt to address issues or subjects in which they were forced to remain silent – such as domestic violence, sexual harassment and rape (Stromquist, 2014).

Although the notion of empowerment is often attributed to Freire, the actual terminology never surfaces in his works (Stromquist, 2014). However, the concept of empowerment is an evident extension of Freire's conscientization that women across the world have engaged in. For them, empowerment was an imperative concept that they needed in order to struggle and take action against the oppressive components of their surroundings, such as patriarchal customs (Stromquist, 2014). It is important to remember that empowerment entails the clear identification of specific objectives as well as the development of apt tools (Stromquist, 2014).

2.5.2. Problem-posing education

Freire (1972)'s unique analysis of the traditional relationship between teacher and student is termed "banking education," where the teacher deposits knowledge or information into the student, who are considered to be nothing more than an empty vessel that is ready to receive these deposits. The teacher is expected to assume the oppressor role and thus have control in deciding what information to deposit, and the student to remain passive and submissive, clearly lacking the ability to think critically or to recognize their critical presence in the world. Freire (1972) rejects the banking approach and proposes an alternative form of education to the

conventional education model, which he calls problem-posing education. Freire (1972)'s model of problem-posing education is structured in a way that completely breaks the vertical transfer of knowledge from the teacher to the student. In other words, the traditional pattern of depositing knowledge from the oppressor to the oppressed is no longer valid in Freire (1972)'s proposed model of education. Instead, the teacher and students are to form and foster a horizontal relationship, or a partnership that promotes dialogue between the parties involved in order to reach and establish solutions:

The teacher is no longer merely the one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow (Freire, 1972, p.67).

In summary, the teacher and students work together and learn from each other, rather than the act of learning taking place in a vertical direction.

2.5.3. Dialogue

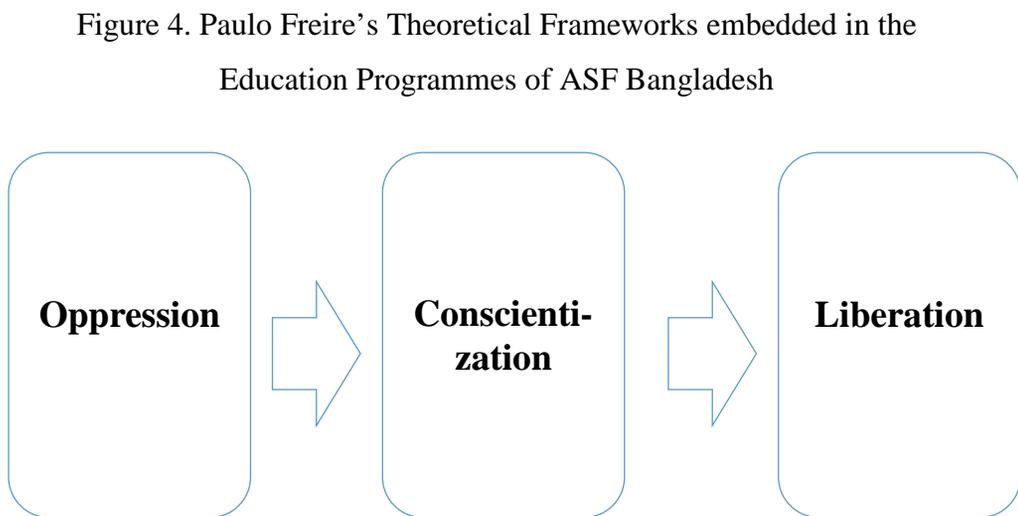
Dialogue is one of Freire's critical concepts and key components of his model of problem-posing education. Freire (1972) argued, "Critical and

liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever the stage of their struggle for liberation (p.52).” Here, liberation is considered as people thinking – or reflection – and acting – or action – in order to transform the world that they live (Durakoglu, 2013). Such idea of action-reflection is also known as praxis, or the two dimensions of reflection and action in order to transform the world of the oppressed (Freire, 1972, p.75). Freire (1972) defines dialogue as the “encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world (p.75).” He emphasizes that dialogue cannot take place between those who take away the right of the others to voice their opinion and those whose right to speak has been robbed (Freire, 1972, p.75). Hence, those who have been denied their right to express their word must reclaim their lost right as the first step to prevent the perpetuation of their dehumanization (Freire, 1972, p.75). Furthermore, dialogue cannot take place without strong love, humility and faith of the world and the people; dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship between dialoguers only when love, humility and faith are found within its core (Freire, 1972, p.77–80). Because dialogue is an existential reality, it must be applied to the pedagogy (Durakoglu, 2013).

Lastly, hope is required for dialogue to exist (Freire, 1972, p.80). Hope stems from men’s sense of incompleteness, which leads them to

constantly search with other men (Freire, 1972, p.80). Hope is constantly fighting and struggling, rather than waiting inactively (Freire, 1972, p.80). Freire (1972) argues that dialogue cannot exist in a climate of hopelessness, where those engaged in dialogue do not expect anything from their efforts (p.80). Therefore, hope is an essential basis for dialogue among men.

Given the above exploration of Paulo Freire’s core concepts and a brief overview of the activities of ASF Bangladesh, the key frameworks that appear to be embodied in the organization’s education initiatives have been identified as the following:



Source: Figure organized by the author

The next chapter will discuss the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh that the author was able to learn about during her field trip to the Headquarter of the organization. Then, Chapter 4 attempts to identify the role and significance of the agency's initiatives in the above-illustrated figure.

CHAPTER 3. ACID SURVIVORS FOUNDATION'S EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

This chapter will discuss the work done by Acid Survivors Foundation in Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh) that the author has learned from the interviews during the field trip to the Headquarter (HQ) of ASF Bangladesh in June 2015. Four groups of stakeholders were interviewed at the HQ of ASF Bangladesh. The first two groups consisted of two acid survivors each, who were currently employed at the HQ of ASF Bangladesh, totaling the number of survivor interviewees to four. The third group of interviewees was the staff members of the Programme Unit of ASF Bangladesh, including the Programme Manager and three Programme Officers. The fourth and final interviewee was the Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh, whom assumed the position in 2013. Interpretations were provided by the staff members of ASF Bangladesh for the interviews of the first two groups, as the survivors did not speak English. The table below summarizes the information on the interviewees:

Table 2. List of Interviewees from the HQ of ASF Bangladesh

	Interviewees	Department	Date of Interview
Group 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ms. T • Ms. R 	Survivor Support Services	June 23, 2015
Group 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ms. N • Ms. S 	Medical Unit	June 23, 2015
Group 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Programme Manager • Programme Officers (3) 	Programme Unit	June 23, 2015
Group 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ms. S. Ahmed 	Executive Director	June 25, 2015

Source: Table organized by the author

The first section supplies a brief summary on ASF Bangladesh. Then, the programmes of ASF Bangladesh for the acid survivors as well as their various initiatives for the non-survivors, such as the family members, the general public and the community, are discussed extensively in order to better understand their relevance to the field of international development and education. Such overview will facilitate with the process of identifying whether the core concepts of Paulo Freire are incorporated in the education initiatives of ASF Bangladesh in Chapter 4.

3.1. Acid Survivors Foundation's Activities for Acid Survivors

- Acid Survivors Foundation in Bangladesh

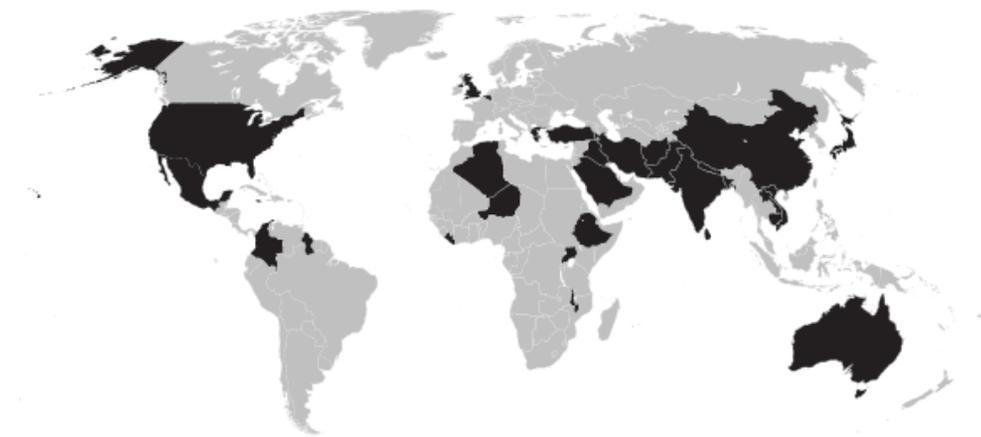
ASF Bangladesh is a non-governmental organization that was established in 1999 in response to the increasing trend of acid violence in Bangladesh. It was also the only organization in the world that was devoted to addressing acid attack as a vicious form of gender-based violence (ASF, 2013). ASF Bangladesh houses a diverse range of facilities that are required for the successful treatment and reintegration of acid victims within its complex. The vision of the organization is not only to reduce the incidents of acid attack, but also to completely eradicate the criminal activity in Bangladesh in the near future. There is no universally established definition of acid throwing, and many organizations that exist to combat acid throwing have their own ways of explaining the criminal activity; however, these different explanations still capture the same essence of the violent nature that is involved in acid attack. As briefly noted in Chapter 1, ASF Bangladesh defines acid violence as “a particularly vicious and damaging form of violence in Bangladesh where acid is thrown in people’s faces (ASF, 2015b).” Furthermore, it also states that acid attack is “a form of gender-

based violence that reflects and perpetuates the inequality of women in society (ASF, 2015a).”

In the meantime, Acid Survivors Foundation India (ASFI) identifies acid attack as “a vicious, premeditated crime, involved throwing of corrosive acid on the face or exposed part with intent to scar and disfigure the victim (ASFI, 2013).” ASFI (2013) further notes that acid attack rarely kills, but devastates the life of the victim in every possible aspect – mentally, morally, physically and financially. On the other hand, Acid Survivors Foundation Pakistan (ASF Pakistan), a non-profit organization that was founded in 2006 with the support of ASTI, defines acid violence as “a particularly outrageous form of torture which involves throwing corrosive acid at the victims’ faces (ASF Pakistan, 2015).” ASTI, which is a registered charity based in the United Kingdom and the only organization that exists today that aims to end acid attack at the international level, defines acid violence as “the deliberate use of acid to attack another human being (ASTI, 2015).” While these organizations have different definitions of acid attack, they concur that acid violence is a global phenomenon that is unrelated to race, religion or location and that it occurs significantly amongst the poor and primarily against the female population. Acid violence takes place worldwide in both developed and developing countries such as but not limited to Laos, China, Japan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Jamaica,

Mexico, Guyana, Algeria, Uganda, Afghanistan, Iran, Greece, Turkey, Belgium, the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom (ASFI, 2013). The map below highlights the countries where incidents of acid attack have been reported over the past decade:

Figure 5. Prevalence of Acid Violence across the world

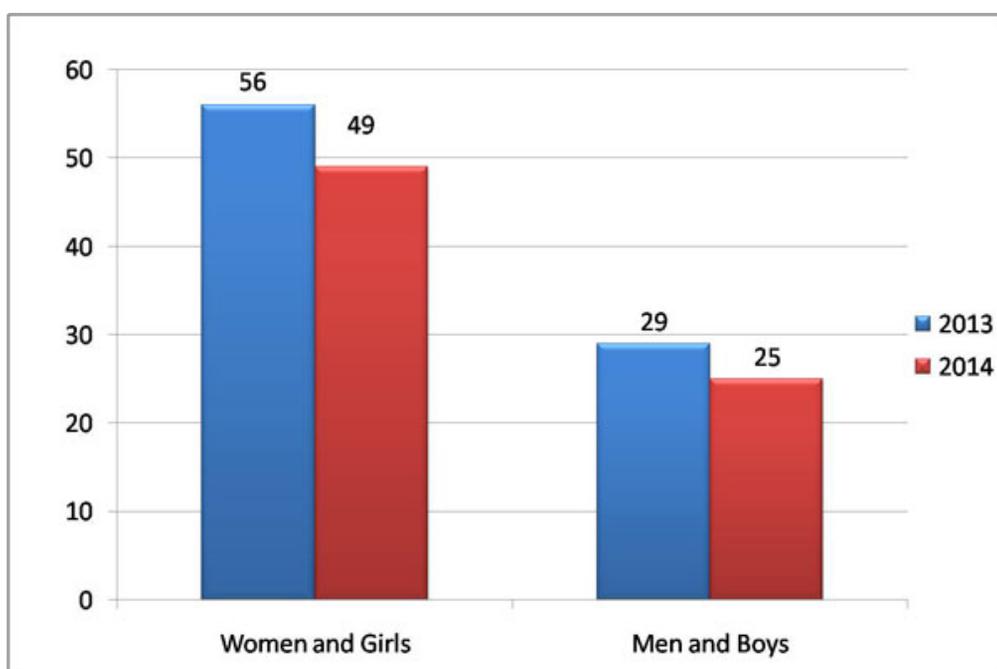


Source: <http://projectsaave.org/mission/>

Although the above-mentioned agencies have different ways of defining acid violence, they still share the same vision of completely removing the crime from their country and ensuring the protection of the human rights of acid survivors.

While the majority of the victims of acid throwing in Bangladesh are overwhelmingly women, whom many are below the age of 18 when they are attacked, older women, children and men can also become victims of the crime as illustrated in Figure (ASF, 2015b; ASF, 2015c):

Figure 6. Acid Attack Statistics in Gender Perspective: Comparison of the number of attacks in 2013 and 2014



Source: <http://acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/2>

As mentioned in Chapter 1, ASF Bangladesh notes that there are many reasons that acid violence continues to take place in the country. The principle push factors are known to be family-related disputes, land disputes,

marital disputes and refusal or rejection of love, marriage and/or sexual advances (ASF 2015c). The table below outlines the main reasons for committing acid violence in Bangladesh in 2014:

Table 3. Push Factors of Acid Attack in Bangladesh in 2014

Reasons	Number of Male Victims	Number of Female Victims	Number of Child Victims
Dowry	-	5	-
Family-related dispute	1	2	-
Land/property/money dispute	12	13	7
Marital dispute	1	6	-
Refusal/rejection of love/marriage/sex	1	5	2
Unknown	2	6	2
Others	3	-	2
Total	20	37	13

Source: Reorganized by the author based on the table from

<http://www.acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/2>

ASF Bangladesh fully recognizes that such form of gender-based violence, just like any form of violence against women, hampers the right and potential of the victims to engage and participate as members of society.

Acid throwing is a powerful practice of violence in the sense that it can strip away every important right of the victim in an instant, such as but not limited to economic and social well-being, self-worth and political participation. Furthermore, acid survivors experience difficulty reintegrating to society after their treatment, being forced to stop their education and/or suffer from discrimination in the labor market. As a result, the potential of the acid survivors and the contribution they could make toward the betterment of society go unrealized. Therefore, ASF Bangladesh strives to not only reduce and eventually eliminate acid attack in the country, but also to assure the dignity of the acid survivors in order that they remain as proactive members of society and do not face isolation, dependency and vulnerability. ASF Bangladesh helps acid survivors rebuild their lives after the attack through their holistic approach of victim care and rehabilitation of acid survivors. The table below displays the statistics of the number of acid incidents in Bangladesh from 1999 to 2014:

Table 4. Number of Acid Throwing and Number of Survivors from 1999 to 2014 in Bangladesh

Acid Attack Statistics (1999 – 2014)		
Month	Number of incidents	Number of survivors
1999	165	167
2000	240	240
2001	351	352
2002	494	496
2003	417	420
2004	326	333
2005	222	277
2006	183	224
2007	162	199
2008	142	184
2009	129	159
2010	122	160
2011	91	118
2012	71	98
2013	69	85
2014	59	74
Total	3243	3586

Source: <http://acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/1>

According to Table 4, the trend of acid attack in Bangladesh has demonstrated a diligent decline since reaching its peak in 2002. Figure 3 in Chapter 1 illustrates the above data in a graphic form. Table 5 below is a

compilation of the figures of incidents and survivors of acid violence in Bangladesh by month in 2015:

Table 5. Statistics of Acid Attack in 2015

Month	Number of incidents	Number of survivors
January	4	8
February	3	5
March	4	4
April	3	8
May	5	6
June	3	3
July	8	9
August	9	10
September	2	2
October	12	13
November		
December		
Total	53	68

Source: <http://acidsurvivors.org/Statistics/1>

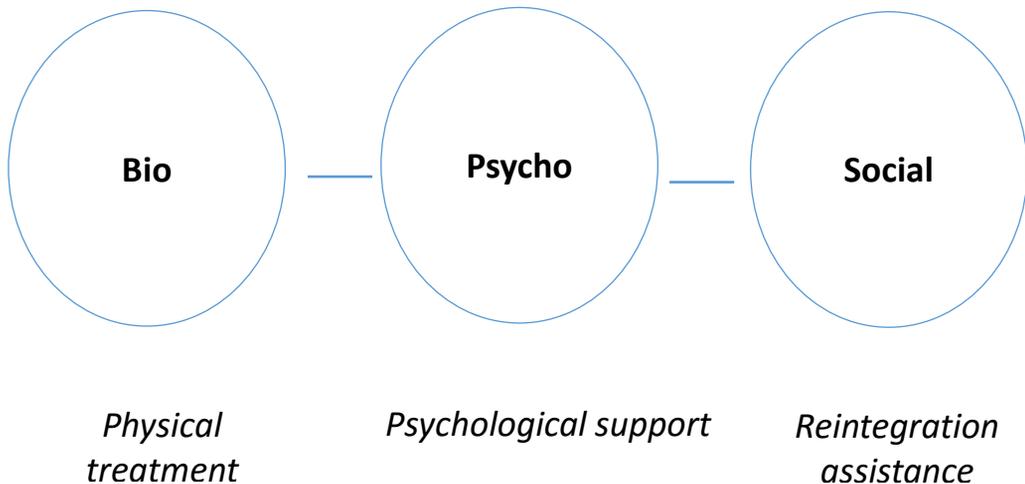
As Table 5 illustrates, the number of both the incidents and survivors of acid violence have decreased since 2014, contributing to the consistent reduction of the criminal activity in the country since 2002. The following

sections will examine in detail the programmes of ASF Bangladesh that are designed for the treatment and the rehabilitation of the victims of acid throwing.

3.1.1. The Holistic Bio-Psycho-Social Approach

Also referred to as the multi-stakeholder approach or the holistic model, the Bio-Psycho-Social approach is ASF Bangladesh's key method of intervention and victim care. As the name states, it is an integrated model developed by ASF Bangladesh that other organizations with the similar objective as that of ASF Bangladesh have recognized as good practice in effectively responding to acid throwing and hence have applied the approach in their own countries (ASF, 2013). The holistic approach can be illustrated as the following:

Figure 7. ASF Bangladesh's Multi-stakeholder Approach



Source: Figure reorganized by the author based on personal communication with S. Ahmed, Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh

The rationale of ASF Bangladesh for incorporating the approach of holistic healing as part of their intervention strategy is that the care for acid victims cannot be considered comprehensive unless it not only tends to the physical wounds and psychological trauma of the victims, but also ensures their successful reintegration to society after the completion of the necessary treatment. In other words, the multi-stakeholder approach of ASF Bangladesh must be carried out in order to promise the successful treatment of acid victims (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh applies its Bio-Psycho-Social approach, which entails the healing of physical, psychological, emotional and social trauma

of acid victims altogether, as an ideal method of rehabilitation (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

The concept of the holistic approach stemmed from the realization that the simple provision of medical services to acid victims was not enough, as the victims face difficulty in reintegrating not only to society, but also back to their family and to the community that they came from due to the stigma that is attached to the permanent scars and physical disfigurement from being attacked with acid (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). In other words, there are numerous socioeconomic factors that should be taken into consideration and need to be addressed beyond the medical measures of rehabilitation, as they greatly hamper the successful recovery of acid survivors (ASF, 2013). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh implements community mobilization, awareness raising initiatives, community-based psychosocial support, economic support, legal support and advocacy to assist with the effective reintegration of acid survivors (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). S. Ahmed stressed the significance of applying the multi-stakeholder approach by highlighting its vital role in reducing acid violence in the country (personal communication, June 25, 2015):

The successful reduction of acid attack incidents in Bangladesh was possible because of our joint efforts in implementing the Bio-Psycho-Social approach, or the multi-stakeholder approach. We have prevention and protection work to prevent acid attack and to prevent negative consequences of acid attack...those aspects we are working with Bio-Psycho-Social model. In this model actually, the multidisciplinary professionals and stakeholders are engaged, so it's [the survivors] not alone in this fight. We work with government, media, corporate sectors, and survivors play a great role...also have team leader working previously in our organization, Board of Trustee members also contributed a lot. The international community supported a lot as well as donors. We fought together and got good results.

As the name implies, the Bio-Psycho-Social model of treatment for acid victims is executed in a cyclical order that consists of immediate physical treatment, social support, legal advice and rehabilitation assistance. Because the lives of the victims have been changed forever in a fraction of a second and that the consequence that is brought by that split second is so significant, it is extremely difficult for the survivors to overcome their trauma, cope with the stress that is associated with the incident and continue with their normal lives that they were living just before they were attacked. Hence, it is crucial that the patients receive holistic cure, which

encompasses the healing of physical, psychological, emotional and social wounds altogether. With the services of holistic healing, ASF helps the survivors cope with their trauma, rebuild their collapsed lives and start a new, normal and productive life.

Immediate physical treatment, which is the very first step of the holistic healing process, entails customized medical support such as nutritional care, surgery, skin grafting, wound dressing, physiotherapy and the proper application of splints or other appropriate medical accessories. A multi-disciplinary team of experienced doctors, plastic and reconstructive surgeons, nurses, physiotherapists, nutritionists, psychologists and social workers carries out the necessary medical support services in the 20-bed hospital of ASF Bangladesh in order to ensure the optimum results for the patients (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). This medical facility is a full-fledged hospital equipped with ambulance, 24-hour hotline and other appropriate support (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). ASF Bangladesh provides treatment from acute burns to post burns, where skilled plastic surgeons volunteer and perform plastic surgery and reconstructive operation to the victims to minimize their physical deformity and functional complications as much as possible (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). In addition to treating the acid patients, these medical personnel participate

in the overall burn care management in the country through knowledge sharing and capacity building (ASF, 2013). The ASF Bangladesh hospital admits 10 to 15 patients on average on a monthly basis (ASF, 2013), where majority of them are women and girls (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). A total of 541 acid survivors received treatment at the hospital in 2013, whom 89 of them underwent some form of surgical procedure.

The next step in the Bio-Psycho-Social process is psychotherapy for the victims, which begins upon their admission to the ASF Bangladesh hospital (ASF 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Different types of psychotherapy by trained psychotherapists are available at ASF Bangladesh after the assessment of the psychosocial distress level, including individual counseling, group counseling, family counseling, emotional support and social skills training. The table below lists the therapeutic activities that were provided to the patients of ASF Bangladesh hospital in 2013:

Table 6. Psychotherapeutic Activities of ASF Bangladesh in 2013

Psychotherapy Services Provided in 2013:						
Sl. No	Activities	No. of Sessions Conducted	Types of Client			
			Men	Women	Children	Total
01	Individual Psychotherapy	67	23	29	3	55
02	Individual Counseling	200	35	103	18	156
03	Group Counseling/Therapy	15	10	56	13	79
04	Family Counseling	09	-	-	-	-
05	Emotional Support	264	53	187	20	160
06	Support to DMCH (July- December)	166	68	26	29	123
07	Support to VSC (July- December)	20	0	4	16	20
08	Support to Taranga (Only July)	14	0	7	2	9
09	Art Therapy Session	48	08	144	37	189
10	Music Therapy Session	47	52	165	20	137
11	Social Skills Training	07	08	50	13	71

Source: ASF Annual Report 2013

Physiotherapy is a critical component of the rehabilitation process of acid burn victims that takes place after the completion of necessary surgical procedures and when the professional personnel judge that they are ready for physical movement (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Physiotherapeutic procedures encompass physical exercises and manual therapy carried out by a qualified physiotherapist that aid the recovery of key muscles and limbs, such as massage, mobilization, stretching, exercises, manual manipulation, application of pressure garments, positioning, splinting and other necessary activities that speed up the regaining of a survivor's physical functions (ASF, 2013). The two main

objectives of physiotherapy are to help the victims regain their previous physical capability and functionality before their attack and to prevent contracture and reduce scarring as much as possible (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

The social aspect of ASF Bangladesh's comprehensive multi-stakeholder approach entails rehabilitation and reintegration of acid survivors at every level – social, economic, personal and psychological (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). According to statistics of ASF Bangladesh, 69 percent of the acid victims are women and girls from poor economic background with little to no education (ASF, 2013; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). The perpetrators typically have some form of relationship with the acid victims, such as being a family member or coming from the same neighborhood or community (ASF, 2013). A woman's value in Bangladesh is determined by marriage and her ability to carry a child, and thus female acid survivors face discrimination from society with their permanent scars and visible disfigurement (ASF, 2013). Therefore, socioeconomic rehabilitation and reintegration of acid survivors are extremely important steps of ASF Bangladesh's holistic victim care.

The rehabilitation strategy of ASF Bangladesh includes on two tracks of development: personal development through psychological and psychosocial support and socioeconomic development through capacity

development and networking opportunities (ASF, 2013). The aspects of personal and socioeconomic developments that ASF Bangladesh deem important are outlined in the table below:

Table 7. Factors of Personal and Socioeconomic Development for Acid Survivors

Personal Development	Socioeconomic Development
Self esteem	Access to resources
Courage	Legal rights
Confidence	Social integration work/school
Strength	Reintegration into family/community
Solidarity	Improved social capital/networks
Sense of control	
Dignity	
Vision for the future	

Source: Table reorganized by the author based on the information from ASF Annual Report 2013

One of the many barriers that acid survivors are forced to face is the complete removal of their ability to work or study (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Once the victims became survivors, they struggled to reintegrate not only in society but also back in the community where they came from (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

The financial burden caused by their inability to secure an income-generating activity leads them to fall into poverty. Hence, acid survivors must undergo rehabilitation in order to be able to continue with their education and/or training so that they can live a better quality life after treatment (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25). ASF Bangladesh expedites the social rehabilitation process for the acid victims upon their release from the hospital in order that they are well prepared for their reintegration and are ready to rebuild their collapsed lives, whether it be returning to their family and community or starting a new life in a new place in the event that the attacker was a family member (ASF, 2013). The two tables below summarize the rehabilitation and reintegration interventions carried out by ASF Bangladesh:

Table 8. Rehabilitation Measures for Acid Survivors in Bangladesh

Rehabilitation Support:	
Type of Support	Number of acid survivors
Family assistance	29
Education support	159
IGA grant	36
Legal grant	44
Financial aid from District Acid Control Committee (DACC)	106
Khas land	2
Support through CSR/individual	56

Source: ASF Annual Report 2013

Table 9. Reintegration Support for Acid Survivors in Bangladesh

Types of Support	Number
Community meetings	156 meetings
Community clinics	24 clinics
Telephonic counseling	Continuous
Door-to-door visit	988 visits
Group meetings	190 meetings

Source: Table reorganized by the author based on the information on ASF Annual Report 2013

Since its establishment in 1999, ASF Bangladesh recognized the need for the state and the government to take responsibility in not only preventing acid attack in the country, but also ensuring and protecting the rights of acid survivors (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). In order to hold the state accountable, ASF Bangladesh has worked hard to mobilize government, civil society, community elites and other pertinent actors (ASF, 2013). Furthermore, ASF started transforming acid survivors into change agents in 2010, and there are currently twelve change agents working in six districts across the country mobilizing relevant parties and raising awareness of acid attack as a crime, in addition to advocating for the

rights and protection of acid survivors that they deserve (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). More details on these grassroots community workers, also known as ambassadors, and their role as key players will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.2. Awareness Raising Initiatives for Acid Survivors

Raising awareness of acid attack as a criminal activity is a crucial component of ASF Bangladesh. The Programme Unit at ASF Bangladesh, also commonly referred to as Survivor Support Services (SSS), implements comprehensive measures that are categorized into three different parts: the Development Programmes, Prevention Programmes and the Protection Programmes. The Development Programmes are geared towards the acid survivors while the Prevention Programmes entail raising awareness among the general public who are not acid victims, such as the community and particularly the male population. The Protection Programmes are tailored for both acid survivors and the general public. This section will look at the Development Programmes in close detail, while the following sections will discuss the remaining two programmes.

Development Programmes

According to the Programme Manager of SSS, the main objective of ASF Bangladesh is to establish independent organizations solely led by acid survivors themselves (personal communication, June 23, 2015). The principle activities of the Development Programmes consist of organizing group meetings at the community level with the six partner agencies of ASF Bangladesh, conducting the annual leadership training for survivors, providing income-generating training for acid survivors and assisting with their job placement (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

There are currently a total of 21 survivor groups in six districts across the country, in which each group is composed of 15 to 20 participants of both sexes (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). These numbers add up to a total of almost 300 survivors who participate in diverse activities, such as the monthly group meetings, meetings with the government, meetings with the local community and other pertinent actors (ASF, 2013). The change agents or the ambassadors lead and facilitate these meetings (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager justified the reason of ASF Bangladesh for working with the survivors – whom have

become ambassadors or change agents – as the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

Ambassadors are also survivors, representing, mobilizing other survivors and encouraging them, developing them, to be a role model. Ambassadors are important because we need role models and leadership. Other survivors can follow the ambassadors and realize their own potential as a person and overcome their trauma from acid attack. We feel that ambassadors can make a very good role model for other survivors to create a mission, have an objective of life, have new dream and new hope.

S. Ahmed also commented on the importance in engaging survivors in the work of ASF Bangladesh by noting the following (personal communication, June 25, 2013):

Their [the survivors] engagement is important because they themselves faced this violence, pain, their resilience and power to overcome...so when they talk, their appeal and our appeal is not the same. Their appeal is much stronger than ours. It is question of their dignity as well, when they survive and overcome their trauma, they can be a role model for other survivors. That's why it's important.

As mentioned previously, the ambassadors lead the meetings. Each 21 survivor group in the country has a leadership committee composed of a president, secretary, treasurer and a savings group that is responsible for organizing the meetings, and the president of each group usually chairs the group meetings (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The topic of each meeting is selected based on the needs of the participants and changes every time. Some examples include gender issues, violence against women, root causes and reasons of acid attack, human rights, patriarchy and possible prevention measures in the event of a violent incident in the community (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The meetings focus on real life issues and are typically carried out in the form of an open conversation, where the participants can freely discuss their feelings, problems, challenges and suggestions. They also invite experts of a specific field – for example, an expert from one of the partner NGOs on the issues of human rights – to come in and conduct a training workshop to the survivors. Staff members from the six partner NGOs as well as the staff from ASF Bangladesh attend and participate the group meetings (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In addition to these meetings, the Programme Unit of ASF Bangladesh conducts a four-day annual leadership training workshop for survivors, where the leadership committee of the survivor groups participate

and discuss the root causes of violence in Bangladesh, capability of leadership etcetera (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

Another important activity of the Programme Unit is assisting with the job placement of acid survivors (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). ASF Bangladesh communicates with job providers and brings some advocacy for creating jobs for themselves. The Programme Unit is also responsible for monitoring the situation of the survivors once they have secured a job; furthermore, they also ensure their well-being and that the survivors are actually generating income (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager highlighted the fact that the goal is not solely simple provision of employment for the acid survivors, but also making sure that they are fully reintegrated in society healthy and happy (personal communication, June 23, 2015). The types of employment opportunities for the acid survivors range from the health sector, corporate jobs, beauty parlor, software, garments, government jobs and so on (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Other income-generating training for acid survivors are provided by ASF Bangladesh, such as computer training, software design, graphic design, basic knowledge on Information Technology, outsourcing and basic English (Programme Manager, personal

communication, June 23, 2015). In addition, there is training on the production of pressure garments that entail the utilization of a sewing machine and various other skills, which is a specific training that is run by an acid survivor in ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

Conducting research with survivors is a new initiative by ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015; S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). The Programme Manager explained the importance of the launch of this new initiative as the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

We collect [mobilize] all the leaders through our survivors and provide participatory action research (PAR). It's a new initiative at ASF. We feel that if we include our survivors in that process of PAR, which is dynamic research and if any person in that research they feel the potential to do something more, they can flourish themselves and they can figure out their own life. This is our mission, to make them established and independent in their life. We have already started that process and we are providing four PAR with our survivors in different districts and the response is very inspirational. They [the survivors] are feeling that it is very good for them and have expressed why they are only starting to do this now. Basically, the survivors are representing in

this kind of training and workshop, and they are the main researchers. They research about their life, problems of their life, how they can overcome their problems...they take decisions on what they should do to overcome the problems and so on.

3.2. Acid Survivors Foundation's Programmes for the General Public

The previous section of this chapter looked at the activities of ASF Bangladesh for survivors. The following section will discuss the different initiatives that are geared towards the general public and the non-victims of acid attack.

3.2.1. Prevention Programmes

Campaign work is the main integral component of the prevention programmes of ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The key campaigns that ASF Bangladesh carries out are school-based and market-based, while they also do protests and demonstrations when they deem necessary (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The objective of carrying out various campaign work is to advocate to the NGOs and the government of

Bangladesh. The Programme Unit plans the campaigns in collaboration with their partners such as The Hunger Project and BRAC¹⁴ (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager noted that ASF Bangladesh must engage its network members to carry out campaign programs as acid attack can happen anywhere across the country and because ASF Bangladesh alone cannot combat the crime (personal communication, June 23, 2015). The campaign schedule depends but there are several campaign programs that are carried out regularly on a monthly basis in bazaar and school areas (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). An average of about 20 campaign programs are done every month (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Campaigners and acid survivors also participate in district-gathering, where every survivor who resides in a particular district invites a government representative or a service provider, in order to march in the streets or to organize a human chain (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In this way, the

¹⁴ BRAC is the largest non-governmental development organization in the world based in Bangladesh. It is present across the country in all 64 districts in addition to the countries in Asia and Africa such as Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Philippines, Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan, Liberia and Sierra Leone. BRAC was previously known as the Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee and then as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, but today it does not represent an acronym. It was established in 1972 after Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan.

participants raise various issues that take place in their district, in addition to questioning the lack of justice for acid survivors and the absence of appropriate treatment for them in the public sector. A human chain is also created after an occurrence of acid attack in order to raise awareness or to protest against the criminal activity, which is considered to be a part of immediate response (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

ASF Bangladesh's school campaigns are carried out nationwide in high school and in college (ASF, 2011; Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Survivors mainly participate in school campaigns, where they themselves go to the schools and talk about their situations in order to promote zero tolerance on acid violence and promote for the protection of the rights of acid survivors (ASF, 2011; Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager explained how the school campaigns are done (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

For school campaigns, we talk about students' roles, what their responsibilities are as human beings, how to protest that kind of occurrence [acid attack] if it happens in their community. We also discuss the reasons of acid attack, root causes, what is their [the students'] role, how they can

become a person with moral and a good human being. They [school campaigns] happen every month. We have partnership with The Hunger Project, who have good communication with school, so school campaigns are collaboration between ASF Bangladesh and The Hunger Project. One school campaign is three to four hours long and it is done to both boys and girls. It is our objective to raise some conscience to boys to become a good person and fight against acid attack, [and] prevent them from becoming perpetrators.

Through a network of students, ASF Bangladesh has been able to raise awareness of acid violence in the country (ASF, 2011). Teachers are also involved in the school campaigns (ASF, 2011). In 2011, a total of 8,559 students and more than 100 teachers from 46 schools across the country participated in ASF Bangladesh's school campaigns, where a diverse range of discussion took place on why acid violence happens in the country, the consequences of committing the criminal activity, first aid response that should be done in the event of an acid attack and the services that acid victims are entitled to from the government and the NGOs (ASF, 2011).

Bazaar campaigns are independent initiatives of AFS Bangladesh and not a part of The Hunger Project (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Market-based campaigns are geared

towards the male population and are carried out in bazaar areas of a village, where a big audience comprised of men can be found (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). It is a useful and an easy way to share the messages of ASF Bangladesh to the male community to make them more aware of acid attack (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The venues for market-based campaigns are selected based on the rate of incidence; in other words, ASF Bangladesh chooses to carry out bazaar campaigns in violence-prone regions in order to raise awareness of the crime (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). ASF Bangladesh utilizes posters and the acid survivors who participate in the bazaar campaigns act out actual scenarios through presentations, thematic songs, dances, drama, choreographic performances and folk songs, which are considered to be effective in raising awareness, communicating with the mass public and disseminating the messages of ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

However, there are challenges that exist for conducting campaigns to the male population in Bangladesh. The Programme Manager commented on some challenges in carrying out market-based campaigns and convincing the male community in the country as the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

They [the male population] feel that they are much more educated than us [ASF Bangladesh]. They have their own perception to throw acid; they find reasons to use acid to destroy one person. It is very challenging to make them aware and resist themselves to do that kind of occurrence [acid attack]. Most people feel that they know everything...[ASF Bangladesh] always feel the need to do more but it is very tough, very touch to change their [the male community's] mentality and perception. But we are finding some changes proved by the reduction of acid attack. We can say that change has happened with our work but it is not enough. We [ASF Bangladesh] have to focus on education process, a person's ethics, socialization process and many more.

There are several goals and objectives for the above-mentioned raising awareness activities of ASF Bangladesh that the Programme Manager explained in detail (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

One [goal] is the community effectively role-play in a sudden incident or accident. In our community they don't know to pour water...[so the goal is to raise awareness on] the role of community members, how they can take initiative to pour water on a victim.

The above goal is extremely crucial, as most community members simply do not know that their effective response – for example, pouring water in areas where acid made contact with – can play a critical role in reducing a victim’s chance of scarring, being physical disfigured and any other complications that can occur (Programme Officer, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In summary, the school-based and market-based campaign activities are carried out in order to help the community members realize the roles that they can play in saving a victim’s life and in participating in the movement to eradicate acid violence in the country (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

Other important objectives of the campaign initiatives of ASF Bangladesh are to expedite the process of medical treatment, to raise awareness of the legal procedures among the community – for example, the acid sellers acquiring the acid license before they start selling the product to customers – and to convince them to follow those legal steps after an incident of acid attack in order that people (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In addition, the awareness-raising initiatives focus on changing the community’s perception on acid survivors (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). As mentioned previously, there is stigma that is attached to a burned face and physical disfigurement in Bangladesh (S. Ahmed, personal communication,

June 25, 2015). ASF Bangladesh found that most community members have previously neglected acid survivors and repeatedly blamed them for being attacked with acid (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). As a result, acid survivors face difficulty reintegrating to society as there is a high chance that their family members and the community might outcast them, leaving the acid survivors nowhere to return to after the completion of their treatment (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh works hard to convince the community that the acid survivors are the victims and thus should not be blamed for what happened to them (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager further noted the following (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

...It is important to make the community aware that this is not their [acid survivors'] fault, that basically most of our survivors are facing problems to gain [back] their previous life, job and education. They are not entitled to participate in any social programs or gatherings.

ASF Bangladesh engages the leaders of the communities in order to help them accept acid survivors when they return to where they came from (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The

engagement of leaders and government representatives results in the creation of an environment that is much friendlier for acid survivors (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). When the leaders of the community are involved, the rest of the community automatically feels the pressure to follow their actions (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The Programme Manager noted the challenge that is involved in convincing the community leaders (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

We [ASF Bangladesh] are not doing this issue [engagement of community leaders] in one day. It is a long-time process. We won't achieve this in one day. So we have regular programs. When we do any community programs, we always have a plan to visit the survivor's house. Before we go, we prepare ourselves on what survivors are there, what is our role with them...we plan to visit every community to knock on the door, to watch their situation again. Every time we're discussing the leader or work with community members, to know the progress of the situation. We are also trying to train the community leaders on violence against women, acid attack issues. The community leaders, who are elected representatives of the community, are working with us to raise awareness of the community. We also include women because they also think the same way as men. The blame [towards acid survivors] comes from women as well. The sellers of acid is also part of the

community, so we tell them not to sell them; if people could not use it [acid], they [perpetrators] will not be able to attack anyone.

The community leaders – such as but not limited to leaders from the government or NGOs, social leaders, social workers, journalists, teachers, religious persons, elected representatives from the government, government officials – are mobilized for community meetings, workshops and training that the Programme Manager mentioned in the above statement. During these meetings, the community leaders learn how to respond properly in the incident of an acid throwing, such as pouring water for at least 30 minutes on all the affected areas including eyes and ears (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). They are also informed to contact the hotline to the ASF Bangladesh hospital to reach out for help, where the number for the hospital is disseminated at every meeting (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). The important message that is delivered during the meetings of the community leaders is that it is the community's responsibility to respond to the attack as quickly as possible and to send the victims to the hospital ideally within 24 hours of the incident (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

The Programme Manager stressed the significance of the awareness-raising initiatives of ASF Bangladesh once again by summarizing the below (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

It [awareness-raising activities] is important because basically we know people have misconception on what they should do after an attack. We have experience where people didn't pour water but used egg, mud, milk, oil or not putting anything, so it's a serious problem. It's very much important issue to raise awareness of our community on what they should do, what their responsibility is to sensitize them and respond quick, how do they quickly respond if any attack happens because it's very sudden, so what they could do, pouring water if situation happens and call the hotline. At the same time, awareness is needed to make the person notice the tough situation of the survivors post acid attack. It's not just a question of beauty but it's also life threatening. People can't relate to that issue. So when they know that it's a deep issue with long consequences, they can re-think about throwing acid. And we always repeatedly try to say that a person of good quality does not throw acid, so every person has that inner feeling to be a good person, a social standard person accepted by everyone. So when a good person/bad person concept [is applied], no one wants to be a bad person. In our community, in Bangladesh, we are always blaming survivors for their attack. But now it's shifting to men

because we're trying to establish that the person who threw acid are men, the main perpetrator and they're the main problem. So the blame is shifting from victim to perpetrator, and their social acceptance is in jeopardy when they throw acid.

The Programme Manager reiterated the challenges that ASF Bangladesh faces in implementing awareness-raising activities (personal communication, June 23, 2015). First is that the perpetrators of acid violence are usually powerful members of the community who have financial and political power. On the other hand, acid victims are usually the underprivileged members of the community with no power. Therefore, the fight against such powerful members of society can be difficult. This is why the community leaders with financial and political power are involved in the training and workshops so that they can reach out to this group of men (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). There is also difficulty in not only reaching out to the members of parliament who pay the perpetrators to throw acid, but also fighting them in high court (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). In such cases, ASF Bangladesh can only fight in low-level court or district-level court (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

The most difficult challenge that the Programme Manager and the Programme Officers noted was rebuilding a survivor's life. Because acid attack is a very sudden, unexpected issue that destroys the dream of the victim in a split second, it is extremely tough and challenging for the survivors to rebuild their life (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

3.2.2. Protection Programmes

As part of its protection plan, ASF Bangladesh visits survivor homes and community clinics, where survivors identify their problems and discover apt solutions based on their own thinking, judgment and effort (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). By encouraging the survivors to do so, ASF Bangladesh strongly believes that they will be able to restore their lives with their own capacity (Programme Officer, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

There is also a survivors' conference, which is a daylong program where ASF Bangladesh mobilizes all the acid survivors in a district (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). At the conference, survivors are re-encouraged by meeting with other fellow survivors, sharing their experiences and challenges and discussing how they

overcame their obstacles. The Programme Manager described the survivors' conference in detail below (personal communication, June 23, 2015):

It [survivors' conference] is a process of sharing. It's very festive and survivors participate in dancing, singing, drama etcetera. We also invite different stakeholders like government officials, NGO officials, acid sellers and users, doctors, journalists, civil society, community leaders...whoever's concerned about this issue, we invite them in this event and share our views, raise our voice to stop acid attack, and we can receive recommendation. The government officials can know the problems of the survivors and have some initiatives to work for acid survivors when they know what types of problems are faced by survivors.

Another important conference that is organized as part of the protection plan is the meeting of acid sellers and users, where ASF Bangladesh invites acid sellers and users in a community. During the meeting, ASF Bangladesh informs the sellers and users that it is illegal to sell acid without a license, and insists them to get the license in order to sell acid (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

ASF Bangladesh is also working to sensitize the media, as it is aware that the work of ASF Bangladesh alone is insufficient and ineffective in

disseminating its messages to the residents in distant areas (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). Therefore, ASF Bangladesh cooperates with the media in order to maximize its reach across the nation.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

Chapter 2 discussed the relevance between domestic violence and international educational development. Furthermore, it examined the issue of domestic violence, especially violence against women, in Bangladesh and defined the critical issues of acid attack in the country. The chapter continued by discussing the education programmes that were known to be carried out by the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh), the principle agency in the country that exists to eradicate acid violence in the country. Then, the theoretical framework of Paulo Freire, and his educational philosophy were introduced.

In Chapter 3, the author discussed in great detail the activities of ASF Bangladesh for both acid survivors and the general public that she learned from her field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh in June 2015. The chapter was divided into two different sections, one reviewing the initiatives of ASF Bangladesh for acid victims and the other examining the activities that are carried out by the organization for the general public and the non-victims.

Having reviewed the various initiatives that are implemented by ASF Bangladesh and the core concepts of Paulo Freire, Chapter 4 will identify the key Freirean frameworks that are embedded in both types of

activities of ASF Bangladesh for acid survivors and those for the non-survivors in the country. The following chapter will also look at the limitations of the Freirean application on the above-mentioned initiatives of ASF Bangladesh.

4.1. Application of Paulo Freire's Framework on the Acid Survivors Foundation's Education Programmes

In this section, the author will identify and discuss the incorporation of the following concepts of Paulo Freire that were reviewed in Chapter 2 – the oppressor-oppressed relationship, culture of silence, conscientization, problem-posing education, dialogue and generative themes – in the initiatives for both acid survivors and the general public that are implemented by ASF Bangladesh. Following the identification of the key frameworks of Paulo Freire in the practices of ASF Bangladesh, the limitations of Freirean application will be discussed.

4.1.1. Freirean Concepts embedded in Victim Care

The process of victim care provided by ASF Bangladesh entails the application of its Bio-Psycho-Social approach, which is the holistic healing

and rehabilitation process customized for the acid victims. The Bio-Psycho-Social model, also known as the integrated approach or the multi-stakeholder approach, focuses on physiotherapy, psychological well-being and social integration of the acid survivors after the completion of their physical treatment (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). ASF Bangladesh justified its application of the multi-stakeholder approach by noting that simply providing medical services to the acid victims was not enough, as they were forced to face challenges that were beyond the measures of physical assistance (S. Ahmed, personal communication, June 25, 2015). Acid survivors face discrimination and struggle to reintegrate not only in society but also back into the community in which they came from due to the visible physical disfigurement and permanent scars. Therefore, ASF Bangladesh provides psychological support and social support in addition to physical treatment to acid victims, emphasizing that the rehabilitation process is incomplete and ineffective without taking into consideration their physical, psychological and social aspects.

The Freirean concepts of the oppressor-oppressed relationship, culture of silence, conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue can be identified in the psycho and the social components of ASF Bangladesh's integrated model. First, Paulo Freire's oppressor-oppressed relationship can be applied to understand the relationship between acid

victims and the perpetrators, whom utilize acid as a tool to oppress their target. Whatever their reasons may be for such action – land disputes, marital disputes, revenge and so on as discussed in Chapter 2 – the perpetrators throw acid to whoever they wish to exercise control, punish them and/or show that they are the higher, powerful figures, or the oppressors. The acid victims, who were already part of the oppressed population even before they got attacked with acid if they are women, are forced to remain as the oppressed ones due to their permanent physical disfigurement that prevent them from attaining freedom.

It is noted in Chapter 2 that the help-seeking behavior of women in Bangladesh is discouraged due to lack of assistance available for them, and that such discouragement results in the female victims to be silent and abstain from reporting their cases of violence, including acid throwing (Chowdhury, 2007). Such behavior can be identified as Paulo Freire's concept of the culture of silence, which is a state created by the oppressors that the oppressed class must break in order to attain liberation from their oppressed status (Freire, 1972). But Freire (1972) notes that in order for the oppressed population to free themselves, they must first become critically conscious of their oppressive surroundings. Because Bangladesh is a patriarchal society, violence against women is considered as a normal cultural custom instead of an oppressive practice (Dalal et al., 2009); such

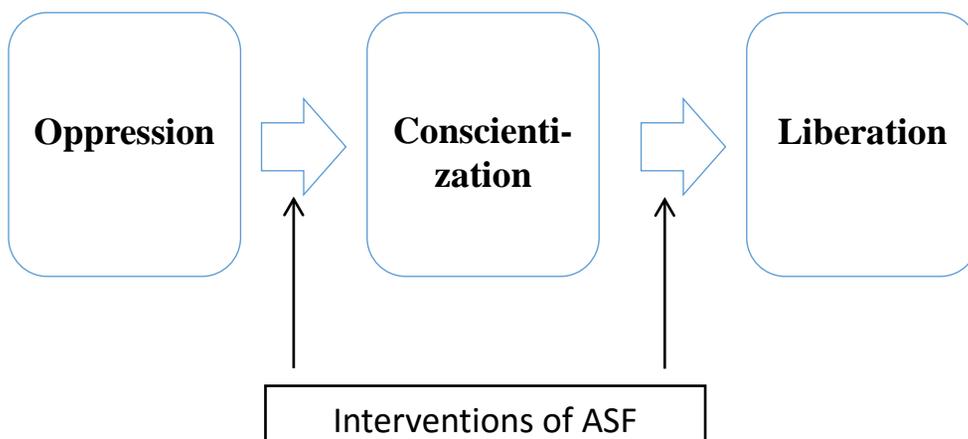
‘normalization of violence’ of the country is discussed in Chapter 2. Because violence against women is recognized as a cultural phenomenon in the country, it is important for them to first realize that gender-based violence is an oppressive act against the oppressed by the oppressors. In other words, it is important for the acid victims and the potential victims to emerge from their submersion in the culture of silence and fully fathom that they are being oppressed by the oppressors – the perpetrators or the potential perpetrators of acid attack - in an oppressive environment – a patriarchal society. Such consciousness-raising, or the development of consciousness of the oppressed that have the power to transform the world, is the first stage of Freire’s pedagogy of the oppressed also known as conscientization. It is vividly reflected in the awareness-raising initiatives for acid survivors implemented by ASF Bangladesh. Various activities such as group meetings, training and workshops that are designed for acid victims focus on helping the acid survivors develop consciousness and realize that what happened to them is not their fault in spite of the stigma that the society places on them. Furthermore, these initiatives help the acid survivors understand that acid attack is a violent practice that should not be accepted as a cultural phenomenon. In order to conduct effective consciousness-raising of the acid survivors, ASF Bangladesh invites experts from various fields, such as human rights, in order to help them critically

comprehend the issue of acid violence as a criminal activity, not a cultural practice. In addition, these initiatives are carried out in the form of a dialogue – a horizontal conversation among pertinent parties that explore issues, ideas and concepts, or generative themes, that hinder their fulfillment as dignified human beings.

The above-mentioned Freirean concept of conscientization is a crucial component of ASF Bangladesh's initiatives, as a large number of acid survivors are involved in the implementation after the completion of their holistic treatment. As noted in Chapter 3, S. Ahmed explained that ASF Bangladesh actively engages acid survivors because there is no other party that better understands the pain and consequence that are brought by acid throwing (personal communication, June 25, 2015). Such approach reflects two frameworks by Freire: the role of the oppressed, which is to constantly struggle against the oppressors and that there is no other group than the oppressed ones themselves that better understands the consequences and the struggle that result from an oppressed social fabric (Freire, 1972). The involvement of the acid survivors – who are the oppressed – and their struggle to fight their oppressors and the oppressed society, can be interpreted as their thirst to witness liberation, or the complete eradication of acid attack in the country in the short-term and a

step to eliminate the existing social obstacles in the long-term. Such argument can be illustrated as the following:

Figure 8. Freirean Frameworks in the Initiatives of ASF Bangladesh



Source: Figure organized by the author

4.1.2. Freirean Concepts embedded in Initiatives for the Non-Victims/General Public

The activities of ASF Bangladesh designed for the non-victims and the general public include campaign work with the objective to raise awareness among the community and potential perpetrators of acid throwing as a criminal activity that must be eradicated in the country. The two

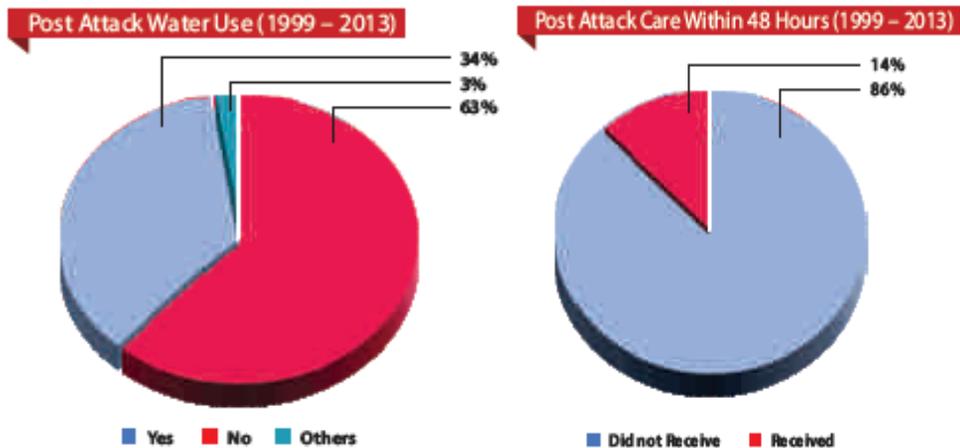
principle campaign activities are school-based and market-based, in which the target audience are students and the male population respectively.

The Freirean framework of consciousness-raising as well as generative themes is evident in both school-based and market-based campaigns. For the school-based campaigns, the survivors themselves visit schools across the country in order to promote zero tolerance on acid attack and promote for the protection of the rights of acid survivors (ASF, 2011; Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015). They do so by telling their personal story on how they became a victim and then a survivor. On the other hand, market-based campaigns – which are carried out in regions where violent activities have been reported in the past – are done through the utilization of visual posters and through the presentations, thematic songs, dances, drama, choreographic performances and folk songs by the acid survivors who decide to participate. Such method is proven to be an effective way in raising awareness among the general public and delivering the messages of ASF Bangladesh (Programme Manager, personal communication, June 23, 2015).

In addition to the participating survivors telling their stories, roles and responsibilities of students and community members are discussed extensively as part of campaign work. For example, the appropriate and timely first aid responses for the victims in the event of an acid attack and

the services that the survivors are entitled to from the government and the NGOs are two important topics that are constantly on the agenda for campaign activities (ASF, 2011). It is crucial that the community and the general public are aware of these issues as they can play a significant role in minimizing the injuries of an acid attack on a victim. The figures below illustrate the numeric figure of the appropriate execution of first aid responses:

Figure 9. Water Use Post Acid Attack and Receipt of Care within 48 Hours of Attack



Source: ASF Annual Report, 2013

It is discussed in Chapter 3 that most acid victims do not receive proper first aid response when they are attacked with acid. This is because

the family members or the community are simply unaware of what the proper medical response is when a person is hit with acid. S. Ahmed noted that there has been incidents where substances such as mud, egg and milk were applied on the areas where acid had come in contact with, when only water should have been applied (personal communication, June 25, 2015). Such improper first aid technique worsens the injury and complicates the process of physical treatment for acid victims. Therefore, ASF Bangladesh focuses on raising awareness on the responsibilities of the community, which the Freirean concept of conscientization is actively incorporated.

Both school-based and market-based campaigns aim to raise consciousness among the non-survivors and the general public in order to prevent the birth of potential perpetrators of acid violence and combat the criminal activity in Bangladesh. Through ASF's campaign initiatives, students and the community members learn about the root causes of acid violence, the consequences of committing the crime and the apt first aid responses that they should carry out if they witness acid throwing. Although the principle purpose of the campaign works is to educate the general public on what their roles are, these activities are carried out in the form of an open discussion in a horizontal fashion, demonstrating Freire's framework of problem-posing education. ASF Bangladesh and the acid survivors who participate in the organization's activities do not follow the traditional

structure of depositing knowledge to the learners, which Freire (1972) calls and criticizes as the banking approach. Instead, they encourage open discussion in which the teacher – in this case, the acid survivors – and the students – the general public learning from the acid survivors – establish a horizontal relationship that promotes cooperation in an attempt to reach a solution. ASF Bangladesh and acid survivors promote the critical understanding of the general public on the issue of acid throwing in the country, help them fully fathom their roles and responsibilities and advocate for their active participation in the movement to completely eliminate the crime in Bangladesh. S. Ahmed noted that such activities played a significant role in reducing acid attack in the country, and Freire would remark the reason of its success as the implementation of the problem-posing education instead of the traditional banking approach.

4.2. Limitations of the Freirean Application on the Acid Survivors Foundation's Initiatives

ASF Bangladesh has incorporated a wide range of activities in order to reduce the number of acid attack in the country. As a result of its diligent work, the number of acid incidents and the number of survivors in Bangladesh have demonstrated a significant decline since 2002. In fact,

other countries where acid violence is also present considers the case of Bangladesh as a success story and attempts to replicate its strategies in order to observe the same reduction of the criminal activity that Bangladesh was able to.

However, the initiatives of ASF Bangladesh cannot be considered to contain all the core concepts of Paulo Freire. Firstly, although it may seem clear that acid violence is an important issue of gender-based violence that must be discussed at both the national and the international levels, its link with education development may seem unclear and irrelevant to many. Furthermore, although the practices of ASF Bangladesh entail educating the stakeholders – acid survivors and the general public including potential perpetrators of the crime – involved in the issue of acid attack, they are not officially known, called or acknowledged as an education program. Therefore, in spite of the analysis that the initiatives of ASF Bangladesh reflect and represent Paulo Freire's key theoretical frameworks, some may consider the application itself as forceful, inappropriate and impertinent.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

The People's Republic of Bangladesh is an extremely young country that was created in the late 1971 after the Liberation War against Pakistan. Since then, it has struggled with numerous challenges from diverse spheres that has hindered its national development, such as but not limited to political, social, economic and environmental problems. However, with the country's consistent effort to overcome its wide range of challenges from poverty to gender inequality, Bangladesh has been recognized as one of the countries that were on track to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It especially received international attention on its remarkable achievement in meeting MDG 2 and MDG 3, achieving universal primary education and promoting gender equality. Unfortunately, Bangladesh continues to face difficulty with existing challenges – such as perpetuating poverty and gender inequality – in spite of its accomplishment that has been acknowledged worldwide. Although gender inequality still hampers the process as well as progress of development in the country, one particular issue has been receiving attention by the international community as a success story. This research explores how Bangladesh has gained such title by examining the response of the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh), the principle organization in the country that fights the

criminal activity – acid attack – and its activities that attribute to the successful decline of the crime rate in the country. A brief summary of the previous chapters is outlined in the sections below.

5.1. Summary

In the Introduction chapter, the author supplies an extensive overview of Bangladesh. Chapter 1 introduces Bangladesh as one of the countries that have been recognized at the international level for its diligent work and consistent progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the promised deadline of 2015. Bangladesh was particularly acknowledged for its remarkable achievement in meeting the targets of MDG 2 and MDG 3, ‘achieve universal primary education’ and ‘promote gender equality and empower women.’ More specifically, Bangladesh has made extraordinary progress in increasing the net enrollment rate at the primary level to 98.7 percent, where the figures for girls and boys peaked to 99.4 percent and 97.2 percent for girls and boys respectively. Furthermore, gender equality was observed in both primary and secondary schools, and various efforts have been carried out in order to enhance the quality of primary education in the country. It also introduces the issue of acid attack in the context of Bangladesh by providing different

definitions of the criminal activity. In addition, it states that acid violence is not a problem strictly local to Bangladesh; rather, it is a global phenomenon that takes place from a wide range of developing and developed countries. The author states that the way in which Bangladesh has witnessed a significant reduction of acid throwing in the country and its response to the crime has received a lot of international attention and has been recognized as a success model by the international community. Such successful decline of the violent practice in Bangladesh is a result of the Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh (ASF Bangladesh)'s education programmes that are implemented across the country. With other countries with acid violence working to replicate Bangladesh's work in reducing the rate of the crime, the case of Bangladesh is deeply explored in order to identify the strategies and the characteristics in its response.

Chapter 2 reviews previous literature that links the issue of domestic violence with the field of international development and education. This section is included in order to strengthen the relevance between acid throwing and international educational development, as it may not appear as transparent. The reasons domestic violence is considered as an international concern is also reviewed in order to enhance the argument that acid violence is a pertinent issue of international development. Then, domestic violence in the context of Bangladesh is reviewed, followed by the critical issues of acid

attack in the country. The fourth section of Chapter 2 discusses the education programmes of ASF Bangladesh from the available literature and introduces Paulo Freire's core concepts that the author has deemed to be embedded in the education initiatives of ASF Bangladesh.

The findings from the author's field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh are narrated in Chapter 3. The author was able to interview four different groups, in which the first two groups were acid survivors who currently work as staff members of ASF Bangladesh HQ today. The third group consisted of staff members from the Programme Unit, which designs and implements various awareness-raising activities across the countries. Finally, the fourth group was the Executive Director of ASF Bangladesh, whom supplied an extensive overview of the organization and its role in combating acid attack in the country.

Chapter 4 explores the various Freirean frameworks that are embodied in the activities of ASF Bangladesh. It also notes that although the terminology 'education programmes' are used in the reviewed literature on ASF Bangladesh, the initiatives carried out by the agency do not reflect the system of the formal education. The participants from the author's field trip to the HQ of ASF Bangladesh used the terminology 'awareness-raising initiatives' in order to refer to the 'education programmes' that were described in the available literature. The chapter is divided into two sections

and studies the Freirean concepts that are incorporated in programmes that are geared for both acid survivors and the remaining population – the non-victims and the general public. The author further takes note of the limitations of applying the concepts of Paulo Freire on the awareness-raising activities of ASF Bangladesh.

The following section will proceed to an academic discussion on the author's research by including limitations of the research and potential direction that the research could have taken and discourse that could be included to enhance the study. Suggestions for future research are also discussed.

5.2. Implications of Paulo Freire's Core Concepts in the Acid Survivors Foundation's Education Programmes

This study consists of two main components: the discussion on the educational initiatives of ASF Bangladesh and the exploration of the Freirean frameworks that were embedded in its programmes. The issue of acid attack can be interpreted in accordance to a diverse range of disciplines, from public health and gender to human rights. For this research, the author has decided to look at acid throwing as a case of gender-based violence, focusing on education among the numerous crosscutting issues mentioned

above. The rationale for choosing education among other important cross-cutting components of acid attack is that educational initiatives or the awareness—raising programmes of ASF Bangladesh were accredited for the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of acid survivors as well as the remarkable reduction of the crime rate by raising awareness of the general public on the criminal activity in the literature that was reviewed. Furthermore, their activities for both acid survivors and the general public and the non-victims that are described in the contents of the programme and the documents of ASF Bangladesh can be interpreted with the frameworks of Paulo Freire. The author's field trip to the Headquarter of ASF Bangladesh confirmed the embodiment of Paulo Freire's key concepts in the activities that are carried out by ASF Bangladesh, both for acid survivors and the remaining population, such as conscientization, problem-posing education and dialogue. Therefore, because of the adoption of the Freirean frameworks in such initiatives, the work of ASF Bangladesh is considered to be successful and to be a crucial aspect in contributing to the reduction of the prevalence rate of acid attack in the country.

However, there are several limitations to this study. The author's research looks at the issue of acid throwing, a global phenomenon, in a specific country, Bangladesh. Therefore, not all acid survivors across the world will experience the same effects of the educational activities that are

carried out by ASF Bangladesh. In other words, it is difficult to say whether the effects of the educational initiatives of ASF Bangladesh can be applied and generalized across the world. This is an important point to take into consideration in order to enhance the research, as many countries are turning to Bangladesh for advice and assistance in combating acid attack in their own countries as mentioned in the beginning of the study. Another suggestion for improvement is to incorporate the gender framework in addition to the Freirean concepts, as acid attack is an issue of gender-based violence. Although this study simply focused on Paulo Freire's representative perspective as the aim was to explore the educational activities of ASF Bangladesh, bringing a gender perspective to the discussion table and establishing a linkage with the applied Freirean frameworks will solidify the research.

Bangladesh is a country that has consistently struggled, and still continues to struggle from a wide number of challenges. Although gender inequality remains as a pressing issue of the country, its response to acid attack, a serious criminal offense against the underprivileged, oppressed population, is recognized at the international level as a success story. The educational, awareness-raising initiatives of ASF Bangladesh – more specifically, its Freirean case – have been proven to play a key role in fighting the crime, and thus should be considered as a model approach for

other countries suffering from the stubborn survival of the criminal activity. In other words, its education programmes should be interpreted and disseminated to other countries that wish to completely combat acid throwing. Those countries should deliver education programmes that adequately reflect the key Freirean perspectives in their own implementation of strategies at the national context in order to de-oppress to the level of liberation.

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국문초록

프레이리 시각으로 본 염산테러생존자재단(ASF)의 교육 프로그램 논의:
방글라데시 사례

수많은 개발도상국가들은 여전히 국가 발전을 저해하는 여러가지 장애물을 겪고있다. 지속되는 성 불평등과 여성에 대한 폭력은 한 국가의 발전을 방해하는 가장 큰 장애물로 간주된다. 이 논문은 국제적인 현상으로 인식되어온 여성에 대한 폭력 문제인 염산테러를 방글라데시라는 한 국가의 케이스로 관찰한다. 방글라데시는 수많은 정치적, 사회적, 경제적 문제를 안고 있는 어린 국가이지만 몇가지 새천년 개발 목표 (Millennium Development Goals)를 종결연도인 2015 년 이전에 달성한 점으로 국제사회로부터 인정을 받고 있다.

그러나 이런 성취에도 불구하고 방글라데시는 여전히 빈곤 졸업, 여성 폭력 퇴치 등 여러가지 어려움에 직면해있다. 하지만 흥미롭게도, 한 여성 폭력에 대한 방글라데시의 대응이 똑같은 문제를 겪고 있는 다른 국가들에게 롤모델과 성공 사례로 알려져있다. 염산테러 (acid attack)로 알려진 이 범죄 활동은 주로 여성에 대한 폭력이지만 일반적으로 소외 계층과 억압된 사회에 많이 일어나는 폭력이다. 염산테러는 우간다, 캄보디아, 라오스 등의 개발도상국은 물론 영국, 일본, 호주등의 선진국을 포함해 전 세계에서 일어날 수 있는 현상이다. 염산테러가 일어나는 국가들은 이 범죄의 발생률 감소를 위해 염산테러생존자재단 방글라데시 (ASF Bangladesh)에서 수행하는 활동과 작업을 똑같이 실행하려 하고 있다. 다양한 경제적, 정치적, 사회적 문제로 인해 아직 원조가 절실히 필요한 개발도상국가인 방글라데시가 이렇게 국제적 관심을 받는다는 것 자체가 매우 의미있는 일이라고 볼 수 있다.

ASF Bangladesh 는 염산테러의 효과적인 발생률이 Bio-Psychosocial 모델 덕분이라고 말한다. 이 모델은 염산테러의 피해자들은 물론 비 피해자와 일반 대중을 위한 교육 활동과 인식 제고 활동을 모두 포함하고 있다. 이 논문의 목적은 염산테러 발생률 저하에 큰 영향을 미치는 ASF Bangladesh 의 교육 활동의 주요 특성을 분석하는 것이다. 관련 문헌 조사와 ASF Bangladesh 본사 방문을 통한 인터뷰 등에서 파울루 프레이리의 대표적 이론 프레임워크를 탐구 및 확인할 수 있었다. 프레이리의 ‘의식화 (conscientization),’ ‘문제제기 교육 (problem-posing education)’ 및 ‘대화 (dialogue)’가 피해자들은 물론 비피해자들을 대상으로 한 ASF Bangladesh 의 교육 및 인식 제고 활동에 적절하게 반영되어 있음을 ASF Bangladesh 와의 인터뷰를 통해 확인할 수 있었다. 이렇게 개발도상국가의 교육 프로그램이 다른 나라에게로 전해질 수 있고, 방글라데시의 경우 프레이리의 케이스가 되는 것이다.

ASF Bangladesh 의 활동은 세계적으로는 물론 염산테러를 퇴치하고 싶은 국가들로부터 성공 사례로 인정받고 있다. 염산테러 생존자들의 재활과 사회 복귀에 대한 ASF Bangladesh 의 접근 방식은 물론 비피해자와 일반 대중의 인식 제고 활동은 의식화, 문제제기 교육, 대화 등 프레이리의 이론적 시각을 반영함에 따라 효과적인 것으로 간주된다. 그러므로 이러한 국가들 또한 프레이리의 시각이 반영된 교육 프로그램을 이행함으로써 방글라데시와 유사한 염산테러 발생률 감소에 기여할 수 있을 것이다.

주요어: 염산테러, 염산테러생존자재단 방글라데시 (Acid Survivors Foundation Bangladesh) 의 교육 프로그램, 파울루 프레이리 교육 시각

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