

CHANGING COURSE

**Implementation and Evaluation
of the Gender Equity Movement in Schools
(GEMS) program in specific sites –Vietnam,
India and Bangladesh**

August 2017





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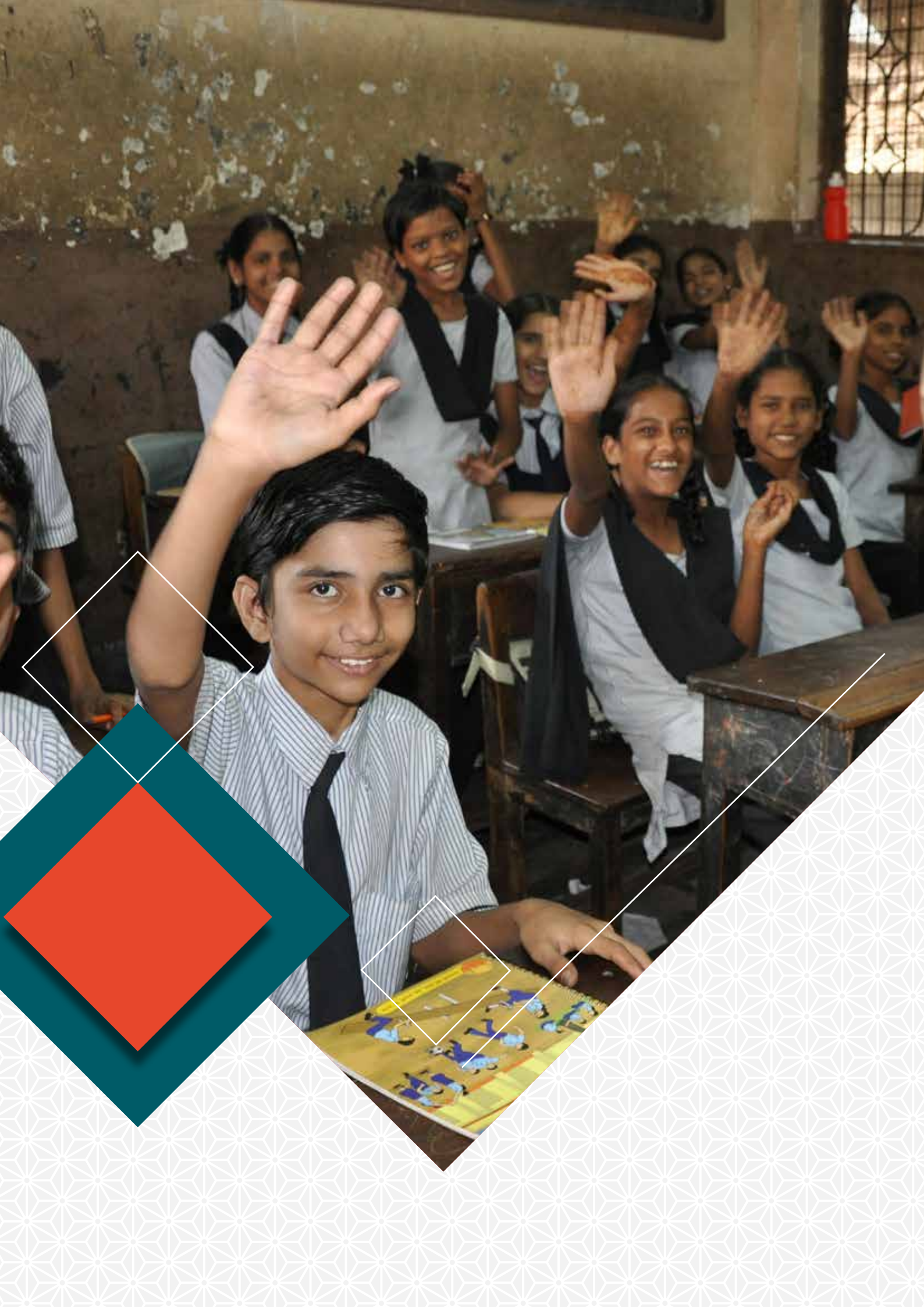


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List of Abbreviations



ACASI	Audio-Computer Assisted Self-Administered Interviewing
Adj.	Adjusted
BL	Baseline
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CCIHP	Center for Creative Initiatives in Health and Population
CINI	Child in Need Institute
CORO	Committee of Resource Organizations for Literacy
CRT	Cluster Randomized Trial
DiD	Difference-in-Difference
DSE	District Superintendent of Education
EL	Endline
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GA	Gender Attitude
GEAs	Group Education Activities
GEM Scale	Gender Equitable Men Scale
GEMS	Gender Equity Movement in Schools
GB	Generation Breakthrough
GBV	Gender-based Violence
IDIs	In-depth Interviews
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IRB	Institutional Review Board
KII	Key Informant Interview
LEADS	Life Education and Development Support
ML	Midline
POCSO 2012	Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012
PWDVA 2005	Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005
RTE 2009	Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDP	School Development Plan
SMC	School Management Committee
SRGBV	School-related Gender-based Violence
TISS	Tata Institute for Social Sciences
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Fund
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls



1 SECTION

INTRODUCTION



Introduction



Gender inequality is recognized as a fundamental barrier to the achievement of global development goals. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) include a specific goal on achieving gender equality, in addition to recognizing it as a driver for achieving outcomes in other areas including health, education and economic development. Persistent and rigid societal norms restrict opportunities for women and girls, and hamper the realization of individual potential, and equitable development. Gender-based discrimination and violence remain two of the most obvious yet normalized manifestations of these norms. They reinforce patriarchal values and perpetuate inequitable gender norms across generations.

Literature underscores the impact of inequitable gender norms on various aspects of an individuals' life. Such norms affect the overall well-being and health of boys, girls, men and women, including adverse consequences such as emotional

distress, mental health problems and poor reproductive health^{1,2}. They also limit women's access to education, employment and health care, curtail their decision-making, force girls into early marriage and normalize violence against them^{3,4,5}. Further, inequitable gender norms encourage men and boys to take risks in terms of sexual behavior, substance abuse, and perpetuation of violence on women and girls (VAWG)^{6,7}.

Through various socialization processes, gender stereotypes and the acceptance of violence to resolve conflicts set in at a very early age. There is growing evidence on the need for challenging the fundamental constructs of gender and violence at ages when attitudes and beliefs are being shaped. Schools play a major role in influencing the thought processes of a large population of children and adolescents and therefore provide a compelling setting in which to engage children in discussions about gender. More often than not, however, schools perpetuate gender stereotypes,

1. Contreras et al. (2012) *Bridges to Adulthood: Understanding the Lifelong Influence of Men's Childhood Experience of Violence Analyzing Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey*. Washington: ICRW and Rio de Janeiro: Promundo.
2. Knerr, W. (2011) *Parenting and the prevention of child maltreatment in low- and middle-income countries: A systematic review of interventions and a discussion of prevention of the risks of future violent behavior among boys*. Oxford: SVRI, Oak Foundation and South African Medical Research Council
3. ICRW. (2011). *Delaying marriage for girls in India: A formative research to design interventions for changing norms*. UNICEF, New Delhi.
4. Acharya, Dev R., Bell, Jacqueline S., Simkhada, Padam, van Teijlingen, Edwin R., & Regmi, Pramod R. (2010). *Women's autonomy in household decision-making: a demographic study in Nepal*. Reproductive Health, 2010. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1186/1742-4755-7-15>
5. Sen, G. & Östlin, P. (2008). *Gender inequity in health: why it exists and how we can change it*. Global Public Health, Volume 3, Supplement 1, 2008, Special Issue.
6. Barker, G., Contreras, J., Heilman, B., Singh, A. K., Verma, R. K., and Nascimento, M. (2011). *Evolving men: Initial results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.
7. Verma, R., Pulerwitz, J., Mahendra, V., Khandekar, S., Singh, A. K., Das, S., et al. (2008). *Promoting gender equity as a strategy to reduce HIV risk and gender-based violence among young men in India*. Washington, DC: Population Council.

biases and condone the use of violence^{8,9,10,11}. Nevertheless, schools have the potential to initiate and sustain societal change by promoting gender equality and challenging the use of violence.

Primary violence prevention approaches, those that seek to prevent or stop violence before it starts, are also critical to achieving a long-term reduction in GBV. Most practitioners agree that violence prevention requires a sustained and coordinated menu of activities in a given setting¹². It requires changes in awareness, attitude and behaviors at the individual, family and community levels. Corresponding changes must also occur in the larger social environment, including institutions, policies, and social norms.

Given the long term and multi-pronged nature of effective prevention, programmatic evaluations that show a reduction in the prevalence of violence are understandably quite rare. Well-known examples of projects that have undergone rigorous evaluation include the IMAGE study in South Africa, evaluations of Stepping Stones in various locations across Africa, and teen dating

violence prevention projects in North America¹³. Promising approaches for violence prevention include empowerment of women, interventions with youth (within and outside of schools), parenting & early childhood interventions, projects that engage entire communities in prevention, campaigning and social mobilization, and those that combine different elements of the above¹⁴. Evidence also points to the effectiveness of interventions that include engagement with boys and men, alongside empowering girls and women, as a central component of the intervention strategy¹⁵. These interventions are sometimes termed *gender-relational*, meaning they address gender relations, rather than separating boys and men from projects that seek to empower girls and women. The 2007 WHO/Promundo evaluation report¹⁶ suggests that well-designed and multi-pronged programs that seek to transform gender roles and promote gender-equitable behavior are promising in terms of changing men's use of violence against women and questioning violence with other men.¹⁷

In Asia, there is a dearth of evidence about the effectiveness of prevention approaches

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8. Bhatla, Nandita, Achyut, Pranita, Khan, Nizamuddin, and Walia, Sunayana. (2014). *Are Schools Safe and Gender Equal Spaces? Findings from a baseline study of School Related Gender-Based Violence in five countries in Asia*. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW).
 9. Barker, G. (2006). *Engaging boys and men to empower girls: Reflections from practice and evidence of impact*. Expert Group Meeting on Elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against the girl child. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy, 25-28 September.
 10. Pinheiro, Paulo S. (2006). *World report on violence against children*. Geneva: United Nations
 11. Dunne Máiréad, Leach, F., Chilisa, B., Maundeni, T., Tabulawa, R., Kutor, N., Forde, L. and Asamoah, A. (2005). *Gendered School Experiences: The Impact on Retention and Achievement in Botswana and Ghana*. Education Series Research Report No. 56. London: DfID.
 12. Leach, F., Slade, E. and Dunne, M. (2013). *Promising Practice in School-Related Gender-Based Violence (SRGBV) Prevention and Response Programming Globally*. Report commissioned for Concern Worldwide. Dublin: Concern Worldwide.
 13. World Health Organization(WHO)/London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. (2010). *Preventing intimate partner and sexual violence against women: taking action and generating evidence*. Geneva: WHO.
 14. For more on promising prevention approaches, see Heise, Lori L. (2011). *What works to Prevent Partner Violence: An Evidence Overview*. Report for the UK Department for International Development.
 15. WHO. (2007). *Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from program interventions*. Geneva:WHO.
 16. Ibid
 17. Barker, G., Contreras, J.M., Heilman, B., Singh, A.K., Verma, R.K., and Nascimento, M. (2011). *Evolving Men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.

with younger age groups. The last decade has seen a specific focus on understanding and addressing school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). Literature notes that the wide prevalence of SRGBV reflects wider societal norms and trends. A recent comprehensive review of SRGBV in the Asia-Pacific region notes that – ‘SRGBV is not a problem confined to schools but a complex, multifaceted societal issue with root causes in all levels of society, including societal, institutional and domestic levels’¹⁸. The review also states that while the available data are scattered, and studies have used diverse methods and measurement, the most common forms of SRGBV in Asia-Pacific are corporal punishment; physical, psychosocial and sexual violence abuse; and bullying. The review further refers to causes of SRGBV as those being specific to schools - such as disciplinary techniques that reflect broader societal norms, deeply ingrained gender inequalities, rigid gender expectations, weak security mechanisms and the widespread acceptance of violence. Emerging evidence shows that school-based interventions are promising for primary prevention¹⁹.

Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) is one of the few evaluated school-based programs that aims to promote gender equality, redefine masculinity and negate all forms of violence. It was first developed and tested by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), Committee of Resource Organizations for Literacy (CORO) and the Tata Institute for Social Sciences (TISS) during 2008-11 in Mumbai, India²⁰. Given its encouraging results, organizations

and donors expressed interest to adapt, implement and evaluate GEMS in additional sites – Da Nang (Vietnam), Jharkhand (India) and four districts of Bangladesh. While these sites present different cultural contexts, there are remarkable similarities in terms of gender values and manifestations of inequalities in practices and beliefs. For example, strong son-preference and high rates of domestic violence are prevalent in these countries. The adaptation of the GEMS program in different sites presented a unique opportunity to generate valuable regional and cross-cultural learning on what works and what does not in promoting gender equality and preventing violence; and how a similar school-based intervention can promote changes in different settings and what factors contribute to it²¹.

This synthesis report is based on the evaluation of GEMS at three specific sites - Vietnam, Bangladesh and India. It describes the methods and findings in each of the sites, and undertakes a discussion on its implications on gender programming. This report is structured into six sections. This section presents a brief background on the issue and introduces the study; Section 2 describes the GEMS program, including its theory of change, and describes how the program was adapted and evaluated in the three settings. Sections 3, 4 and 5 present the site-specific implementation and results; and the final section discusses the implications from the GEMS regional program evaluation and the learning that can be drawn from the regional study.

¹⁸. UNESCO. (2014). *School-related Gender-based Violence in the Asia-Pacific region*. Bangkok: UNESCO.

¹⁹. Achyut, P., Bhatla, N., Khandekar, S., Maitra, S., and Verma, R.K., (2011). *Building Support for Gender Equality among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India*. ICRW, New Delhi.

²⁰. Detailed description of the GEMS program is in Section 2.

²¹. The similarities and differences in the program and evaluation are presented in Section 2.

2 SECTION

GEMS PROGRAM AND THE REGIONAL EVALUATION



CHAPTER 2.1: The Gender Equity Movement in Schools Program



Gender Equity Movement in schools (GEMS) is a school-based program for young adolescents aged 12-14 years, studying in grades 6 to 8. The program undertakes activities to promote equitable attitudes and norms related to gender and violence among girls and boys; strengthen their understanding and skills to resolve conflicts without violence; and create a safe school culture that supports egalitarian and non-violent attitudes and behaviors. To achieve these outcomes, GEMS uses four strategic pillars, described below.

2.1.1 Strategic pillars

GEMS has four strategic pillars – *starting young, engaging both girls and boys in the gender discourse, using a gender transformative approach and using institutional settings for normative change*²². Perception toward gender roles, expectations and behaviors are learnt at young ages through various socialization processes. Inequitable norms, which impact opportunities and aspirations, health and well-being, self and relationships between people of all genders, need to be questioned, examined and challenged. This needs to start at a young age, when gender roles are still forming.

GEMS recognizes the need to engage both girls and boys to prevent and address violence through gender transformative²³ processes.

It adopts a dissonance-based approach to encourage children to challenge norms and explore alternatives. According to the cognitive dissonance theory, all individuals seek consistency between their attitudes and beliefs. *Cognitive dissonance* refers to a situation where there is conflict between one's actions and one's beliefs, and thus the individual seeks an alteration in the attitudes, beliefs or behavior to reduce the cognitive discomfort or dissonance. By creating spaces for discussion to challenge existing beliefs or creating dissonance, GEMS seeks to promote more equitable ways of thinking and action.

GEMS promotes an understanding that violence is a means for men and boys to maintain power. In this way, the program recognizes and addresses patriarchy as well as the concepts of masculinity, authority, entitlement, sexuality and gender roles. Harmful notions of masculinity may underlie aggression, violence, sexual power and homophobia; Similarly, harmful notions of femininity may underlie submissiveness and acceptance of violence. Thus, both girls and boys must engage in questioning gender norms such that the status quo is disrupted and challenged.

The last pillar emphasizes the need to engage the system, which maintains and perpetuates inequality, stereotypes and discrimination

²² Described in Achyut, P., Bhatla, N., Verma, H., Uttamacharya; Singh, G., Bhattacharya, S., and Verma, R.K. (2016). *Towards gender equality: The GEMS journey thus far*. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women. DOI: <https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/GEMS-report-jharkhand.pdf>.

²³ Along the gender continuum, programs can be classified into the categories of Gender exploitative, gender neutral/blind, gender sensitive and gender transformative. This continuum assesses how gender is addressed: one end has programs that deepen the gender inequity and then the continuum gradually moves towards actively promoting equality between the genders. Gender transformative programs are those that recognize and attempt to challenge the gender status quo and promote equality.



in implicit and explicit ways. The GEMS program sees schools as institutions that provide space to create and sustain change, but that also need to change themselves. It emphasizes the role of schools to 'teach' beyond academics. Teachers are central to the GEMS approach, as they are not only providers of knowledge, but have the ability to positively influence the socialization of children and thus impact society for generations to come. School infrastructure, practices and policies, the curriculum, and violence response mechanisms need to be examined in order for GEMS to achieve sustained impact.

GEMS seeks to challenge, recognize and transform gender relations and gender-based stereotypes for both girls and boys. The program is designed to help teachers and students recognize the differential value assigned to boys and girls by society and how this can give rise to violence. Teachers are not merely the facilitators of the curriculum – they themselves often need to ponder and start their personal transformation toward gender equitable beliefs and practices. Creating opportunities for engaging girls and boys to observe everyday manifestations of norms, and to reflect, analyze and challenge them is a critical process in the GEMS approach.

2.1.2 Theory of Change

GEMS' theory of change draws from the social normative framework and applies to the construction of gender and violence therein. It considers that the notions of dominance and power, and the use of violence to resolve conflicts set in at early stages of child development through various socialization processes, thereby creating a normative environment that supports specific mutual commitments i.e. norms

(behavior prescription rules) explicitly. Society incentivizes adherence to these norms through the application of sanctions, often through institutional structures and mechanisms²⁴. The GEMS program uses gender transformative approaches within the school setting, to engage girls and boys to recognize, challenge, and transform gender norms.

GEMS uses a combination of the cognitive-affective approach²⁵ and life skills, undertaken in institutional settings, to bring transformative and sustained changes toward violence prevention. The cognitive-affective approach is based on the theory that attitudes have three components (cognition, affective and behavioral). GEMS is designed to provide the necessary knowledge (cognition) and establish the affective connect to create an understanding of how gender issues impact daily lives and future course for boys and girls, thereby creating motivations to change behavior.

GEMS engages with teachers and facilitators to transform their pedagogical perspective and skills. The Group Education Activities (GEAs), undertaken as classroom sessions, create cognitive dissonance and allow students to reflect and analyze different views. Group reflection reciprocates and reinforces the processes of individual change among students. This, coupled with school-level campaigns and orientation workshops with larger sections of teachers and non-teaching staff, initiate institutional discourse on gender. Fostering ownership within the system through sensitization of teachers and principals is critical to achieving impact in the school environment. These mutually reinforcing processes, at the individual and systems level, have the potential to create lasting normative changes toward gender equality and violence prevention.

²⁴ Cardoso, Henrique Lopes, and Oliveira, Eugénio. (2011-12). Social Control in a Normative Framework: An Adaptive Deterrence Approach. DOI: <https://paginas.fe.up.pt/~niadr/PUBLICATIONS/2011/WIA224.pdf>

²⁵ Mischel's Cognitive-Affective model of personality argues that an individual's behavior is not merely a result of his or her traits, but fundamentally dependent on situational cues – the needs of a given situation.

2.1.3 GEMS Outcomes

A primary objective of the GEMS approach is to trigger questioning of existing gender biases, stereotypes and expectations. Thus, a change in individuals' gender attitudes is a key primary outcome. Specifically, change is expected in what and how people think about gender roles, attributes and expectations. These changes are expected to include shifts in the acceptance and justification of violence. Since GEMS is a school-based program, attitudinal change regarding violence is anticipated to include the rejection of corporal punishment and peer-based violence.

Another primary objective of the GEMS approach is to establish a more supportive school environment that enables students to act on their changed attitudes. Primary outcomes in this area therefore include students' increased conviction, agency, comfort and trust to communicate with family, peers and teachers about these issues. We also expect to see enhanced interactions between girls and boys as gender relations improve and become more equitable. Finally, we expect actions to start becoming visible: violence is recognized, reported and intervened on. We recognize, however, that actual change in rates of violence could be difficult to achieve in a short span of two years, given that violence is very normalized at baseline (BL). Thus, changes in experience and perpetration of violence are regarded as secondary outcomes. In addition, the reporting of violence by students to adults can be influenced by the lack of trust for teachers, who are often perpetrators themselves, and the lack of any response mechanisms for addressing violence within schools or communities. Both require efforts beyond what the GEMS program provides.

1.4 GEMS Content

The GEMS program includes multiple activities with teachers, students and parents. The capacity building of select teachers to lead the program lies at the core of the program. The

key GEMS components include orientation of all school staff, classroom-based GEAs with students of class 6 to 8 and school-based campaigns. All these are implemented over two academic years. The program uses school-based platforms to engage parents and encourage students to take classroom discussions home through a GEMS diary. A brief description of the core program is described below, and the country specific variations are presented in the next section.

Teachers' training - GEMS recognizes teachers as an important constituency – an important ally to bring sustained change in gender norms. However, to lead the process of change, teachers need to examine their own inherent biases, and the ways in which they reinforce stereotypes in obvious and subtle ways. The gender training workshops with teachers were a critical space and opportunity to create a spark of motivation and conviction to implement a program that challenges the status quo.

The training methodology reinforced two strands: first – to connect to the self-examining one's own life experiences and the emotions connected with feelings of discrimination or inequality; and secondly to reinforce the role of a teacher- as a guide and role model in the lives of children. The role of schools in perpetuating gender stereotypes and violence is often unrecognized. The training workshops included sessions to build a broader understanding of patriarchy, power, gender discrimination and violence, and examine the role of schools within that. This helped them identify personal behavior and institutional procedures that encourage discrimination and violence. The process of transformation is built on aspects of questioning, challenging and the creation of dissonance. Hence, the training workshops were participatory and used simulation sessions to increase comfort and strengthen skills of teachers.

Orientation of school staff - To facilitate a conversation on gender in school, discussion

Core Components

1. GEAs: 22 activity-based discussion sessions conducted in the classroom over 2 academic years (presented in GEMS manual)
2. GEMS school campaign: series of events to create a school-wide discourse. Includes competitions, gender-bender games, role play activities and pledges
3. GEMS Diary: a student's book with games, activities, quizzes and messages to reinforce the classroom sessions and take the conversation to families. Classroom sessions discuss the use of the GEMS diary
4. Teacher training and support: intensive reflective trainings, session simulation and handholding support to teachers to empower them in the process of change
5. School orientation meetings: orientation and discussion meetings with all teachers and principals to create an enabling environment
6. Parent and community outreach: strengthening interface with parents through campaigns and activating forums or school-based platforms like school clubs, parent-teacher association, School Management Committees

needed to be extended to all staff. School orientation meetings are a critical strategy in that direction. In the beginning of the project implementation, an orientation meeting was organized in each of the intervention schools to inform staff about the program, and address their questions and concerns. The orientation meeting was followed by periodic progress meetings to update staff about the program, share learning from other sites and address any questions or concerns.

GEAs with students - The GEAs in the core GEMS curriculum consist of 7 modules and 22 sessions. The 10 sessions of Year 1 are designed around three broad domains – gender, violence and bodily changes – with a focus on foundational understanding of concepts and their manifestations. Year 2 sessions are designed to deepen the perspective and provide life skills around gender, relationships, emotions, communication and conflict resolution. Each session uses participatory activities, including role-play, free-listing, games and debates, which are of 45-minute duration to align with the school timetable. In addition, specific periods are allocated in year 2 to discuss activities related to GEMS Diary. All sessions are designed to be conducted in mixed group settings, however, there is flexibility with respect to sessions on bodily changes. Depending on the comfort of the teachers, these can be conducted together

or separately for girls and boys with the same sex teacher leading the session.

School-based campaign – To take classroom discussion to the school level, school-wide campaigns are organized that are led by teachers and students and organized along the key content themes of GEMS. These are fun-filled events aimed at creating an environment of conversation and questioning inequitable gender norms and behaviors. Campaigns include activities such as poster making, slogan and essay writing, games and races, plays, speeches during assembly and pledges for equality and non-violence. Parents are also invited to attend these campaigns.

The GEMS campaign has suggested activities but is not prescriptive in the exact nature of activities. Further, the aim is to have students and teachers design and lead the campaign to share their reflection and thinking around these issues.

Parent and community outreach – The GEMS program aims to use contextually available institutional platforms, such as student clubs or groups, teachers' meetings, and parent-teacher association/committees, to engage students, teachers and parents to discuss, reflect and support efforts to challenge and change inequitable gender norms. Community campaigns are also encouraged.

Chapter 2.2: The Regional Study: Adaptation and Evaluation of GEMS in Different Countries



2.2.1 Initiation of GEMS in different countries:

After the initial pilot in Mumbai, India, the expansion of the GEMS program to the other sites was not intentionally planned or initiated by ICRW. Thus, the timeline of the intervention varied across countries, as did the role of ICRW in terms of the degree of its involvement and ability to make decisions on the final program and evaluation. Nevertheless, the concurrence of the program implementation in all three countries with brief overlapping periods, and the involvement of ICRW as a technical partner, presented an opportunity to learn from evaluations of the same program across different contexts. Chronologically, GEMS was adopted first in Da Nang Vietnam (2012), then in Jharkhand, India (2014) and finally in four districts in Bangladesh (2015). Table 2.1 provides an overview of the GEMS project in the three countries.

In Vietnam, GEMS was initiated soon after the pilot in Mumbai was completed. In 2012, the Partners for Prevention program (P4P)²⁶, a regional UN joint-program for the prevention of violence against women and girls in Asia and the Pacific, identified GEMS as a promising early violence prevention intervention. P4P was instrumental in GEMS being adapted in both Vietnam and

Bangladesh, though the time taken for the operationalization saw almost a two-year lag between Vietnam (2012) and Bangladesh (2015).

In Vietnam, P4P's ongoing discussions with their grantee Paz y Desarrollo (PyD), resulted in a decision to adapt GEMS and pilot in Da Nang city to test its relevance within a South East Asian context. ICRW was involved as a technical support partner with a specific role to share the GEMS processes, tools and methodology. However, the GEMS core content (the GEMS manual, campaign guide, GEMS Diary and the evaluation brief) were already available online, in the public domain for open access. ICRW shared the tools for formative research and the evaluation with P4P. ICRW also reviewed and provided inputs to the BL tool as well. While some of the key indicators and measures remained the same as in the original evaluation in Mumbai, there was change in several questions and domains in the BL questionnaire.

By the time ICRW received its current grant (September 2013) for the three-country evaluation, the adaptation, implementation and BL study of GEMS had been completed by P4P and the second year of intervention was already ongoing in Vietnam.

²⁶ Partners for Prevention is a UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV regional joint program for the prevention of violence against women and girls in Asia and the Pacific. The joint program brings together the combined strengths of the four UN agencies, along with governments and civil society, to promote and implement more effective violence prevention program and policies. Partners for Prevention Phase 1 (2008-2013) focused on research, capacity development and networking, and communication for social change. The program is now in its second Phase (2014-17), which is focused on prevention interventions, capacity development and policy advocacy. August 2017. Retrieved from: <http://www.partners4prevention.org>

Table - 2.1: The GEMS program in different countries: a broad overview of similarities and differences

	Vietnam	Jharkhand	Bangladesh
Year of Implementation	2012-2015	2014-2016	2015 onwards (year 1 only)
Lead Implementing partners	PyD and Vietnam Institute of Educational Sciences (VNIES)	ICRW, CINI, LEADS	UNFPA, Plan International
Sites of implementation	DaNang city	Ranchi (semi-urban) and Khunti district (tribal, rural)	Dhaka and Barisal (urban), Patuakhali and Barguna (rural districts)
Formative Phase	Formative research for content adaptation	Formative research for content adaptation	Feasibility study and content adaptation
Program coverage	4000 students from 10 schools	4000 students from 40 schools	280000 students from 350 schools
No. of teachers trained	181	94	1400
Duration of teacher training	3 rounds of 4 days each	3 rounds of 4 days each	2 rounds of 5 days each
Type of Evaluation	Randomized controlled trial (10 intervention and 10 control)	Randomized controlled trial (40 intervention and 40 control)	Quasi-experimental (30 intervention and 30 control)
Method	Two rounds of cross sectional surveys and qualitative interviews at end line in intervention schools	Three rounds of longitudinal surveys and qualitative cohort study	Three rounds of cross sectional surveys and qualitative interviews in intervention schools
Quantitative	Self-administered survey with pen and paper: BL (816) and end line (921)	ACASI ²⁷ : BL (4000) ML and end line. All three rounds- 3069	Self-administered survey with pen and paper: BL (1527) and ML (3023)
Qualitative	14 FGDs and 56 structured interviews with students at EL	Cohort data of 55 students - 23 students of GEMS school at 3-time points; and 22 students of non-GEMS schools at 2-time points	In-depth Interviews of 20 students at ML

From the point of the regional evaluation, ICRW's involvement in the evaluation was least in Vietnam where we mainly served as technical advisor. In addition, the technical inputs provided at BL were not from a comparability framework but rather to provide comments and learning

from the GEMS experience. This limited the comparability of the design, and our engagement with the in-country partners in Vietnam.

The GEMS roll out in Jharkhand was initiated through a direct grant by the Oak Foundation

²⁷. Audio-computer assisted self-administered interview technique.

to ICRW to adapt the GEMS program to a rural and tribal context. Thus, there was direct involvement and oversight in the adaptation, program implementation and evaluation. ICRW had direct sub-agreements with the implementation partners. We also designed and led the quantitative surveys and the qualitative interviews with students for the cohort study.

Chronologically, Bangladesh was the last country to initiate GEMS. UNFPA was in discussion with the government of Bangladesh to design a comprehensive program for adolescents on GBV, equality and sexual reproductive health titled *Generation Breakthrough (GB)*. GEMS was included as the GBV and gender equality specific component in schools and within clubs of the GB program. In Bangladesh, the government was directly involved in each stage of the program. The ownership and interest was encouraging and exciting, but also led to delays in the process. The Department of Education was keen to undertake a feasibility study to be convinced about the need for the program and ensure that it was targeting issues that were relevant to adolescents. This was followed by the adaptation, approval and printing of the material by the government, after which the program was launched by the Minister of Education in 350 schools and madrasas across four districts. The schools and madrasas were selected by the government. Plan International, in collaboration with its community-based partners, was the lead implementation agency. ICRW was involved as a technical support partner under an agreement with UNFPA. Thus, while ICRW was not in a position to set the timeline or lead the process, we were directly involved in the discussions on the tool and training of the team at BL. We were also involved in the training of the master trainers and continued to share our experience and guide the program at specific intervals. The ML was conducted by ICRW as it was not included in the evaluation design of the GB program.

2.2.2 The formative phase: Adaptation of core content

Each study site had a formative phase to adapt and contextualize GEMS to the country's socio-cultural context. The content was assessed for its relevance to the social context – thus the issues, their manifestations, the examples and situations presented and the questions raised were all reviewed and modified, wherever necessary. Across all countries, at a minimum, this included discussions with students, teachers and relevant education officials. This formative phase was critical in establishing the need and acceptance of the program, as discussions with children established how violence was integral to children's lives- as perpetrators and victims, both among peers and as a tool used by adults. It was also evident that children have well-formed notions around aspects of gender roles, responsibility, power, masculinity and were able to engage in reflection and discussion around these issues. In this section, we describe the adaption process and modifications made in the content and/or approaches at different sites.

Da Nang, Vietnam: Qualitative research was undertaken to understand the relevance and feasibility of conducting GEMS in Da Nang, and to inform the revision of the GEMS manual, diary and campaign guide for the Vietnam context. The formative research included four focus group discussions – two with students and two with teachers. In addition, discussions were held with officials of education department to understand their perceptions toward violence prevention programming, and their ideas about appropriate spaces and opportunities to implement GEMS.

Both teachers and students expressed the need for integrating gender and GBV prevention into curricula and school activities. Students also expressed their interest and the desire to discuss these topics in a participatory and interesting manner, and

not the traditional teaching-learning method. Teachers also pointed to their high workload and suggested that the program should be implemented as extra-curricular activities. In addition, they expressed their concern at the existing capacity of teachers to deliver GEMS sessions given unfamiliar content and methodology. Government officials reviewed the material and acknowledged the need for such a program in their schools. They also made a few suggestions to contextualize the GEMS material. Following their review and inputs, PyD and Vietnam Institute of Educational Sciences (VNIES) jointly undertook translation and socio-cultural adaptation of the GEMS material – manual, diary and campaign guide. Before starting the intervention, each of the year 1 sessions were pre-tested. This involved transacting the session with a group of children of the same age, but in non-GEMS schools to assess whether the content, method and questions were appropriate, and could engage children in discussion. For year 2, a session on masculinity was added, and all the sessions were pre-tested with students.

Jharkhand, India: The formative research aimed to gather voices and expressions of children on the core concepts of the GEMS program since the content was to be adapted for a rural-tribal context. The research also assessed the perceptions of teachers toward the issues and feasible strategies for program implementation. Eight workshops were conducted with students; 4 focus group discussions were conducted with teachers, 2 with SMC members, and interviews were carried out with principals of 4 schools. The findings from the workshops reiterated that children even at young ages have well established ideas of gender roles and responsibilities and these were more likely to be rigid and stereotypical, rather than supportive of equality. They were also articulate about violence – its forms and

justifications. Some additional issues that emerged were on alcohol consumption, lack of communication with parents, and trafficking. Teachers and principals showed interest in GEMS, but similar to Da Nang, teachers indicated a lack of capacity to engage students on these issues.

Based on the discussions with students and teachers, ICRW and local partners added two sessions – one introductory session on discrimination- ‘why talk of gender equality’ and another on understanding masculinity – ‘what does it mean to be a man’ – to the GEMS manual. In the GEMS diary, additional activities on peer pressure around alcohol consumption, emotions and possible action were added.

Bangladesh: A feasibility study, led by Plan International, was undertaken to understand interest of students and teachers in GEMS, and opportunities to implement it in schools. The study was carried out using mix of quantitative and qualitative methods with students, parents, teachers, members of school management committees and government officials. The study covered all four project locations namely the cities of Dhaka and Barisal, and the districts of Patuakhali and Barguna (rural areas).²⁸ The study findings pointed to an overwhelming interest among students and teachers to participate in the GEMS program. There was strong articulation, from children and parents alike, on the need to acknowledge and learn about GBV. The need for information on bodily changes and reproductive and sexual health was also welcomed. Schools and trusted teachers were the preferred source for such information. Teachers showed interest in integrating such information within the school sessions.

Subsequently, the adaptation of content was undertaken. The Department of Education

²⁸. According to the report of the feasibility study shared by Plan, a total of 505 students participated in a survey, while in-depth interviews were conducted with 48 teachers, 24 SMC members, and 24 government and NGO representatives. To understand students’ and parents’ perspective, 16 FGDs were conducted with each of these groups.

Table - 2.2: GEMS program content across three countries

Year 1		Vietnam	Jharkhand, India	Bangladesh (year 1)
I. GEAs				
Module 1: Gender	1. What is gender? What is sex? 2. Division of work	✓	✓	✓
Module 2: Body Changes	3. Body Mapping 4. Body changes and hygiene 5. Respect for own and others' body	✓	✓	✓
Module 3: Violence	6. What is violence? 7. Is it violence? 8. Labeling 9. Cycle of violence 10. Violence to understanding	✓	✓	Session 10 not done
Year 2				
Module 4: Gender	11. Recap of gender 12. Privileges and restrictions 13. Gender and power	✓	✓	
Module 5: Relationships	14. Healthy relationship 15. Expectations and responsibilities in friendship	✓	✓	
Module 6: Emotions	16. Understanding emotion 17. Expression of emotion	✓	✓	✓
Module 7: Communication and Conflict Resolution	18. Verbal and non-verbal communication 19. Assertive communication 20. Conflict resolution 21. Understanding violence 22. Collective Response to Violence	✓	✓	
Additional site-specific session		What does it mean to be a man	What does it mean to be a man? Why talk about gender equality	Child Marriage
ii. GEMS Diary				
		✓	✓ (additional content on emotion, peer pressure, reflection and action)	✓
iii. GEMS School Campaign		✓	✓	
iv. School orientation meetings		✓	✓	
v. Outreach to parents and community		✓	✓	

held two workshops to review and adapt GEMS content to the Bangladesh context. In the first workshop, officials from education department and faculties from teachers' training institute reviewed and provided suggestions for revision. In the second

workshop, teachers review the content. Based on the suggestions from both the workshops, the GEMS manual and GEMS diary were finalized. In the manual, most of the sessions and their content remained unchanged. The changes included the

addition of a session on child marriage; change in sequencing of sessions, and contextualization of a few examples. The material was subsequently translated into Bengali. The core concepts, methodology and broad approaches remained same. Table 2.2 summarizes similarities and differences in content across the three countries.

Thus, across the three study sites, the core GEMS content and program was largely similar in the issues that it addresses and the methods to do so.

2.2.3 Program Implementation and Evaluation

Across all three sites, teachers led implementation of the GEMS program during school hours. GEMS identifies teachers as key allies in the journey for initiating and sustaining change on gender equality – thus the teachers' training is a critical activity aimed at providing a safe space for teachers to undertake reflection of their own lives, and understand the roots of patriarchal biases. It also enhances skills of teachers to implement specific sessions²⁹.

In each country, permission from the education department for conducting the program in select schools was accompanied by permission for the teacher training. In all the sites, implementing organizations tried to maintain certain criteria for selecting teachers. Criteria required teachers to be of grades 6-8, perceived to be interested in gender programming, at least two teachers per school and a mix of male and female teachers. However, the final decision of notifying teachers they had been chosen for training rested with the schools.

The similarity of the GEMS program implementation between countries is an important consideration for the regional evaluation – specifically the content that students were exposed to since

the evaluation measures changes at the individual student level. As described above (and presented in Table 2.2), the core content and methodology adopted for the GEA session and the GEMS Diary were by and large similar. The other key component—school campaigns—were planned by the students and teachers in each country (but were not undertaken in Bangladesh). Parents were invited to these campaigns in Jharkhand and Vietnam. Overall, while the GEMS content was similar across countries, it must be recognized that on issues such as gender and violence, there can be variation in terms of how each teacher delivers, even though content, questions and messages are clearly laid out. Thus, it is not possible to ensure that each discussion occurred in exactly the same way for every student participating in GEMS.

The regional evaluation study intended to use rigorous design to assess the effectiveness of GEMS in different contexts. As mentioned earlier, timing of program initiation, resources, partners and nature of partnerships, and the socio-political situation at different sites influenced the evaluation design substantially. Recognizing this, we tried to optimize the available opportunities and generate learning on primary violence prevention, while establishing similar outcomes measures, indicators, and processes for data collection. Despite these efforts, there were unavoidable differences in the designs, tools and outcome indicators for the different sites. These differences limit our ability to compare sites in terms of the degree of changes in the key primary and secondary outcomes. Given this, any cross-site comparison must be cautiously interpreted. The findings, nevertheless, produce some interesting insights across sites. The results certainly argue for a rigorous and context-specific adaptation and scaling up of programs like GEMS. Detailed methodology with sample size, outcomes and indicators, and data collection methods are given in site specific sections.

²⁹ Achyut, P., Bhatla, N., Verma, H., Uttamacharya, Singh, G., Bhattacharya, S., and Verma, R.K. (2016). *Towards gender equality: The GEMS journey thus far*. New Delhi: International Center for Research on Women. DOI: <https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/GEMS-report-jharkhand.pdf>

3 SECTION

GEMS IN DA NANG, VIETNAM



CHAPTER 3.1: Background



Vietnam is one of the few countries in Asia with strong laws and policies to address gender equality and gender-based violence. The government's recent legislation includes the Law on Gender Equality (2006) and the Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control (2007). Additional laws around education clearly articulate the rights of children to receive respect and equal treatment. Article 75 of the Education Law (2005) protects students from corporal punishment.

Despite legal and policy measures, violence against women and children within and outside the home is widespread. According to a national wide study, 58 percent Vietnamese women experienced at least one form of violence (physical, emotional or sexual) from their intimate partners over their lifetime and 27 percent experienced it in last 12 months (General Statistics Office, 2010)³⁰. Similarly, several studies have shown high levels of prevalence of violence in schools, both corporal punishment and peer-based violence (Nguyen and Tran, 2013; PyD, 2013³¹). In a study conducted in Hanoi in 2013, 71 percent of students, 76 percent of boys and 67 percent of girls

– reported experiencing at least one form of violence in school in the last six months either from teachers or peers or both (Bhatla et. al, 2014)³². The same study showed that schools directly and indirectly promote gender inequality. Teachers discourage girls from playing physically strenuous games and guide them to behave in a 'feminine' way and encourage boys to act as 'boys'. Earlier studies have highlighted that schools are governed by hierarchal power relations and violence is used as tool to maintain and reinforce inequality.³³ There is growing evidence of the adverse consequences of violence on the mental health and academic performance of children.^{34,35}

Studies have also highlighted experience of violence among students can lead to poor mental health of students and thoughts of committing suicide. A recent study of adolescents aged 12-15 years in lower-secondary schools in Hanoi found that among males, experience of violence in school was associated with suicidal thoughts, whereas school connectedness acted as a protective factor against suicidal ideation for both girls and boys.³⁶

³⁰. General Statistics Office. (2010). *Keeping silent is dying: Results from the National Study on Domestic Violence against Women in Viet Nam*. Hanoi: General Statistics Office.

³¹. Paz y Desazarollo. (August 2013). *The Love Journey – A school-based approach for primary prevention of gender violence and promotion of gender equity in Danang, Vietnam*. Baseline Study Report.

³². Bhatla, Nandita, Achyut, Pranita, Khan, Nizamuddin, and Walia, Sunayana. (2014). *Are Schools Safe and Gender Equitable Spaces? Findings from a baseline study of School Related Gender Based Violence in five countries in Asia*. New Delhi: ICRW.

³³. Ngugen, T. H. (2012). *The Perspectives of Secondary School Students in Vietnam on Bullying*. Masters Thesis. Linköping: Linköping University.

³⁴. Juvonen, J., Nishina, A., & Graham, S. (2000). *Peer Harassment, Psychological Adjustment, and School Functioning in Early Adolescence*. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. 92 (2), 349-359.

³⁵. Poteat, V. P., Mereish, E. H., DiGiovanni, C. D., & Koenig, B. W. (2011). *The effects of general and homophobic victimization on adolescents' psychosocial and educational concerns: The importance of intersecting identities and parent support*. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*. 58 (4), 597-609.

³⁶. Phuong, T. B. (2013). *Factors associated with health risk behavior among school children in urban Vietnam*. *Global Health Action*, 6.

While the school environment can perpetuate negative stereotypes and violence, it can also promote gender equality, non-violence, and diversity and help to develop life skills to actualize these concepts. Pazy Desarrollo, in partnership with the Vietnam Institute for Educational Sciences, ICRW and other organizations adapted and piloted GEMS in 10 schools in Da Nang city during 2012-15. The program was named “The Love Journey” (known as Hanh Trinh Yeu Thuong in Vietnamese). Da Nang, a centrally governed city, is the third largest city in Vietnam with around a million population (General

Statistics Office, 2012) and is a major port city, situated on the coast of the South China Sea. The program was

This section presents the implementation and evaluation of GEMS in Da Nang. This chapter is followed by chapters on the study design and program implementation. The subsequent three chapters present the findings on the three key areas of focus- gender attitude, school culture: communication and interaction, and violence. The section ends with a chapter on conclusions and learnings.

CHAPTER 3.2: Study Design



This study used a cluster randomized trial (CRT) design with schools as a cluster. Twenty schools were selected to participate in the study and randomly assigned to either the program arm or the comparison arm. The schools in the program arm received GEMS program over two academic years, while no program was implemented in the schools allocated to comparison arm. Two rounds of cross-sectional data (BL and endline [EL]) were collected in the form of self-administered paper surveys from students. In addition, a qualitative study was carried out at the EL with students and teachers.

Sample size calculation - For calculating the required number of clusters (c) we used the following formula:

$$c = 1 + (z_{\alpha/2} + z_{\beta})^2 \left[\frac{(\pi_0(1 - \pi_0)/n) + (\pi_1(1 - \pi_1)/n)}{k^2((\pi_0^2 + \pi_1^2)/(\pi_0 - \pi_1)^2)} \right]$$

where, π_1 and π_0 are the true proportions in the presence and absence of the intervention respectively, n is cluster size and k is the coefficient of variation of proportions between clusters within each group.³⁷

For calculating sample size, we made certain assumptions. We chose the proportion of students with a high score on the gender attitudinal scale as the key outcome indicator. In the absence of any data, we assumed this to be 50 percent (π_0). Further, we assumed that the program would increase proportion of such students by 15 percent to 65 percent (π_1). Then, we considered intra-class

correlation to be 0.03³⁸, and average cluster size 40. With these assumption, 10 schools in intervention and 10 in comparison arms was needed at 80 percent power and 95 percent level of significance. Further, considering 15 percent non-response rate, we increased cluster size from 40 to 46. Thus, the required sample size became 460 students from each arm.

Sampling technique - Schools (clusters) and students were selected using multistage sampling. In consultation with the government, Da Nang City was identified for the program evaluation. At the time of sampling, Da Nang had 56 secondary schools across six urban and one rural districts. From the 56 available schools, the department of education identified 20 secondary schools that had not participated in any previous gender or violence-related interventions for this project. Among these schools, 10 were randomly assigned to the program arm and 10 to the comparison.

In each school, separate sampling frames were prepared for girls and boys of classes 6 and 7 after pooling the attendance rosters of all sections. From the sampling frames, 23 girls and 23 boys were selected randomly from each school for the BL survey. Thus, a total of 920 students were selected out of around 8200 students at BL. Students who submitted parental consent and assent forms could participate in the survey. A total of 816 students - 406 from GEMS schools and 410 from non-GEMS schools completed the BL survey.

³⁷ Hayes, R.J. & Bennet, S. (1999). *Sample size calculation for cluster-randomized trials*. International Journal of Epidemiology. 28(2), 319-26.

³⁸ We had considered lower intra-class correlation than Jharkhand as the school sizes are big with on an average 400 students in classes/grades 6 and 7.

Table - 3.1: Achieved sample size in GEMS and non-GEMS schools, Da Nang, Vietnam

	BL		EL	
	Non-GEMS	GEMS	Non-GEMS	GEMS
Girls	209	204	230	231
Boys	201	202	230	230
Total	410	406	460	461

For EL, same process was followed to draw a new sample. Using current student rosters, sampling frames for girls and boys were prepared. Then, from each school 25 girls and 25

boys were selected for consent and assent process. Those who submitted signed parental consent form and their assent form participated in the survey. A total of 461 students from GEMS schools and 460 from non-GEMS schools participated in the survey at the EL (Table 3.1).

Data collection tool and technique – In Da Nang, structured self-administered questionnaires were used to collect data from students at BL and EL. The questionnaire had seven domains of inquiry, including background characteristics, attitudes toward gender and violence, perpetration and experience of violence, and communication on gender and violence with family and friends. In addition, a section on exposure

to the program was added to the EL survey. The questionnaire was translated and pre-tested before administration.

The surveys were carried out in schools, and administered with the selected students in a separate classroom. While the survey was self-administered by the students, the investigators were responsible for ensuring that only those students who provided parental consent and assent participated in the survey, as well as for explaining the procedure for filling the questionnaire, clarifying any query raised, and collecting completed questionnaires.

Ethical considerations – This study was approved by both the Hanoi School of Public Health IRB and the ICRW IRB. For a student to participate in the survey, parental consent and assent from the students were obtained. The data collection team made efforts to ensure privacy and confidentiality during data collection and data management. Team ensured that students do not see others' response or write their name, roll number or any other identifiable information on their questionnaire; and teachers are not present during the survey or see completed questionnaires. Only de-identified data was used for analysis.

Outcomes and Indicators – The evaluation measured the following key outcomes and indicators:

Table - 3.2: Outcomes and indicators measured in Da Nang, Vietnam

Primary outcomes	Indicators
Positive shift in attitude toward gender and violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mean score on gender attitudinal scale • % of girls and boys with high score on a gender attitudinal scale • % of girls and boys who disagreed or strongly disagreed with statements promoting inequitable gender norms
Improved communication among students and between students and teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who communicated with their peers and teachers on issues related to gender and violence

Primary outcomes	Indicators
Secondary outcomes	
Decrease in perpetration of violence	• % of girls and boys who perpetrated violence on other students in school in the last semester ³⁹
Decrease in experience of violence	• % of girls and boys who experienced violence in school in the last semester

Construction of scales and variables - To measure indicators and change over time, following scales and variables were constructed:

Table - 3.3: Items selected for the construction of attitudinal scale

<p>Gender role and responsibilities</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For women, taking care of the house and children is more important than her career. 2. Traditional ideas that men are the pillar of the house are still valid 3. With all matters in the family it is necessary to discuss between the husband and wife, yet the final word should be the husband's. 4. Men should have more rights to make household decisions than women 5. If a man gets a woman pregnant, the child is the responsibility of the mother 6. Contraception is the responsibility of women <p>Gender attributes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Boys are hot tempered by nature 8. Girls have cooler characters than boys, so can endure more in life. 9. Men cannot take care of children as well as women can. <p>GBV</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together. 11. If my mother cheated on my father, then It is OK for him to hit her 12. Violence against women is acceptable in some situations

• Attitudinal scale

The Gender Equitable Men (GEM)⁴⁰ Scale was adapted and included 16 statements.

During the survey, students were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed,

disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements. Responses strongly supporting equality received four, the highest possible score, while those strongly supporting inequality received a score of one. For instance, responses to the statement,

³⁹. Baseline was carried out in November 2012 and asked students about their experiences during the last semester – January-May 2012. Similarly, endline was carried out in September-October 2014 and asked students about their experiences during last semester – January-May 2014.

⁴⁰. Horizons and Promundo developed the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale to measure attitudes toward norms related to gender and violence. The GEM scale has since been used for program evaluation in other settings such as India.

“violence against women is acceptable in some situations” were scored as follows: strongly disagree received a four, disagree received a three, agree received a two, and strongly agree received one. Then, using factor analysis, 12 items were identified that clustered together and were internally consistent with a Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.71. These statements then formed the attitudinal scale (see Table 3.3). Subsequently, the total score for each student was calculated using the sum of the scores of the 12 statements, which could range from 12 to 48. The students were then categorized into three groups using the total score: students with scores from 12-24 were categorized as having “low” level of gender equitable attitude, students with scores ranging from 25-36 were categorized as having “moderate”, and students with scores ranging from 37 to 48 were categorized as having “high”.

• Perpetration and experience of violence

In the surveys, students were asked if they had perpetrated an act of violence against either a male or a female student in the last semester from a list provided (see Table 3.4). Three variables on perpetration were created for each type of violence: physical, emotional, and sexual violence. Perpetration of a type of violence was coded one if the respondent had perpetrated a specific violent act against a girl or a boy or both, or zero if he/she did not perpetrate any act of that type of violence during the reference period of the last semester.

To assess the experience of violence, students were given list of acts and asked whether he/she had experienced these acts in the last school semester. Three variables were created for the experience of violence: experiences of physical, emotional and sexual violence.

In addition, a specific question was asked on punishment and the form of punishment. The forms of punishment included in the questionnaire were: being humiliated, yelled at, forced to kneel on the ground for extended periods, beaten (by hand), beaten (by object). Response on these questions were used to assess prevalence of corporal punishment and change over time.

Analysis - To assess change over time in key outcome indicators between GEMS and non-GEMS schools, difference-in-differences (DiD) analysis is used. This method compares difference in average outcome in GEMS schools before and after program implementation with the difference over the same time-period in non-GEMS schools; and helps in detecting the net effect of the program on the outcomes of interest.

To perform statistical analysis, BL and EL data were weighted using total class size and response rate, and merged. Further, the DiD estimates were calculated by incorporating interaction between time and intervention in the linear regression models. All the regressions were performed adjusting for

Table - 3.4: Forms of violence by acts perpetrated by other students

Physical violence	Was pushed or shoved, was hit or kicked causing bruising, got into a physical fight because did not like someone (perpetration only)
Emotional violence	(Direct) Property was damaged, was threatened to be physically hurt, was made to cry because of something someone did, was made to cry because of something someone said, unwanted things were said about appearance, unwanted name calling, was embarrassed by unwanted jokes. (Indirect) Was ignored by a group, had someone turn others against them, was isolated/ alienated by someone, was not invited to participate in an activity because they were disliked.
Sexual violence	Unwanted touching of genitals, unwanted sexual remarks were made



school level clustering. All the regression models were also controlled for background characteristics, such as sex, perceived economic status, mother's education, father's education, TV watching, access to cell phone, internet use, and witnessing parental violence. The analysis was performed in STATA 12.0.

Qualitative study – The qualitative study explored students' understanding of gender equality, GBV, sexual diversity, if and how the GEMS program contributed in building these concepts, and gaps in their understanding. Students from seven of the ten GEMS schools were included in the study. In each school, two focus group discussion (FGDs) (one each with girls and boys), six in-depth interviews (IDIs) (three each with girls and boys), and three key

informant interviews (KIIs) with teachers were carried out. For IDIs, two types of students were identified with help from teachers: a) students with harmonious relationships with friends and who abide by rules; and b) students who did not have harmonious relationships with peers and did not abide by the rules, or perpetrate violence on others. Teachers helped to identify students who were not part of the two groups identified for IDIs for participation in the FGDs. A total of 56 IDIs and 14 FGDs with students and 21 KIIs with teachers were carried out. All the interviews and discussions were conducted in Vietnamese and coded in Atlas. Ti. Analysis based on key themes that emerged from the interviews were conducted. In addition, 105 diaries⁴¹ (15 diaries per school) were collected from study classes on a voluntary basis and reviewed.

41. GEMS diaries are activity books that were given as part of the program for students to attempt activities based on their own understanding and experiences.

CHAPTER 3.3: Program implementation



The GEMS program was implemented by teachers within school hours with students of classes 6th and 7th over two academic years. The program included capacity building of teachers, classroom sessions with students, intra- and inter-school campaign and use of the GEMS diary.

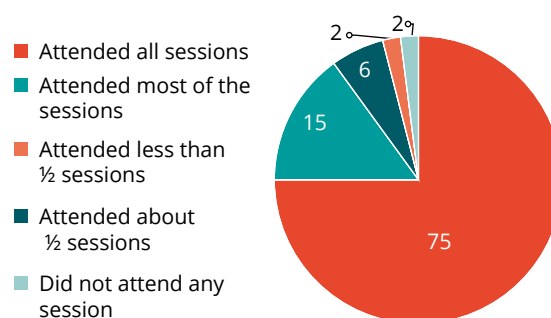
Training of teachers – This was a critical step in the implementation of the program. GEMS recognizes teachers as key allies in initiating dialogue to challenge inequitable gender norms and creating new norms. This calls for teachers to reflect on their own lives, and understand the roots of patriarchal biases. Therefore, the training of teachers was designed to build their perspective on gender issues; encourage them to reflect and discuss; and enhance their skills to transact specific sessions.

The Center for Creative Initiatives in Health and Population (CCIHP) conducted three rounds of training of 4 days each over two-year implementation period. In each round, 5-6 parallel batches were organized to train 181 teachers. However, training reports suggest that only half of the teachers attended all 12 days' training, others attended 8 to 10 days. In addition, PyD project team facilitated review meetings to provide a space for interaction and learning.

GEAs – The trained teachers conducted sessions during school hours in mixed group, except those on bodily changes. Participation in the sessions was moderate. In the EL survey, three-fourth of the students reported that they attended all sessions (Figure 3.1). Significantly, higher proportion of girls (79 percent) attended all sessions than boys (70 percent). Further, 15 percent students – 18 percent boys and 12 percent girls - attended most of the sessions; and

6 percent half of the sessions (Table 3.6 in Annexure).

Figure - 3.1: Participation in classroom sessions, Da Nang, Vietnam



Campaign – The campaign in Da Nang was extensive. A team of youth artists were engaged to develop a series of communication materials to reinforce key messages. The resulting materials included video blogs, video games, songs, rap jingles and other visual materials. However, EL survey showed that the materials were not adequately used. Only 11 percent and 47 percent students reported that they played the videogame often or sometimes, respectively (Table 3.6 in Annexure). A significantly higher proportion of boys (15 percent) than girls (7 percent) often played it. Similar findings emerged from the discussions and interviews with students and teachers. Some of the students could not recall video clips and songs. Some teachers knew about the video clips and songs, but did not know that they were meant to engage students and to facilitate discussion.

As part of the program inter-school competitions were organized to provide students spaces to express their thoughts and aspirations. Campaigns included letter writing, painting, and dancing and singing

performances. Teachers and students were highly appreciative of such big events and described them as *"impressive, memorable, and enjoyable"* during the IDIs and KIs. Some students revealed that they loved the events because they gave them opportunities to interact with teachers and students from other schools. However, a few students shared that not every student could participate in such events:



I think that the project should organize big events in ways that many students are able to attend. My school, for example, selected only 15 students from my class to participate in the event, while we have totally 44 students. The ones who were selected to join in the event, did not share with the rest about activities they participated in.

Girl, Class 7, GEMS school, EL

GEMS Diary – Specific sessions were planned to explain GEMS diary, encourage students to complete activities with parents and siblings, and review completed activities. However, only 26 percent students reported at the EL survey that they regularly used the GEMS diary, and 66 percent mentioned that they used it sometimes. Eight percent students – more boys (11 percent) than girls (5 percent) – never used GEMS diary (Table 3.6 in Annexure). This was further substantiated by the information gathered from the GEMS diaries collected from 105 students. Most of the students had done only a few of the exercises and had not recorded their thoughts. Almost all students shared that they were not asked to do diary activities at school or at home. This clearly indicates a gap in the understanding of teachers on the use of the supplementary material.

Despite moderate to low participation in different intervention components, 88 percent students gave 8 or more points to the GEMS program on a ten-point scale on usefulness.

CHAPTER 3.4: Findings: Attitude Toward Gender and Violence



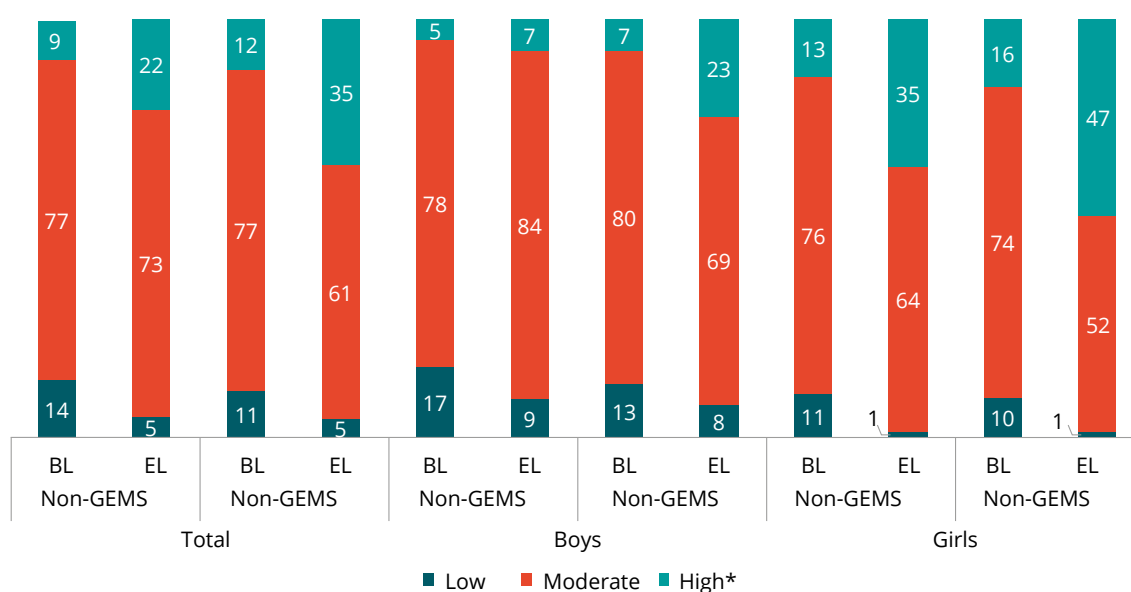
The GEMS program was effective in bringing about a significant positive shift in attitudes of both boys and girls toward equitable gender norms. Attitudinal change was greatest on statements related to gender roles, and responsibilities, and attributes. Less change was seen in attitudes related to GBV.

Mean attitudinal score and attitudinal categories

There is a net significant increase of 12 percentage point ($p \leq 0.305$) in proportion of students with high attitudinal score in GEMS schools (BL: 12 percent and EL: 35 percent) compared to non-GEMS schools (BL: 9 percent and EL: 22 percent) from BL to EL (Table 3.7 in Annexure).

Both girls and boys from GEMS schools experienced similar net significant increase over time as compared to non-GEMS schools. However, girls started at a higher level and witnessed larger increase from BL to EL, as compared to boys. At BL, 16 percent girls in GEMS and 13 percent in non-GEMS schools were in the high equitable category. This increased to 47 percent and 35 percent, respectively at EL. On the other hand, only 7 percent boys in GEMS and 5 percent in non-GEMS scored high, which increased to 23 percent and 7 percent, respectively, at EL (Figure 3.2). Thus, it seems that girls became more equitable with age, and the program could further accelerate this process, whereas for boys, the program intervention was critical in initiating equitable attitudes.

Figure - 3.2: Gender attitude: Percentage distribution of students by attitudinal categories at baseline and endline, Da Nang, Vietnam



Net increase in mean attitudinal score is significant only for girls. It increased from 31.3 at BL to 36.1 at EL (Adj. DiD=1.6, $p \leq 0.05$)

Specific statements

While aggregate measures are useful for understanding overall shifts over time, responses to different statements provide insights on where changes happened and in what direction. This is important as the GEMS program aims to build participants' understanding on a range of concepts related to gender and violence, and also encourages students to apply this understanding to different situations.

The statements are grouped into three categories: gender roles and responsibilities, gender attributes, and GBV. Out of the 12 statements, six are about roles and responsibilities, three are about gender attributes and three are about GBV (Table 3.8 in Annexure). Overall students from GEMS schools showed significant positive change over time compared to non-GEMS schools on four statements – two on gender roles and responsibilities; two on attributes and none on violence. As compared to the other categories, almost twice the proportion of students had equitable notions related to GBV at BL.

Gender roles and responsibilities - The GEMS program succeeded in increasing the proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with a statement supporting traditional role and responsibilities for women - *For women, taking care of the house and children is more important than her career*. In GEMS schools, 47 percent students disagreed with this statement at EL compared to 24 percent at BL, while it increased from 17 percent to 30 percent in non-GEMS schools (Table 3.8 in Annexure). Thus, the adjusted DiD (Adj. DiD) was 10.2 percent ($p < 0.05$). Similarly, the proportion of students who strongly disagreed with this statement increased from 4 percent to 14 percent in GEMS

schools, while 4 percent to 9 percent in non-GEMS schools (Adj. DiD=5.9, $p < 0.05$).

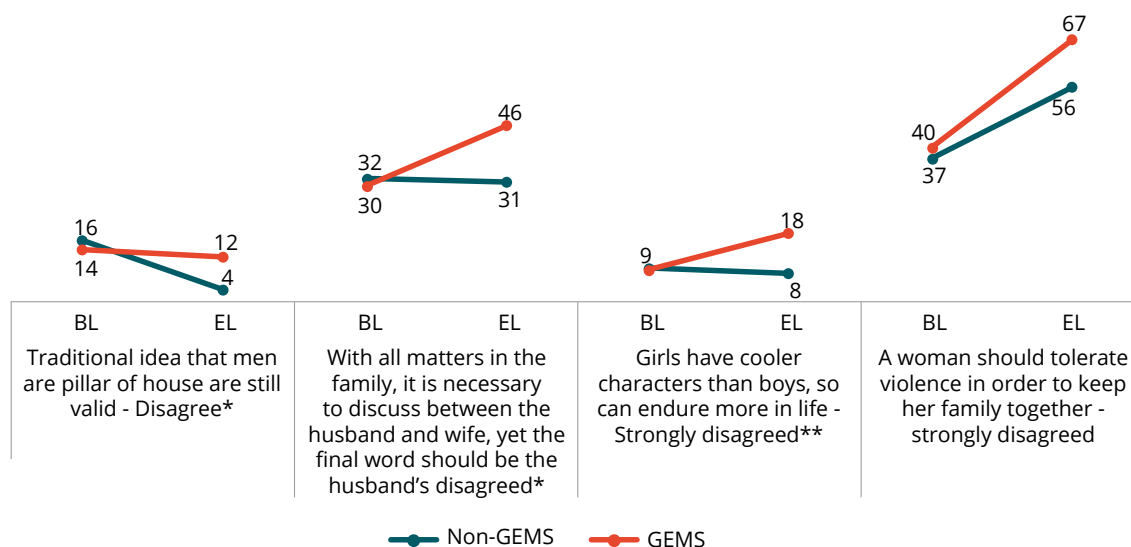
Another statement on which significant change was noted - *With all matters in the family, it is necessary to discuss between the husband and wife, yet the final word should be the husband's*. GEMS school recorded a net increase of 18 percentage point in proportion of students who disagreed to this statement at over time compared to non-GEMS school. Proportion of such students in GEMS school increased from 35 percent at the BL to 54 percent at the EL compared to increase from 37 percent to 41 percent in non-GEMS schools. However, no net increase was recorded among those who strongly disagreed with that statement.

On other four statements, no significant net change was recorded in GEMS schools.

Separate analysis of girls' and boys' response shows that girls had positive change on three statements, while boys on two statements. At EL, significantly higher proportion of girls from GEMS schools disagreed or strongly disagreed with three statements - *For women, taking care of the house and children is more important than her career* (Adj. DiD for strongly disagreed = 8.8, $p < 0.05$); *Traditional ideas that men are the pillar of the house are still valid* (Adj. DiD for strongly disagreed = 9.6, $p < 0.05$); *With all matters in the family, it is necessary to discuss between the husband and wife, yet the final word should be the husband's* (Adj. DiD for disagreed = 15.1, $p < 0.05$). Boys showed possible change on two statements - *Traditional ideas that men are the pillar of the house are still valid* (Adj. DiD for disagreed = 11.0, $p < 0.05$); and *with all matters in the family, it is necessary to discuss between the husband and wife, yet the final word should be the husband's* (Adj. DiD for disagreed = 20.6, $p < 0.05$).

Gender attributes - Around 30 percent to 40 percent of the students disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements

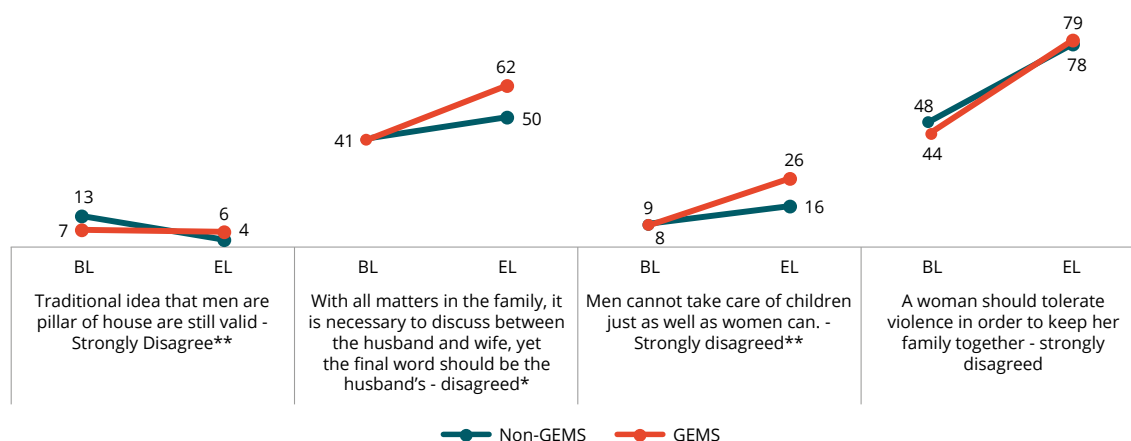
Figure - 3.3: Attitude towards gender role, attributes and violence among boys: Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with specific statements at baseline and endline, Da Nang, Vietnam



related to gender attributes at BL in GEMS and non-GEMS schools, such as boys are hot tempered by nature, girls are tolerant and that men cannot take care of children the way women can (Table 3.8 in Annexure). Significant net change was noted among students who strongly disagreed with the statements - *Girls have cooler characters than boys, so can endure more in life* (Adj. DiD = 8.8, $p \leq 0.05$) and *Men cannot take care of children*

just as well as women can (Adj. DiD = 11.2, $p \leq 0.05$) from GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS schools. Boys from GEMS schools showed significant increase on *Girls have cooler characters than boys, so can endure more in life* (Adj. DiD = 11.4, $p \leq 0.05$), while girls showed change on - *Men cannot take care of children just as well as women can* (Adj. DiD = 12.1, $p \leq 0.05$).

Figure - 3.4: Attitude towards gender role, attributes and violence among girls: Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with specific statements at baseline and endline, Da Nang, Vietnam





GBV - Overall, around 70 percent students either disagreed or strongly disagreed with statements related to GBV at BL (Table 3.8). Though, proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with these statements at the EL increased significantly, net change in the GEMS schools over time compared to non-GEMS was not significant for any of the statements (Table 3.8 in Annexure). It must be noted that no statements related to violence within school (corporal punishment or peer based violence) was part of the GEM scale for Vietnam.

Overall, the program succeeded in improving attitudes of students – both girls and boys - toward gender roles and attributes. It seems that the program could enable students to reflect on the statements that were directly linked with the concepts discussed in the classroom sessions. For instance, the GEMS curriculum has specific sessions on division of labor, and privileges and restrictions.

These sessions elaborate on how division of work is gendered in terms of the nature and valued of work; privileges and restrictions experienced by girls and boys; and how these norms influence life of people. The discussions during these sessions may have helped students from GEMS schools to think and reflect, resulting in positive changes in their attitudes toward gender role and responsibilities. Similarly, sessions on emotion and expression of emotion dwell on the gendered nature of expression. However, they may not have been able to apply these concepts in different situations. The GEMS curriculum included multiple sessions on GBV. Interestingly, a significantly higher proportion of students from both GEMS and non-GEMS schools rejected violence at EL compared to BL with no significant net change in GEMS school. This indicates that with increase in age students are more likely to reject violence, irrespective of program exposure.

CHAPTER 3.5: Findings: School Culture: Communication and Interaction



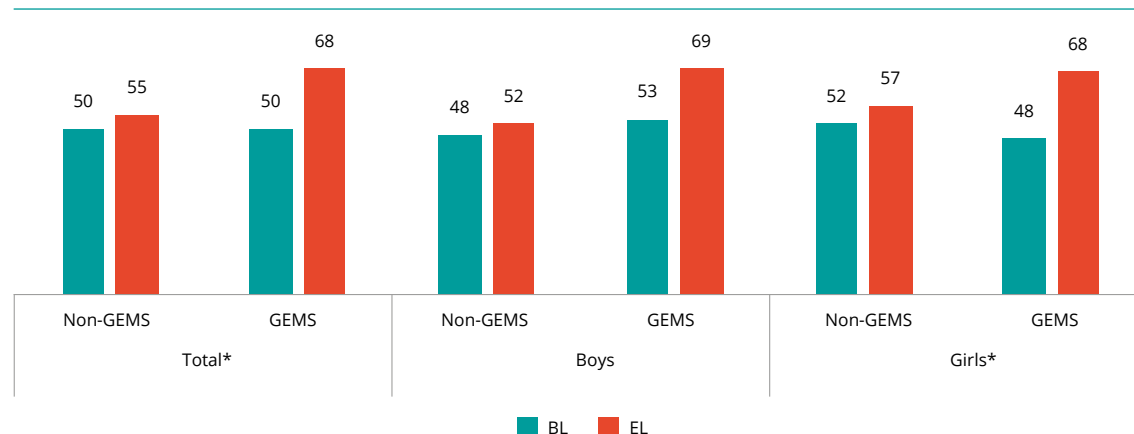
The GEMS program enhanced communication on issues of gender and violence within peers, and between students and teachers/parents. Both girls and boys consider their friends as the most trusted individuals with whom to communicate about these issues, followed by parents and then teachers. Although one-half to two-thirds of students reached out to their teachers in case of any problem in last semester, 10 percent or less considered them as the “go-to” person for discussion on gender and violence.

The program has enhanced communication between peers, and between students and key adults in their lives – parents and teachers – on violence and gender issues (Table 3.9 in Annexure). In GEMS schools, 68 percent students reported talking to someone about violence at EL, compared to 50 percent at BL; while in non-GEMS schools, the proportion of such students was 51 percent at BL and 55 percent at EL, a significant net increase in communication on issues of violence

in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS schools over time (Adj. DiD=14.4, $p \leq 0.05$).

It is important to understand whom the students are trusting and with whom they are having conversation on violence. The data show that students talk most with friends about violence. At BL, 39 percent students from GEMS schools reported talking to friends about violence, while 17 percent with parents, and only 7 percent with teachers. The proportion of students who report talking to friends increased to 56 percent at EL in GEMS schools, while it increased from 37 percent to 43 percent in non-GEMS schools, a significant net increase in communication with friends about violence in GEMS school compared to non-GEMS schools overtime (Adj. DiD=13.1, $p < 0.05$). No such change was found on communication with parents or teachers. Both girls and boys reported that they talked mostly with their friends about violence, followed by parents and teachers. GEMS schools recorded a net

Figure - 3.5: Communication on violence: Proportion of students who reported that they talked to someone about violence in the last semester at baseline and endline, Da Nang, Vietnam





increase of 18 percentage point among girls who talked to their parents about violence over time compared to non-GEMS schools. However, no such change was recorded among boys.

Although not statistically significant, more students in GEMS schools reported talking to someone about gender issues at EL (57 percent) compared BL (45 percent), and compared to non-GEMS schools (BL: 47 percent and EL: 59 percent). Further, in a separate analysis for girls and boys we found a higher proportion of girls from GEMS schools communicated about gender issues with someone compared with those from the non-GEMS schools over time (Adj. DiD=15.2, $p \leq 0.05$).

More students reported that they talked to their friends about gender issues compared to other people. In GEMS schools, 31

percent students and in non-GEMS schools, 36 percent talked to their friends about these issues at BL, while 17 percent and 20 percent with parents, respectively. Only 4 to 5 percent reported that they had talked to their teachers about it. Following program exposure, significantly higher proportion girls in GEMS school reported talking to friends on gender issues compared to non-GEMS schools (Adj. DiD=15.7, $p \leq 0.05$).

Although conversation on violence and gender issues with teachers is very low, higher proportion of students shared that they reach out to teachers in case of any problem in both GEMS (53 percent) and non-GEMS (59 percent) schools at the BL. The proportion of such students increased to 69 percent in the GEMS schools at the EL; while it remained same (55 percent) in non-GEMS schools (Adj. DiD =19.7; $p \leq 0.01$). Further, the net change in this is significant for girls (Adj. DiD =24.1, $p \leq 0.01$), but not for boys.

CHAPTER 3.6: Findings: Experience of violence, perpetration and bystander intervention



3.6.1 Experience of violence

The prevalence of violence in school in the previous semester was high at BL and EL. Students were asked about experience of violence perpetrated by their peers and by teachers. Around 70 to 80 percent students experienced violence from their peers. A larger proportion of students experienced emotional violence than physical violence. Except for a few specific acts, experiences of girls and boys were similar at BL and EL in GEMS and non-GEMS schools. Girls from GEMS schools reported a significant net decline in experience of sexual violence over time compared to non-GEMS schools. Three out of four students experienced violence by their teachers with no net change after program exposure. More boys experienced corporal punishment than girls.

Experience of violence from peers

Prevalence of violence in school is high with 81 percent of students in GEMS and 71 percent in non-GEMS schools reporting experiencing at least one form of violence in the previous semester at BL, with no significant change over time (Table 3.10 in Annexure). Around two-third of students reported experiencing emotional violence in non-GEMS, while three-fourth in GEMS schools. Around half of the students experienced physical violence and between 8 to 11 percent sexual violence with no significant difference between GEMS and non-GEMS schools and no significant change over time.

Among the various acts of violence, at BL half of the students from GEMS schools reported being labelled, 44 percent that they were

pushed or shoved, 29 percent reported that their property was damaged on purpose and 25 percent reported they were embarrassed by students making jokes about them, with no significant variation with non-GEMS schools. However, at the EL, there is a net increase in proportion of students who were embarrassed by other students (Adj. DiD-12.0, $p \leq 0.05$) in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS schools over time. The net increase is the result of the proportion of student who were embarrassed increased from 25 percent to 34 percent in GEMS school, while no change was reported in non-GEMS schools.

Prevalence of violence is high among both girls and boys. Around three-fourths of the boys from GEMS schools and two-thirds from non-GEMS schools reported experiencing violence with no significant change over time. In GEMS schools, around half of the boys experienced physical violence, while two-third emotional violence with no significant difference over time or net change compared non-GEMS overtime. Six to 12 percent boys experienced sexual violence with no significant difference over time in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools. Among the different acts of violence experienced at BL, the name calling was the highest (48 percent in GEMS and 43 percent in non-GEMS), closely followed by being pushed or shoved (43 percent in GEMS and 41 percent in non-GEMS). Other acts were experienced by less than one-fourth of students at BL. Comparison of violence experienced between boys in GEMS schools and non-GEMS schools over time reveals that there was no net change in the experience of different acts of violence over time.

The prevalence of violence among girls is equally high in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools at the BL and EL. Fourth-fifth of the girls from GEMS schools and three-fourth from non-GEMS schools experienced violence at BL with no significant change over time. At BL around half of the girls (50 percent in GEMS and 47 percent in non-GEMS) experienced physical violence and three-fourth (77 percent in GEMS and 75 percent in non-GEMS) experienced emotional violence in last semester with no significant change over time. However, a significant net decline in experience of sexual violence was noted in GEMS school compared to non-GEMS over time (Adj. DiD = - 8.4, $p < 0.01$).

Similar to boys, around half of the girls were labelled, and 40 percent were pushed or shoved at BL in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools with no significant change over time. However, a significantly higher proportion of girls from GEMS schools were embarrassed at EL (38 percent) than BL (28 percent), compared to non-GEMS schools (BL = 35 percent and EL = 31 percent) (Adj. DiD = 16.1, $p \leq 0.05$). On the other hand, there was significant net decline in proportion of girls who experienced sexual remarks from other students in GEMS schools (BL: 11 percent and EL: 7 percent) compared to non-GEMS schools (BL: 7 percent and EL: 10 percent) with Adj. DiD = -7.2 ($p < 0.05$).

On certain other acts, experiences of girls and boys were substantially different in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools. More girls reported specific acts of emotional violence such as - *they were made to cry by something done, or said by another student, or things said about their looks, which they didn't like*, as compared to boys. (See Table 3.10)

Experience of violence from teachers

Three out of four students experienced violence by their teachers in last semester with no net change in GEMS schools over time compared to non-GEMS schools (Table 3.11 in Annexure). At BL, around one-fifth of students reported that they were yelled at (21 percent) and beaten by some object

(18 percent), while 25 percent of student reported that they were beaten by hand in GEMS schools. In non-GEMS schools, 19 percent were yelled, 25 percent beaten by hand and 32 percent beaten by some object at BL. Proportion of students who were beaten by some object at BL were significantly higher in non-GEMS schools than GEMS at BL. However, at EL, 21 percent reported being beaten by object in non-GEMS schools, while no change was reported in GEMS school, resulting in net significant decline in non-GEMS schools compared to GEMS schools (Adj. DiD = 12.6, $p \leq 0.05$).

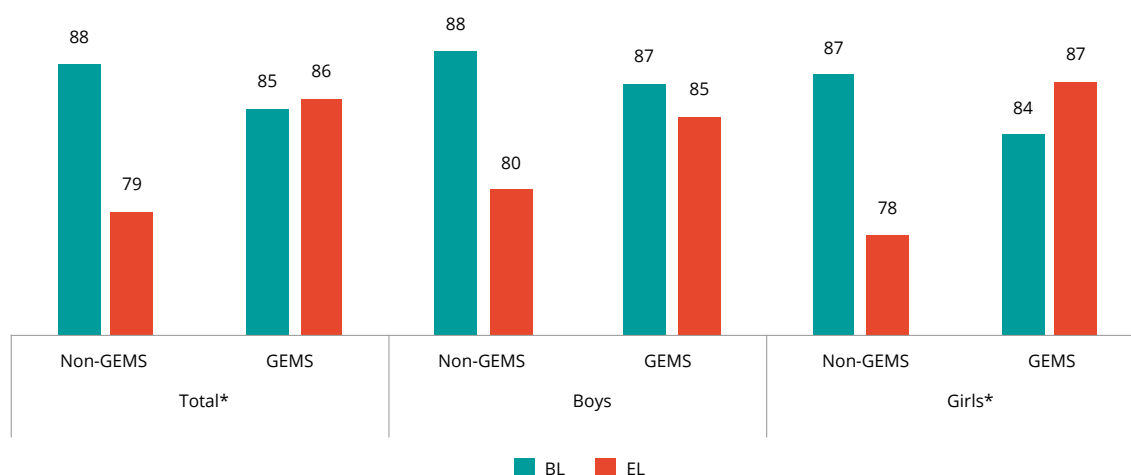
More boys than girls continued to experience violence from teachers in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools. In GEMS schools at BL, 81 percent of boys and 62 percent of girls reported that they had experienced violence with no significant change compared to non-GEMS schools overtime. In GEMS schools at BL, 32 percent boys reported that they were beaten by hand, 26 percent by some object and 20 percent yelled with no significant change between BL and EL, or net change in GEMS compared to non-GEMS schools. Around a fifth of girls in GEMS schools, at BL, were yelled at (21 percent) and beaten by hand (20 percent), and 9 percent were beaten by object. While at BL in non-GEMS schools, 18 percent and 21 percent students were yelled at and beaten by hand, respectively; 22 percent were beaten by some object, significantly higher than the GEMS schools. However, no significant net change was noted in GEMS school girls over time compared to non-GEMS schools.

3.6.2 Bystander Intervention

Majority of students – both girls and boys – reported intervening in case of violence in school in GEMS and non-GEMS schools. Students from GEMS schools continued to do, while there was a decline in non-GEMS schools, particularly among girls.

To understand the bystander intervention, students were asked whether they had tried to stop violence when they saw it in

Figure - 3.6: Bystander intervention: Proportion of students who intervened on witnessing violence at baseline and endline in GEMS and non-GEMS schools, Da Nang, Vietnam



school. At BL, a large proportion - around 85 percent - of students from both GEMS (85 percent) and non-GEMS schools (88 percent) mentioned that they had tried to stop violence that they had witnessed. At EL, there was a significant decline in the proportion of students reporting such intervention in non-GEMS schools (79 percent), while there was no such decline recorded in GEMS schools (86 percent), resulting in a significant net increase of 9 percentage point in bystander intervention over time.

A similar proportion of girls and boys reported intervening in GEMS and non-GEMS schools at BL. Though not statistically significant, boys in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools showed decline in those who intervened, more in non-GEMS than GEMS (GEMS – BL: 87 percent and EL – 85 percent; non-GEMS – BL: 88 percent and EL: 80 percent). On the other hand, girls in GEMS schools continued to intervene (BL: 84 percent and EL: 87 percent); while in non-GEMS, proportion of such girls declined from 87 percent to 78 percent. Thus, a significant net increase of 13 percentage point in proportion of girls intervening in case of violence in school in GEMS compared to non-GEMS over time.

Table - 3.5: Bystander intervention at BL and EL in GEMS and non-GEMS schools, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD
	BL	EL	BL	EL	
Total	87.7	79.1	85.1	85.7	9.4*
Boys	88.4	80.4	86.6	84.7	6.4
Girls	87.1	77.8	83.6	86.7	13.4*

3.6.3 Perpetration of violence

Perpetration of violence was high at BL in GEMS (64 percent) and non-GEMS schools (51 percent). Reports of the perpetration of physical and emotional violence increased significantly at EL in non-GEMS schools from 29 percent to 44 percent and in GEMS schools, 47 percent to 60 percent, respectively. Though statistically not significant, GEMS schools also reported increase in perpetration.

At BL a large proportion of students - 64 percent in GEMS and 51 percent in non-GEMS - reported that they had perpetrated some form of violence on other students

in school in last semester, which increased further at EL to 70 percent and 66 percent, respectively, with no significant net change (Table 3.13 in Annexure). Among the different forms, perpetration of emotional violence was highest, followed by physical and sexual violence at BL in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools. In non-GEMS schools, significantly higher proportion of students reported perpetrating physical violence (29 percent at BL and 44 percent at EL) and emotional violence (47 percent at BL and 59 percent at EL). The GEMS schools also recorded increase in perpetration of physical and emotional violence, though not statistically significant. Further, there is no significant net change in the perpetration of any form of violence in the GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS over time. Perpetration of sexual violence was low with two to four percent students reported perpetrating it at BL and EL in GEMS and non-GEMS schools.

Analysis by specific acts of violence shows that at BL a few were perpetrated by more than 20 percent students in GEMS school: 29 percent of students reported that they had pushed or shoved someone, 22 percent made someone cry, 28 percent reported that they had made fun of someone by name calling, and 22 percent reported that they had made jokes about others. There was no significant difference when comparing GEMS to non-GEMS schools. The remaining acts were reported by less than 20 percent students in GEMS schools. Comparison of perpetration of specific acts in GEMS and non-GEMS schools over time shows that there is a net decline in those who reported that they had made other students cry by saying something (Adj. DiD=-8.3, $p \leq 0.05$). Net change is not significant for other acts of violence.

Data segregated by girls and boys revealed that similar proportion of them have perpetrated violence in GEMS and non-GEMS schools. In GEMS schools, at BL 70 percent

boys and 58 percent girls perpetrated at least one act of violence. The proportion remained same for boys, while it increased to 70 percent for girls. In non-GEMS schools, 50 percent girls and 53 percent boys perpetrated violence at BL, which increased to 64 percent and 67 percent, respectively, at EL. More girls and boys perpetrated emotional violence followed by physical violence. Less than 5 percent girls and boys reported perpetrating sexual violence. Comparison of GEMS and non-GEMS schools on specific acts on violence revealed that the girls from GEMS school recorded a significant net decline of 8.6 percentage point in 'leaving a student out of activities or games on purpose'.

3.6.4 Insights on experience and perpetration of violence from qualitative study

FGDs and IDIs with students provide some insights on the experience, reporting and perpetration of specific acts of violence. Although students shared that they know more about different forms of violence, there were certain acts of emotional violence, which were prevalent but not recognized as violence by many students. For example, a boy with feminine looks and gestures is called "pede" (gay), girls with masculine look are labelled 'tomboys'. However, students did not mention these as emotional violence during FGDs or IDIs. Further, several students expressed that reaction of the victims define violence, and not the act itself.

“ I teased him for fun. He did not cry. He did not say anything. So, it's not violence. ”
Boy, class 7, IDI, EL

Students shared that such “fun things” happen very often, corroborating the quantitative findings.

The discussions also revealed that although labelling or other forms of violence upset victims, they often avoid reporting out of fear of being isolated or harassed even more.

“...I have been called “pede” by friends because I often play with girls. I feel angry. I curse them back. And still they are calling me by such (bad) nicknames. They have been teasing me since class 6. My parents do know about this. They do not say anything. I do not feel safe in school. To be safe I should stay inside the classroom all the time.”

Boy, class 7, IDI, EL



Victims are better to endure or come to friends for explanation (that s/he was wrong), or to change themselves, if they still want to have friends and not to be isolated.

FGD with girls, Class 7, EL

Approaching teachers or parents in case of violence is not often considered to be a safe option for two reasons – firstly reporting to adults is perceived to be breaking ‘peers’ rule’ and child may get isolated; secondly, there is no guarantee of getting required support from either of them. Some of the students shared that their parents had advised them to fight back or simply ignore the violence.

“Once I talked to my dad and he said: fight them back, I will take

responsibility for your fighting. I told him: I’m scared. He said: You are stupid. He asked me to fight them back. I do not want to fight back as I do not want violence in school.”

Girl, Class 7, IDI, EL

Several students shared that parents commonly care about children’s study achievement, rather than their happiness and socialization in school.

“My parents have high expectation on my marks in school. They sometimes appreciate me for good marks. They do not care if I have no close friend... I am not self-confident, I do not know why...”

Boy, Class 7, IDI, EL

Conversation between parents and children is quite limited, restricted to what children have done wrong at home or school, and rarely about what children are interested in or what is happening between friends at school. Any phone call between teachers and parents is perceived as a “problem” by students as it is mostly about their mistakes. Many students shared that they would prefer suffering violence or corporal punishment in school rather than getting any complaint from teachers to parents.

Students in principle agreed that violence and bullying are wrong, they described the value in using it in specific situations including to retaliate or to stop others from perpetrating violence on them or their friends, or to maintain discipline in class.



“

I interfere (fight) when my best friend is involved because she is too gentle and lets others talk badly about her. I have been her close friend since grade 1, and so I get angry. It's not bad when I fight because it happens when someone plays unfairly with me first, and I am forced to play back (use violence) because/ he does not respect my words.”

Girl, class 7, IDI, EL

“Class monitors use rulers to beat students who talk during lessons. It is not violence because class monitors are allowed by teacher to do that.”

Boy, class 7, IDI, EL

“[XX] does not beat classmates and he often fights with students from other classes to protect our classmates. For example, some of our classmates are too gentle and bullied by students from other classes, and T fights to protect friends.”

Boy, class 7, IDI, EL

It seems that many students haven't thought of alternate means of resolving conflict and in absence any support system, they are left with their own means, which is often violent.



CHAPTER 3.7: Learning



An adapted version of the GEMS program (named The Love Journey) was implemented and tested in 20 schools in Da Nang city, Vietnam using a cluster randomized control trial with 10 schools randomized in GEMS arm and 10 in control. The program was implemented by trained teachers during 2012-2015, and attended by around 4000 students. Participation of students in the GEMS sessions was moderate. Three-fourth of the students attended all the sessions, while 15 percent attended most of the sessions. The program generated several audio-visual materials, including the diary and video games. However, these were not optimally utilized. Teachers shared that they were not informed about the use of these supplementary material. The data on training of teachers reveals that only half of the teachers attended all the 12 days of training, others had attended around 8 days out of 12 days training. Although, it's not possible to establish direct association between training duration and knowledge/skill to facilitate use of supplementary material, the gap indicates the need for **developing a reference material for teachers and regular program review.**

The GEMS program succeeded in bringing about positive changes in gender attitudes. There was a significant increase in the proportion of students with high attitudinal score in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS over time. Both girls and boys of GEMS schools recorded positive shift. The net positive shift among GEMS students was around gender roles and responsibilities and attributes, but not on violence. It also enhanced communication on violence. Peers emerged as the most trusted person to talk about violence, followed by parents. Although, one-half to two-thirds of students

reached out to their teachers in case of any problem, significantly more in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS schools over time, 10 percent or less considered them a “go-to” person for discussion on gender and violence. Clearly, the program has succeeded to some extent in creating safe and enabling environment for students to seek help from teachers in case of any problem; and to talk about violence at school and home. This is a critical step toward ‘breaking silence’ against violence and seeking help. To sustain this step, it is crucial that **program engages teachers and parents intensively to ensure that they reciprocate children’s action and build conducive environment for open discussion and questioning.**

Violence is highly prevalent in schools. Both girls and boys experienced violence in school from peers and teachers, with no net change at EL. Punishment from teachers is widespread but more boys experience it than girls. Beating and yelling are commonly practiced; and more boys than girls are beaten with some object. Further, more students reported perpetrating physical and emotional violence in GEMS than in non-GEMS schools at EL compared to BL with no significant net change. This could be due to increased recognition and sensitivity as a result of the intervention, and hence students are likely to report about acts more accurately. GEMS builds an environment that promotes the recognition of violence and talking about it. During interviews and discussions, students agreed that violence is not appropriate; however, they felt that it could be justified in specific instances to retaliate or protect someone. Many children shared that they cannot seek help from their parents or teachers- indicating a trust deficit between children and key adults, and that need to be addressed to create

conducive environment for students to believe and practice non-violence. It also appears that program did not succeed in strengthening skills of students to handle conflict without use of violence. Further, absence of any response mechanism left students to deal with situation on their own. For a violence prevention program, a strong response mechanism is necessary,

and should be core component of the GEMS program. The program has succeeded in creating a change in thinking, but added inputs toward strengthening individual skills and establishing support mechanisms are needed to enable students to adopt non-violent means to address conflict or seek help when required.

Annexure

Table - 3.6: Background characteristics of students from GEMS and non-GEMS schools at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

	BL				EL			
	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Non-GEMS		GEMS	
Gender	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Boy	201	49.02	202	49.75	230	50	230	49.89
Girl	209	50.98	204	50.25	230	50	231	50.11
Perceived economic status								
Richer than others	39	9.51	43	10.59	32	6.99	46	10.07
Same	234	57.07	238	58.62	291	63.54	310	67.83
Poorer than others	137	33.41	125	30.79	135	29.48	101	22.1
Mother's education								
No schooling/Primary	76	18.54	75	18.38	60	13.1	65	14.13
Secondary/High school	208	50.73	194	47.55	252	55.02	234	50.87
College and above	126	30.73	139	34.07	146	31.88	161	35
Father's education								
No schooling/Primary	52	12.68	51	12.5	31	6.75	54	11.76
Secondary/High school	193	47.07	174	42.65	249	54.25	210	45.75
College and above	165	40.24	183	44.85	179	39	195	42.48
TV watch time per week								
Never/less than 2hrs	107	26.23	83	20.39	65	14.16	72	15.62
2-5 hrs.	128	31.37	118	28.99	107	23	135	29.28
5-10 hrs.	100	24.51	112	27.52	129	28.1	134	29.07
More than 10 hrs.	73	17.89	94	23.1	158	34.42	120	26.03
Cellphone for personal use								
Yes	139	33.9	153	37.5	262	57.58	299	65.14
No	271	66.1	255	62.5	193	42.42	160	34.86
Internet use per week								
Never/less than 2hrs	292	71.22	277	68.06	222	48.26	213	46.2
2-5 hrs.	83	20.24	72	17.69	113	24.57	125	27.11
5-10 hrs.	19	4.63	38	9.34	70	15.22	68	14.75
More than 10 hrs.	16	3.9	20	4.91	55	11.96	55	11.93
Witnessed parental violence								
Yes	151	36.83	165	40.44	178	38.7	226	49.13
No	259	63.17	243	59.56	282	61.3	234	50.87

Note: Used z-test to test difference in proportion between GEMS and non-GEMS, *sig p≤0.05, ** sig p≤0.01

Table - 3.7: Participation and perceived quality of the program, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Boy	Girl	Total
Participation in GEMS sessions			
Attended all sessions*	70.31	78.79	74.57
Attended most of the sessions*	17.9	12.12	15
Attended about ½ sessions	6.11	6.49	6.3
Attended less than ½ sessions*	3.93	0.87	2.39
Did not attend any session	1.75	1.73	1.74
Played video games developed as part of the program			
Very often**	14.85	6.96	10.89
Sometimes	44.54	48.7	46.62
Never	40.61	44.35	42.48
Use of GEMS diary			
Very often	24.22	27.63	25.94
Sometimes	64.57	67.54	66.08
Never*	11.21	4.82	7.98
Level of satisfaction with the program			
Very satisfied	42.98	44.78	43.89
Satisfied	54.82	51.74	53.28
Unsatisfied	1.75	2.61	2.18
Very Unsatisfied	0.44	0.87	0.66
Rating of program			
Useful (rating of 8 or more on 10-point scale)	86.1	90.9	88.5
Number of students	230	231	461

Note: Used z-test to test difference in proportion of girls and boys, *sig p≤0.05, ** sig p≤0.01

Table - 3.8: Gender attitude: mean attitudinal score and distribution of students by attitudinal categories at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Total				Boys					Girls				
	Non-GEMS		Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD
	BL	EL	EL		BL	EL	BL	EL		BL	EL	BL	EL	
Mean GA score	30.1	32.7	34.4	1.5	28.9	30.6	29.9	32.7	1.3	31.2	34.6	31.3	36.1	1.6*
Attitudinal Categories														
Low	13.7	5.0	4.7	0.9	17.1	9.0	13.0	8.1	0.2	10.5	1.3	9.5	1.3	1.2
Moderate	77.0	73.4	60.5	-12.9**	78.0	83.8	79.7	68.9	-11.5*	76.1	63.7	74.3	51.8	-12.3*
High	9.2	21.6	34.8	12.0*	5.0	7.2	7.4	23.0	11.2*	13.4	35.0	16.2	46.9	11.1*

Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for school level clustering and background characteristics - perceived economic status, mother' education, father's education, TV watching, access to cellphone, internet use, witnessing parental violence; *sig. at p≤0.05, **sig. at p≤0.01

Table - 3.9: Attitude toward gender role, attributes and violence: Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements on gender roles, attributes and GBV at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

		Total						Boys						Girls																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
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	Total				Boys				Girls						
	Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD				
GBV															
Violence against women is acceptable in some situations	43.9	43.1	44.4	36.6	-5.1	40.7	37.7	43.9	35.1	-5.1	47.1	48.2	44.9	38.2	-6.4
	21.9	27.7	23.4	28.8	-0.2	18.5	20.3	18.7	20.2	-0.8	25.4	34.9	28.0	37.6	1.7
If my mother cheated on my father, then It is OK for him to hit her	47.0	50.2	48.1	45.3	-5	44.5	48.9	49.4	44.7	-8.2	49.3	51.4	46.7	46.0	-2.9
	25.5	37.3	26.1	39.8	2.7	25.1	34.0	24.0	37.8	5.3	25.9	40.3	28.2	41.8	0.4
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.	29.2	23.8	32.2	19.7	-7.1	29.2	30.0	33.8	21.5	-11.6	29.1	17.9	30.7	17.8	-1.9
	42.7	66.9	42.0	73.2	8.9	37.0	55.5	40.1	67.4	9.9	48.4	77.5	43.8	79.1	6.9
Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for school level clustering and background characteristics - perceived economic status, mother's education, father's education, TV watching, access to cellphone, internet use, witnessing parental violence; *sig. at p≤0.05, **sig. at p≤0.01															

Table - 3.10: Communication on gender and violence: Proportion of students who communicated with someone on gender and violence in the last semester at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Total				Boys				Girls							
	Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD					
	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL				
Talked to someone on gender issues	47.4	49.5	44.8	56.5		9.9	36.4	40.3	38.3	46.2	3.4	58.1	58.3	51.2	67.1	15.2*
Parents	20.1	12.6	17.5	14.2		4.2	13.3	6.6	7.4	7.7	7.5	26.6	18.3	27.6	21.0	1.0
Teachers	4.2	2.1	5.0	7.4		4.7	3.7	1.6	3.8	7.0	5.9	4.7	2.5	6.3	7.9	4.0
Friends	36.2	36.0	31.5	42.7		12.3	29.3	27.4	28.5	34.6	7.8	42.8	44.0	34.5	51.0	15.7*
Talked to someone on violence	50.1	54.7	50.2	68.3		14.4*	48.2	51.8	52.7	68.8	14.2	51.9	57.4	47.8	67.9	15.0*
Parents	18.3	15.0	16.7	23.0		9.6	8.1	7.4	16.9	16.8	1.7	28.2	22.1	16.5	29.3	18.2*
Teachers	9.1	5.4	7.2	10.4		6.8	8.3	4.4	6.4	7.4	5.3	9.9	6.3	8.0	13.5	8.3
Friends	37.4	42.8	39.2	55.5		13.1*	38.4	42.1	40.1	55.2	13.9	36.4	43.5	38.4	55.8	12.0
Talked to teachers in case of any problem	59.2	54.7	53.5	68.9		19.7**	56.9	52.5	56.7	68.4	14.6	61.5	56.7	50.4	69.4	24.1**
Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for perceived economic status, mother' education, father's education, TV watching, access to cellphone, internet use, witnessing parental violence; * sig. at p≤0.05, **sig. at p≤0.01																

Table - 3.11: Experience of violence: Proportion of students who reported experiencing different acts of violence from other students in school in the last semester at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Total										Boys				Girls			
	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD	
	BL	EL	BL	EL			BL	EL	BL	EL			BL	EL	BL	EL		
Any violence	70.7	71.9	81.2	80.2	-2.5		65.1	64.6	79.1	75.6	-3.2		76.2	78.8	83.4	84.9	-1.4	
Physical Violence	46.3	42.1	51.7	51.2	3.9		45.2	39.8	53.8	53.3	5.8		47.5	44.2	49.7	49.1	3.4	
Emotional Violence	67.2	67.9	74.1	75.4	0.8		59.7	57.4	70.9	68.0	0.0		74.6	77.7	77.4	83.0	2.3	
Sexual Violence	7.0	8.9	10.7	9.6	-3.8		6.5	6.8	9.2	11.6	0.9		7.5	10.9	12.1	7.5	-8.4**	
Specific acts of violence																		
was pushed or shoved	42.5	36.3	44.1	47.6	10.0		40.5	31.7	43.2	48.4	16.1		44.5	40.7	45.1	46.7	5.5	
was hit or kicked, and was bruised or marked by the blow	13.4	16.0	20.6	16.1	-6.8		15.3	15.2	22.6	17.2	-5.3		11.5	16.8	18.6	15.0	-8.6	
My property was damaged on purpose	23.8	27.3	28.8	36.3	3.7		16.1	21.1	21.9	31.4	2.8		31.2	33.0	35.6	41.3	4.1	
I was threatened to be physically hurt	8.6	7.0	8.4	11.6	4.5		11.7	9.4	10.0	13.9	5.1		5.6	4.7	6.8	9.3	3.3	
A student made me cry because of something he did	19.6	21.9	23.6	25.7	-0.6		10.4	10.9	12.1	11.8	-2.1		28.5	32.4	35.1	40.0	0.5	
I was called names I didn't like	46.6	49.2	53.6	55.0	-2.3		43.3	39.5	47.7	54.8	10.0		49.8	58.4	59.6	55.2	-14.4	
I was embarrassed by students saying jokes about me	25.1	23.6	24.7	34.4	12.0*		14.5	15.3	21.7	31.0	8.8		35.5	31.3	27.7	37.9	16.1*	
Things were said about my looks I didn't like	17.6	26.0	23.8	34.6	1.6		13.1	15.5	20.0	24.8	0.9		22.0	36.0	27.5	44.7	2.0	
A student made me cry because of something she/he said	13.9	17.0	14.5	19.9	1.9		4.4	5.4	7.5	9.8	0.4		23.0	27.9	21.5	30.3	2.7	
A student ignored me when he/she was with their friends	17.5	16.2	20.5	23.6	4.8		15.4	13.3	15.2	22.7	9.7		19.5	19.0	25.7	24.6	-1.3	
A student got their friends to turn against me	18.4	15.1	20.4	18.0	0.6		17.2	18.3	19.8	15.6	-6.2		19.5	12.1	21.1	20.3	7.2	
A student got other students not to have anything to do with me	15.1	8.5	14.9	11.8	2.8		14.8	9.6	15.6	14.2	1.4		15.3	7.5	14.1	9.4	3.4	
I wasn't invited to a student's place because others didn't like me	8.2	9.2	9.9	12.7	1.7		7.2	10.0	9.1	14.4	0.1		9.2	8.4	10.7	11.1	1.7	
My private parts were touched by a student without consent	0.9	3.4	3.1	5.1	-1.4		1.8	4.5	3.9	7.0	-1.2		0.0	2.4	2.4	3.2	-1.9	
A student made sexual remarks about me	6.2	6.6	8.8	7.3	-2.3		4.9	2.6	6.9	8.1	3.0		7.5	10.4	10.8	6.5	-7.2*	

Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for perceived economic status, mother's education, father's education, TV watching, access to cellphone, internet use, witnessing parental violence;

*sig. at $p \leq 0.05$, **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$

Table - 3.12: Experience of violence from teachers: Proportion of students who experienced violence from teachers in the last semester at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS		
	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	BL	EL	BL	BL	EL	BL	BL	EL	BL
Experienced violence from teachers in last semester	74.6	67.8	71.7	68.9			2.7	87.7	80.0	81.4	80.6	8.3	61.7	56.3	62.0	56.9	-1.5	
Acts perpetrated by teachers																		
Humiliated	1.3	2.3	0.6	1.9	0.3	1.8	2.0	1.2	2.0	1.2	1.8	-0.3	0.7	2.5	0.0	2.1	0.7	
Yelled at	18.9	26.9	20.8	25.3	-3.1	19.5	29.0	20.3	26.6	-3.7	18.4	24.9	21.3	23.8	-2.8			
Forced to kneel on the ground for extended periods	2.8	3.8	1.3	1.7	-1.0	5.6	7.1	2.6	2.6	-1.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.8	0.1			
Beaten (by hand)	24.9	16.2	25.9	20.8	1.3	28.5	19.9	31.6	25.6	0.2	21.3	12.7	20.2	16.0	2.6			
Beaten (by object)	32.5	20.9	17.6	18.0	12.6*	43.6	29.5	26.3	27.0	16.4	21.7	12.8	8.8	8.8	10.2			
Others	16.2	18.7	22.0	19.6	-4.6	14.8	17.2	20.4	17.3	-4.0	17.6	20.2	23.6	21.9	-4.9			

Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for perceived economic status, mother' education, father's education, TV watching, access to cellphone, internet use, witnessing parental violence; *sig. at $p \leq 0.05$, **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$

Table - 3.13: Perpetration of violence: Proportion of students who reported perpetrating different acts against other students in school in the last semester at BL and EL, Da Nang, Vietnam

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS		
	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	BL	EL	BL	BL	EL	BL	BL	EL	BL
Any Violence	51.5	65.7	64.0	70.2	-6.1	52.8	67.2	69.9	70.7	-12.1	50.2	64.4	58.1	69.6	-0.3			
Physical Violence	28.8	43.6	35.4	40.4	-8.3	30.9	42.4	37.8	40.6	-6.0	26.7	44.8	32.9	40.1	-10.2			
Emotional Violence	47.0	60.0	58.9	66.2	-3.7	49.8	61.1	64.5	67.0	-7.6	44.3	59.0	53.3	65.4	-0.1			
Sexual Violence	2.0	3.7	2.2	2.4	-1.4	3.0	4.3	2.6	3.9	0.3	1.1	3.1	1.9	0.9	-3.2*			
Specific acts of violence																		

	Total				Boys				Girls						
	Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD		Non-GEMS	GEMS	Adj. DiD				
	26.7	38.7	29.0	35.1	-3.6	28.1	34.9	30.0	34.6	1.4	25.2	42.2	27.9	35.5	-8.1
Pushed or shoved	4.9	9.9	8.1	10.9	-2.1	6.5	9.6	9.3	11.0	-1.2	3.3	10.1	6.9	10.7	-3.6
Hit or kicked, and bruised or marked them by the blow	7.4	10.0	7.1	9.6	-0.3	11.3	13.1	8.4	11.2	1.2	3.7	7.1	5.9	7.9	-1.0
Got into a physical fight	3.3	4.0	2.4	4.0	1.5	6.0	5.2	3.2	7.2	5.4	0.7	2.8	1.5	0.8	-2.1
Threatened to physically harm	13.0	17.9	22.0	18.7	-7.3	16.5	22.0	27.0	22.0	-8.5	9.7	14.0	17.0	15.3	-4.6
Made a student cry because of an act I did	26.9	41.8	27.9	51.2	9.4	26.7	40.1	27.2	52.2	12.3	27.1	43.3	28.7	50.0	5.8
Made fun of a student by calling him/her names	17.6	25.9	21.9	26.8	-2.5	18.7	25.6	25.4	30.2	-0.6	16.4	26.2	18.5	23.3	-3.2
Made jokes about a student	3.1	7.4	7.1	9.6	-1.8	4.2	8.7	3.8	10.9	2.3	2.0	6.2	10.4	8.3	-6.1
Said insulting things about a student's looks	8.0	14.0	15.2	13.2	-8.3*	11.1	16.9	19.3	14.8	-10.2	5.0	11.3	11.1	11.5	-5.6
Made a student cry because of something I said	9.4	13.0	14.4	12.8	-5.4	12.3	14.8	18.5	16.5	-4.7	6.7	11.3	10.3	9.1	-5.8
Got my friends to turn against a student	13.4	16.3	15.3	13.9	-2.9	11.2	10.4	10.1	9.0	-0.6	15.6	21.8	20.4	19.0	-6.8
Ignored a student when I was with my friends	6.6	8.7	5.2	9.3	2.7	7.4	6.6	4.4	8.4	4.7	5.9	10.7	5.9	10.2	0.1
Got other students to ignore a student	10.3	13.4	15.1	12.4	-5.3	12.7	15.6	16.4	17.4	-1.4	7.9	11.3	13.7	7.3	-8.6*
Left a student out of activities or games on purpose	0.6	1.9	0.4	1.3	-0.7	0.9	2.7	0.8	2.5	-0.3	0.3	1.2	0	0	-1.1
Touched a students' private parts, or made him/her touch my private parts without consent	1.5	2.6	2.2	1.6	-1.6	2.2	2.8	2.6	2.3	-0.8	0.8	2.3	1.9	0.9	-2.5
Made sexual comments to a student when I knew they were unwanted															

Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for school level clustering and background characteristics - perceived economic status, mother's education, father's education, TV watching, access to cellphone, internet use, witnessing parental violence; *sig. at $p \leq 0.05$, **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$

4 SECTION

GEMS IN JHARKHAND, INDIA



CHAPTER 4.1: Background



Gender related concerns have gained significant attention among policy makers in India in the last decade, and gender equality has become part of the country's strategy for addressing poverty and human development. The country has enacted several landmark laws to protect women and children from violence, including the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA 2005), Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act (2013), Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO 2012) and the provision, under the Right to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act (2009), prohibiting corporal punishment in schools. The RTE Act is a significant policy initiative toward ensuring quality of education and enabling children to learn without fear as it makes 'physical punishment' and 'mental harassment' punishable offences. It envisions educational institutions as spaces for joyful learning, free from violence and discrimination.

In India, violence against women and children is widespread.⁴² ⁴³ According to the National Family Health Survey⁴⁴, 2015-16, 29 percent of ever married women have experienced spousal violence in their lifetime. A recent UNICEF report estimates that over 20 percent 15-19-year old girls in India have experienced any physical violence

since the age of 15 years.⁴⁵ A government of India study carried out in 2007 across 13 states among children aged 5-18 years showed that 69 percent of children had experienced some form of physical abuse in one or more situations, and 65 percent of school going children reported facing corporal punishment.⁴⁶

Jharkhand

Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar as a separate state in 2000. The state had unfavorable socio-economic conditions at the time of its formation. In terms of gender equality, it is one of the poorest performing states in India, ranked 29th out of 35 states on the Gender Development Index and 26th out of 35 states on gender empowerment measures.⁴⁷ According to the National Family Health Survey 2015-16, female literacy in Jharkhand is 59 percent, as compared to the national average of 68 percent; with 29 percent of women having completed 10 or more years of schooling while the corresponding national proportion is 36 percent. In terms of age of marriage of girls, Jharkhand fares better: among women in the age group of 20-24 years, 38 percent are married before the age of 18 years in Jharkhand, which is higher than the national average of 26.8 percent. One-fourth of women reported having worked in the last

⁴² UNDP. (2016). *Human Development Report 2016: Human Development is for Everyone*. New York: UNDP.

⁴³ Status of Women Report 2016, Ministry of Women and Child Development (Government of India); <http://wcd.nic.in/documents/hlc-status-women>

⁴⁴ The National Family Health Survey (NFHS) is a large-scale, multi-round survey conducted in a representative sample of households throughout India. Three rounds of the survey have been conducted since the first survey in 1992-93. The survey provides state and national information for India on fertility, infant and child mortality, the practice of family planning, maternal and child health, reproductive health, nutrition, anaemia, utilization and quality of health and family planning services.

⁴⁵ UNICEF. (2014). *Hidden in Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children*.

⁴⁶ Government of India. (2007). Study on Child Abuse: India 2007. Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India. DOI: <https://www.childlineindia.org.in/pdf/MWCD-Child-Abuse-Report.pdf>

⁴⁷ Gendering Human Development Indices: Recasting the Gender Development Index and Gender Empowerment Measure for India. Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India. 2009

12 months and were paid in cash which is comparable with the national average. The sex ratio at birth is highly skewed but similar to the national average, with only 919 girls for every 1000 boys, but is showing a decline over the years. One-third of ever married women have experienced spousal violence in their lifetime in Jharkhand slightly more than the national average of 29 percent. A recent World Bank fact sheet notes that while the public-school enrolment in Jharkhand is higher than in most other states (80 percent compared to 60 percent nationally), the secondary education attainment figures among adults are low with only 28 percent of adults in Jharkhand completing secondary school as compared to the national average of 32 percent.⁴⁸ Young adolescent girls face significant barriers to realizing their potential. Findings from a survey undertaken by The World Bank state that school attendance drops significantly as girls enter adolescence when marriage and domestic pressures predominate. While 88 percent of girls ages

11-14 attend school, the share drops to 69 percent for ages 15-17, and 21 percent for ages 18-24.⁴⁹ In addition, girls from poor families and Scheduled Tribes are vulnerable to trafficking and exploitation.⁵⁰

This section presents the implementation and evaluation of GEMS program in Jharkhand. The subsequent chapters detail the study design (Chapter 2) and program implementation (Chapter 3). Chapters 4-6 present findings on GEMS' three key areas of focus: gender attitudes, school culture (communication and interaction), and violence. In Jharkhand, we included a qualitative cohort study in which students exposed to the program were interviewed at three-time points to understand the nature and process of change that unfolds as they get exposed to the GEMS content. Chapter 7 describes this qualitative study. The section ends with a chapter on conclusions and learnings.

⁴⁸ Sourced from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/702281467992476827/pdf/105856-BRI-P157572-PUBLIC-Jharkhand-HealthEducation.pdf>, October 2017.

⁴⁹ Sourced from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/322081468283135260/pdf/PID-Appraisal-Print-P150576-03-16-2016-1458102520749.pdf>, October 2017

⁵⁰ Vahni et al., 2015 cited in World Bank Report on *Tejaswini: Socioeconomic Empowerment of Adolescent Girls & Young Women*, October 2017

CHAPTER 4.2: Study Design



The GEMS program in Jharkhand was evaluated using a mixed method approach that included a longitudinal cluster-randomized controlled trial and qualitative, in-depth interviews. Eighty schools were selected to participate in the study and randomly assigned to the intervention (GEMS) and comparison (comparison) arms.

Three rounds of data collection were carried out with a cohort of girls and boys selected from the 80 schools at BL, midline (ML) (after the first year of intervention) and EL. In Jharkhand, unlike in other sites, a qualitative study was also carried out to understand the process of change among students. Details on method and findings of the qualitative cohort study are given separately in Chapter 6.

Sample size calculation – For calculating the required number of clusters (c) we used the following formula (Hayes & Bennet, 1999)⁵¹:

$$c = 1 + \frac{(z_{\alpha/2} + z_{\beta})^2}{n} \left[\frac{(\pi_0(1 - \pi_0)/n) + (\pi_1(1 - \pi_1)/n) + k^2((\pi_0^2 + \pi_1^2)/n)}{(\pi_0 - \pi_1)^2} \right]$$

where, π_1 and π_0 are the true proportions in the presence and absence of the intervention respectively, n is cluster size and k is the coefficient of variation of proportions between clusters within each group.

For calculating sample size, we made certain assumptions. We considered proportion of students with high score on gender attitudinal scale as the key outcome indicator, and assumed this to be 20 percent (π_0) based on GEMS data from Mumbai. Further, we assumed that the program would increase proportion of students with high gender equitable attitudes to 29 percent (π_1). The intra-class correlation was calculated as 0.06 using GEMS data from Mumbai. The

average cluster size was 40. Given these assumptions, 40 schools in intervention and 40 in comparison arms were needed at 80 percent power and 95 percent level of significance. Further, considering 20 percent loss to follow-up, samples of 2000 students in the two arms were needed at BL. This sample equally distributed among girls (1000) and boys (1000) would detect an increase of 10 percentage point in proportion of students with high score on attitudinal scale.

Sampling technique – A multilevel sampling technique was used for the selection of schools and student. At the first stage, blocks were selected in consultation with the district authorities. Subsequently, all the upper primary schools with at least 50 students in classes 6 and 7 were listed. From this list, 40 schools were then randomly selected and assigned to intervention and comparison arms. At the next level, students were selected from each school. Using the attendance roster, students in each school were stratified in four strata: class 6 girls, class 6 boys, class 7 girls and class 7 boys. From each stratum, 15 students were selected for the BL survey using systematic sampling. After taking parental consent and assent from the students, students were recruited for the study.

Sample achieved – At BL, 4000 students – 2215 girls and 1785 boys – participated in the survey. Of these, 77 percent participated in all three rounds; and 900 students were lost to follow-up due to several reasons including drop-out from the study schools, absence during the three revisits and refusal. Break-up of students who participated in BL and EL with continuation rate are presented in Table 4.1.

⁵¹ R.J. Hayes, S. Bennet (1999) Sample sample size calculation for cluster-randomized trials. *International Journal of Epidemiology*. 28(2): 319-26

Table - 4.1: Participation of Students at BL and all three rounds, Jharkhand

District	GEMS	BL (Number)			All three rounds (Number)			Continuation Rate (%)		
		Comparison	Total	GEMS	Comparison	Total	GEMS	Comparison	Overall	
Total	Girl	1099	1116	2215	883	881	1764	80	79	80
	Boy	884	901	1785	640	665	1305	72	74	73
	Total	1983	2017	4000	1523	1546	3069	77	77	77

Table 4.2 (see Annexure) provides characteristics of the girls and boys who participated in the surveys. At BL, 4,000 students participated in the survey while at EL, only 3,069 participated. Thus, 23 percent students were lost to follow-up (931 cases). The characteristics of students who participated in all three rounds of surveys and those who lost to follow-up were slightly different. In both intervention and comparison schools, a significantly higher proportion of boys dropped out than girls. In comparison schools a higher proportion of students dropped out from Khunti schools than Ranchi.

Data collection tool and technique - For the surveys, audio-computer assisted self-administered interviewing (ACASI) technique was used. For this, a structured questionnaire was developed, translated and pre-tested. The questionnaire had six domains of inquiry – background characteristics, attitudes toward gender norms, experience and reporting of violence, perpetration of violence and bystander intervention, knowledge about reproductive and sexual health, and exposure to intervention (asked at the ML and EL). The questionnaire in Jharkhand included additional questions on reporting of violence and bystander intervention (these were not included in the questionnaire used in Da Nang, Vietnam, but were added for the study in Jharkhand and Bangladesh)

The surveys were carried out in schools, and administered with the selected students in a separate classroom. While the survey was self-administered by the students, the investigators were responsible for ensuring that only those students who provided parental consent and assent participated in the survey, as well as for explaining the procedure for using the tablet to answer the survey questions, and clarifying any queries raised.

Ethical consideration - This study is approved by Sigma IRB based at Delhi and ICRW IRB based at Washington DC. Before conducting the survey, parental consent and assent from the students were taken. Further, the research team worked to ensure privacy and confidentiality during data collection and data management. To protect identity, every selected student was given a unique identification number that was used in their questionnaires at BL, ML and EL. The team ensured that students did not see each other's responses or write their names, roll numbers or any other identifiable information on their questionnaire. Finally, teachers were not present while the students were completing the survey and only de-identified data was used for analysis.

Outcomes and indicators - The following outcome indicators were measured in Jharkhand:

Table - 4.2: Expected outcomes and indicators measured in Jharkhand

Primary Outcomes	Indicators
Positive shift in attitude toward gender and violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mean score on gender attitudinal scale % of girls and boys with high score on attitudinal scale % of girls and boys who disagreed or strongly disagreed with statements promoting inequitable norms

Primary Outcomes	Indicators
Decrease in acceptance of school based violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who disagreed with corporal violence • % of girls and boys who disagreed with peer violence
Improved interaction and communication among peers; and between students and teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who reported playing in school with a person of the other sex • % of girls and boys who reported talking to peers on issues of gender and violence • % girls and boys who reported talking to teachers on the issues of gender and violence
Secondary Outcomes	
Increase in bystander intervention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who intervened when they had witnessed violence in school in last three months
Increase in reporting of violence experienced to teachers and parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who reported their experience of school-based violence in last three months to teachers or parents
Decrease in perpetration of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who perpetrated violence on other students in last three months in school
Decrease in experience of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who experienced violence in school in last three months

Construction of scales and variables - To measure indicators and change over time, we developed scales and created variables described below:

- **Construction of attitudinal scale** - To assess students' attitudes toward gender and violence, 30 statements were used. These statements were derived from the items used in the Da Nang scale that had 12 attitudinal statements and additional statements based on specific variables we wanted to measure in Jharkhand based on the formative research. Statements covered the following domains: gender roles and responsibilities, gender attributes, and GBV. After pretesting, some of the statements were reworded to reflect the norms in the context of Jharkhand. For example, in the Vietnamese version, the statement, '*Boys are hot tempered by nature*', was reworded in Jharkhand as '*Boys are violent by nature*'. In the surveys, students were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree to these statements.

Responses supporting equitable gender attitudes received the highest score of 4, while those that were inequitable received the score of 1. For example, strongly disagree with 'A wife should always obey her husband' was given a score of 4, disagree 3, agree 2 and strongly agree 1. Then, using factor analysis on the BL data, 20 statements were selected for the construction of an attitudinal scale (Cronbach Alpha = 0.87). Subsequently, the total score for each student was calculated by adding their score for each of the 20 statements (see Table 4.4). Thus, the score of students ranged between 20 and 80. Using the total score, students were then grouped into three attitudinal categories: the group with the least gender equitable attitudes had scores up to 40, the group with moderately gender equitable attitudes had scores from 41 to 60, and the group with high gender equitable attitudes had scores of 61 or more.

Table - 4.3: Statements used to construct attitudinal scale

<i>Gender role and responsibilities</i>
1. For women, taking care of the house and children should be more important than her career.
2. The traditional view that a man is the head of the family and responsible for providing economically for the family is still correct.
3. With all matters in the family, it is necessary to discuss between husband and wife, yet the final word should be of the husband's
4. Men should have more rights to make household decisions.
5. Only men should work outside home.
6. Boys should not sweep and cook at home.
7. Girls should be allowed to decide when they want to marry.
8. Girls should have a say in choosing their groom for marriage.
9. A girl should have a right over parents' property even if she is given a dowry.
10. Since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education.
<i>Gender attributes</i>
1. Men need more care as they work harder than women.
2. A wife should always obey her husband.
3. Boys are violence by nature.
4. Girls are tolerant than boys by nature.
5. Boys are naturally better than girls in sports.
<i>GBV</i>
1. It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her.
2. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.
3. Violence against women is acceptable in some situations.
4. If my mother cheated on my father, then it is OK for him to hit her.
5. Teasing is harmless fun.

- ***Experience and perpetration of violence***

- In the surveys, students were asked if they had experienced certain acts of violence (listed in the Table 4.5) in the last three months in school by teachers and by other students. These acts were grouped under physical, emotional and sexual violence.

Experience of physical violence was coded as 1 if a student experienced one or more

acts mentioned under physical violence in school in last three months, and 0 if he/she did not experience any of those acts. Similarly, variables on emotional and sexual violence were created. Those who experienced violence were asked if they reported those incidents to their teachers/principal and parents. Students were also asked if they perpetrated these acts against any student in school in last three months.

Table - 4.4: Statements used to construct attitudinal scale

Physical violence	Emotional violence	Sexual violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beat/hit/slap/kick or pull hair • Hit with an object • Threaten with a knife/weapon • Teacher asked other students to beat, hit or slap 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threaten verbally • Pass comments or label based on appearance, body or character or caste • Use humiliating/insulting language • Ignore or deliberately keep out of activities • Turn girls or boys against you/someone • Ask to stand on bench/corner (asked only with reference to teachers) • Made to do 'uthak-baithak'/'murga banaya'⁵² (asked only with reference to teachers) • Lock in room/toilet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pass sexual comments, whistle or show sexual photos or videos • Kiss or fondle or force to do these against wish • Expose body • Stalking • Force himself or herself

- **Bystander intervention** - Students were asked whether they witnessed specific acts of violence in school in last three months and their response on them. Possible responses included: did nothing, watched and enjoyed, joined the one doing this, felt uncomfortable, asked the person doing this to stop, used abusive language against person doing this, hit the person doing this, reported this to teacher or principal. Based on the response, three variables were created: positive action (asked the person doing this to stop, reported this to teacher or principal), used violence to stop violence (used abusive language against person doing this, hit the person doing this) and negative action (watched and enjoyed, joined the one doing this).
- **Analysis-** To assess change over time between GEMS and comparison schools, we have used difference-in-differences (DiD) analysis. This method compares difference in average

outcome in intervention schools before and after intervention with the difference in comparison schools, and helps in detecting the net effect of the intervention on outcomes of interest. To perform statistical analysis, BL and EL data were weighted using total class size and response rate, and merged. All the students who participated in all three rounds of surveys were included in the analysis irrespective of their program exposure. Further, the DiD estimates were calculated by incorporating interaction between time and intervention in the linear regression models. All regressions were performed adjusting for school level clustering, and controlled for background characteristics reported at BL (age, father's education, mother's education, religion, caste, and access to TV, CD/DVD, mobile phone and internet). The analyses were performed in STATA 12.0.

⁵² *Uthak-baithak* (sit-ups) and *murga banaya* (students are made to hold their ears and sit in a position imitating a hen) are forms of punishment used by teachers to discipline children.

CHAPTER 4.3: Program Implementation



The GEMS program was adapted and implemented in 80 government schools across Ranchi and Khunti districts of Jharkhand from 2014-2016. Around 4000 students from classes 6th to 8th participated in the program over two academic years. The local partners were Child in Need Institute (CINI) for Ranchi district and Life Education and Development Support (LEADS) for Khunti district. Meetings were held with the District Superintendent of Education (DSE) of both districts to introduce the GEMS program and seek permission for its implementation and evaluation. Permission letters from the DSE provided information regarding the training of teachers, the allocation of a GEMS period within the school timetable and the research to be undertaken.

Training of teachers - Subsequent to the permission from the education department for conducting the program in select schools, teacher trainings were organized. Two teachers - one male and one female - from each of the GEMS intervention schools were invited. A total of 94 teachers were trained directly by the ICRW project team. They received 12 days of training, organized in three rounds of 4 days each.

In Jharkhand, a systematic strategy of ongoing support to teachers was adopted. This strategy involved creation of a team of trained field facilitators who provided support to their assigned schools for

the GEMS program, with one facilitator responsible for five schools. The support included weekly visits to each of the schools to have discussions with principals and teachers, to hold school monthly meeting, to provide preparatory support to teacher for conducting sessions, to assist in planning for campaigns and other program activities conducted by school forums i.e. the students' parliament (Bal Sansad)⁵³ and the School Management Committees (SMC)⁵⁴. This strategy of external support to teachers was designed based on the learning from the initial GEMS pilot as there is considerable variation in the capacity and interest of individual trained teachers. In addition, other teachers and principals often had questions and queries related to the issues discussed in GEMS and the field facilitators were available for ongoing discussions with school staff. The ongoing support built institutional capacity and also provided an opportunity for monitoring and quality assurance. With support from field facilitators, the trained teachers implemented the program over two academic years.

GEAs

A total of 24 classroom sessions were conducted over the two years of intervention. As mentioned earlier, irregular attendance and absenteeism were common features in Jharkhand. The data on program exposure shows that only 22 percent students (24

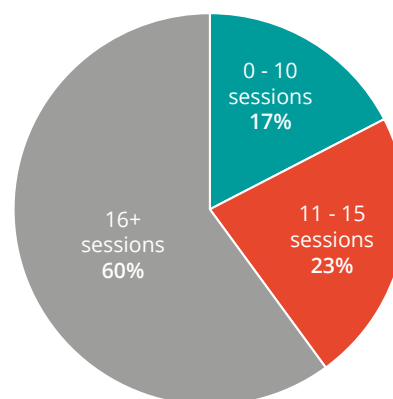
⁵³ **Bal Sansad**, or children's parliament is mandated under the government education program. It is formed with an aim to provide a platform for children to express their views and involve them in the developmental activities of their school. *Bal Sansad* consists of 12 members from grades 2nd to 8th, with at least half of them girls. It includes a prime minister, deputy prime minister, and minister and deputy minister for five portfolios - education, health and sanitation, water and agriculture, science and library, and culture and sports. Bal Sansad members are expected to meet regularly and review their process; and periodically report to SMC on their areas of work and develop a plan of action.

⁵⁴ The Right to Education Act provides for School Management Committee (SMC) consisting of parents, elected members of the local authority, Head Master, teachers and students, and entrusted with the responsibility to ensure enrolment and retention of children, prepare school development plan (SDP) and monitor its implementation

percent girls and 19 percent boys) reported having attended all sessions, 60 percent reported that they had attended at least 16 sessions, and 17 percent had attended less than 10 sessions with no significant difference between girls and boys (Figure 4.1). Participation was highest (81 percent) in sessions on Hygiene and lowest (58 percent) in sessions on masculinity (data are not presented here).

GEMS Diary: The GEMS diary is a tool by which students can share the program content at home, and have discussions around the concepts of gender and violence within their families and friends. It is an important tool to assess students' engagement on the issue and their interest and confidence in using it. Over 90 percent students reported having received the GEMS Diary, and among them, one-half had completed all the activities. Two-thirds of the students reported that they had shown the GEMS diary to their mothers and siblings. About 50 percent of students (48 percent girls and 65 percent boys) had shown it to their fathers, and about 50 percent had shown it to their friends and neighbors. Only 6 percent students reported

Figure 4.1: Distribution of students by number of sessions attended, Jharkhand



that they did not show GEMS Diary to any other person.

Campaign - In Jharkhand, two rounds of campaigns were conducted in each year of the program implementation. The campaigns included poster making and essay competitions, speeches in morning assemblies, games with gender messages and races, role plays and pledges on gender equality and non-violence. Parents were invited to all campaigns.



CHAPTER 4.4: Findings: Attitudes toward gender and violence



There was a positive and significant shift in attitude toward gender and violence among students in GEMS schools. Change was greater among those who attended more GEMS sessions.

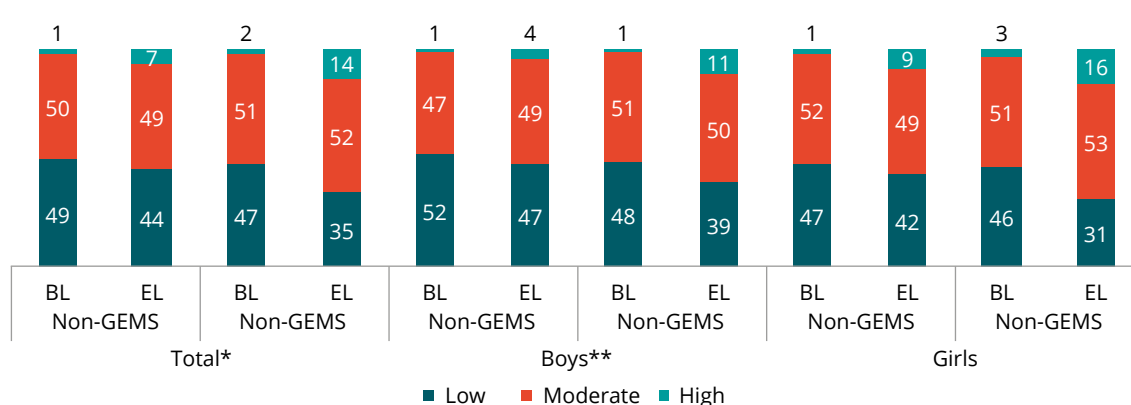
Mean attitudinal score and attitudinal categories

There was a significant increase ($p < 0.01$) in the mean attitudinal score of students from BL to EL in GEMS schools (40 to 46) as compared to students from non-GEMS

schools (40 to 42). When disaggregated by sex, the increase in the mean score is significant only for boys (Adj. DiD=3.8; $p < 0.01$) (Table 4.6 in Annexure).

The BL data by attitudinal categories (low, moderate and high) shows that students of ages 12-14 years hold gender inequitable attitudes to a large extent with close to half of students in the 'low gender equitable' category, while less than two percent were in the 'high equitable' category.

Figure - 4.2: Gender attitude: Percentage distribution of students by attitudinal category, Jharkhand



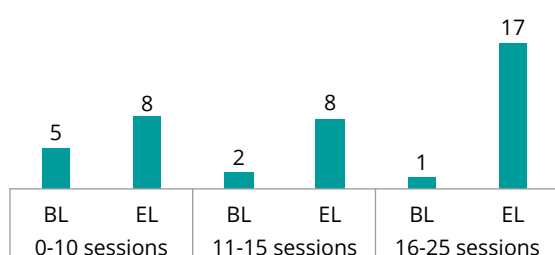
The program resulted in a significant increase in the proportion of students in the high gender equitable category over time (2 percent to 14 percent in GEMS schools; 1 percent to 7 percent in non-GEMS schools) and a significant decrease in the low gender equitable category (Figure 4.2).

Though both girls and boys showed positive shifts in attitude as a result of the program, the change was greater and significant only among boys (boys Adj. DiD=8, $p < 0.01$) (girls Adj. DiD=4.3, $p > 0.05$).

The number of sessions attended or extent of program exposure had a significant effect on attitudes (see Annexure Table 4.7). Analysis of mean attitudinal score of students in GEMS intervention schools showed that the mean attitudinal score among those who attended 16 or more sessions increased from 40 (at BL) to 47 (at EL) compared to increase from 40 to 44 among those who attended 10 or less sessions. Similarly, the increase in proportion of students in the 'high gender equitable' category is more pronounced among those who attended

16 or more sessions (1 percent at BL to 17 percent at EL), as compared to those who attended 10 or less sessions (5 percent at BL to 8 percent at EL) (Figure 4.3). Since GEMS is designed as an incremental intervention, where successive sessions contribute to building a comprehensive understanding on gender and violence, it is not surprising that students exposed to more sessions show more change in their thinking about these issues.

Figure 4.3: Gender attitude by session exposure: Proportion of students who scored high on attitudinal scale by session exposure at baseline and endline, Jharkhand



Specific attitudinal statements

Evidence from earlier studies have shown that the attitude of an individual is not uniform across different norms related to gender and violence. Some norms are more deep-rooted and attitudes toward those maybe more difficult to change compared to others. To understand these nuances, we have presented percentage distribution of students disagreeing or strongly disagreeing to each of the 20 statements at BL and EL by GEMS and comparison schools, and Adj. DiD estimates (Tables 4.8 to 4.10 in Annexure).

The statements are grouped into three categories: gender roles and responsibilities (10 statements), gender attributes (5 statements) and violence (5 statements). Positive significant shifts in attitudes were found in most statements in the domain of gender attributes and violence; whereas less change was seen in the more extensive

domain of gender roles and responsibilities with significant shifts in four of the ten statements associated with program exposure. This variation could be a reflection of specific content around which discussions are structured in the GEMS program and also highlight areas within the gender discourse that are more rigid or difficult to shift. GEMS includes specific modules that build understanding on the gender division of work, gender stereotypes and violence. However, the program assumes that exposure to these fundamental concepts of gender, and the ability to recognize and challenge discrimination and inequities will be applied by children to other aspects and social realities. The findings suggest that this may not be an automatic or seamless process for young adolescents and that guided discussions are needed to enable them to analyze their social realities through their new-found gender lens.

The following sections describe the findings in detail.

Gender roles and responsibilities

This theme includes ten statements on norms around various aspects of gender including gender roles, division of work, household decision making and decisions around girls' marriage.

At BL, few children have egalitarian attitudes. Around three-fourth of the students supporting inequitable norms related to roles and responsibilities, with the exception of two statements: *Boys should not sweep and cook at home* and *Since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education*. Approximately 40 percent students disagreed or strongly disagreed with these statements at BL.

The program resulted in an overall significant change in thinking around four of the ten statements, and these were statements related to gender roles and the gender division of work, but no significant change was seen in statements related to

aspects such as household decision-making or girl's rights over parental property (Table 4. 8 in Annexure). For example, there is significant change in both statements that are around a man's and woman's defined role. At BL 9.5 percent students from GEMS schools disagreed with the statement: *For women, taking care of the house and children should be more important than her career*. At end line, this proportion increased to 14.2 percent among GEMS school, whereas there was almost no change in the comparison schools (10.6 to 10.5, Adj. DiD=6.1, $p<0.01$). Similarly, for the statement, *the traditional view that a man is the head of the family and responsible for providing economically for the family is still correct*, there was a significant increase among students of GEMS schools, as compared to comparison school (Adj. DiD=6.4, $p<0.01$). The magnitude of change was the greatest for the statement, *Boys should not sweep and cook at home*. In GEMS schools, 15 percent students strongly disagreed with the statement at BL, which increased to 26 percent at EL; whereas in comparison schools the percentage was 14.5 at BL, and 17.3 at EL (Adj. DiD=9.2, $p<0.01$). For all the above statements, the change was significant for boys, but not for girls.

For two statements, the overall change in attitudes was not significant, but there are differences in the findings for boys and girls. The support for girls' higher education increased among boys from GEMS schools as compared to the comparison schools. In comparison schools, at BL 13 percent boys strongly agreed to the *statement since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education*, which increased to 20 percent at EL. For GEMS schools the percentage increased from 12.3 percent to 27.7 percent (Adj. DiD=9.6, $p<0.05$). For girls, there is an increased support in both GEMS (BL: 17.2 to EL 31.2) and comparison (BL: 15.7 to 28.3) over time, and hence the

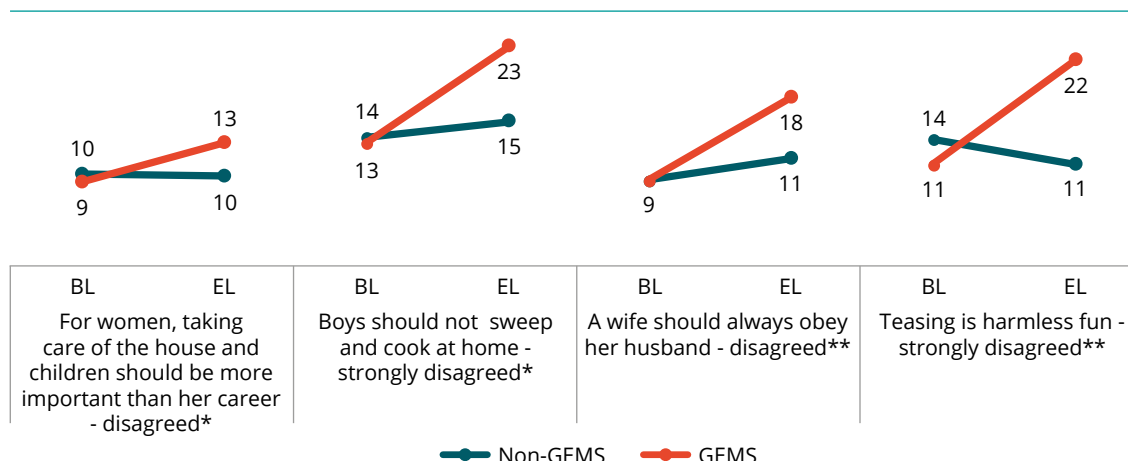
net change as result of the program is not significant. It is likely that as adolescent girls grow and are faced with the situation of transition from middle school, there is an increase in aspiration to choose education over marriage, but for boys, the extra programmatic input is needed to develop supportive attitudes.

A girl who was the Prime Minister of the School Cabinet (Bal Sansad) said,

“Since I came to Class-8 and became the Prime Minister of Bal Sansad, I and some other friends told our teachers and head Sir that only girls sweep all the classrooms daily, boys don't do anything. The school and classrooms are as much theirs as it is ours, so you (teachers) should encourage boys also to sweep the classes with us. We tell them but they don't listen to us and say, ‘why should we sweep when you all are there, it's your work after all’... I felt angry hearing these things. When our teachers told them to participate in cleaning, they began doing so. Some did grudgingly but now we have a routine where it is divided as per our roll numbers and boys also sweep with us. I had read in GEMS diary that girl cooks at home while boy goes to play football, and this should change. I got inspiration after reading that. Now I feel good that they do the work with us.”

(Girl, Class 8, Intervention, EL)

Figure - 4.4: Attitude towards gender role, attributes and violence among boys: Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements at baseline and endline, Jharkhand



Gender attributes

There was an overall positive significant shift on three of the five statements around gender attributes among students from GEMS schools as compared to those from comparison schools from BL to EL. (Table 4.9 in Annexure). The change was seen on statements around the privileges accorded to men and boys (*Men need more care as they work harder than women* – Adj. DiD for students disagreeing is 8.5, $p \leq 0.01$, the attributes of obedience and tolerance associated with girls - *A wife should always obey her husband* (Adj. DiD = 9.3, $p \leq 0.05$) and

Girls are more tolerant than boys by nature (Adj. DiD = 6.2, $p \leq 0.05$).

On statements related to attributes specific to boys - *Boys are violent by nature and boys are naturally better than girls in sports*, overall change was not significant over time. However, when seen separately for boys and girls, there is significant change among the boys of GEMS school as compared to comparison school over time, but not among girls. These data suggest that boys are more likely to change their acceptance of the non-stereotypical attributes associated with boys.

Figure - 4.5: Attitude towards gender role, attributes and violence among girls: Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements at baseline and endline



GBV

There was a wide variation in agreement on different statements related to GBV at BL. Over half the students disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, *It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her* at BL; and over 40 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that, *If my mother cheated on my father, then it is OK for him to hit her*. One-third or less of the students disagreed or strongly disagreed at BL with the other three statements related to the justification and tolerance of violence amongst women, and on teasing (Table 4.10 in Annexure). The findings on change from BL to EL show a significant net positive shift in attitudes on these three statements. For example, at BL, 7.2 percent of students in comparison and 8.1 percent students in GEMS schools strongly disagreed with the statement, *A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together*. Post intervention, this increased to 24.4 percent in GEMS schools and 14.6 in comparison schools (Adj. DiD 10 at $p < 0.01$). Similarly, there was a net positive shift post intervention in the proportion of students who disagreed with the statement *Violence against women is acceptable in some situations* (Adj. DiD 5.7; $p < 0.05$) and *Teasing is a harmless fun* (Adj. DiD 7; $p < 0.05$).

The net change is more prominent and significant for boys, than for girls. There is also a significant shift from BL to EL among boys on the statement, *It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her*. There is also a positive change among girls, but this is in both GEMS and comparison schools, and hence change in girls is not significant. It could be that girls become more aware of sexual harassment with age, while they are also more likely to be experience it. In

addition, it is likely that the notion of blame in relation to sexual violence is internalised and deep-rooted among girls, especially with relation to sexual violence and that more focussed discussion is required. Similarly, the concept of infidelity is complex and not addressed directly by the program and so it is possible that the views held by students at BL remain unchanged.



Now, I consider all this teasing by calling names a bad practice, because if someone calls me by some other name I won't feel good about it. Similarly, the other person will also not feel good. I learnt this after GEMS madam told me about labeling. I was told that it hurts the concerned person. Labeling is violence, because when one labels another person, he/she gets hurt..."

Girl, GEMS school, EL

"[Teasing] harms both boys and girls. The boy will be harmed because he will learn bad things and he can do anything anywhere, and the girl will be harmed because someone will tease her saying she couldn't do anything. When teased some girls do nothing, while some complain or can slap the boy."

Boy, GEMS School, EL

Specific statements related to violence in school

Two statements, specific to the core GEMS content, about challenging normalizing and accepting of violence in school, were not included in the gender attitude scale, but it is important to see whether the program could influence thinking around these.

There was a significant decline in support for both corporal punishment and peer-based violence in the GEMS schools from BL to EL (Table 4.11) At BL, 11.8 percent of students in GEMS schools, and 13.5 percent in

comparison schools strongly disagreed that, *In certain situations it is fine for students to be violent toward each other in school*. At EL, this percentage increased to 29 percent in GEMS schools, and 13.5 percent in comparison schools (Adj. DiD 10; $p<0.01$). Similarly, for the statement, *It is fine for teachers to give physical punishment to students in certain situations*, the proportion of students who strongly disagreed increased significantly in GEMS schools (from 9.5 to 23.6 percent) as compared to non-GEMS schools (from 11.2 to 14.9) (Adj. DiD 10.8; $p<0.01$). The change is significant for both girls and boys.

Table - 4.5: Attitude toward peer-based violence and corporal punishment in GEMS schools: proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	Total					Boys					Girls				
	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD
	BL	EL	BL	EL		BL	EL	BL	EL		BL	EL	BL	EL	
In certain situations, it is fine for students to be violent toward each other in school															
Disagree	28.6	32.6	27.2	37.4	4.7	27.0	32.4	22.6	38.9	9.1	29.8	32.7	31.0	36.2	1.2
Strongly disagree	11.8	17.6	13.5	29.1	10**	10.4	15.4	12.4	25.8	9.3*	13.0	19.5	14.4	31.9	10.6*
It is fine for teachers to give physical punishment to students in certain situations															
Disagree	21.5	25.0	21.8	32.3	5.7	19.3	23.5	20.6	31.6	9.9	23.3	26.3	22.7	32.8	2.2
Strongly disagree	11.2	14.9	9.5	23.6	10.8**	12.4	14.1	8.4	20.4	13.2**	10.2	15.6	10.4	26.4	8.9*

Note: : DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p\leq 0.01$; * $p\leq 0.05$



I feel that hitting students only harms them, so they should be advised instead. I think that reasoning out is better [...]. And if one doesn't understand then one should make another attempt... Students should not be made do sit and stand as a punishment, as that would only hurt their feet.

Girl, GEMS school EL

Overall, these data show that there is shift toward more egalitarian attitudes as a result of the GEMS program. This change is more pronounced on the specific aspects of gender and violence that were directly discussed in the program sessions, but thinking around other aspects remains unchanged. It is also important to note that a very small proportion of students had equitable gender attitudes at the BL, and probably change is more difficult and could take more time in an environment where people start

with very inequitable attitudes. With few alternatives or examples challenging gender norms in their environment, engaging young adolescents to discuss, reflect and alter their thinking could be more difficult than in settings where norms may not be as rigid. For instance, in Mumbai, the GEMS evaluation showed that students had better attitudes at the BL and that they also experienced larger change at the EL with similar program exposure as seen in Jharkhand (Achyut et. al, 2015)⁵⁵.

Girls bear the direct consequences of regressive gender attitudes. Hence, as they mature and experience the impact of these norms on their everyday lives, their thinking toward these stereotypes and societal sanctions is more likely to undergo a change. However, boys are unlikely to face gender specific restrictions that impact their daily lives. Without understanding the underlying issues of gender discrimination, boys may find it difficult to engage with the concept and need for gender equality unless there is specific intervention for this. Hence, program exposure results in the process of change.

⁵⁵ Achyut P., Bhatla N., Verma H., Uttamacharya, Singh G., Bhattacharya S. and Verma R. (2016). Towards Gender Equality: The GEMS journey thus far. An evaluation report of the Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) program in Jharkhand. New Delhi, International Center for Research on Women.

CHAPTER 4.5: Findings: Communication and Interaction

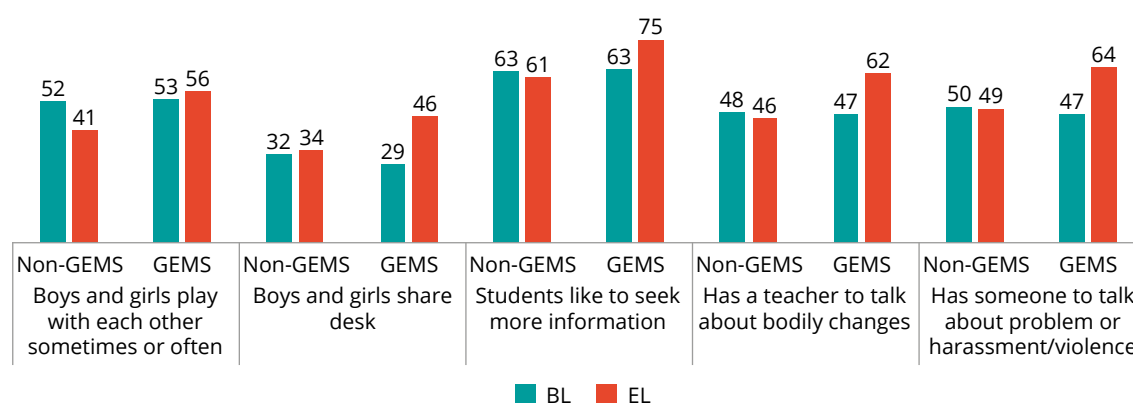


Changes in the school culture: communication and interaction
There was an improved perception of support among peers in intervention schools, as compared to control schools. Specific gender segregated school practices changed in GEMS schools, and there was a significant increase in students' comfort in seeking information from their teachers.

The creation of safe spaces for boys and girls to discuss and interact with ease is important for healthy and equal gender relations. However, schools often segregate boys and girls ensuring that the interaction between them is minimal, which can contribute to maintaining and reinforcing gender stereotypes. The findings from the evaluation show that there is a significant shift in such practices in program schools over time.

There was a net increase of 16 percentage points in the proportion of girls and boys who reported *sharing a desk* in the classroom in GEMS schools, compared to a 2-percentage point increase in comparison schools. Despite increase in age, girls and boys from GEMS schools reported that they *continued to play together* sometimes or often over time (53 percent at BL to 56 percent at EL), whereas there is a significant decline in the comparison schools during the same time period (52 percent to 41 percent). A significantly greater proportion of students from the intervention schools reported *that they had someone in school to talk to in case they experience violence* (47 percent at BL to 64 percent at EL), with no significant change in comparison schools (around 50 percent) over time.

Figure - 4.6: Interaction with peers and teachers at baseline and endline, Jharkhand





I am quite positive about friendships between boys and girls- I do not see any harm in the same. I picked up this concept of healthy male-female friendships from GEMS classes. We learnt in GEMS classes that girls and boys can be friends and there is nothing wrong in it. However, people like to say various unwanted things when they see girls and boys together.”

Girl, class 8, GEMS school

“The only times boys and girls are seated together in the class is when there is some test. Normally, boys and girls sit separately. In case any boy creates a ruckus in the class, he is made to sit with girls; and, if girls do it, they are made to sit with boys. It is not a punishment; it is only to ensure that they sit quietly. I think this is a wrong way to look at this. Given authority I will make girls and boys sit together on same bench. What will happen if we sit together? I started thinking this way since I attended GEMS class. I can’t change the seating arrangement, but have discussed this with my friends who also feel the same. I feel it is fine to sit together.”

Girl, class 8, GEMS school

Over one-half of students from intervention schools reported that they had been given information on bodily changes at EL, an increase of 20 percentage points from BL (38 percent), while no change was found over time in comparison schools. Further, students in intervention schools were significantly more comfortable about asking their teachers for information about bodily changes (BL: 47 percent to EL: 62 percent), while there was a decrease from 48 percent to 46 percent in comparison schools. (Table 4.12 in Annexure)

Talking about gender discrimination and violence at home, and with friends

Conversations on issues of gender and violence with family and friends was high post intervention exposure. Many students used GEMS Diary as a tool for this. The program encouraged at least half of the students to take some action to stop gender discrimination.

Creating discussion on issues related to violence and gender discrimination is a key component of the program. Students were asked in the EL evaluation whether they had talked about the issues related to gender discrimination and violence with friends, family or other relatives. Close to half of the students reported that they had discussions with their siblings, mothers, school friends, and fathers. One-third of the students had also discussed gender discrimination and issues related to violence with their friends who were not studying with them (Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8; Table 4.13).

Students were also asked if they had responded in case they saw any gender

Figure - 4.7: Communication on gender discrimination: Proportion of students who talked about gender discrimination after participating in the program, endline, Jharkhand

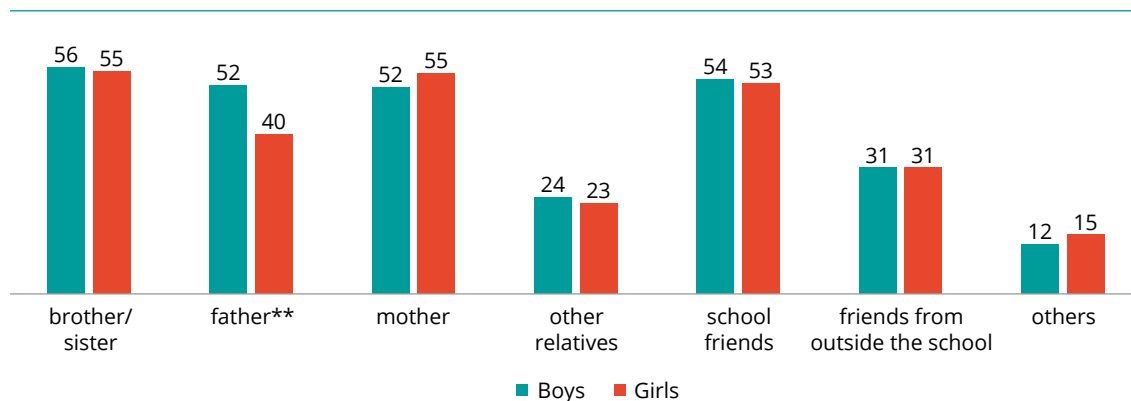
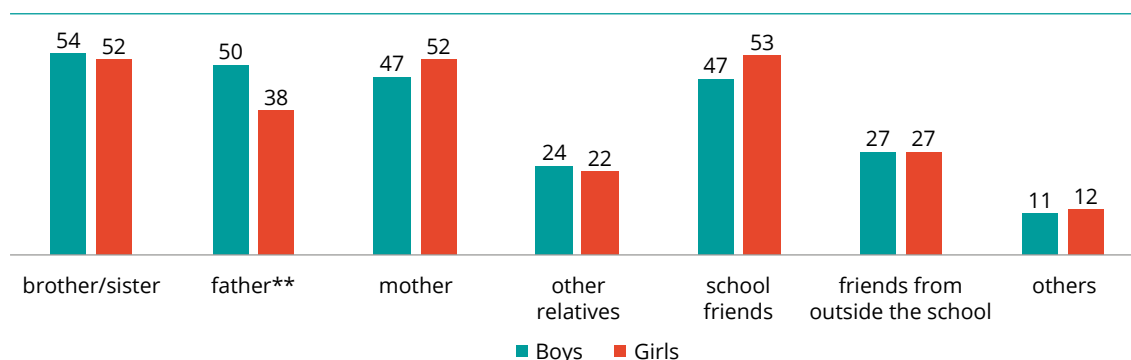


Figure - 4.8: Communication on violence: Proportion of students who talked about violence after participating in the program, endline, Jharkhand



discrimination. Around 50 percent shared that they took some action to stop it, 15 percent said that they saw but did not take any action, and 30 percent reported that they had not observed any such discrimination.

The findings indicate an increase in recognition of gender discrimination and violence, and an initiation of conversations around these issues- that are often normalized in the lives of children. Small actions at school, indicative of a more supportive and gender equal environment are encouraging.



My uncle did not contribute in any work at home earlier, but now he has started doing some household work. I did not talk to him directly about this. I showed GEMS diary to my grandfather and spoke to him about what we learn at school. Then he talked to uncle and told him that he should also be working at home.



(Girl, class 8, Intervention, EL)

CHAPTER 4.6: Findings: Experience of violence, perpetration and bystander intervention



4.6.1 Experience of violence and reporting to teachers and parents

At baseline, one-half of all students reported that they had experienced violence perpetrated by teachers or other students in schools in the past three months. More students experienced violence that was perpetrated by teachers than by peers, with the exception of sexual violence.

The findings on experience of violence and its reporting to any adult are varied and do not follow a consistent pattern. From BL to EL, there was a significant overall decline in violence experienced by students of comparison schools, as compared to the intervention schools. This decline is significant for only peer violence and for violence experienced by girls, and the only significant difference in the experience of violence over time was among boys who reported experiencing sexual violence perpetrated by teachers. In the GEMS schools, the peer-based violence remained similar or showed a slight increase at ML, followed by a decline at EL.

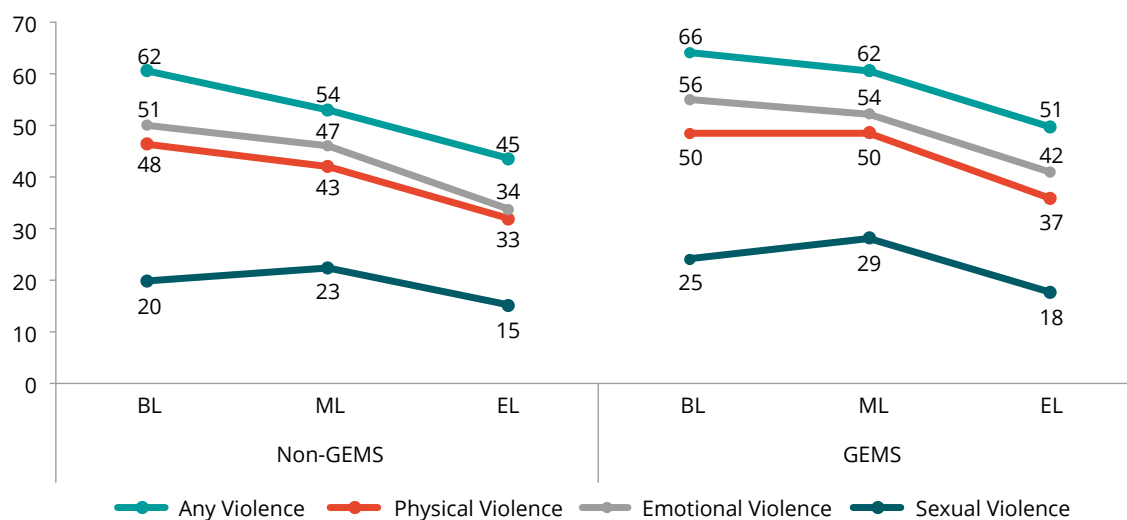
In terms of seeking help for violence experienced, there is no significant change over time except for emotional violence. There is a net significant increase in boys' reporting of teacher perpetrated emotional violence to a key adult in GEMS schools as compared to comparison schools from BL to ML. However, there is a decline in girls' reporting of peer based emotional violence.

The findings show a high prevalence of violence in both intervention and comparison schools. At BL, one-half of the students (58 percent in intervention and 56 percent in comparison schools) experienced some form of violence in school in last three months (Table 4.14). Experience of physical violence was 43 percent and 42 percent, emotional violence 48 percent and 46 percent, and sexual violence 20 percent and 18 percent, in GEMS and comparison schools respectively. Thus, prevalence of violence and specific forms were similar in intervention and comparison schools at BL. A higher proportion of boys reported experiencing violence (physical, emotional and sexual) as compared to girls. For violence, data for all three-time points is presented, as the earlier evaluations show different patterns from BL to ML, and ML to EL. For example, the GEMS evaluation in Mumbai (Achyut et al 2011⁵⁶) and a review of violence prevention programs (Leach et al 2013) note that program exposure can result in an increase in proportion of students experiencing and perpetrating violence, most probably due to increased recognition and awareness of what constitutes violence. This may lead to increased recognition and therefore reporting of violence in program compared to comparison schools.

At ML, significant change was recorded between the GEMS and comparison schools. Prevalence of different forms of peer violence remained the same or increased slightly in GEMS schools from BL to ML, but a significant

⁵⁶ Achyut, P., Bhatla, N., Khandekar, S., Maitra, S. & Verma, R.K. (2011). *Building support for gender equality among young adolescents in school: Findings from Mumbai, India*. New Delhi: ICRW

Figure - 4.9: Experience of violence: Proportion of boys who experienced violence from teachers or peers in school in last three months at baseline, ML and endline, Jharkhand

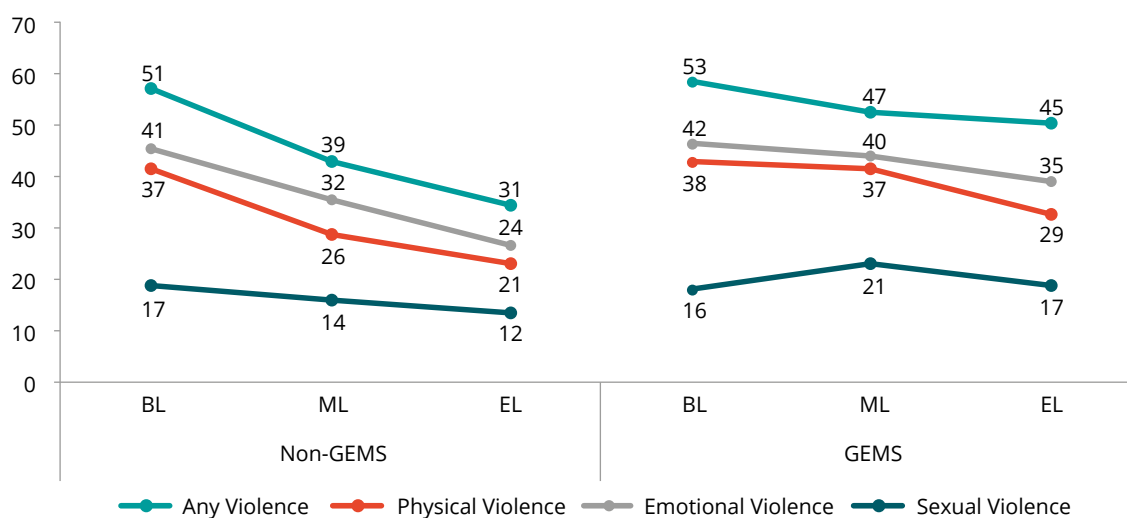


decline was reported in the comparison schools. Similarly, for overall violence perpetrated by teachers, there is a steeper decline in comparison schools whereas the proportions remained the same or declined slightly in GEMS schools.

At EL, interestingly, while the decline in prevalence continued in comparison schools,

GEMS schools also showed significant decline during this period. Thus, the overall change in violence perpetrated by teachers is not significant from BL to EL but remains significant for any peer violence (Adj. DiD = 8.3 $p < 0.05$), and also for physical and emotional violence.

Figure - 4.10: ML



The comparison of change among boys and girls shows different patterns. In boys, there is decline in violence perpetrated by teachers and students in both GEMS and comparison schools, but no net significant change between the two arms from BL to EL, except in the case of sexual violence perpetrated by teacher. There is a significant decline in the experience of sexual violence by teachers in GEMS schools as compared to comparison schools (Adj. DiD = -5.5 $p < 0.01$) from BL to EL. For girls, there is a substantial decline for overall violence and all forms of violence in both peer violence and violence perpetrated by teachers in the comparison schools from BL to EL. However, in GEMS school, prevalence of violence from peers and teachers remained the same at ML compared to BL and then declined at EL. Despite this, the net decline in prevalence of violence in comparison schools from BL to EL is significantly higher than GEMS schools (Adj. DiD for overall violence = 14.7 $p \leq 0.01$; Adj. DiD for teacher perpetrated violence = 9.6 $p \leq 0.01$; and Adj. DiD for peer violence = 13.0 $p \leq 0.01$).

The data show that students do not often seek help by reporting the violence they experience. At BL, less than half of students who had experienced violence perpetrated by teachers had reported this to any adult (teacher, principal or parent). Students were more likely to report the teacher perpetrated violence to a parent, rather to other teachers or principal in school (Table 4.15 in Annexure). Students were more likely to report physical violence, followed by emotional and then sexual violence.

There is no net significant change from BL to EL in the reporting of teacher perpetrated violence for any form of violence. The pattern at three points is interesting to note for boys and girls and for different forms of violence. Boys from GEMS schools reported increased emotional violence from BL to ML. While there is a slight decline at EL, the net change is significant for reporting to both teacher/principal and parent (adjusted DiD

= 13.6 and 17.9 $p \leq 0.05$) as compared to the comparison schools, where there is a steady decline over time.

In both GEMS and comparison schools, there is an increase in reporting of sexual violence at ML, and then there is a sharp decline at EL. It is possible that lack of appropriate response by the adults could dissuade students from reaching out again. The lack of an institutional mechanisms to respond to violence is a major gap in schools, and while there were some efforts to enhance teachers' skills to respond appropriately in GEMS schools, it remained a major institutional barrier.

The reporting of peer violence to any adult is even lower than help seeking for teacher perpetrated violence. For most forms of violence, one-third or fewer students reported about peer violence to either parents or teacher/principal. (Table 4.16 in Annexure)

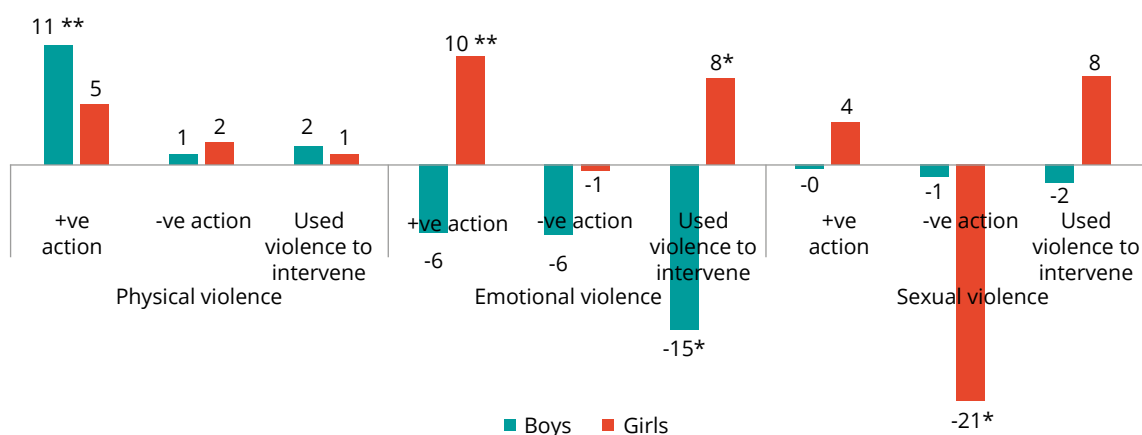
There is no overall significant change noted for reporting of peer violence to adults. Among girls, however, there is a significant increase in reporting of emotional violence in comparison schools over time as compared to GEMS school (Adj. DiD = -14.2, $p \leq 0.05$).

4.6.2 Recognition of violence and bystander intervention

Students in GEMS schools showed enhanced recognition of violence and increased positive bystander intervention for specific forms of violence.

When asked about witnessing violence in school in the past 3 months, 43 percent of students from intervention schools reported witnessing physical violence, which increased to 53 percent at ML and then reduced to 46 percent at EL. In comparison schools, 44 percent of students reported witnessing violence at BL, compared to 36 percent at ML and 32 percent at EL. Similar patterns were observed for students' witnessing of emotional and sexual violence. The increase

Figure - 4.11: Bystander intervention: Adjusted DiD for actions taken when witnessed violence at school, baseline and endline, Jharkhand



at ML in intervention schools could be due to increased recognition of different forms of violence.

Students were asked about their response to the different forms of violence they witnessed, and their responses were categorized into positive action (asked the person doing this to stop, reported this to teacher or principal), used violence to stop violence (used abusive language against person doing this, hit the person doing this) and negative action (watched and enjoyed, joined the one doing this).

Boys from GEMS schools reported increase in positive action in case of physical violence (tried to stop perpetrator or reported to a teacher or principal) [Adj. DiD=10.6 percent, $p \leq 0.01$] and reduction in use of violent response [Adj. DiD=-14.8 percent, $p \leq 0.01$] to stop emotional violence as compared to comparison schools over time. On the other hand, there was a significant increase in the proportion of girls reporting positive action in case of emotional violence [Adj. DiD = 9.7 percent, $p \leq 0.01$] and a reduction in negative action (enjoyed or joined the perpetrator) in case of sexual violence [Adj. DiD = -21.1 percent, $p \leq 0.01$] in intervention schools over time compared to comparison schools. (Table 4.17 in Annexure)

This finding indicates that students are increasingly intervening in the violence they see among their peers in school. It is likely that reporting peer violence to adults (as described in the previous section) is lower, as there is more peer-based intervention as hesitation to seek help from an adult in school is still not an option exercised by students. By-stander intervention could also potentially contribute to the feeling of support among peers and a safer environment within school.

4.6.3 Perpetration of violence

Similar to the findings on overall experience, perpetration of violence declined significantly in comparison schools despite no or little change in attitudes of students toward gender and violence or in the overall environment of schools

At BL, one-half of the students reported perpetrating some form of violence in school in last 3 months. Over one-third of students reported perpetration of physical and of emotional violence, while the proportion perpetrating sexual violence was slightly lower (22.5 percent). Boys reported more overall perpetration of violence, and of all forms, as compared to girls at BL.

Data on the changes in perpetration of violence over time is similar to that of overall experience of violence with a significant decrease in perpetration in comparison schools (Table 4.18 in Annexure). At ML, a significant decline was noted in comparison schools (BL=49 percent and ML=38 percent), but no such change was found in intervention schools (BL=50 percent and ML=49 percent). The decline in reporting continued from ML to EL across comparison schools. GEMS schools too showed a decline at EL. This pattern is consistent across different forms of violence: physical, emotional and sexual. The net change over time is significant and much higher for boys than girls across all forms of violence.

The findings of change in perpetration of violence in GEMS schools are similar to those of the GEMS program in Mumbai where the proportion of students reporting violence remain same or even slightly increase at ML followed by a decline. This process of change could be due to increase sensitivity to the issue, recognition and confidence to report such acts. The decline in comparison schools is specific to Jharkhand and has not been observed at other sites. No other similar program has been ongoing in the comparison schools, though principals of the comparison schools were aware of the GEMS program since the BL results were widely disseminated with the education department. Another observation is that the decline in behavior does not seem to align with a change in attitudes toward gender and violence in the comparison schools.

The Table below presents the association between attitude and perpetration of violence (Table 4.19 in Annexure). In **GEMS schools, students who reported a positive shift in attitude toward violence also showed a decline in perpetration of violence demonstrating an alignment of thought and action; whereas in comparison schools, there is decline in perpetration irrespective of attitude.**

In both GEMS and non-GEMS schools, among those who agreed the statement on peer-

based violence (*In certain situations it is fine for students to be violent toward each other in school*) one-half of reported that they had perpetrated violence at BL. A shift in behavior is seen among students whose attitudes changed from BL to EL. Thus, among those who agreed with the statement on peer violence at EL, 48 percent perpetrated violence, and among those who now disagreed, 40 percent reported perpetration. However, in comparison schools at EL, despite agreement on the statement, 36 percent of students reported perpetrating violence. Moreover, the students whose attitudes became adverse over time (disagreed at BL but agreed at EL), also reported a decline in perpetration at EL (48 percent to 39 percent). Additional exploration is needed to understand the relationship between attitude and behavior, and also the pattern of change in behaviors related to violence over time. In literature, most pathways of change also suggest attitude change as a precursor to intent to act and then actual behavior change. It is difficult to provide a cohesive explanation to the pattern of decline in comparison schools. Given that discussions around making schools violence free, and the unacceptability of violence were dominant at district level meetings with principals of all schools after the BL survey, these messages could have been communicated to students and contributed to low reporting of incidents. In GEMS schools, this reduction could have been mediated by increased recognition and an atmosphere created to recognize and talk about violence, rather than a fear of not reporting such incidents.

As mentioned earlier, an initial increase in perpetration followed by a decline was observed in GEMS schools in the earlier evaluation conducted in Mumbai (Achyut et al 2011). A review of programs on school-related GBV found that most programs tracking change used measures such as the number of cases of violence that were reported (to formal agencies) and how referrals were handled. The evidence is on impact is mixed. The review found that in one multi-site program there was an increased

reporting of cases of violence in some sites, and a decline in reporting in others. Another program resulted in an increase in reporting of cases but did not provide BL figures. A third program that sought to monitor violence reduction in the project communities did not find any evidence of reduction. The figures for child rights violation crimes reported to the police show an increase in the first year, and then a reduction. The report concludes that “the almost complete absence of objective data recording behavior change in terms of reduced violence in schools and communities was a major finding of the review” (Leach et al 2013)⁵⁷. Another recent global review of 37 quantitative studies on SRGBV programs includes nine program evaluations, including GEMS (RTI, 2016)⁵⁸. Of the eight (besides

GEMS), three measured some form of behavior related to violence in addition to attitude change and two used descriptive comparisons from BL to EL, and therefore do to have information on the control group. The third notes no change in perpetration of sexual violence. The evaluation of the good school model provides clear evidence of reduction in physical punishment by school staff (measured a week prior to survey) over time. The evaluation is a RCT, but data is collected at two end points and ML measures are not available, making it difficult to establish if there is a surge in reporting at ML. Also, there seems to be no substantive decline in the comparison arm as noted in this study⁵⁹, as is noted in the evaluation in this site.

⁵⁷ Leach, F., Slade, E. and Dunne, M. (2013) *Promising Practice in School-Related Gender-Based Violence (SRGBV) Prevention and Response Programming Globally. Report commissioned for Concern Worldwide. Dublin, Concern Worldwide.*

⁵⁸ RTI International. 2016. *Literature Review on School-Related Gender-Based Violence: How it is Defined and Studied.* Washington, DC: U.S. Agency for International Development.

⁵⁹ Devries, K., Knight, L., Child, J., Mirembe, A., Nakuti, J., Jones, R., Sturgess, J., Allen, E., Kyegombe, N., Parkes, J., Walakira, E., Elbourne, D., Watts, C., Naker, D. The Good School Toolkit for reducing physical violence from school staff to primary school students: a cluster-randomised controlled trial in Uganda. *Lancet Global Health.* July 2015 (3): e378–e386.

CHAPTER 4.7: Understanding the process of change



A qualitative study was conducted with select students of intervention and comparison schools to gain understanding into the processes of how and why children change, and the factors that influence this change. A cohort of students was interviewed at three points in time in the intervention schools (concurrent with the BL, ML and EL surveys), and at BL and EL in comparison schools. The purpose of the ML interviews in GEMS schools was not only to understand the unfolding of processes of change after a year of intervention but also to inform the programming. This chapter describes the students' personal journeys of change over time related to experiencing, witnessing and the perpetration of violence.

Methods

We used stratified purposive sampling so as to include a range of students based on their responses to statements about gender on the attitude scale. From both intervention and comparison schools, we randomly selected equal numbers of boys and girls the three attitudinal categories (low, medium and high, explained in the quantitative survey methodology section). We conducted in-depth interviews over two different meetings with the intervention cohort at three-time points, at BL, ML and EL, to enable a closer examination of the processes that initiate soon after exposure to the intervention and inform programmatic inputs. Interviews of 45 students were included in the final analysis including in-depth interviews at three-time points with 23 girls and boys from GEMS intervention schools and at two time-points with 22 girls and boys from comparison schools.

Field guides and data collection:

The primary focus of the **BL** interviews was to explore students' attitudes toward gender norms, manifestations of gender-based discrimination, prevalence of GBV in and around their lives through stories of experience, and their experiences of witnessing violence. Background information about the student's daily routine, family, friends, and hobbies, conversations at home and their understanding of violence were also discussed. Different pictures depicting situations of physical and sexual violence were used to help with the discussion, as well as visual tools (sketches depicting various scenes of interactions/conflict) that were used to initiate conversation about incidents of physical, emotional, sexual violence that students faced, witnessed or perpetrated in school, in home and the community, their thoughts, justifications and response to similar situations (actual or hypothetical). At **ML**, the focus was on the processes of self-reflection and their perceptions of and experiences with gender-based violence. The **EL** interviews had additional areas including: their understanding of emotional violence (as labelling/name calling) and use of vignettes to explore the nuances of sexual violence, consent and respect in relationships, and bystander intervention in peer-based sexual violence.

The questions were broad and conversation was unstructured to allow children to talk about their thoughts and experiences at that point in time. Probes around whether they thought or behaved in the same way earlier were introduced into the conversation to explore changes in



their responses. Being cognisant that the program is just one source of messaging, no direct questions on the program were asked except for in the final section of the EL interview when they were asked their suggestions for improvement. A team of experienced researchers conducted the interviews which included two sessions of 45 minutes each. The students were interviewed on the school premises and during school hours with permission from teachers and headmasters. The interviews were voice recorded after informed consent of the students. The recordings were transcribed and translated into English, and coded using Atlas-ti software. A coding tree was developed to explore the nuances of all the themes explored. A total of 155 codes across 13 families were used to analyze the data. This section presents the analysis of the data on violence.

The analysis of conversations with children across time points provides a varied and rich narrative of their personalities and their cognitive processes as they consider various thoughts and potential plans for action. Their narratives also highlight the conflict that comes with considering the everyday acts through a new lens, and highlights the nuances of what happens when young adolescents are exposed to violence prevention messaging. One of the most striking, and perhaps obvious features of the interviews was the wide variation in where children are (i.e. the starting point) at BL. Some students were extremely shy and hesitant to talk, others were fearful and mistrusting, and yet others were vocal and gave expression to their thoughts freely. For some of the students, the visual triggers were associated with events at home, and they shared examples primarily from their familial space, even as other domains were explored. Others did not share personal examples, but explore in detail the realm of the possible. Even as we recognise that each child and their situation is unique, we attempted to

chart out the broad trajectories of change over time for students who are exposed to the GEMS intervention and those who are not.

I Talking About Violence

There are different articulations around physical violence at BL. While some students stated that they had not seen or experienced any such incident, others talk of how the use of force is wrong. Over time, the narration of experiences increases for students exposed to the program, as does the contemplation of why violence is wrong. A marked difference between the students from GEMS and comparison schools is that among those who stated that '*it is wrong to hit and beat*', students from GEMS schools start expanding their narrative over time to discuss the consequences or impact and harm caused by violence. They also reflect on the possible ways to respond to the situation, choosing to act on the cause of the violence, rather than the violent act toward them. Narratives of the internal conflict of knowing that they should not retaliate with violence but not being able to control one's behavior were also shared. Discussions around bystander intervention, or taking action when witnessing different forms of violence were the most rich and nuanced as children contemplated if, when and how to intervene.

Increased recognition and improved articulation on violence, and its consequences: From silence to narration and discussion

Over the course of the three interviews (BL, ML and then EL) students from GEMS schools were more willing to share instances of violence not only at school, but also within their families and in their communities

Many of the students were silent, or answered in monosyllables in response to the discussion around physical violence at BL, while at ML many described at length the

various incidents of physical violence they had seen. This pattern is seen prominently among girls, and about half of boys of GEMS schools. Most of the detailed descriptions are around violence experienced or seen at home, within families.

Below is an excerpt of a discussion between the interviewer (I) and a girl student respondent (R) from one of the intervention schools at BL around the visual of a physical fight between two figures:

BL:

- I : And how these people are fighting?
 R : She is pulling her hair.
 I : Ok, have you seen anyone fighting like this?
 F : No.
 I : Ok, tell me. Generally, why this kind of fighting takes place? Why someone is pulling somebody's hair?
 F : I don't know.
 I : Have you seen someone pulling hair like this?
 R : No.
 I : Any where around you? maybe earlier?
 R : Yes, have seen on TV.
 I : Ok- why would this (pulling hair) be happening ?
 R : she must be fighting
 I : why were they fighting?
 R : I don't know that much
 I : if it has ever happened around you – have you thought why?
 R : I never thought about it

The above transcript illustrates the limited and extremely constricted conversation around this issue at BL in several of the interviews. There is hesitation, or lack of acknowledgment around violence. At ML, an ease in response and the student shares several incidents.

ML:

- I : So have you seen any fights like this?
 R : At home – I get scolded by my mother – but its only when I don't do housework. She says, "there is so much work – what aren't you doing this?
 I : Are there any other fights you have seen?
 R : Sometimes there are small issues between my brother and Bhabhi (sister-in-law). I don't feel good . I think – why are they fighting? What's the need?
 I : What do you feel should happen (if not scolding and fighting)
 R : Children should not be beaten up by their parents. All this beating and hitting is not right. Why can't they talk about it ?
 I : Why?
 R : No one should resort to violence. Near my home, there is a man who is always shouting. He abuses his wife and also hits her. I think- why are they fighting? It is so wrong to hit!"
 I : when did you start thinking like this?
 R : We were told in GEMS class

The respondent's increased comfort in sharing instances of violence at ML, is maintained at EL. The new narrative that emerges at EL is conversations with her mother about the use of violence. She talks about how teachers in school emphasize that violence is wrong.

The pattern of discussion is similar among boys. At BL, a boy from one of the intervention school states, ***"in this picture they are fighting with each other. It is okay to hit back because someone has pulled her hair."*** He is silent when asked about the reason for such fights. He also states that he has not seen or heard any such incident. When asked what he does in situations like this, he states ***"I would have hit and abused. Because I am being hit- that's why I will hit. What else!"***

At ML, when asked about what he does in similar situations, he states:

“

I will make him understand, and tell his teachers. I will also tell his friends, but they may say - let's go and beat him up (laughs). But I would be better off by making the boy understand and telling him not to fight. If someone abuses him, I try not to get agitated. One has to walk away! I tell my friends also not to get into fights, but some of them don't listen. Sir has told us that one should not harm anyone. I actually didn't think about all this before. I didn't know that all this was violence (hinsa) and how wrong it is. Earlier, I would just think of hitting back if someone hit me...

”

Boy, GEMS school

Like this boy, many of the students from intervention schools started using the term 'violence' (*Hinsa*) to describe the incidents they see around them.

Some students also started to speak out about incidents of violence in the school such as beating and scolding from teachers as punishment. Compared to girls, boys showed more acceptance of such incidents being common in school, which could be a result of gender stereotypes. However, violence at school is mentioned far less frequently than incidents of violence in the family. At EL, however, violence in school and among friends is more frequently described, and there is continued discussion about its consequences. This could be due to do several factors. First,

the interviews took place on school premises. And secondly, students may have been wary of sharing incidents initially, but over time they may have been more confident to speak and confront violence within school. This change in narrative is not true of the students on comparison schools.

As children from intervention schools verbalise their experiences, they share their feelings associated with observing violence around them, and begin to reflect on its consequences

An accompanying change to increased sharing by respondents indicating heightened awareness of violence, is the increased expression of feelings and emotions around the incidents including how respondents felt when such incidents were happening and what they did or felt like doing in such situations, as well as their thoughts on the consequences of the use of violence.

BL :

R : Hitting people is not correct .

I : Why?

R : I don't know

I : is there any reason why you think that it is not correct to hit?

R : (Silence...then) I don't know. I haven't thought

ML :

I : you said hitting is not okay- Why?

R : Its wrong. One can get injured. It harms us. We feel really bad when it happens

I : So what to do if someone hits us

R : She should not hit back under any circumstance.

EL :

I : so what can be done if such an incident (fighting) happens ?

R : we should not hit back – that's it

I : why,

R : when you hit someone, they will also hit back- they will also respond in a wrong way . So you hit, and the other person hits back -leading to a cycle of violence.

This will never end. This can be avoided if one tries to reason out instead of hitting in the first place.' Girl , GEMS school

Another girl shares her feelings when she faces violence at home in her ML interview and from teachers in her EL interview, and also her thoughts on how to change the situation:



I have so much household work- I feel that I have a big burden. My mother often shouts at me and beats me if I am unable to finish it. I feel so angry and irritated. So my mother shouts at me, and then I shout and verbally abuse my younger brothers. It is like a cycle – mother shouts at me – I am angry with them. I feel that they should understand my situation and help me in work.”

ML, Girl, GEMS School

“At school I am often punished. I feel so bad and helpless. Instead of hitting me, the teachers should understand the kind of pressure and burden I have at home. That’s the reason I am not able to complete my homework and comes late to school at times. But if they keep hitting – how will anything change? All this violence will not help. ”

EL, Girl, GEMS School

In the excerpts below, a boy who was hesitant to talk at BL shares several incidents at ML both of witnessing fights in his neighborhood and the consequences:

“Around me, I see people getting angry. So, then that would lead to a fight in the families. Then the family members wouldn’t talk to each other. When husband and wife fight they stop talking to each other. By not talking the work suffers. The wife will say that she won’t cook meals today. There was this incident in my neighborhood recently- the woman said that she would leave. That will affect the whole family and the children. She was asking for money from her husband- maybe to do something. I felt that there was no use of the fight- it doesn’t help. If he did not have money, he should have told her that -I don’t have money today. I will give it tomorrow. The fight would have ended there and then.”

Boy, GEMS School

In discussions around instances of sexual violence, a similar pattern emerges in interviews with students from intervention school. However, even as there is silence and limited conversation, several students (girls and boys) at BL stated that it was wrong for boys to touch a girl’s hand. Over time they start to talk about the justifications and consequences of violence, and this is not observed in comparison schools. Also, there is realization of the differences of consequences on both. While girls and boys both recognize the adverse impacts of sexual violence, several of the boys were equally concerned about the impact on the boy who perpetrated the violence. In response to a situation where a boy attempts to touch

the hand of a girl when a group of friends go to watch a movie together, boys felt that effort should be made to clarify boundaries of appropriate and inappropriate touch with the perpetrator. Some of the concerns that boys articulated were, “boys may not realize that touching like this is a serious matter”, “even if he doesn’t mean anything, people around him will start thinking bad things of him”, and, “it could land him in trouble.” This concern was also the motivation for insisting that people should also talk to boys about these issues:

“It is important to talk to him (the boy). Because he must understand what he did wrong – only then he can correct himself, or matters can become worse.”

Boy, EL, GEMS School

“He may not realize it, but the girl may not like this behavior. He shouldn’t do it (touching the girl without her consent) because he will also be harmed by this act. If the girl goes to the police the boy will land up in jail. The boy will be harmed because he will learn bad things there and his future will be ruined.”

Boy, EL, GEMS School

While talking about the impact on the girls, boys and girls said that her reputation will be affected, and also that she will be blamed that she was not being able to do anything. In response to a situation where a girl (Sharda) gets harassed on her way back from a dance competition and her brother responds by blaming and hitting her, girls specifically talk of restrictions on girls’ mobility due to the fear of sexual violence, and a few mention the loss of opportunity for girls to fulfil their aspirations:



It was completely wrong for the girl’s brother to have hit her and trample on her dreams of becoming a dancer. Sharda should not stop dancing and should fulfil her dreams. If I was in place of the girl, I would have reasoned out with my brother and the perpetrator and tried to make them understand that they were both wrong. They should leave her alone and not come in way of her dreams.”

Girl, ML, GEMS School

As students’ articulation around violence increases noticeably in intervention schools, it is important to see if the same processes emerge in the discussion with children from the comparison schools. At BL the response is largely similar to that in GEMS schools. While some are mostly silent in responding to questions about incidents of physical violence, others are able to engage in discussion more easily. Interestingly, more children from the comparison schools are articulate and willing to engage in discussions generally, even though there is little change in the content of what they share in the interviews from BL to EL. The shift from silence to increased discussion of incidents and the consequence of violence is not dominant among students from comparison schools. Also, students from comparison schools more often shared facts, rather than their perspectives, thoughts or feelings. Another difference is that while intervention students begin to share about violence in their own homes, this change does not occur in the interviews with students from comparison schools. Those that discussed violence at home did so at the BL itself, and

others who had refrained from speaking about their home situations, did not change their articulation of violence, nor do they talk about nuances and consequences of violence.

With reference to sexual violence, students were either silent about the issue, saying that they had not heard or even thought about it, or (mostly girls) shared incidents of harassment that they knew of or had seen. A majority of the boys expressed discomfort around discussing sexual violence and were not comfortable talking about personal experiences. Some of the them shared that, "I know such things happen, but I have not heard about them." Others who believed that, "this behavior is wrong or, " I do not like pictures that show any girl being teased. I think that [harassment] shouldn't happen...It's just not right". At ML and EL there is greater discussion in response to the hypothetical situations and vignettes presented as discussed below.

Increased contemplation and willingness to discuss who is wrong and why in instances of sexual violence

Among students exposed to the intervention, there is an increased comfort of discussing instances of interaction with the other sex over time and about situations of sexual violence presented to them:

BL

I don't know what must be happening. I don't talk to any girl except my own sisters. (He refuse to have any further discussion on the topic).

ML

it is wrong for the boy to tease Sharda (the girl character). It was also wrong on part of her brother to hit Sharda, as none of it was her fault. He also said that he never thought about these issues earlier, but now he does since he has read about these in GEMS.

EL:

Some boys behave like this because their mind is full of dirty thoughts. Friends also instigate – they say - you are not a real man; you go and

do this; only then will we believe you are'. I am not sure but I guess perhaps, this kind of act proves one's masculinity. I think that the girl can protest or scream saying "look he is teasing me" or she can run away from there and tell someone. Touching a girl like this wrong- it is a case of gender violence. No, I actually didn't think all this earlier – this was just a common thing. I learnt this from the GEMS class. Boy, intervention school

At BL, the students who were more willing to talk about sexual violence, focussed on the different reasons why they thought sexual violence happen. At ML, fewer students were concerned about why violence is happening, and instead focussed on the appropriate responses. Below are two excerpts, from students of GEMS school, that describe the describing the change over time.

BL :

I don't know – I can't say why this happens (after some probing). This happens because boys find them(girls) beautiful. (on further probing) I don't know, or how can I say .

ML :

(in response to story of a girl's hand being held by boy), she reacts immediately – this is violence . He shouldn't be doing this! it is completely wrong. Even if he had something to say to her, he could have spoken to her instead of holding he. When he does this- it is sexual violence.

EL :

Of course there is no excuse for the boys behavior.....even if she is his girlfriend he should not touch her if she does not like it. The girl should also ask him to stop touching him, otherwise he will not understand. She has to say it. GEMS intervention school

Excerpts from a boy's interview from GEMS school:

BL:

Boys should not hold girl's hand in public because if people see this, they will say something to the boy. But it could also be that

the girl is the wife of the boy and she may have done something wrong that's why he is pulling her hand. He could also be asking her to go somewhere with him (on being asked what he can do) However, she can't do anything much in such a situation.

ML:

I am not sure why the boy is behaving like this - it maybe something 'harmless'- maybe he is just trying to ask her for a dance. But anyway he should not have held the girl's hand. He can also ask her

EL:

This kind of behavior is sexual violence. It is wrong of the boy. He should not touch the girl if she does not like it. He should apologize to her and the girl should ask him to stop, if he does not, she should tell their friends or others around. Even if they are in a relationship he should not do this and should apologize.

The above narratives also reinforce the observation - that emerges quite consistently in the narratives of boys in both GEMS and comparison schools - that more boys viewed the situations of sexual violence from the point of view of the perpetrator. This may not be surprising as they associate themselves with the situation, and also seem to become defensive, providing interpretations of the situation to justify the 'harmless' intent.

The second observation is that boys feel they do not know acceptable and non-violent ways of communication between girls and boys. Also, not knowing how to express genuine emotions or attraction also emerges as an area of confusion. There is also a contemplation of the issue of consent within a relationship. As mentioned above, some students are very clear that irrespective of the girl and boy being in a romantic relationship, if the girl does not like it, he should not touch her at all, while others are more ambivalent about the incident, saying that there is scope for confusion in such relationships

“

The girl should have thought about it before getting romantically involved with someone. These things do happen in romantic relationships. She can tell him if she doesn't like it - but on his side, he can be mistaken.”

Boy, Intervention school

“Well, in case they like each other, and the boy behaves like this- the girl should leave. They have come to watch cinema and indulge in such behavior like not touch. And the boy should understand that he has to release her hand since she was not liking it.”

Girl, Intervention school

Students also articulate that if such acts happen within a relationship, then it can harm the trust and faith in each other. For example, one boy from a GEMS school states,

“I don't know why the boy did so. The girl trusted the boy and came to see the film with him, I don't know why he did such a wrong act.”

Students from comparison schools, on the other hand, continue to either disengage on this issue, or react by placing onus on the girl for landing herself in a vulnerable position, even when they identify it as violence.

ii. RESPONDING TO VIOLENCE

Moving from 'hitting back' to contemplating alternate ways of resolving the situation.

Over time students from GEMS schools show different ways of responding to the violence: there is a shift away from instant violent reaction to focusing on resolving the trigger for the conflict and contemplating alternate non-violent ways of responding.

When presented at BL with a situation of physical violence, either that students themselves face, or that they imagine their peers are involved in, most students speak first of a physical retaliation. A few students, mostly girls, rejected the use of physical violence in response to violence, but were unable to offer any substantial alternative response as to what they would do, other than saying “nothing” or that they would feel bad or hurt. Girls who are shy or reticent come across as being fearful of calling attention to themselves or provoking anyone and repeat that it’s best to be quiet. At BL, more boys than girls justify violent retaliation as a way of disciplining someone or getting even. However, over time, different trajectories emerge. While some students continue on the same trajectory, stating that violence is wrong but insisting that violence is a necessary and justified response, others talk about reasoning out. Some students discussed alternatives and provided conditions and limits for non-violent and violent responses.

This change in thinking did not always translate into reported action. Students sometimes shared that they had reacted violently, and then express regretted their actions. They discuss options such as asking the perpetrator why that person is hitting or using physical violence, reasoning with the perpetrator, walking away from the situation and seeking help from elders (mostly teachers, elder siblings and parents). By EL some of the students in this category are able to practice non-violent behaviors, while others oscillate between violent and non-violent responses depending on the situation. Finally, there were students who were convinced of the merit of reasoning and who reject the use of violence calling it “futile and harmful” and shared that they try using non-violent ways to resolve conflicts.

The following examples illustrates the pathways of change articulated by students from GEMS school in response to violence:

Excerpts from a girls’ interview -

BL:

If someone hits me – I will hit back. Why should I be quiet? There was this time when I hit a boy in my class with slippers. He was disturbing me a lot – I got so angry. I just picked up my slippers and hit him with all force. What’s wrong with that?

ML

If someone hits me, I will ask- why are you hitting? Is it wrong. If she needs something from me, or there is some problem, I will talk and resolve the matter. But if she doesn’t listen, then what? If someone keeps hitting and doesn’t listen, the off course I will hit her right back... but actually it is not right to just go on hitting and fighting. Sometimes there are small things- like I take someone’s pen, or someone takes my notebook. Boys fight over who gets the ball. There is no need to actually hit. But there are other matters like when boys are troubling girls. Then we just have to hit back, fight, kick. Then I don’t think of anything else

EL

It is important to talk, to reason out and explain things. If those who are fighting still don’t listen, then we should shout loudly and take help from those standing around - or definitely speak to elders. I learnt to think like this because of the GEMS Dairy. I also discuss with my mother- and she also advices her not to indulge in fights as it hurts people and causes no good.

Excerpts from a boy’s interview

BL :

I : so in such situations if somebody fights, then what do you think about it ?

R : it’s not right

f - why is it not right?

r - becausethis time they will fight then they will become friends again - because will change in the future

I : if your hair was pulled then?

r - I would have pulled her hair too. I will get angry as it will pain a lot and if I will get angry I would have said bad things to her

ML (he describes an incident where a boy has taken food twice from the school mid day meal)

F : What would you have done?

R: I would not have fought. I would have told that he has taken food once only.

F : if you were in the place of the boy who had said that you had eaten twice?

R: I would have said if I have eaten twice. "That's okay. What's it to you?" You go. I wouldn't have fought.

F ; Suppose, you face some trouble outside the school; or you have a fight with someone...

R: Then I would have come to the school and informed.

I : Who would you tell?

R: To principal sir.

I : Anyone else?

R: To class teacher.

I : What do you think; what would they say?

R: Had it been inside the school; then they would call the boy and make him say sorry and make him talk to me.

F : Does this happen often?

R: Now we don't fight; we don't say things that can cause fighting. There's no point!

EL

The boy who was being beaten up would have got hurt. He may have done something wrong but he should not be beaten up. They should have asked him why he had pushed them. And they could have advised him not to do that again. We are told in the school that in case of a fight one should advise first and not resort to violence. Also we can seek help from others

Boy , GEMS School

Such shifts are absent from the narratives of students not exposed to the program. For

example, a girl who is extremely articulate, talks of getting constantly into fights. She is equally articulate about her response at EL as well -

At BL:

I got hit when she was waving her hand, so I also hit her back. If someone hits you by mistake then you shouldn't hit back. But I started hitting her....

At EL:

maybe the fight started because the girl was jealous of her, because the other girl was more intelligent than her, or she did something wrong. Anyway, she should have just responded by slapping her twice; or she could have twisted her ear like this (shows by gesture); it would have pained; but not as much. She could have torn her skirt.... That would have been good for both. Either way, the girl (aggressor) would have been scolded by her teacher.

Girl comparison school

Another pattern that emerges among GEMS students is the frustration as they express their inability to control anger in some instances and a sense of remorse about their behavior. The worry that a lack of an "appropriate" reaction can be termed as a "weakness" is stated explicitly by girls and boys.

BL

When my sister hits me, I hit back. I lose my temper and so 'gives it back'. Its natural!

ML

My sister still fights with me. I do try hard to control her temper- sometimes I can, but other times when I can't take it anymore. I don't want her to think that I will keep on being quiet- she will think I am weak...I do know it's not true- hitting back is not a sign of strength. It is not correct behavior, and I should not hit back. I should instead try to make my sister understand and reason out with her.

EL

I have learnt from GEMS about seeking help from elders on facing violence. Now I hold my sisters hand, and then tells my mother immediately. I have almost stopped hitting back. When my mother is not at home, I try to

explain to my sister that her behavior is not correct- and if she doesn't listen, I just leave the place and go outside. There was this time when this girl hit me when I was studying in school. My immediate thought was to hit her back. But I controlled my anger and asked- why are you hitting me? I could have been badly hurt-. You can tell me what the problem is."

Girl, Intervention school

While some students of GEMS schools spoke of help-seeking from adults at the ML, more students mentioned it explicitly at EL. It could be that they are more comfortable exploring ways to resolve fights on their own first. In the first year, GEMS focuses on recognition of violence and its impact, and in the second year specific skills of conflict resolution and collective action are discussed.

Moving from escaping from violence to confidence in confronting and help seeking

A few boys from GEMS schools spoke at BL and again at ML that their preferred response would be to try to escape if they face violence. They shared that it is best to avoid getting into fights, and that they preferred running away or escaping rather than fighting back. A shift in their response was evident at EL when they maintained that they will avoid perpetrating violence, and also not escalate the fight, but a narrative of help-seeking also emerged. For example, as one boy states, "it is important to reason out and talk. Otherwise no one will know what is wrong, so how will this stop? If we are alone, we can get help from others." The confidence to confront, and the use of both individual and collective agency is visible in this trajectory of change.

A similar example can be seen in the case of a girl who found her voice over the course of the interviews. At BL, she came across as a timid and shy person, barely talked, and responded to most potentially violent situations by saying, "I will stay quiet, or I will go away from there." At ML there was no drastic change in her response to violence

situations saying, "I don't talk much with my friends, or even generally in the school for the fear of getting scolded or beaten up by her senior girls. It is better to keep quiet, especially in conflict situations." At EL, there was a substantive change in her confidence and in her articulation. Instead of staying quiet, she talked of asking about the reason for the conflict, of talking out issues. She shared that, "earlier I would not have said anything, would have kept quiet. Now I have started saying, 'don't fight, don't do this.'" She says often, "I have learnt in school that one shouldn't fight, one should stay peacefully together."

Increased reporting of perpetration of physical and sexual violence

Among students from the intervention schools, there is an increase in acceptance of the violence that they have perpetrated, in addition to their discussions on responding to the violence that they face. As mentioned above, there was increase in reflection of their own behavior and their use of violence. The reflection on one's own behavior is more pronounced among some of the boys, though there is a sense of discomfort in acknowledging it, and the narratives are frequently punctuated with phrases such as, "now I feel that it was wrong", or "it was done in anger."

“Well, I don't remember beaten up any boy... Actually, when I was in class 7, a boy had thrown me in the school courtyard. I don't remember the reason but I beat him up. I was so angry at that moment that I didn't think.**”**

BL

EL

I realize that I am quite violent sometimes! I try not to react when I am angry or provoked. I focus on the reason - why the person is fighting. But I sometimes still hit back."

Boy, GEMS school

As students from intervention schools increasingly reflect on their own violent behavior, they refer directly to content from GEMS sessions. For example, there is mention of specific phrases that is reflective of the session specific discussion; "violence leading to a cycle of violence," that the "use of violence only escalates violence and does not resolve anything," and that, "the one who hits gets hurt, but it does not lead to a solution", "there are better ways to make the other person realize his mistake but hitting is not justified", 'no none benefits from violence', 'the ones who watch violence also get affected and especially children pick up these bad behavior and replicate in future in their own lives'.

As students from intervention schools try to change their behavior, many state that they not only refrain from initiating violence but when they know that, "they are wrong, they don't retaliate". This is further exemplified in the following quote from a girl from an intervention school:

I used to hit my younger brother at times when I am very angry- it happened many times. I try to control my temper and talks to my brother nicely even if he bothers me too much. However, there are times when I can't and give him one (slap) – I feel bad though and try consciously not to hit." (Girl, GEMS School)

Reflection on the need to change and give up violence is largely missing from the students of comparison schools. A few students however, talk about giving up violence and being more responsible as they are now "older". For example, one student shared that:

I used to hit children earlier when I was younger; a boy had taken my ball and I had hit him hard. But I think I should not have hit him unnecessarily, I could have just asked for the ball back. When I was younger, I never used to take these things seriously- I just did things without thinking. (Boy, non- GEMS School)

Responding to sexual violence:

The responses in cases of sexual violence are quite varied among students of intervention schools. Girls discuss the use of physical violence to retaliate, and for many it continues as an important part of defending themselves. Over time, others also talk about "help-seeking" and "reporting" of the incident to elders, including teachers or parents:

BL:

I will try to escape by any means- either by hitting the perpetrator, throwing mud in his eyes or tickling him. People standing around usually enjoy when such incidents happen, they think that the boys have got lucky today if they have been able to catch hold of a girl'.

ML:

The girl should also talk to the boy and tell him about his behavior. In fact she should shout for help so that she gets support from by-standers. If this happens in school, she should tell the incident to her teachers. The boy should understand what he is doing wrong and then apologizes. Girl , intervention school

iii. WITNESSING AND BYSTANDER INTERVENTION

Witnessing and by-stander intervention becomes more pronounced over time in GEMS schools, though children weigh the conditions and risks before intervention

The domains of by-stander intervention, or intervening to stop violence that is witnessed is an important aspect of violence prevention. The intervention assumes a recognition of acts as violence, the ability to assess consequences, the motivation to

question and ability to take appropriate action. Intervention itself can be in negative ways (use of violence) or in positive ways (collective negotiation, separation). In addition, motivations and intentions may not always lead to action, as children assess risks of intervening, and also contemplate the perpetrators' response, as well as their previous experiences of intervening or seeking help.

The witnessing of incidents, the desire to intervene and actual intervention show a marked increase from BL to EL among students from GEMS schools. While not all students talk of intervening, or of being convinced that they should do anything more than just walk away from the situation, the ones that show change also talk about the conditionality of intervention. As children prepare for possibility of intervention, they talk about what they consider including the fear of facing violent repercussions, of being verbally abused or of helplessness and not being able to do anything. The decision not to intervene is more often mentioned in connection with violence among or between older students and adults. Specially with reference to elders, students from intervention schools show an improved ability to analyze the situation and try to intervene only at a times when the elders are not in an aggressive mood, or when they are in a better mood to listen to or reason with them. In cases of extreme violence between parents at home the first response of students from intervention schools changes from not doing anything to now seeking help from neighbours.

Students perceive that in their recent past that fights, especially among boys in the school, occur less frequently because teachers have also told them clearly not to fight. This also encourages more students to seek help form teachers. The conversations on violence are continuously happening in the surroundings of the students and they have started to receive positive messages from the people around them

that can contribute to a more supportive environment.

The trajectory of change in by-stander intervention is described below:

BL:

I don't think I need to get into all this ...why should I ? if I intervene I can get beaten up. I just go away from that place.



I really think that it is important to intervene to stop fights between her friends. I can try to push them apart, of all of us friends together can ask then to cool down and resolve the matter. We must try our best to stop these fights- if we cant we can ask our teacher for help.



Girl, GEMS school, EL

Students from intervention schools also reflect on the possible backlash that intervention can lead to, some became wary of intervention, especially in cases of adults fighting or when they are drunk, as this may get them into trouble. However, by EL, narratives begin to emerge around intervention only when possible and when the situation does not increase their own vulnerabilities, and seeking external help when intervention is not possible.

There is a strong narrative among the students from intervention schools around the violence witnessed at home. There is a mix of emotions and action, depending on the situation. For example, a girl who was silent about by-stander intervention at BL, begins to reflect on her internal struggles of wanting to but not being able to intervene to stop domestic violence:

ML:

I feel extremely distressed when my father hits mother. I feel helplessness on not being able to do something in that situation. I want to do something but I fear that he will hit me also.

EL:

I still don't want to say anything to my father. But I have started to stop physical fights between her brother and his friends telling them that it is useless to fight and it would be better if they could talk and resolve the issue. Another time, my uncle had badly beaten up my aunt as she was drinking at a public place. I did not say anything then but later went and told her uncle that he did a wrong thing by beating her. If you want her to quit drinking, you will have to explain to her. Hitting and pulling her hair will not solve any problem.

Girl, GEMS school

More boys from intervention schools talk of intervening among his younger siblings, but at the same time talk of fear in intervening among adults, including parents:

Earlier, my father used to beat my mother, and I would just watch. I thought that if I said anything, I would also get beaten up. Now I feel that I can tell my father not to do this (beat). I am a little scared but I think if I explain to him when he is calm, he will listen to me. If he doesn't then I will ask elder in my house to explain to him.

Boy, GEMS School, EL

Seeking support from other elders is a strategy mentioned by many students, particularly in cases of parental violence. A girl from an intervention schools who intervened shares, "I told my parents-please don't shout I am not able to study, don't behave like children, don't fight. I once recorded their fight and showed it to my nani (maternal grandmother), she talked to my parents and really scolded them." At EL she shares more incidents from school where she

has intervened in fights among classmates, and complained to teacher if needed. She is aware about different options to resolve violence.

Girl, GEMS school, EL

Amongst the students from comparison schools, both boys and girls, there are different patterns of thought but again, there is little change over time, as most students maintain their behavior across the two-time points of ML and EL. The reflection that one should not "poke one's nose in other's affairs" is a strongly held belief among students from comparison schools even at EL "if I say something they will say – why are you speaking in others matters?" "I am not sure what to do – if elders are beating up children we can't really beat them (the elders). So there is really nothing to be done." The lack of a reasoned-out narrative on why or why not to intervene is minimal among these students.

Another difference that is observed among comparison school students is the attitude toward seeking help from elders. In an interesting narration, a girl says- "there are a lot of fights in school. A few days back here was a fight among the younger children. I gave each one of them a slap and told them not to repeat this behavior. Actually, they are better off getting a little beating from us. Why tell sir, he will be beaten so much. He will be better off getting beaten by us."

Intervention in instances of sexual violence:

For girls the intention and attitude to intervene as a bystander and also rescuing oneself from the situation remains constant from BL to EL in GEMS schools. However, the ease of reverting back and intervening using physical violence diminishes for some students over time, as their responses differ depending on the situation. For example, if they need to escape, they will use physical

force, but if the situation allows they will try to have a dialogue.



Being boy's (perpetrator) friend, I would ask him to stop teasing the girl, apologize to her and promise not to repeat it in the future. Being girl's (victim) friend, I would support the girl and tell her that maybe he may have touched her by mistake; I will also confront the boy in front of her and ask him whether he did it intentionally and make him apologize. If the boy doesn't listen to me, then our friendship will be over.



Boy, GEMS school, EL

While students of GEMS schools talk about reaching out to adults in cases of sexual violence, not everyone is confident that these matters should be shared with parents, as they fear a negative action and restrictions.

In comparison schools, there is a consistency in the students' action: most boys as well as girls spoke of hitting the perpetrator at BL as well as EL. Very few students spoke of reasoning with the perpetrator or telling someone else. One of the boys said at BL that the girl should inform the police, then shared at EL how the girl must herself shout out for help and also report to her parents. He is not sure whether friends would intervene.

Another girl also spoke of how in most cases of eve-teasing, the bystanders usually stand and enjoy and think that the harasser is so courageous that he is harassing girls. The non-interference of onlookers is a significant barrier to students' ability to intervene.

She further reflects, "If the onlookers intervene when they see such incidents, the girls will easily be able to escape from the clutches of the perpetrators."

The qualitative study provides insights into the thought processes of students as they are exposed to program content that encourages them to recognize and reflects everyday acts of discrimination and violence, not only in school but within their families and in their community as well. It appears that exposure to the program has succeeded in stimulating the mental processes so that students start to identify and challenge discrimination and harmful norms in their environment. The move to focus on reasons for conflict, rather than on the retaliation through use of violence, is an important process in the internalization of non-violent means of conflict resolution. Narratives of students from GEMS school are replete with contemplations of why violence happens, and ways in which it can be resolved. This movement within thought and to action on a behavior such as violence is not always coherent and easy – students struggle with trying to give up the almost unconscious action-reaction in cases of physical violence. Obviously, students may need more support and discussion as they gain confidence to intervene. Finding forums in families and communities where such discussion can take place can support the efforts of students in significant ways.



CHAPTER 4.8: Learnings



The GEMS program in Jharkhand reached to around 4000 students of classes 6th to 8th over two academic years during 2014-16. Though the participation of students was moderate with 60 percent students participated in 16 or more sessions out of 22, the program succeeded in engaging them in discussion and reflection on issues of gender and violence, and the data provide evidence of positive shifts in participants' attitudes and behaviors.

Although, very small proportion of students had equitable gender attitudes at BL, a significant increase was recorded in students' mean attitudinal score and the proportion of students with high attitudinal score in GEMS schools compared to non-intervention schools over time. Students from GEMS schools also experienced significant positive shifts on individual statements around gender roles and responsibilities, attributes and GBV. Not surprisingly, the extent of students' participation was associated with greater change, as students who had who had attended 16 or more sessions experienced greater change than those who attended 10 or fewer sessions. Despite these changes, a large proportion of students from intervention schools continued to support inequitable norms related to gender and violence, highlighting the difficulty of achieving change in settings where norms are rigid and alternatives promoting equality are few.

One-half of the students reported perpetrating violence in school in last three months at BL with no significant change between GEMS and comparison schools. However, at ML, this proportion declined significantly in comparison schools, while no such change was noted in GEMS schools. In GEMS schools, small yet significant change in perpetration of physical violence was recorded from ML to EL. Decline in

perpetration of physical violence was higher among those who had witnessed parental violence, used internet sometimes and accessed mobile phones. In GEMS schools, students with improved attitude showed a decline in perpetration. However, no such association was found in comparison schools. A significant decline in perpetration of violence in comparison schools without much change in the attitudes of the students is puzzling and requires further exploration. Prevalence of violence in school is high. Despite corporal punishment being banned under provisions of the RTE Act in schools, students experienced physical and emotional violence perpetrated by their teachers more than by their peers. Similar to perpetration of violence, prevalence of violence declined significant in comparison schools from BL to ML, but no change was noted in GEMS schools. Decline in prevalence of violence was recorded only at EL compared in GEMS schools.

At least half of the students do not report their experience to teachers or parents. Reporting is lower for the violence experienced from other students compared those who experienced from teachers. Further, more students reported incidents of physical violence than emotional violence. The GEMS program led to an increase in reporting of emotional violence perpetrated by teachers to parents/other teachers among boys, and reporting of sexual violence perpetrated by teachers to parents among girls.

Following the program exposure, more students started recognizing different forms of violence in school and taking steps to stop it. There was significant net increase in the proportion of boys taking positive action to stop violence and a significant decline in use of violence to stop emotional violence. On the other hand, there was significant net increase among girls who took positive

action to stop emotional violence and a decline among those who took negative action in case of sexual violence.

Another area of success was improved communication between girls and boys and with teachers. From BL to EL, more students from intervention schools reported playing and sharing desk with students of other sex in GEMS schools compared to students from comparison schools, thus breaking gender segregation. This also reflects a greater sense of comfort among students, particularly girls, as well as a changed in outlook among teachers.

Clearly, the program enabled several students to reflect on inequitable gender norms and violence and this is clearly evident in the qualitative study. More research, across longer periods of time is needed to

understand ways in which thoughts translate into action, and what can support students to sustain such action. Action in gender equitable and non-violent ways is not only mediated by internal individual conviction, but also by examples of similar change in the ecosystem – both at school and in the family. GEMS offers a lens to challenge inequality in a wide range of behaviors, and in multiple forms of violence. The program needs to deepen its intervention into subsequent years to clearly define and support students into specific pathways to action. It also needs to consider intentional engagement within the families, as students attempt to apply their new found understanding to family dynamics. An ecosystem approach through a comprehensive model is needed to sustain the small but powerful steps toward equality that GEMS has initiated in Jharkhand.

Annexure

Table - 4.6: Percentage distribution of matched and unmatched sample from the BL survey, Jharkhand

	Intervention			Control		
	Unmatched	Matched	Z-test	Unmatched	Matched	Z-test
N	459	1523		470	1546	
Age						
10	11.9	14.6		11.6	17.6	
11	13.2	19.7		13.5	18.3	
12	30.9	31.4		34.4	31.9	
13	19.8	20.3		22.7	19.0	
14	18.1	9.6		12.4	10.0	
15	6.2	4.5		5.5	3.2	
Sex						
Girl	49.6	57.1	*	47.1	57.9	*
Boy	50.4	43.0	*	52.9	42.1	*
Class						
6 th	49.6	48.0		55.3	48.7	
7 th	50.4	52.0		44.7	51.3	
District						
Khunti	52.3	46.4		54.7	46.7	*
Ranchi	47.7	53.6		45.3	53.3	*
Father's Schooling						
no schooling	22.3	21.9		23.5	21.9	
primary school (1-5 class)	17.9	23.6		21.1	23.1	

	Intervention			Control		
	Unmatched	Matched	Z-test	Unmatched	Matched	Z-test
secondary school (6-9 class)	16.0	15.4		19.4	17.5	
high school (10 - 12 class)	17.2	15.4		15.5	14.8	
university/college and higher education	3.0	2.3		4.6	4.1	
Don't know	23.6	21.5		15.9	18.5	
Mother's Schooling						
no schooling	43.6	40.2		39.4	42.3	
primary school (1-5 class)	14.9	17.9		19.0	16.7	
secondary school (6-9 class)	9.8	11.8		13.1	11.8	
high school (10 - 12 class)	9.2	7.6		7.4	5.8	
university/college and higher education	2.1	1.4		2.4	1.8	
don't know	20.4	21.2		18.7	21.7	
Father's Occupation						
service in government office	6.4	6.6		7.2	5.6	
service in private company	3.8	6.0		5.2	5.1	
farming in his own land	35.7	35.1		36.2	33.6	
farming in others land	3.4	5.6		8.3	4.8	
domestic worker/helper	2.3	2.3		1.7	2.6	
runs own shop or thela	9.4	7.1		3.9	6.4	
work in somebody's shop	5.3	4.2		4.4	3.7	
Home based worker (makes different items)	5.5	2.3		4.1	3.7	
daily wage laborer	10.2	14.2		12.9	18.7	
involved in any other work	8.3	6.7		5.9	6.0	
he does not work	3.0	3.4		3.7	5.0	
he is not alive	6.6	6.6		6.5	4.9	
Mother's Occupation						
service in government office	4.7	4.3		5.2	4.1	
service in private company	1.3	2.0		1.3	1.7	
farming in her own land	29.6	32.9		33.6	29.6	
farming in others land	6.6	7.3		7.8	7.5	
domestic worker/helper	3.2	3.9		4.4	4.7	
runs own shop or thela	3.6	2.7		1.7	2.8	
work in somebody's shop	2.1	1.1		1.5	1.0	
Home based worker (makes different items)	5.5	3.0		3.1	4.5	
daily wage laborer	6.8	8.3		7.4	9.9	
involved in any other work	2.6	2.5		2.8	2.9	
she takes care of house-hold chores	29.2	28.5		25.5	27.9	
she is not alive	4.9	3.5		5.7	3.4	

Table - 4.6: Attitude toward norms related to gender and violence: Mean attitudinal score and proportion of students distributed by attitudinal categories at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	Total						Boys						Girls								
	Comparison			GEMS			Adj. DiD	Comparison			GEMS			Adj. DiD	Comparison			GEMS			Adj. DiD
	BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL		BL	EL	BL	EL	BL	EL		BL	EL					
Mean Gender Attitude score	40	42.4	40.5	45.9	3.0*		39.8	41.5	40.2	44.6	3.8*		40.1	43.2	40.8	47.1	2.3				
Attitudinal categories																					
Low	49.1	44.4	47.0	34.6	-8.3		52	46.8	48	39.3	-7.7		46.7	42.3	46.2	30.6	-8.9				
Moderate	49.6	49.0	51.0	51.7	2.5		46.8	49.3	51	50	-0.2		51.9	48.7	51.1	53.2	4.7				
High	1.3	6.6	2.0	13.7	5.9*		1.2	3.9	1.1	10.7	7.9**		1.4	9.0	2.7	16.2	4.3				
Note: DiD estimate are adjusted for school-level clustering effect and background characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence; significant at **p≤0.01; * p≤0.05																					

Note: DiD estimate are adjusted for school-level clustering effect and background characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence; significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.7: Attitude by session exposure: Mean attitudinal score and proportion of students distributed by attitudinal categories by session exposure at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	0-10 sessions			11-15 sessions			16-25 sessions		
	BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL	
Mean GA Score	40.3	43.6		41.1	44.1		40.4	47.1*	
<i>Attitudinal category</i>									
Low	50.5	44.2		45.0	38.3		46.8	31.0	
Medium	44.8	47.4		53.1	53.6		51.9	52.2	
High	4.7	8.4		1.9	8.1		1.3	16.8**	

Note: Change from BL to EL compared to other groups adjusted for school-level clustering effect and background characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence is significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.8: Attitude toward gender roles and responsibilities: proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statements related to gendered roles and responsibilities at BL and EL, Jharkhand

Statements	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD
For women, taking care of the house and children should be more important than her career																		
Disagree	10.6	10.5	9.5	14.2	6.1*	7.1*	9.7	9.5	8.8	13.0	7.1*	11.5	11.1	10.1	15.2	5.3		
Strongly disagree	5.5	8.5	6.0	13.6	4.3	4.2	9.0	6.1	6.0	14.0	4.2	4.9	8.1	6.0	13.2	4.2		
The traditional view that a man is the head of the family and responsible for providing economically for the family is still correct																		
Disagree	11.8	15.8	12.3	18.1	2.7	13.0	11.2	13.9	16.9	3.4	12.3	18.2	10.9	19.1	2.0			
Strongly disagree	7.3	14.2	7.1	19.9	6.4*	7.3*	12.4	6.6	6.2	15.9	7.3*	8.0	15.6	7.8	23.1	5.7		
With all matters in the family, it is necessary to discuss between husband and wife, yet the final word should be of the husband's																		
Disagree	16.2	18.0	14.1	20.4	5.0	14.9	13.5	15.6	18.5	3.6*	18.4	20.7	12.9	21.9	6.0			
Strongly disagree	8.1	12.1	8.2	17.6	4.7	9.6	7.1	7.7	13.2	0.9	9.0	14.2	8.7	21.2	7.9*			
Men should have more rights to make household decisions																		
Disagree	14.8	18.8	15.3	20.9	1.1	14.6	12.5	14.6	20.7	6.0	16.8	22.3	15.9	21.0	-3.0			
Strongly disagree	9.1	12.6	9.7	20.8	6.6	9.8	9.9	9.0	15.7	7.0	8.5	15.0	10.3	24.9	6.3			
Only men should work outside home.																		
Disagree	19.9	23.8	21.5	27.6	4.1	20.8	16.3	20.3	26.2	3.2	22.9	26.3	22.5	28.8	4.9			
Strongly disagree	9.2	15.3	9.8	21.6	6.1	13.1	7.7	7.3	16.8	6.3	10.5	17.1	11.8	25.5	5.9			
Boys should not sweep and cook at home																		
Disagree	29.0	28.0	28.5	25.7	-1.9	26.2	27.3	24.3	27.4	5.8	30.4	29.7	31.9	24.3	-8.2			
Strongly disagree	14.5	17.3	15.0	26.3	9.2*	13.7	15.2	12.9	23.2	13.5*	14.0	20.4	16.7	28.9	5.6			
Girls should be allowed to decide when they want to marry																		
Disagree	16.2	10.9	15.2	10.7	-1.1	12.8	16.6	16.1	12.5	-1.4	15.8	9.4	14.4	9.3	-0.9			
Strongly disagree	7.4	8.0	8.6	9.0	0.2	8.7	7.0	10.1	8.9	-1.6	7.6	7.5	7.4	9.0	1.5			
Girls should have a say in choosing their groom for marriage																		
Disagree	14.4	13.2	16.1	12.1	-2.0	14.8	13.0	17.3	12.5	-3.9	15.6	11.9	15.2	11.8	-0.4			
Strongly disagree	10.3	7.3	7.4	8.1	3.8*	7.3	10.1	7.0	8.8	5.3*	10.5	7.3	7.6	7.6	2.5			

Statements	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			DiD			Non-GEMS			DiD			Non-GEMS		
	BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL	
A girl should have a right over parents' property even if she is given a dowry																		
Disagree	16.6	14.7	15.1	13.2	-0.3	15.7	16.5	15.6	15.0	1.2	16.7	13.8	14.7	11.8	-1.5			
Strongly disagree	7.1	8.8	8.3	8.3	-2.8	7.0	7.3	7.7	7.3	0.5	7.0	10.3	8.8	9.2	-5.4			
Since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education.																		
Disagree	25.1	25.9	27.6	26.1	-1.1	30.3	24.6	27.2	24.5	-3.7	25.6	22.1	28.0	27.5	0.91			
Strongly disagree	14.5	24.5	15.0	29.6	4.2	20.2	13.0	12.3	27.7	9.6*	15.7	28.3	17.2	31.2	-0.2			

Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.9: Attitude toward gender attributes: proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statements related to gender attributes at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			DiD			Non-GEMS			DiD			Non-GEMS		
	BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL	
Gender attributes																		
Men need more care as they work harder than women.																		
Disagree	16.9	17.3	14.7	22.9	8.5**	13.4	16.6	13.8	20.3	12.2**	17.1	20.6	15.5	25.1	5.6			
Strongly disagree	6.1	11.4	8.9	16.1	2.1	8.8	5.3	8.6	12.0	1.1	6.7	13.6	9.2	19.6	3.0			
A wife should always obey her husband.																		
Disagree	11.5	14.6	10.5	21.7	9.3**	9.1	11.4	9.1	17.9	15.1**	11.6	19.4	11.6	24.8	4.5			
Strongly disagree	5.8	8.0	6.3	15.7	6.8*	6.0	5.8	6.4	12.9	6.0	5.9	9.6	6.2	18.1	7.4*			
Boys are violent by nature																		
Disagree	20.3	23.0	22.3	26.7	2.7	22.8	16.8	23.4	26.0	-1.2	23.2	23.2	21.4	27.2	5.8			
Strongly disagree	8.1	12.1	9.0	18.2	5.2	11.4	7.9	8.2	17.4	5.7*	8.3	12.7	9.7	18.9	4.9			
Girls are tolerant than boys by nature																		
Disagree	17.5	15.9	18.2	20.8	6.2*	15.5	17.0	21.1	21.4	6.1	17.9	16.2	15.9	20.3	6.4**			

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD	BL	EL	DiD
Strongly disagree	7.1	8.6	7.6	12.5	3.0	9.2	7.1	7.5	11.8	1.8	7.1	8.1	7.6	13.2	4.1			
Boys are naturally better than girls in sports.																		
Disagree	17.7	19.1	16.5	20.8	3.1	15.2	14.8	14.5	14.2	2.7	20.1	22.5	18.1	26.2	3.6			
Strongly disagree	7.1	9.8	8.5	16.6	4.8	8.2	8.1	7.6	13.9	7.1*	6.3	11.2	9.3	18.8	2.9			
<i>Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at **p<0.01; * p<0.05</i>																		

Table - 4.10: Attitude toward gender-based violence: proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statements related to GBV at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	EL	Adj. DiD	BL	EL	Adj. DiD	BL	EL	Adj. DiD	BL	EL	Adj. DiD	BL	EL	Adj. DiD	BL	EL	Adj. DiD
It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her.																		
Disagree	35.9	32.1	34.1	32.3	0.9	30.7	32.6	33.1	32.6	-2.2	38.6	33.2	34.9	32.1	3.2			
Strongly disagree	20.7	30.7	19.3	34.5	5.7	28.6	21.2	17.8	31.1	9.7*	20.3	32.4	20.5	37.4	2.7			
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together																		
Disagree	15.9	19.8	15.9	24.2	6.4*	17.4	15.5	15.0	22.2	9.9*	16.2	21.9	16.6	25.8	3.5			
Strongly disagree	7.2	14.6	8.1	24.4	10.0**	11.8	6.3	8.1	19.0	9.4**	7.9	17.0	8.1	29.0	10.5*			
Violence against women is acceptable in some situations																		
Disagree	22.5	25.0	21.7	28.2	5.7	22.1	19.7	20.9	25.0	3.1	24.8	27.5	22.3	30.8	8.0*			
Strongly disagree	9.0	13.3	12.3	22.5	5.7*	11.5	9.9	11.6	20.2	6.8*	8.2	14.8	12.9	24.5	4.7			
If my mother cheated on my father, then it is OK for him to hit her																		
Disagree	28.7	27.5	28.6	31.2	5.0	26.8	28.3	26.1	27.6	4.7	29.1	28.1	30.6	34.3	5.2			
Strongly disagree	14.3	18.7	15.9	26.2	4.5	17.4	13.8	15.8	24.3	5.0	14.8	19.9	15.9	27.9	4.2			
Teasing is harmless fun																		

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL	
Disagree	23.2	25.4	21.0	29.9	5.9	23.6	23.4	18.8	28.0	9.8	23.0	26.8	22.9	31.5	2.9			
Strongly disagree	10.7	14.9	12.1	23.1	7.0*	13.5	10.8	10.6	21.8	9.2**	10.7	16.1	13.3	24.1	5.2			
Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$																		

Table - 4.11: Interaction and communication: Proportion of students who interacted and communicated with peers and teachers at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD		
	BL	EL		BL	EL		BL	EL	
Boys and girls play with each other sometimes or often	52.1	40.9		52.8	55.6		13.9**		
Boys and girls share desk	32.5	34.2		28.6	46.0		16.1**		
Students like to seek more information	62.9	61.0		63.3	74.7		13.5**		
Has a teacher to talk about bodily changes	47.7	45.8		46.9	61.9		16**		
Has someone to talk about problem or harassment/violence	49.9	49.3		46.7	64.3		18**		
Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$									

Table - 4.12: Communication on gender and violence: Proportion of students who talked to different people about gender discrimination and violence after participating in the program, EL, Jharkhand

Since participation in the GEMS program, discussed differential treatment of boys and girls with				Total	Boys	Girls
Brother/sister				55.7	56.3	55.2
Father**				44.9	52.0	39.6
Mother				53.5	51.6	54.9
Other relatives				23.1	23.9	22.5
School friends				53.1	53.6	52.7

Since participation in the GEMS program, discussed differential treatment of boys and girls with		Total	Boys	Girls
Friends from outside the school		31.3	31.3	31.3
Others		13.6	12.0	14.8
No one		9.7	11.4	8.5
Since participation in GEMS, discussed issues related to violence with				
Brother/Sister		52.4	53.5	51.6
Father**		43.3	50.2	38.3
Mother		49.7	47.1	51.6
Other relatives		22.7	23.6	22.0
School Friends*		50.0	46.7	52.5
Friends from outside the school		27.2	27.2	27.2
Others		11.4	10.8	11.8
No one		10.2	11.7	9.1
Note: Chi square test significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$				

Table - 4.13: Experience of violence: Proportion of students who experienced violence from teachers or other students in school in last three months at BL, ML and EL, Jharkhand

Perpetrator	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD (BL-ML)	Adj. DiD (ML-EL)	Adj. DiD (BL-EL)
	BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Total									
Teacher or student									
Any Violence	56.2	45.8	37.2	58.5	53.9	47.9	7.5*	1.9	9.4**
Physical Violence	42.0	33.6	26.1	43.5	43.0	32.6	9.6**	-4.7	4.9
Emotional Violence	45.6	38.9	28.7	48.3	45.9	38.1	6.5*	1.2	7.7*
Sexual Violence	18.4	18.2	13.6	20.1	24.4	17.5	5.1	-2.1	3.0
Teacher									
Any Violence	48.5	41.0	30.0	51.8	48.6	38.0	6.7*	-1.5	5.3
Physical Violence	34.5	29.0	20.5	37.5	36.8	26.7	5.3	-3.3	2.0
Emotional Violence	39.6	33.0	23.4	41.7	39.9	29.3	6.2	-2.2	4.0
Sexual Violence	3.4	5.5	2.2	6.3	8.6	3.7	-0.2	-2.0	-2.2
Student									
Any Violence	40.4	35.1	26.3	42.2	44.0	35.8	7.9**	-0.2	8.1*
Physical Violence	26.6	20.0	15.4	27.2	28.8	22.0	10.3**	-3.5	6.8*
Emotional Violence	31.2	27.7	19.2	33.5	34.9	28.3	6.1**	1.0	7.1**
Sexual Violence	15.1	14.9	11.0	15.5	20.9	14.1	6.2*	-3.1	3.1
Boy									
Teacher or student									
Any Violence	62.0	54.3	44.7	65.8	62.2	51.0	5.4	-2.6	2.9
Physical Violence	47.7	43.0	32.5	49.7	49.9	36.7	6.9	-5.2	1.7
Emotional Violence	51.3	47.3	34.4	56.4	53.6	42.0	1.8	0.2	2.0
Sexual Violence	20.2	22.8	15.4	24.8	28.9	18.3	2.8	-4.4	-1.6
Teacher									
Any Violence	54.6	50.7	37.5	59.9	55.2	43.2	1.1	-1.2	0
Physical Violence	40.7	37.9	25.8	45.4	41.9	31.3	-0.1	-0.2	-0.3
Emotional Violence	44.9	40.9	29.0	49.2	45.2	34.0	0.6	-1.3	-0.7
Sexual Violence	3.4	7.4	2.8	8.3	10.5	3.5	-3.2	-2.3	-5.5**
Student									
Any Violence	45.9	41.8	31.3	50.3	51.4	38.0	5.8	-3.7	2.1
Physical Violence	30.3	24.9	18.9	31.8	34.2	24.7	10.1*	-5.7	4.4
Emotional Violence	38.0	34.1	23.3	41.5	43.2	31.6	4.3	-0.5	3.8
Sexual Violence	17.8	17.6	13.3	19.8	24.6	15.4	6.6	-7.1	-0.5
Girl									
Teacher or student									
Any Violence	51.3	38.7	30.9	52.5	47.1	45.2	9.2*	5.5	14.7**
Physical Violence	37.2	25.8	20.7	38.4	37.3	29.3	11.8**	-4.3	7.5*
Emotional Violence	40.8	31.8	23.8	41.6	39.6	34.9	10.3*	2.1	12.4**
Sexual Violence	16.9	14.3	12.1	16.1	20.7	16.9	7.0*	-0.2	6.8**
Teacher									

Perpetrator	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD (BL-ML)	Adj. DiD (ML-EL)	Adj. DiD (BL-EL)
	BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Any Violence	43.3	32.8	23.6	45.2	43.2	33.8	11.3**	-1.7	9.6**
Physical Violence	29.2	21.5	16.0	30.9	32.6	22.8	9.8**	-5.8	4.0
Emotional Violence	35.2	26.2	18.7	35.5	33.7	25.4	10.8*	-3.0	7.8*
Sexual Violence	3.3	3.9	1.7	4.6	7.1	3.8	2.2	-1.8	0.5
Student									
Any Violence	35.8	29.4	22.0	35.6	38.0	33.9	9.5*	3.5	13.0**
Physical Violence	23.5	15.9	12.5	23.4	24.4	19.9	10.5**	-1.7	8.8**
Emotional Violence	25.4	22.3	15.8	26.9	28.1	25.6	7.6	2.3	9.8**
Sexual Violence	12.8	12.6	9.1	11.9	17.8	13.1	5.9	0.2	6.1*

Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.14: Help seeking for violence perpetrated by teacher: Proportion of students who experienced and reported teacher perpetrated violence to any adult (teachers, principal or parent) at BL, ML and EL, Jharkhand

		Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD (BL-ML)	Adj. DiD (ML-EL)	Adj. DiD (BL-EL)
		BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Total										
Physical violence	Reported to principal/teacher	40.4	46.9	43.1	46.7	54.0	47.3	5.1	-7	-0.5
	Reported to parents	47.2	51.7	46.9	47.3	51.1	53.1	-1.3	7.4	6.4
Emotional violence	Reported to principal/teacher	34.0	33.1	33.4	33.2	39.0	38.4	8.7	-2.3	6.9
	Reported to parents	46.2	38.5	40.7	44.5	46.1	45.9	12.0**	-2.1	10.0
Sexual violence	Reported to principal/teacher	24.6	34.9	24.9	21.9	36.5	20.5	11.7	-2.5	15.7
	Reported to parents	41.9	37.0	29.7	37.0	48.6	32.4	22.3	1.9	29.0
Boys										
Physical violence	Reported to principal/teacher	43.8	43.6	41.1	47.5	54.2	51.2	16.8*	-5.5	9.5
	Reported to parents	48.4	50.2	42.2	48.8	51.4	55.1	0.6	11.9	10.4
Emotional violence	Reported to principal/teacher	40.0	30.0	29.6	35.7	41.6	37.7	22.6**	-8.6	13.6*
	Reported to parents	47.6	32.8	33.8	43.6	48.2	46.1	21.5**	-1.9	17.9*
Sexual violence	Reported to principal/teacher	42.0	42.4	40.0	21.9	39.3	28.7	21.2	-28.1	16.5
	Reported to parents	39.3	40.8	27.1	39.2	49.5	31.8	10.7	-15.6	13.8
Girls										
Physical violence	Reported to principal/teacher	36.5	51.8	45.9	45.8	53.7	42.9	-8.4	-6.7	-14.7*
	Reported to parents	45.9	53.9	53.4	45.5	50.8	50.8	-2.2	2.3	1.0

		Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD (BL-ML)	Adj. DiD (ML-EL)	Adj. DiD (BL-EL)
		BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Emotional violence	Reported to principal/teacher	27.7	37.2	38.3	30.3	36.1	39.1	-6.7	4.3	-2.4
	Reported to parents	44.7	46.1	49.6	45.5	43.8	45.7	2.0	-2.2	0.2
Sexual violence	Reported to principal/teacher	9.8	22.6	3.6	22.0	33.1	14.2	2.0	-8.8	-5.8
	Reported to parents	44.1	30.5	33.3	33.8	47.5	32.9	42.5*	3.2	31.1

Note: DiD estimate are adjusted for school-level clustering effect and background characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence; significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.15: Help seeking for peer violence: Proportion of students who experienced and reported peer violence to any adult (principal, teachers or parents) at BL, ML and EL, Jharkhand

		Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD (BL-ML)	Adj. DiD (ML-EL)	Adj. DiD (BL-EL)
		BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Total										
Physical violence	Reported to principal/teacher	23.3	16.8	32.3	31.0	24.1	33.6	-0.8	-8.9	-9.3
	Reported to parents	35.8	29.3	31.5	38.2	32.7	39.6	4.1	-1.4	3.4
Emotional violence	Reported to principal/teacher	23.4	18.6	25.2	31.2	24.8	26.7	2.3	-9.8*	-7.7
	Reported to parents	35.3	29.6	35.2	36.5	33.2	36.5	2.2	-7.1	-5.0
Sexual violence	Reported to principal/teacher	12.3	16.5	10.9	13.4	23.1	9.0	4.6	-6.8	-3.3
	Reported to parents	35.2	26.2	18.0	32.7	32.8	20.8	8.7	-4.2	2.7
Boys										
Physical violence	Reported to principal/teacher	26.6	17.5	32.2	36.5	25.5	36.3	-0.9	-10.8	-9.7
	Reported to parents	39.1	31.5	27.7	39.1	31.7	39.2	-1.7	4.8	1.6
Emotional violence	Reported to principal/teacher	28.1	20.1	26.9	33.4	27.5	30.5	4.0	-5.4	-1.3
	Reported to parents	35.5	28.2	29.8	34.1	30.8	35.2	-0.2	1.3	-0.6
Sexual violence	Reported to principal/teacher	9.3	19.6	11.7	13.2	26.2	12.4	3.6	-4.4	-1.2
	Reported to parents	29.4	20.9	14.8	32.4	30.9	17.1	2.2	-11.2	-12.1
Girls										
Physical violence	Reported to principal/teacher	19.7	15.9	32.4	24.8	22.4	30.9	-2.3	-8.6	-11
	Reported to parents	32.1	26.5	36.4	37.3	33.8	40.1	8.8	-10.9	2.1
Emotional violence	Reported to principal/teacher	17.5	16.7	23.2	28.3	21.4	22.7	0.5	-13.8*	-14.2*
	Reported to parents	35.0	31.4	41.9	39.6	36.1	37.7	5.0	-18.0	-12.1

		Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD (BL-ML)	Adj. DiD (ML-EL)	Adj. DiD (BL-EL)
		BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Sexual violence	Reported to principal/teacher	15.7	12.7	9.9	13.8	19.7	5.7	6.9	-10.8	-4.6
	Reported to parents	42.0	32.7	22.0	33.1	34.9	24.3	15.0	7.3	22.6*

Note: DiD estimate are adjusted for school-level clustering effect and background characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence; significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.16: Bystander intervention when witnessed violence: Proportion of students who witnessed different forms of violence in school in last three months and took action at BL and EL, Jharkhand

	Total					Boys					Girls				
	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD	Non-GEMS		GEMS		Adj. DiD
	BL	EL	BL	EL		BL	EL	BL	EL			EL	BL	EL	
Physical violence															
Positive action	50.1	64	49.5	69.5	7.7*	49.8	61	51	66.3	10.6**	50.4	66.2	47.9	71.5	5.3
Negative action	21.3	18.9	20.6	17.3	1.2	23.6	21.3	23.4	23.4	0.9	19.2	17.1	17.9	13.4	1.9
Used violence to intervene	16.2	17.3	15.8	14	1.0	18.4	18.2	18.5	17.4	1.6	14.1	16.7	13.2	11.9	0.9
Emotional violence															
Positive action	39.4	62.8	46.4	66.6	0.9	40	64.5	46.3	62	-6.1	38.7	60.8	46.4	70.4	9.7**
Negative action	28	22.4	26.1	17.1	-3.6	28.8	22.3	30.1	21	-6.4	27.1	22.6	21.7	13.8	-0.5
Used violence to intervene	20.7	21.2	17.1	15.6	-3.2	17.1	25	15.6	11.9	-14.8*	24.8	16.6	18.7	18.6	7.7*
Sexual Violence															
Positive action	38.7	51.4	39.5	59.4	0.9	40	50	40.8	55	-0.4	37.3	53	37.7	63.7	3.7
Negative action	32	31.3	34.9	21.7	-6.8*	38.8	28.4	38.5	26.4	-1.1	24.7	34.7	30	17.2	-21.*
Used violence to intervene	25.3	27.6	17.9	16.7	2.5	28.2	28	19.7	15.9	-1.6	22.3	27.2	15.4	17.5	7.9

Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.17: Perpetration of violence: Proportion of students who perpetrated violence on other students in school in last three months at BL, ML and EL, Jharkhand

Perpetration	Non-GEMS			GEMS			DiD (BL-ML)	DiD (ML-EL)	DiD (BL-EL)
	BL	ML	EL	BL	ML	EL			
Total									
Any violence	49.4	38.2	34.7	49.8	49.1	44.4	11.0**	-1.9	9.1**
Physical violence	35.3	26.8	24.4	36.0	36.8	31.7	10.9**	-3.5	7.3**
Emotional violence	34.6	27.0	21.2	34.7	36.6	30.7	10.6**	-1.5	9.2**
Sexual violence	22.5	15.1	14.6	22.8	19.9	19.9	7.1**	-1.5	5.6**
Boy									
Any violence	54.3	39.2	37.2	53.6	52.3	49.8	16.1**	-4.2	11.9**
Physical violence	40.4	26.5	25.9	41.2	40.8	36.8	18.1**	-8.3**	9.7**
Emotional violence	39.4	28.1	23.1	39.4	40.2	34.5	12.5**	-0.9	11.6**
Sexual violence	23.5	14.6	15.2	26.5	24.6	24.7	10.0**	-3.5	6.6*
Girl									
Any violence	45.3	37.4	32.6	46.7	46.5	39.9	6.8*	0	6.8
Physical violence	31.1	27.1	23.1	31.7	33.5	27.6	5.0	0.4	5.3
Emotional violence	30.7	26.0	19.5	30.7	33.6	27.5	9.1**	-1.9	7.1*
Sexual violence	21.6	15.6	14.2	19.8	16.1	15.9	4.8	0.1	4.9

Note: DiD estimate are calculated after matching the characteristics age, sex, caste, religion, father's education, mother's education, access to TV, access to mobile phone, internet use and district of residence significant at ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$

Table - 4.18: Attitude toward violence and perpetration of violence: Proportion of students who perpetrated violence in school in last three months at BL and EL by attitude toward peer-based violence, Jharkhand

Perpetration of		In certain situations, it is fine for students to be violent toward each other in school					
		Agreed at BL	Agreed at BL & EL	Agreed at BL & Disagree at EL	Disagreed at BL	Disagreed at BL & Agreed at EL	Disagreed at BL & EL
Any violence	Non-GEMS	50.0	35.6**	31.6**	47.9	38.9*	33.7**
	GEMS	49.6	48.5	39.8**	48.8	53.6	42.5*
Physical violence	Non-GEMS	36.0	23.8**	22.5**	33.1	27.2*	26.6*
	GEMS	35.9	36.6	25.7**	36.1	39.6	32.4*
Emotional violence	Non-GEMS	35.1	23.7**	17.3**	34.4	21.1*	19.7**
	GEMS	34.4	36.2	23.4**	34.2	39.6	29.8**
Sexual violence	Non-GEMS	23.2	17.2**	10.5**	20.7	14.9	14.0**
	GEMS	21.9	25.5*	14.4**	22.0	27.2	15.1**

Note: Proportion at EL is compared with BL for GEMS and comparison schools separately using z-test. Significant at ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

5 SECTION

GEMS IN PATUAKHALI, BARGUNA, DHAKA AND
BARISAL, BANGLADESH



CHAPTER 5.1: Background



Over the past two decades, Bangladesh has achieved remarkable success in advancing gender parity in education and employment, yet inequitable gender norms continue to obstruct overall growth and development of women and girls, men and boys. Bangladesh is ranked 115 out of 187 countries on the Gender Inequality Index.⁶⁰ Violence against women, one of the most pervasive manifestations of inequitable gender norms, is highly prevalent. In a recently conducted country wide study, around three-fourths of women reported having experienced at least one form of violence from a partner in their life time, while half reported this for the last 12 months.⁶¹ In an earlier study with men, half reported ever perpetrating physical and/or sexual violence against their partner in their lifetime.⁶² Violence is not limited to women—children are also victims. Like several other south Asian countries, corporal punishment is a well accepted means of disciplining children in Bangladesh. According to a report prepared by the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 89 percent of children reported experiencing physical violence at home and 83 percent reported this within an educational institution.⁶³ Thus, children grow experiencing and witnessing

violence, and in turn justify it. Many acts of GBV go unaddressed as they are condoned by men and women alike.

Child marriage, another manifestation of discriminatory gender norms that violates the rights of girls to aspire and achieve, continues to be highly prevalent in Bangladesh. According to the DHS 2014, 59 percent of women aged 20-24 were married before the age of 18 years.⁶⁴ Further, limited knowledge and access to safe sexual and reproductive health services (SRH) adds to the vulnerability of adolescent girls and boys. Discussions around SRH and rights is a domain of social taboo in Bangladesh, especially for adolescents and young people.⁶⁵ Sexuality, procreation and rights are rarely talked about. Discussion remains largely limited to health risks affecting married women. Without adequate knowledge and understanding of physical and mental changes during puberty, adolescents are largely left to rely on their own sources of information, which are often inaccurate and inadequate. Further, efforts are rarely made to reflect on and question the fundamental gender norms that connect sexual health, violence and other gender discriminatory practices.

⁶⁰ UNDP 2013

⁶¹ Bangladesh Violence against Women (VAW) Survey 2015. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS), Statistics and Informatics Division, Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. August 2016

⁶² Fulu E, Warner X, Miedema S, Jewkes R, Roselli T, Lang J. Why do some men use violence against women and how can we prevent it? Quantitative findings from the United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok: UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women, and UNV, 2013.

⁶³ Corporal punishment of children in Bangladesh. Report prepared by the Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children (www.endcorporalpunishment.org). Last updated July 2016

⁶⁴ National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT), Mitra and Associates, and ICF International. 2016. Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey 2014. Dhaka, Bangladesh, and Rockville, Maryland, USA: NIPORT, Mitra and Associates, and ICF International.

⁶⁵ van Reeuwijk M. and Nahar P. 2013. 'The importance of a positive approach to sexuality in sexual health programs for unmarried adolescents in Bangladesh'. *Reproductive Health Matters* 21(41).

Adolescent health programming is not new in Bangladesh. Although the SRH needs of adolescents are beginning to gain attention in Bangladesh, a recent review notes that revealed that there is still a lack of focus on the specific needs of adolescents. This review of 32 SRH programs also notes the need to focus on younger adolescents and unmarried girls and focussing on evaluation.⁶⁶

Within this context, UNFPA in partnership with Government of Bangladesh, Plan International and other community based organizations launched the *Generation Breakthrough* (GB) program in 2013. The program uses a multipronged approach to reach adolescent girls and boys 10-19 years in schools and community clubs, and build their perspective on the issues of gender and violence. The program also enhances knowledge related to SRHR and promotes skills to resolve conflict without using violence. The GB program includes Gender Equity Movement in School

(GEMS) curriculum, community awareness campaign, a media campaign, strengthening of health services, and sharing of SRHR information in schools and clubs. The program is being implemented in 350 schools and madrasas, and their neighbouring communities across four districts – Dhaka, Barisal, Patuakhali and Barguna. Barguna and Patuakhali are rural districts with Barisal as divisional headquarter. Thus, the four selected districts provide variation in context – rural, small and big city.

This section presents implementation and evaluation only of the GEMS component of the larger GB program in four districts of Bangladesh. It has seven chapters starting with background, followed by study design and program implementation. After these, three chapters are on findings related to gender attitudes, communication and interaction, and violence, and finally a chapter on learnings.



⁶⁶ Sigma, Ainul, Bajracharya, Ashish, Reichenbach, Laura, and Gilles, Kate. 2017. "Adolescents in Bangladesh: A Situation Analysis of Programmatic Approaches to Sexual and Reproductive Health Education and Services," Situation Analysis Report. Washington, DC & Dhaka, Bangladesh: Population Council, The Evidence Project.

CHAPTER 5.2: Study Design



To evaluate the GB program, a three-arm quasi-experimental design was used with

- Arm 1 included schools with comprehensive Generation Breakthrough (GB) program;
- Arm 2 included schools with only GEMS intervention and referred as **GEMS schools** in this report; and
- Arm 3 included schools with no GB program and referred as **non-GEMS schools** in this report to maintain consistency with earlier sections

Further, in view of available resources and to facilitate regional evaluation of the GEMS program, two rounds of cross-sectional surveys were planned in Arm 1 (GB schools) - BL and EL, and three rounds in Arm 2 (GEMS schools) and Arm 3 (non-GEMS schools) - (BL, ML and EL). So far, the BL has been conducted in all three arms and the ML in arms 2 and 3 using pen and paper self-administered questionnaires.

Table - 5.1: Planned data collection for evaluation of the GB program

Arms	BL (before starting the program)	ML (after 1 st year of intervention)	EL (after completion of 2 nd year of intervention)
Arm 1 (GB schools)	√		√
Arm 2 (GEMS schools)	√	√	√
Arm 3 (non-GEMS schools)	√	√	√

While study design is presented for the study (all three arms), sampling technique, achieved sample size and results are given only for the Arm 2 (GEMS schools) and Arm 3 (non-GEMS schools). This report presents the findings of the comparison between GEMS and non-GEMS schools from BL and ML (conducted after the Year 1 modules were completed over 4 months in first academic year).

Sample size calculation - To calculate the sample size, we used following formula:

$$n = (z_{\alpha}/2 + z_{\beta})^2 [(p_0(1 - p_0)) + (p_1(1 - p_1)) / (p_0 - p_1)^2]$$

where, p_1 and p_0 are the true proportions in the presence and absence of the intervention respectively.

For calculating sample size, we made certain assumptions. We considered proportion of students with high score on gender attitudinal scale as the key outcome indicator, and assumed this to be 50 percent (p_0) in absence of any available data. Further, we assumed that the program would reduce perpetration of violence from 50 percent to 40 percent (p_1). With these assumptions, a sample of 315 in each arm would be sufficient at 95 percent level of significance and 80 percent power. This includes 15 percent non-response rate. To measure changes separately for girls and boys, we recruited 315 girls and 315 boys in each arm for the BL.

Sampling technique - The Government of Bangladesh, in consultation with UNFPA, identified 350 schools and madrasas - 100 from Barguna, 150 Patuakhali, 50 Barisal and 50 Dhaka. These 350 schools and madrasas formed the sampling frame for the selection of schools in arms 1 and 2. From these 350 schools, 68 were selected using systematic random sampling. Thus, 28 schools were selected from Patuakhali,

**Table - 5.2:** Achieve sample from GEMS and non-GEMS schools, Bangladesh⁶⁷

	BL			ML		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
GEMS	399	488	887	666	855	1521
Non-GEMS	274	366	640	616	886	1502
Total	673	854	1527	1282	1741	3023

20 from Barguna, and 10 each from Dhaka and Barisal. Subsequently, selected schools in each district were randomly assigned to Arm 1 (GB schools) or Arm 2 (GEMS school). For arm 3 (non-GEMS schools), UNFPA selected 34 schools in consultation with the district authority. It used school size, type of school (government and madrasa) and location as criteria to identify comparable schools in each of the districts.

The next level involved the selection of students using stratified sampling. Using the attendance register, students in each school were classified under four strata – class 6 girls, class 6 boys, class 7 girls and class 7 boys. From each stratum, 8 students were selected using systematic random sampling for the survey. Parental consent and assent were taken before conducting the survey.

As mentioned earlier, the ML survey was carried out in Arm 2 (GEMS schools) and Arm 3 (non-GEMS schools). Out of the selected 68 schools in Arms 2 and 3, only 60 schools – 30 in Arm 2 (GEMS) and 30 in Arm 3 (non-GEMS) – were available for ML survey as teachers were implementing GB program in eight sampled schools. Therefore, ML survey was restricted to 60 schools – 30 GEMS and 30 non-GEMS schools. Following a process similar to the BL, four sampling frames for classes 7 and 8 were prepared and 16 students from each stratum were selected using systematic random sampling. Parental consent and assent were taken before conducting the survey.

Data from 60 schools, which participated in both BL and ML are included in the analysis.

Across the 60 schools, achieved samples from Arm 2 (GEMS schools) and Arm 3 (non-GEMS schools) are given in Table 5.2.

Sample characteristics are presented in Table 5.3 in Annexure. Mean age of students at BL was around 12 years and ML 13 years with no significant difference between GEMS and non-GEMS schools. In GEMS schools, 45 percent students were boys at BL and 44 percent at ML with no significant different with non-GEMS schools. At BL, significantly higher proportion of students from Madrasah (12 percent) participated in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS (6 percent). However, no such variation was observed at ML. At BL, a significantly higher proportion of parents were SSC or above education in GEMS schools than non-GEMS. Father's occupation was also different in GEMS and non-GEMS schools at BL and ML. Given differences in background characteristics of students at BL and ML and between GEMS and non-GEMS schools, these characteristics are adjusted in multivariate analysis.

Data collection tool and technique – A structured self-administered questionnaire was used to collect data from students at BL and ML. The questionnaire was translated and pre-tested before administration. The questionnaire had six domains of inquiry – social, economic and demographic characteristics, attitudes toward gender roles and violence, experience and reporting of violence, perpetration of violence and bystander intervention, knowledge about reproductive and sexual health, and exposure to intervention (only at the ML).

⁶⁷ Sample size at ML was increased to detect smaller changes

Table - 5.3: Expected outcomes and indicators measured in Bangladesh

Primary Outcomes	Indicators
Positive shift in attitude toward gender and violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mean score on gender attitudinal scale • % of girls and boys with high score on attitudinal scale • % of girls and boys who disagreed or strongly disagreed with statements promoting inequitable norms
Decrease in acceptance of school based violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who disagreed with corporal violence • % of girls and boys who disagree with peer violence
Improved interaction and communication among peers; and between students and teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who reported talking to peers on issues of gender and violence • % girls and boys who reported talking to teachers on the issues of gender and violence
Secondary Outcomes	
Increase in bystander intervention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who intervened when witnessed violence in school in last three months
Increase in reporting of violence to teachers and parents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who reported their experience of school-based violence in last three months to teachers or parents
Decrease in perpetration of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who perpetrated violence on other students in last three months in school
Decrease in experience of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • % of girls and boys who experienced violence in school in last three months

The surveys were carried out in schools, and administered with the selected students in a separate classroom. While the survey was self-administered by the students, the investigators were responsible for ensuring that only those students who provided parental consent and assent participated in the survey, as well as for explaining the procedure for filling the questionnaire, clarifying any query raised, and collecting completed questionnaires.

Ethical consideration – This study was approved by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib Medical University IRB based in Dhaka and ICRW IRB based in Washington DC. Before conducting the survey, parental consent and assent from the students were taken. Further, the team made several efforts to ensure privacy and confidentiality during data collection and data management. Team ensured that students do not see others' response or write their name, roll number or any other identifiable information on their questionnaire; and teachers are not present during the survey or see completed questionnaires. Only de-identified data was used for analysis.

Outcomes and indicators – The outcomes and indicators measured through this study are given below.

Construction of scales and variables – To measure indicators and change over time, we developed scales and created the variables described below:

- **Attitudinal scale**

The attitude toward gender related norms is measured through a set of 20 statements related to gender, violence and sexuality listed in Table 5.4. These statements are drawn from surveys used in Da Nang and Jharkhand, and adapted based on the formative research. The statements were internally consistent (Chronbach's $\alpha=0.78$). Students were asked to mark their response on a 4-point scale (strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree), and based on their response an attitudinal scale was constructed. Using their total score, students were then categorized in three groups – low with a total score up to 40, moderate with a score from 41 to 60, and high with score 60.1 or more.

**Table - 5.4:** Statements used for construction of gender attitudinal scale, Bangladesh

Role and responsibilities
1. For women, taking care of the house and children are more important than her career
2. The traditional view that a man is the head of the family and responsible for providing economically for the family is still correct
3. Men should have more rights to make household decisions
4. Contraception is the responsibility of women
5. Only men should work outside home
6. Boys should not sweep and cook at home
7. Girls should be allowed to decide when they want to marry
8. It is appropriate for a boyfriend to tell his girlfriend whom to talk to
9. Since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education
Gender attributes
10. Men need more care as they work harder than women
11. Boys are violent by nature
12. Girls are tolerant by nature
13. Boys should not cry
GBV
14. Girls who wear less clothes provoke boys for violence
15. It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her
16. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together
17. Violence against women is acceptable in some situations
18. Teasing is harmless fun
19. It is appropriate for teachers to give physical punishment to students in certain situations
20. If someone's mother cheated on his/her father, then the father can beat his/her mother

• **Experience and perpetration of violence**

This study measured the prevalence of violence experienced and perpetrated young adolescents. Students were given the list of acts and asked to mention if they experienced those, either from teachers or peers, in last three months in school. Those who had experienced acts of violence, were asked whether they had reported those incidents to their teachers/principal and/or to parents. Students were also asked about acts of violence they had perpetrated on other students – girls and/or boys – in school in the last three months.

• **Witnessing violence and bystander intervention**

Students were asked if they witnessed specific acts of violence in school in the last

three months and what, if any, action they took. Possible responses included in the questionnaire were – did nothing, watched and enjoyed, joined the one doing this, felt uncomfortable, asked the person doing this to stop, used abusive language against person doing this, hit the person doing this, reported this to teacher or principal. Based on the response, three independent variables were created – positive action (asked the person doing this to stop, reported this to teacher or principal), used violence to stop violence (used abusive language against person doing this, hit the person doing this) and negative action (watched and enjoyed, joined the one doing this).

Analysis - To assess change over time between GEMS and non-GEMS schools, we have used difference-in-differences (DiD)

Table - 5.5: Act of violence included in the survey

Physical violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beat or hit or slapped you or kicked or pulled your hair • Hit with an object • Threatened with knife/weapon
Emotional violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threatened you verbally • Passed comments or labeled you based on your body or character • Used humiliating/insulting language against you • Ignored you or deliberately kept you out of activities • Asked to stand on bench/corner • Made you to do sit-ups • Locked you in room/toilet
Sexual Violence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passed sexual comments, whistled or showed you sexual photo or video when you were unwilling • Kissed or fondled you or forced you to do these when you were unwilling • Exposed himself/herself when you were unwilling • Stalked you • Forced himself or herself on you (against your will)

analysis. This method compares difference in average outcomes in intervention schools before and after intervention with the difference in comparison schools, and helps in detecting the **net effect** of intervention on outcomes of interest. To perform statistical analysis, BL and ML data were weighted using class size of girls and boys and response rate, and merged. Further, the DiD estimates were calculated by incorporating interaction between time and intervention in the linear regression models. All the regressions were performed adjusting for school level clustering. All the regression models were also controlled for background characteristics: father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and district. The analysis was performed in STATA 12.0.

Qualitative study

In-depth interviews were undertaken to gather narratives of individual change

among students participating in the GEMS classes. Using the school level monitoring and documentation data, that included references of students who had started sharing about their personal experiences of implementing GEMS in their lives twenty students were selected for the qualitative study. These included ten boys and ten girls across one rural site (Patuakhali) and one urban (Barisal). After due consent and assent processes, the students were interviewed in the school setting. The interviews focused on exploring the kinds of action that students had started to take to challenge inequitable gender norms or address violence in school or at home, the responses of people, the support and /or challenges they faced. The interviews were subsequently transcribed and translated, and analyzed manually across key themes.

CHAPTER 5.3: Program Implementation

In Bangladesh, the government took the responsibility of implementing the GB program, including GEMS, in schools. It decided to train around 1400 teachers – two to five from each school – to implement the program across 350 schools within school hours as extra-curricular activities. In the GEMS schools, these teachers were responsible for facilitating classroom activities. Students were also given an activity book – GEMS diary – to reinforce messages given in classroom and also to engage parents and siblings in discussion on gender and violence. No specific campaigns were carried out in the first year, given the tight timeline for program completion issued by the government.

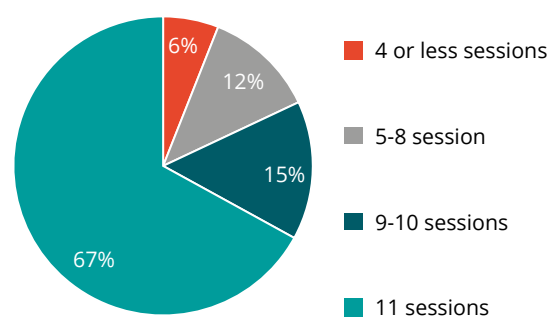
Teachers' training - Due to the large number of teachers to be trained, a cascade approach was adopted. A group of 50 master trainers were trained directly by the GB project team of Plan Bangladesh and UNFPA over five days in two batches. Representatives from the education department were involved in the selection of master trainers and present through their training. However, they felt that the necessary perspective and capacity were insufficient and so the ICRW technical team was invited for an additional 2-days perspective building workshop. These master trainers then conducted a 5-day training programme for around 1400 teachers before rolling out the intervention. The 5-days schedule included sessions to build perspective of teachers, strengthen facilitation skills and develop understanding of curriculum and content of the GEMS manual. To support schools and trained teachers to implement the GB program, around 25 Field Technical Officers were

recruited. They were primarily responsible for the supervision and monitoring of program activities in their respective schools.

GEAs – Teachers led these sessions in the classroom. Given the delays in the timeline of the program implementation, schools were notified to complete the first year of GEMS sessions between August and mid December 2016, as the new academic session begin in January in Bangladesh. Thus, the first year of implementation saw all 11 GEA sessions completed in the given period of about four months. Although, monitoring data shows that teachers conducted all sessions in their respective schools, participation of students was varied.

During the ML survey, students from GEMS schools were given a list of 11 sessions and asked for each whether they participated in that or not and if participated, whether they liked it very much, somewhat or did not like it at all (Table 5.6 in Annexure).

Figure 5.1: Session exposure: Proportion of students who participated in classroom sessions, Bangladesh



Overall, two-third of the students (67 percent) attended all 11 sessions, while 15 percent attended 9-10 sessions (Figure 5.1). Eighteen percent students attended eight or less sessions. Significantly higher proportion of girls attended all sessions (70 percent) than boys (62 percent).

More students in Patuakhali (71 percent) and Barguna (73 percent) attended all sessions than those in Dhaka (55 percent) and Barisal (56 percent). Less than half - 44 percent of the students - again more girls (49 percent) than boys (38 percent) - liked all the sessions. There was substantial variation across districts- Proportion of such students was only 19 percent in Dhaka and 29 percent in Barisal, while around half in other two districts. The sessions liked most were on body changes, hygiene and respecting own and others' body and the ones of violence were liked the least.

Analysis of data by session presents some interesting insights. Attendance was lowest for labeling (73 percent) and followed by forms of violence (77 percent), and highest for division of labor (88 percent) and changes during adolescence (88 percent). Further, changing body and hygiene and respecting own and others' body were the most liked sessions with 67 percent students reporting so; and labeling was least liked session.

GEMS Diary - As part of the GEMS program, all the students of classes 6 and 7 were given the GEMS diary. It was meant to reinforce the curriculum messages through interesting activities and also help students engage their siblings and parents in the discussion on gender and violence. When asked, 88 percent of students - more girls (92 percent) than boys (83 percent) - reported that they received the diary. Nearly half of them completed all the activities (46 percent), while another 20 percent reported having done most of the activities. Ten percent of students (14 percent boys and 6 percent girls) did not do any activity.

Two-third of the girls and 45 percent boys shared the diary with their mothers, and 33 percent boys and 21 percent girls showed their fathers. Around a third of the students shared the diary with their brothers or sisters (34 percent), and friends 30 percent) (Table 5.7 in Annexure).

In-depth interview with girls and boys also revealed the use of GEMS Diary, as a tool to engage parents in conversations, and persuade them to change.



If girls are studying almost as much as boys, or even more, then why should they be deprived of achieving their dreams? I did not think that I could disagree with how society thinks. It is in GEMS classes that I got to know that this is indeed a real possibility and I can talk about it without feeling ashamed or embarrassed. I know now that men can also work at home, and there is nothing wrong in women wanting to go out and earn money. I feel confident that when I grow up, I will be able to convince my parents to do a job. Earlier I would always think whether or not my parents would allow me to work after completing my education. But now I know I can convince them.

Girl Class 8, GEMS school



“Nothing stops men from working at home and women from working outside home. I showed the GEMS Diary to my father and explained to him that there is nothing to feel ashamed of in cooking or cleaning or doing any work at home. He took my advice positively and both of us have started helping at home. My mother and sisters are happy to see this change as the work happens faster and they don’t feel so burdened. But I wish I could work more at home so that my mother could even take up a job outside home.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS school

“Earlier I would not help my mother at home at all, but after attending GEMS sessions, I have changed. It is not right for one person alone to be managing and doing all the work single-handedly. Gender discrimination starts at home and will end only when men and women start working equally at home and outside. I talked to my father as well, and showed him the GEMS Diary. He too has started cooking in the morning but he does not get much time after his work. I think he should try his best to contribute.”

Girl Class 8, GEMS school

As the program implementation was delayed, schools were instructed to complete the first year of GEMS session between August and mid December 2016, and thus no school campaigns or community outreach was undertaken.



CHAPTER 5.4: Findings: Attitudes toward gender and violence



In Bangladesh, only the first year of GEMS program has been implemented and the evaluation is not complete. After participating in the first year of the GEMS program, there is no significant change in either the mean score or the proportion of students with high score on the attitudinal scale in GEMS school compared to non-GEMS schools. Nonetheless, there is significant positive shift on a few statements related to concepts of gender attributes and the gender division of work in GEMS schools, that are introduced in the first year. In addition, students who attended more sessions showed a significantly higher mean attitude score, indicating that the extent of program exposure impacts change.

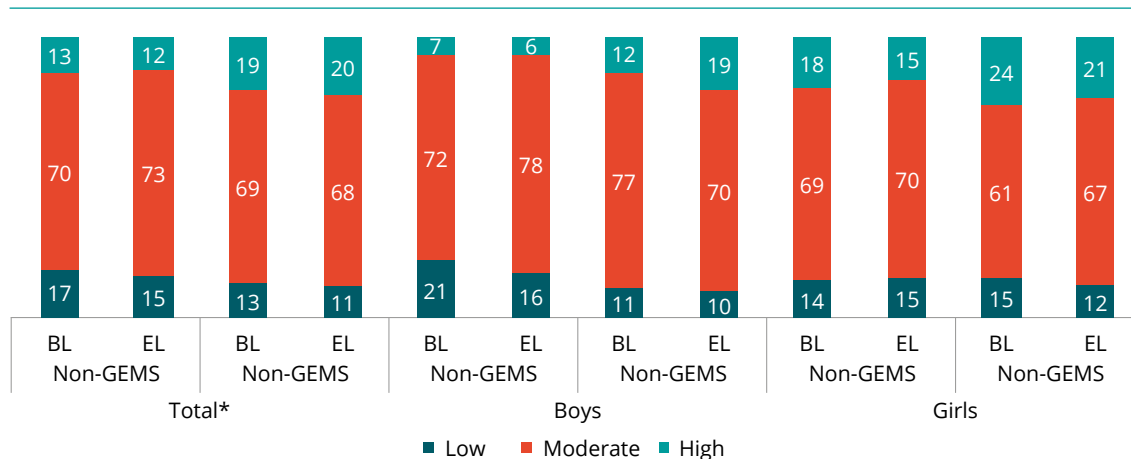
Mean attitudinal score and attitudinal categories

The mean attitudinal score at BL was 53 in GEMS schools and 52 in non-GEMS with no significant net change after the first year of intervention (Table 5.8 in Annexure). Data by attitudinal category revealed that at BL, most of the students (70 percent in non-

GEMS and 69 percent in GEMS) were in the moderate category; and only 13 percent in non-GEMS schools and 19 percent in GEMS were in the high category. The proportion of students in different categories did not change significantly from BL to ML in GEMS or non-GEMS schools. Although not statistically significant, the proportion of boys with a high score increased from 12 percent at BL to 19 percent at EL, while it remained the same at around 6 percent in non-GEMS schools.

We did subgroup analysis to understand program effect on different socio-economic groups overtime and found significant inter-district variation in change in mean attitude score from BL to ML. Change in the mean score from BL to ML is significantly higher in Dhaka and Barguna compared to Barisal. **Further, linear regression of ML data from GEMS schools shows that those who attended 9 sessions or more have a mean score 2.8 points higher than those who attended 8 or less sessions, adjusting for the background characteristics** (Table not presented here).

Figure - 5.2: ML



Specific attitude statements

While the aggregate score is an important marker to assess the effect of the program, it can mask nuances. Additionally, several statements are linked to content of specific sessions of GEMS program, such as relationships, and child marriage, which were not part of the year one curriculum.

For analysis of the response of students on specific statements, the statements are grouped under broader concepts of 'gender attributes', 'gender role and responsibilities' and 'gender based violence'. Out of 20 statements, nine are around gender role and responsibilities, four on gender attributes and seven on GBV. Out of the nine statements on gender roles and responsibilities, students from GEMS schools have shown net positive increase on one and negative on three. On gender attributes, GEMS students have shown positive shift on two and negative on one; and no shift on any of the GBV statements. Response of girls and boys are different on several statements including GBV.

Gender role and responsibilities

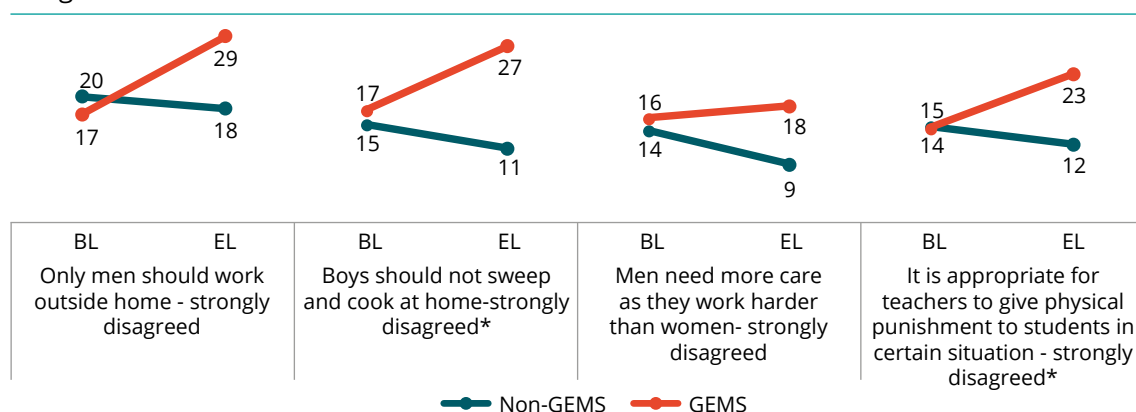
At BL, perception of students on different statements varied substantially in GEMS schools. For example, around 82 percent of the students from GEMS school disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement '*since girls have to get married, they should not be sent*

for higher education. On the other hand, only 40 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that '*For a woman, taking care of the house and children are more important than her career*'. Similarly, only 50 percent rejected a tradition role for men (*that a man is the head of the family and responsible for providing economically*) (Table 5.9 in Annexure). Proportion of such students is even lower in non-GEMS schools – only 27 percent rejected traditional role for woman as care giver and 37 percent rejected traditional role for man as provider for family.

Clearly, norms are more rigid around the traditional role of women and men, and at least half subscribe to those norms. Interesting, from BL to ML, there is a significant increase in the proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement ascribing traditional role for women as care giver. However, a similar change is also noted among students from non-GEMS school over time.

In terms of change, students from GEMS schools showed positive net change only on one out of nine statements (*Boys should not sweep and cook at home*). On this statement, 22 percent students from GEMS schools strongly disagreed at BL and 29 percent at ML, while in non-GEMS, the proportion decreased from 20 percent to 15 percent (Adj. DiD=11.8, $p<0.05$).

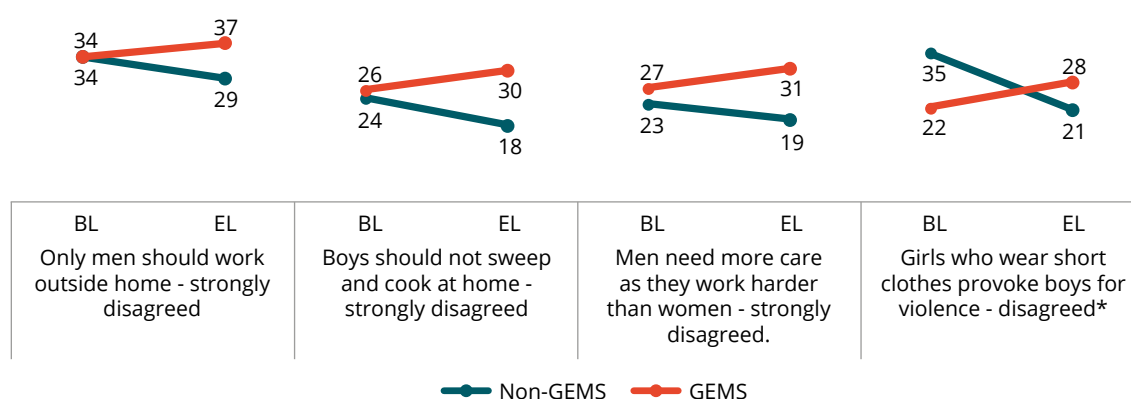
Figure - 5.3: Attitude towards gender role, attributes and violence among boys: Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements at baseline and ML, Bangladesh



Looking at the differences in change patterns of boys and girls we found that the boys in GEMS schools showed positive change on one statement – Boys should not cook and sweep at home, while the girls did not show significant positive change on any of the statements on gender roles and responsibilities. The proportion of boys

in GEMS school who strongly disagreed with the statement - Boys should not cook and sweep at home - increased from 17 percent (BL) to 27 percent (ML), while in non-GEMS schools the proportion of such boys declined from 15 percent (BL) to 11 percent (ML) resulting in a net significant increase of 13 percentage point.

Figure - 5.4: Attitude towards gender role, attributes and violence among girls : Proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements at baseline and midline, Bangladesh



In the narratives of boys from the in-depth interviews, the rejection of the gender stereotype of work emerges consistently.

“Earlier I used to think that cooking and cleaning are ‘women’s work’, but after attending GEMS classes, I understood that there is nothing like women’s work or men’s work and everyone can do everything. Recently, when my khala (aunt) saw me cooking at home, she laughed and asked me what is wrong with my mother that she is making me cook? I told her that there is nothing wrong with my mother or me - it is not written anywhere that only women should cook. I also told her that we have been

taught in school that everyone should contribute in household work - that is how gender discrimination will end. I don’t know if she understood or not, but I made my point very strongly.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS school

The equitable division of work is also reflected in school, and students provide strong justification for doing all kinds of work, without thinking that it is ‘boys’ work or ‘girls’ work.

“Earlier only girls used to sweep the classrooms, but now (after GEMS) they and teachers tell us that boys also

have to sweep. I used to feel ashamed in the beginning that I will have to sweep in front of girls, what will they think... But now I feel good that we all do this task together. After all, it is our classroom as much as it is theirs- so we also have a duty to keep it clean!"

Boy, Class 8, GEMS school

Students also describe how the division of tasks is allocated more 'equally' in school:

“

After GEMS classes on division of work, our teachers have allotted equal days on which boys will work and days on which girls will work. Also, when boys sweep, girls raise the benches and when girls sweep, boys raise the benches to make the work easier and faster.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS school

The narratives reflect that even as students start engaging with the idea of gender roles and responsibilities, there is conflict as they think through possibilities of expanding the acceptance of reallocation of tasks and 'helping' to the larger domain of primary gender roles. While some are convinced and have started having these conversations with their parents, others find the reality difficult to imagine: For example, one of the boys contemplates

“Men can do some small chores at home to help women when they have the time. But how is this possible as a rule since they have to go out and work to earn money? Yes, women can also work outside home to earn money, but their main responsibility is to take care of housework. This is the kind of division of work that exists because this is what I have seen and heard everywhere.” He further adds, “if men start working more at home, then how will the family run? Men should go out and earn money. Only in some cases where the husbands are sick and not able to earn money, should wives go out to work and earn to run the household.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS school

In another narrative, the boy feels that because all work is important, there is nothing wrong with the way responsibilities are currently divided – “Everyone has defined roles for a family to run; if my father does not earn money and get material, my mother will not be able to cook food, and if mother does not cook food, all of us will starve. So, everyone's roles are important in their own respect...Household work is primarily the responsibility of women and earning money is the responsibility of men.”

The inevitability of household responsibilities marks the narratives of most girls. Many accept it as part of what they do at home, and share their frustration at being burdened with work and told by parents to 'learning cooking as they are girls.' There is increased articulation of the traditional work division as discriminatory and one that hampers girl's aspirations.



Usually, all the household work is given to girls and women, while boys are not expected to do any work at home. They only have to go to school and play, that is all that is expected of them... If my younger brother was staying with me, and he was allowed play while I was only asked to work at home, I would have felt very bad. Instead, if both of us can first finish all the work together and then go and play together, that is how it is better. But this does not happen in society. Boys are given many privileges that girls are not; and girls are tied with too many restrictions that don't apply to boys.



Girl Class 8, GEMS school

Gender attributes

Out of four statements, students from GEMS school show a positive shift in their attitude on two statements (*Boys are violent by nature* and *girls are tolerant by nature*) and negative on one (*boys should not cry*) (Table 5.10 in Annexure).

On the statement - *boys are violent by nature* - 18 percent of students from GEMS school strongly disagreed with it at ML, an increase from 13 percent at BL. On the other hand, in non-GEMS school, proportion of such students decreased from 14 percent at BL to 11 percent at ML (Adj. DiD=9.3, $p<0.05$). The net increase in proportion of students

strongly disagreeing to the statement - *Girls are tolerant by nature* - is 5.6 percentage point in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS from BL to EL. However, on the statement - *boys should not cry* - 41 percent students in non-GEMS schools disagreed with it at BL, which increased to 52 percent in ML. During the same period, proportion of such students decreased in GEMS schools from 47 percent to 42 percent, resulting in a net decline of 16 percentage point in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS overtime.

Analysis by gender shows that the change overtime is more pronounced among boys of non-GEMS schools on the statement - *Boys should not cry*. Proportion of students who disagreed increased from 40 percent to 51 percent in non-GEMS schools, while decrease from 52 percent to 43 percent in GEMS schools. We do not have any insight on reasons for this change in non-GEMS schools.

The questioning around why men and women are fixed within certain roles and traits is an encouraging discourse in GEMS schools. For example, one girl says - "*everyone has emotions, yet men are not supposed to cry and women are considered weak because they cry, and this is not a correct assumption. Boys are taught from their childhood to suppress their emotions- but this is not symbolic of their strength at all. Just because one organ in the bodies of men and women are different, it definitely does not make men more powerful. Even women work so hard, they have the power to give birth to children and even that involves a lot of pain. It's not right to call men more powerful and women weak, because this is a wrong assumption.*"

GBV

Seven statements were given on gender-based violence. It is interesting to note variation in response to the statements on violence (Table 5.11 in Annexure). For example, in GEMS schools, only 37 percent

of students disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement - *Girls who wear less clothes provoke boys for violence*, while 87 percent reported so for the statement - *It is a girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her*. Though both statements are related to blaming girls for violence, responses are significantly different in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools. Around half of the students rejected the use of corporal punishment in school at BL in GEMS and non-GEMS schools.

Students from GEMS schools have not shown positive shift on any of the statements from BL to ML compared to non-GEMS school. Nonetheless, higher proportion of boys from GEMS schools strongly disagreed with physical punishment from teachers at ML (23 percent) compared to BL (14 percent), while proportion of such students declined from 15 percent to 12 percent in non-GEMS schools. However, on the statement - *violence against women is acceptable in some situation* - boys from non-GEMS schools showed higher change than GEMS (Adj. DiD=-20.6, $p<0.05$).

On the statement - *girls who wear short clothes provoke boys for violence* - girls from GEMS schools showed positive change (Adj. DiD=20.3, $p<0.05$). At BL, 22 percent girls disagreed with this statement, which increased to 28 percent at ML. However, during the same period, proportion of girls declined from 35 percent to 21 percent in non-GEMS schools.

Although surveys did not show significant change in the GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS schools, in-depth interviews with students from the GEMS schools provided some insight on their thought process. In the interviews, students have spoken at length about violence at school or in their communities, but a few have delved into the violence within the family. There is variation in the reasons for which violence is considered justified or acceptable.



I have seen physical fights between husband and wife in my neighbourhood. It is wrong for men to beat their wives. She can get badly hurt and leave the home and in such a scenario the family will be broken down. During a fight or disagreement between husband and wife, the one who is at fault should apologize to the other person and resolve the fight instead of resorting to violence. Under no condition should a husband hit his wife (it could be situations like more salt in food or even a wife leaving with another man). They should talk and resolve their problems.



Boy, Class 8, GEMS School

While in the above narrative, the student rejects the notion of violence being justified in any situation, for other students there are certain situations where it is 'required' or 'necessary'. These include a situation of infidelity or cheating, and disciplining by teachers - both situations where normative standards appear to be rigid and have not shifted.

"It is fine for teachers to hit students lightly with a stick as they do this with an intention to discipline the students, and there is nothing wrong in it. If parents or teachers hit children, they do so out of love and that is not to be considered as violence. But if some

outsider does the same to them, then it is violence."

Girl, Class 8, GEMS School

Girls specifically have focused¹ on the need to change notions of shame and blame that are associated sexual harassment or violence. They also speak of gaining confidence to communicate and share their thoughts with elders.

"Often when elders learn of incidents of teasing and sexual violence, instead of reprimanding the boys, they speak ill about the girls' character. This is not correct. society should understand that it is not the girls fault if they are getting harassed, and they should not be blamed. Girls feel ashamed to report these cases to their parents as they are fearful that their education may be stopped and may also be

married off for no fault of theirs. In GEMS classes, we were told that we should make our parents understand that harassment is not the fault of girls and we should fearlessly report such cases to elders, be it teachers or parents."

Girl, Class 8, GEMS School

Overall, on certain aspects some students from GEMS schools showed change and on several issues, there is no change or students from non-GEMS showed more change. While we do not have any information or insights on reasons for change in non-GEMS schools, we do know that the program was implemented during short period with only two-third students mentioned that they attended all the sessions. Further, data showed that those who attended all sessions had higher attitudinal score than those attended fewer sessions. Documentation of the classroom sessions could have provided more insights on nature and extent of discussions, and questions being asked and addressed.

CHAPTER 5.5: Findings: Communication on gender and violence

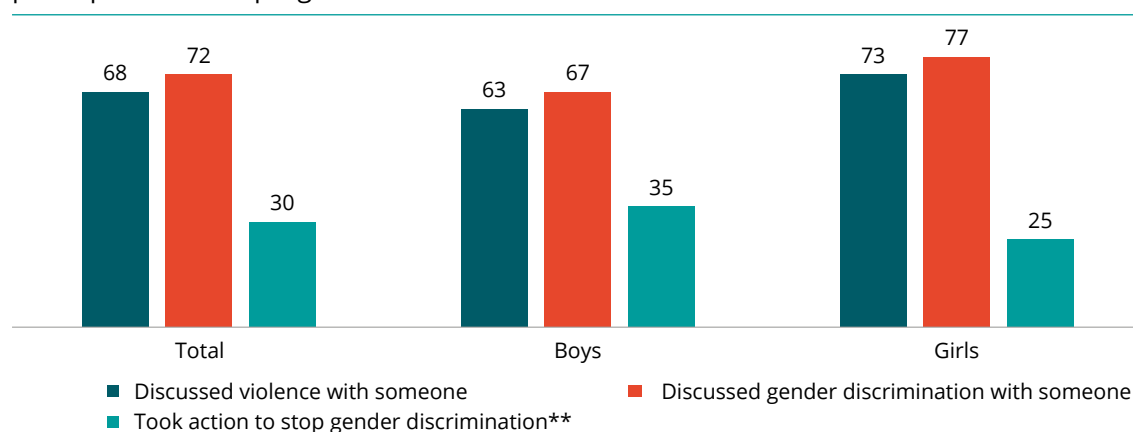


The GEMS program provided confidence and language for students to initiate discussion on gender discrimination and violence with peers, family and teachers. Three-fourth of the students discussed about gender discrimination and one-third took action to stop it after participating in the GEMS program. Two-third of GEMS students discussed about violence. In-depth interviews with girls and boys provided insights on the content of discussion.

Discussion around gender discrimination:

Three-fourths of the students in GEMS schools shared that they had specifically talked about gender discrimination with someone. A third talked to their school friends, 29 percent (41 percent girls and 17 percent boys) with their mothers; and 11 percent (10 percent girls and 12 percent boys) with friends from outside the school. Further, 45 percent boys and 33 percent girls mentioned that they saw gender discrimination and 35 percent boys and 25 percent girls took some action to stop it (Table 5.12 in Annexure)

Figure - 5.5: Communication on gender and violence: Proportion of students who talked to someone on gender and violence and tried to stop gender discrimination since participation in the program



Narratives of students are replete with instances of gender discrimination that they started to observe around them, and

these range from discussions around food, to mobility, the special privileges of boys, access to mobile phones and the practice of child marriage.



Girls are not allowed to venture out of the home alone even in the day time, and going out at night is out of the question only- they are beaten up by their fathers if they even ask about going. When picnics are organized by our school, rarely any girls are allowed to go; they are told that there will be many boys in the group, and there is no need for them to go. However, boys don't even need to ask for permission. They only ask for money from their parents and are rarely refused. Girls fear even asking for permission to go for such events. This is how boys and girls are treated differently in our society.

Girl Class 8, GEMS school

"My maternal uncle pampers his son a lot, and does not care for his daughter at all. I had seen this earlier, didn't know that this was 'gender discrimination (baisamya)'. One day, he gave a big piece of fish to my brother and when my sister asked for

a piece of fish, he [the uncle] shouted at her and told her that he is not going to feed her fish ever, so how dare she ask for fish from her father. When I heard this, I remembered discussions we had in GEMS class and told uncle that his behavior is gender discriminatory, and if they have given birth to his daughter, then it is his duty to take care of her and give her equal love and attention as his son. He looked little shocked, but when I told him that I have been taught this in school, he listened and said he will be mindful in future."

Boy Class 8, GEMS school

"I would feel earlier too that girls are treated as inferior to boys. They are not given the same opportunities to study and have a career. But I never spoke to my parents or anyone else about this. Since GEMS classes have started and we are being taught about gender discrimination, I know it is important to share these, and now I know what to say. I talk at home and also discuss these issues with her friends."

Girl, Class 8, GEMS school



Recognising and challenging gender discrimination: A focus on child marriage

A program session on the issue of Child Marriage was not conducted as part of the first-year content of GEMS. Yet the discussions on discrimination, violence and its impact inevitably led to mentioning of child marriage as a rampant practice that was center-stage in the minds of students—especially girls. It emerged as an ever-present concern as most girls knew of someone—either in their neighbourhood or in school who was married off early. Girls also speak eloquently about the impact of child marriage on a girl's life. While many of the girls are hopeful of intervening, with the help of the neighbours and police, those who have tried to intervene have felt frustrated at their lack of success.

"Girls' lives are completely spoilt if they are married off as children; they are unable to complete their education, all their dreams and aspirations are trampled, and there are adverse impacts on their health as well. I feel now that these must be stopped and I will take help of her friends and teachers to stop such marriages."

"If I get to know that any of my friends is being married off at an early age, then I will definitely intervene in such a situation and try my best to stop the marriage. I would inform my teachers who can call the police and stop the marriage."

"One of my classmates was married off recently, but we got to know about the wedding after it was done secretly so they could not do anything about it. Then there was another classmate – me and my friends came to know about it just before the wedding. So we told the girl that they can help in stopping the wedding by reporting it to their Head Sir, but the girl herself refused to take any help saying that her in-laws have promised that they would let her continue her education after marriage, and also that her father would beat her up if he got to know that her school Principal has gotten information about the wedding. We really wanted to stop the marriage but when she pleaded with us to not tell any teacher or Head Sir in school as she feared getting beaten up by her father, we could not go against her wishes and report it. We told her that her life will be ruined, but she said let it be ruined, please don't report it to anyone. She still goes to school, but says that she may have to leave school soon as she is not able to manage home and school both."

"GEMS sessions made me reflect about how child marriage impacts girls physically, emotionally and mentally, as girls are forced to drop out of school most often, early pregnancies lead to adverse health impacts like weakness and malnutrition among others. However, most families keep it hidden till the marriage actually takes place. A girl who stays near her home having gotten married just a few months back. I came to know about the marriage only once it was done because the family had decided to not tell anyone in the neighbourhood. But I still went to the girl's father and asked her why did he get his daughter married off so early and that she has learnt in school that this causes a lot of harm to girls' lives. He said that he could not bear the expenses of so many family members with his meagre income. I felt helpless."

The process of discussion, reflection and questioning has begun; and students would

require encouragement, safe spaces and resources to continue their journey.

CHAPTER 5.6: Findings: Experience, bystander intervention and perpetration of violence



5.6.1 Experience of violence

Prevalence of violence in school is moderate. Around 30 percent students reported experiencing some form of violence in last three months in school with no significant change from BL to ML. More students reported experiencing sexual violence from students than teachers in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools. Experience of violence is higher among boys than girls in both arms. The reporting of peer-based physical violence to a teacher/principal showed a net positive shift over time, while no significant shift was seen for other forms.

At BL around 30 percent students experienced some form of violence in school in last three months either from their teachers or other students. Although not statistically significant, the proportion of such students increased to 36 percent at ML in GEMS schools (see Table 5.13 in Annexure). Data on forms of violence showed that 20-30 percent students experienced physical (23 percent at BL and 27 percent at ML) and emotional violence (22 percent at BL and 29 percent at ML), while 6-8 percent sexual violence at BL and ML respectively in GEMS school. More students reported experiencing physical and emotional violence from teachers than students; while more mentioned sexual violence from students than teachers, though these differences are not statistically significant. One percent or less students reported that they experienced sexual violence from teachers, but 5 percent to 8 percent from other students. Compared to non-GEMS schools, there is no significant change in experience of violence in GEMS schools from BL to ML.

A higher proportion of boys reported experiencing all forms of violence both from teachers and other students than girls in both GEMS and non-GEMS school at BL and ML. Although net change is not statistically significant, higher proportion of boys from non-GEMS schools reported experiencing emotional violence from other students at ML (32 percent) compared to BL (15 percent) and GEMS schools (BL=22 percent and EL=26 percent). Substantial increase was also recorded among boys in experience of sexual violence in non-GEMS schools (BL=9 percent and EL=16 percent).

Among those who experienced physical violence from teachers in GEMS schools, only a fifth reported to other teachers or principals (20 percent) and parents (22 percent) at BL with no significant net change at ML compared to non-GEMS schools (see Table 5.14 in Annexure). However, among those who experienced physical violence from students in GEMS schools, 26 percent reported those incidents to other teachers or principals at BL. At ML, the proportion of such students in GEMS remained same but in non-GEMS school, it dropped from 45 percent to 19 percent. Thus, there was a net increase of 27 percentage point in GEMS school in reporting of peer-based violence to teachers/principal – Adj. DiD=27.5 ($p<0.05$) for physical violence.

Proportion of boys who reported physical and emotional violence experienced from other students to their teachers or principal remained same in GEMS schools at BL and ML, while it declined in non-GEMS schools. However, the net change was not statistically significant. Among girls who experienced physical violence from other students in

GEMS schools, 32 percent reported to teachers or principal at BL. Proportion of such girls declined to 27 percent. However, in non-GEMS schools, proportion of such girls declined from 51 percent at BL to 23 percent at ML, resulting in net increase in reporting of physical violence in GEMS school by 36.7 percentage point ($p < 0.05$) compared to non-GEMS overtime.

Although, changes in reporting of violence to teachers and parents were limited to physical violence experienced from other students in the surveys; during the in-depth interviews, students also shared about reporting of emotional and sexual violence.

“One of my friends was being harassed continuously by an older boy on the way to school. Initially she was unable to do or say anything, but one day when she felt extremely harassed, and she talked to me. We both then decided to tell the Head Sir. Head Sir then sent a teacher with the girl while going back home, who reprimanded the boy when she saw him, and threatened him with adverse consequences.”

Girl, Class 8, GEMS School

“I was teased by one of my classmates. I told my father and he advised me to go and inform my teacher. He said that it can start this way but it is also possible that that he touches you inappropriately or says something even worse. I then informed my class teacher, who called the boy separately and told him not to behave in this manner. We then did not speak

to each other for a few days after this incident, but now things have become fine now. He understands his mistake and doesn't not say hurtful things to me anymore.”

Girl, Class 8, GEMS School



After these classes, I understood that it is important to share such incidents with elders because it is not my fault if someone is harassing us. Earlier, I used to feel ashamed and embarrassed to share these things with anyone, I thought it is a matter of shame for me that such things are happening with me. But now I think differently and believe that if we inform our elders about such harassment, they will be able to do something and take some action on the issue.”

Girl, Class 8, GEMS School

5.6.2 Bystander intervention

In GEMS school, half of the students who witnessed physical violence took positive action to intervene, and around 10 percent used violence to intervene with no significant change over time compared to non-GEMS school. During in-depth interviews, almost all students shared instances of sexual violence witnessed and their dilemma in how best to intervene in such situations

Physical Violence: A fifth of students witnessed physical violence in school in last three months at BL and 14 percent at ML in GEMS schools (see Table 5.15 in Annexure). Among these, half took positive action to stop violence (mentioned that they reported to teachers or principal or asked perpetrator to stop it) and 11 percent tried to stop using violence with no significant net change compared to non-GEMS schools over time. During in-depth interview, students also shared their effort to intervene in case of physical violence.

“

I recently stopped a few students who were involved in a physical fight where they were hitting each other and also hurling abuses at each other. When I saw this happening, I knew I had to do something. I went up to them and asked them to stop fighting and told them that I would report to the teacher if they didn't stop. After that I asked them to apologize to each other. I said - talk to each other to resolve the conflict instead of fighting.”

Girls, Class 8, GEMS School

Emotional Violence: Only 8 percent of students of GEMS schools witnessed emotional violence at BL and 7 percent at ML. Due to small number, we did not analyze response of students on this. During in-depth interviews, students mention being aware of and witnessed acts such as name calling and labelling, and also their experience of intervening in such cases:

“A girl in my class was labelled because she was very short. She said that this would hurt her a lot, but she was unable to say anything to them as she would herself feel ashamed of her body. Similarly, there are few girls who are fat in her class, they are also mocked at and labelled. Just because few of us have grown differently, some may have grown more and some may have grown less, but that does give anyone the right to laugh at us or label us. This is wrong and is ‘emotional violence’ because it hurts the person being labelled.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS School

“Me and my friends were going home from school, and few older boys started shouting and making fun of a girl who has dark complexion. They started calling her ‘Kaali (Dark)’ and were laughing loudly clearly with an intention to make her feel bad. The girl had started crying since they were really disturbing her. When I saw this, I told them that what they are doing is ‘violence’ and the girl must be feeling extremely hurt; I also told them that they should apologize to her, but they didn't listen to me, and asked me to shut-up. But they stopped teasing her and took a diversion and left.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS School

Sexual Violence: In case of sexual violence, 8 percent students from GEMS school

reported witnessing it in school at BL and 7 percent at ML. On the other hand, 12 percent students from non-GEMS school reported so at BL and only 5 percent at ML.

While the percentage of students witnessing sexual violence in the survey is quite low, almost all the students in the in-depth interview have spoken about the harassment that girls and women face, and incidents that they have noticed. However, not all have been able to intervene – children talk about feeling helpless as they are alone, or fearful about the repercussion when they observe this behavior by older boys or adults. For example, one boy mentions that he has witnessed girls in his neighbourhood being eve-teased near his house when they go for private tuitions in the evening. He says that he has often felt like going and stopping these boys, but since most of the boys are elder to him, he has never found the courage to go and confront them.

“My friend shared that she was getting eve-teased by a particular boy on her way to school for many days. I and my other friends decided that I would go with her and confront the boy together. So when he was passing comments at her, we all got together and told him that they would call people and report him to the police if he does not stop this behavior. We also made him realize that his actions can be so harmful. We told him that his behavior can lead to many problems for her. If her parents get to know they may stop sending her to school or even get her married. He understood what we told him and stopped teasing her. We were happy that we were able to help our friend and even the boy was able to understand his mistake.”

It is because of GEMS class that we got to know about these issues and that we need to stand up against such incidents.”

Girl Class 8, GEMS school



Once just outside our school, I saw a few burly men whistling and passing comments at a girl from our school only. I was alone at that time, so I could not do anything, but I really felt like doing something and stopping them. The girl quickly sat on a rickshaw and left, otherwise I would have called out for help. But I also feel that we are really young now, so it is difficult to protest against such older and strong men. There is a danger of us getting assaulted and beaten up if we protest. I was feeling quite scared that day.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS school

5.6.3 Perpetration of violence

Reporting of perpetration of violence in the surveys remains low. There is no significant change in self-report of perpetration of different forms of violence in GEMS schools from BL to ML compared to non-GEMS schools.

Around 17 percent of students from GEMS and 16 percent from non-GEMS schools reported perpetrating some form of violence against another student in school in the last three months at BL (see Table 5.16 in Annexure). At ML, 19 percent students

from GEMS and 18 percent in non-GEMS perpetrated at least one form of violence. Data show that 11 percent of students perpetrated physical violence, while 10-14 percent emotional violence and 7-9 percent sexual violence with no significant change over time.

A significantly higher proportion of boys than girls reported perpetrating violence in both GEMS and non-GEMS schools at BL and ML. At BL, 26 percent of boys in GEMS and 25 percent non-GEMS schools perpetrated some form of violence, while 23 percent and 26 percent, respectively, reported so at ML. On the other hand, 8 percent girls from GEMS schools and 9 percent from non-GEMS reported perpetrating some form of violence at BL, which increased to 15 percent and 13 percent, respectively, at ML.

Data on specific acts of violence shows that less than 10 percent students from GEMS and non-GEMS schools reported perpetrating different acts of violence at BL and ML. However, there is no significant net change in GEMS schools compared to non-GEMS over time.

Although data from surveys is not showing any significant change in the perpetration of violence, students shared personal changes during the in-depth interviews.

“Earlier whenever anyone would say anything to me, I would instantly hit them back without even thinking once. But now I try to refrain from

hitting as much as possible. Earlier I never thought of the consequences that hitting someone can have, but GEMS lessons have made me think of the fact that not only do people get physically hurt, but they also get emotionally hurt when someone hits them. Now if I have a problem with someone, I talk to them and resolve it, and also take some elders’ help, but never hit them. Hitting is never a solution for anything, and it only worsens the situation, as the victim may hit me back.”

Girls, Class 8, GEMS School

“

Earlier I used to label my friends and tease them by calling names, and they would also do the same. But now I have realized that this is wrong and should not be done as it causes mental stress to people and they feel very bad when such things happen. So we have stopped behaving like this now.”

Boy, Class 8, GEMS School



“I now realize that labelling is emotional violence. Calling people by names other than their actual names can really hurt them a lot and put them under emotional stress. Often such children become aggressive or some stop talking to anyone fearing that they will be labelled. Earlier, me and my friends would indulge in calling each other by various names and I remember that sometimes I would feel really bad. We recently also did a street play to show the kind of hurt labelling can cause. There has been a lot of change amongst students in our school after GEMS classes; we have stopped labelling each other, even for fun.”

Girl, Class 8, GEMS School

“Earlier I would indulge in verbal and sometimes physical fights with friends and classmates, I would fight with younger children, would label my classmates along with other friends. But now I am always careful to not hurt anyone either intentionally or unintentionally, as sometimes these feelings of hurt become irreplaceable and become emotionally very traumatic for people. That is why I liked the sessions on violence so much, because I now have a new-found awareness amongst me to understand these issues.”

Girls, Class 8, GEMS School



CHAPTER 5.7: Conclusion



The government of Bangladesh identified 350 schools and madrasahs for the implementation of GEMS under the Generation Breakthrough program. A total of 1400 teachers were trained to implement the program. Out of 350, 30 schools and madrasahs were identified exclusively for the GEMS program. The program is still ongoing in Bangladesh, and this report presents the data from ML, that was undertaken after the first year of implementation of classroom sessions. The GEMS coverage was moderate with two-third of students attended all the sessions. Session participation was higher in Patuakhali and Barguna, than Dhaka and Barisal, and among girls than boys. Two-third of the students completed most of the activities given in the GEMS diary.

The GEMS content (challenging gender and power relation) and approach (interactive, questioning, and critical thinking), found wide acceptance in schools and madrasahs in the four districts of Bangladesh. The first year of GEMS implementation showed limited effect on attitude and behavior of students, with changes being higher for students who attended more sessions. While the overall attitudinal mean score and proportion of students with high score remained same with no difference between study arms, students who attended nine or more sessions had higher mean scores at ML, indicating a positive dose-response effect. Significant positive shifts were also observed on specific statements on gender attributes, violence and division of work. There was a significant increase in the proportion of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the notions that boys are violent and girls are tolerant in nature. Clearly, some of them have understood social aspect of expression of emotion discussed during the session.

Perception of students on GBV was varied

at BL. On certain statements, more students showed egalitarian attitudes than others. For example, while around 87 percent of students disagreed with *It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her* but only around 40 percent disagreed with *Girls who wear less clothes provoke boys for violence*. The GEMS program has succeeded to some extent in creating understanding around violence, and encouraging boys to reject corporal punishment in school, while girls to reject notion of blaming victims of violence. However, on other statements changes were similar in both the arms. Nonetheless, in-depth interviews showed that the process of change has just begun-while in principle, students rejected violence, they justified it in certain situations such as where something 'wrong' had been done. It is likely that increased program exposure and discussions in the second year of programming will deepen this understanding.

Clearly, the program has initiated dissonance for students, as intended. They have started to recognize, questioning, and talk about gender discrimination and violence. Students from GEMS schools talked at length about the space and language program has provided to discuss gender discrimination and violence with peers, family and teachers. Three-fourth of the students discussed about gender discrimination and one-third took action to stop it after participating in the GEMS program. Students shared incidents of discrimination, and actions they took at home and community to address those. Though the numbers are few, it reflects the courage and conviction young adolescents showed to promote gender equality.

Prevalence of violence in schools is moderate; across all forms, more boys than girls mentioned that they experienced violence in school in last three months.



Although not statistically significant, students experienced violence from teachers than peers. Unlike non-GEMS schools, reporting of violence, particularly from peers to teachers or principals have not declined in GEMS schools. Earlier studies have also shown that with increase in age, students are less likely to report peer based violence to their teachers (Bhatla, et. al, 2014). It seems that while the GEMS program has not been able to strengthen trust between students and teachers so far, it has, to some extent, addressed perception that with age children should deal with problems on their own. While no significant change was noted in the bystander intervention at BL and ML surveys, in-depth interviews highlighted that the program exposure has enhanced students' ability to recognize and talk about violence, particularly sexual violence, and

their thought process before intervening. Children talked about instances where they intervened and also about their fear and concerns of being young.

Perpetration of violence by students remained low with no change in GEMS school compared to non-GEMS over time. However, discussion with students showed some subtle changes. Students admitted that though they have not stopped perpetration, but try to control themselves and reduced frequency. Discussion revealed the time lag that exists between understanding issues, believing and practicing those.

Clearly, after first year of intervention, changes are few and qualitative. Nonetheless, these indicates that the process has begun and it is likely that the change will deepen at the EL.



Annexure

Table - 5.6: Characteristics of students who participated at BL and ML surveys, Bangladesh

	BL		Z- test	ML		Z- test
	Non-GEMS	GEMS		Non-GEMS	GEMS	
Mean Age	12.0	11.9		13.0	12.9	
Sex						
Boy	42.8	45.0		41.0	43.8	
Girl	57.2	55.0		59.0	56.2	
School type						
School	94.2	87.9	**	91.2	89.9	
Madrasah	5.8	12.1	**	8.8	10.1	
Father's education						
below Primary	27.0	26.0		23.0	22.6	
Class V/Class VIII	40.6	31.9	**	38.0	36.1	
SSC and above	32.3	42.1	**	39.0	41.3	
Mother's education						
below Primary	27.3	21.3	**	21.4	19.1	
Class V/Class VIII	43.1	41.4		44.5	45.3	
SSC and above	29.5	37.3	**	34.0	35.6	
Father's occupation						
1	29.2	36.1	**	28.0	34.9	**
2	29.5	20.0	**	23.8	18.9	**
3	17.0	22.0	*	16.6	14.1	*
4	18.9	17.4		24.2	24.5	
5	5.3	4.6		7.5	7.6	
Mother's occupation						
Housewife	88.44	91.21	*	80.69	79.22	
Otherwise	11.56	8.79	*	19.31	20.78	
Main income earner						
Mother	7.5	6.1		10.1	8.2	
Father	87.3	89.9		85.6	87.4	
Other	5.2	4.1		4.3	4.4	
Main decision maker						
Mother	28.6	31.5		21.9	21.2	
Father	64.4	61.6		67.6	68.3	
Other	7.0	7.0		10.5	10.5	
Total number of students	887	640		1521	1502	

Table - 5.7: Percentage distribution of students by their participation in GEMS sessions and liking at ML, Bangladesh

	Total				Boys				Girls			
	Attended and liked it very much	Attended, it was okay	Attended but did not like at all	Did not attend	Attended and liked it very much	Attended, it was okay	Attended but did not like at all	Did not attend	Attended and liked it very much	Attended, it was okay	Attended but did not like at all	Did not attend
Sex and gender**	65.3	17.1	3.4	14.2	55.2	18.6	4.7	21.6	76.2	15.5	1.9	6.4
Division of labor**	69.9	14.3	3.4	12.4	63.1	15.4	5.3	16.3	77.2	13.2	1.4	8.1
Changes during adolescence**	61.8	19.9	5.8	12.5	71.7	19.1	3.3	5.9	66.6	19.5	4.6	9.3
Changing body & hygiene**	67.4	13.5	5.1	14.0	76.1	15.9	1.8	6.2	71.6	14.7	3.5	10.2
Respecting own and others' body**	66.8	13.0	4.8	15.4	77.3	11.8	2.1	8.8	71.9	12.5	3.5	12.2
Understanding emotion**	61.3	13.1	5.5	20.1	74.6	11.0	2.6	11.8	67.8	12.1	4.1	16.1
Managing emotion**	55.0	16.5	6.3	22.2	71.3	13.0	2.8	12.9	62.9	14.8	4.6	17.7
What is violence**	59.7	14.6	6.6	19.1	74.7	14.7	2.9	7.7	67.0	14.6	4.8	13.6
Forms of violence**	56.8	13.0	7.2	23.1	72.7	12.9	3.7	10.7	64.4	13.0	5.5	17.1
Labeling**	49.0	15.6	8.9	26.5	66.1	13.9	3.0	17.0	57.2	14.8	6.0	21.9
Impact of violence**	59.1	15.0	7.7	18.2	72.9	14.2	3.4	9.6	65.8	14.6	5.6	14.1

Table - 5.8: Program exposure and self-reported change in GEMS school at ML, Bangladesh

Activities done in GEMS diary**	Boys			Girls			Total
Did all the GEMS diary activities	42.0			49.3			45.7
Did most of the activities	20.1			19.4			19.8

Activities done in GEMS diary**				
	Boys	Girls	Total	
Did some of the activities	15.2	19.1	17.2	
Did only few	8.8	6.2	7.5	
Did none	13.9	6.0	9.9	
Shared GEMS diary with				
Mother	45.4	66.0	55.9	
Father	33.1	21.5	27.2	
Brother/sister	33.0	34.9	34.0	
Friends/neighbors	32.7	27.1	29.9	
Other relatives	9.4	8.1	8.7	
No one	16.6	8.2	12.4	
Talked about GEMS program with				
Mother	23.2	59.4	40.7	
Father	22.3	13.0	17.9	
Brother/sister	16.5	24.1	20.2	
Friends/neighbors	33.1	24.0	28.7	
Other relatives	4.8	5.2	5.0	
No one	31.3	16.1	23.9	
Note: Pearson chi square test used to test difference in response of girls and boys; **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$				

Table - 5.9: Gender attitude: mean attitudinal score and distribution of students by attitudinal categories at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL		ML	BL		ML	BL		ML	BL		ML	BL		ML	BL		ML
	Adj. DiD			Adj. DiD			Adj. DiD			Adj. DiD			Adj. DiD			Adj. DiD		
Mean attitudinal Score	51.8	52.3	53.4	55.1	1.1		49.4	50.8	52.8	54.4	-0.4		53.7	53.3	54.0	55.6	2.4	
Attitudinal categories (percent)																		
Low	16.7	15.3	12.7	11.4	0.1		21.0	16.4	10.8	10.4	5.6		13.5	14.6	14.5	12.2	-4.1	

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	
Medium	70.4	73.1	68.7	68.3	-2.9	72.4	77.6	77.0	70.4	-10.5	68.9	70.3	61.1	66.5	3.5			
High	12.9	11.6	18.6	20.4	2.8	6.6	6.0	12.3	19.3	4.9	17.6	15.1	24.4	21.3	0.6			
Total number of students	640	1502	887	1521		274	616	399	666		366	886	488	855				
Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and district, main income earner and decision maker; *sig. at $p \leq 0.05$, **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$																		

Table - 5.10: Attitude toward gender role and responsibilities: proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statements related to gender role and responsibilities at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	
For a woman, taking care of the house and children are more important than her career	18.7	34.2	26.7	38.3	-3.7	14.1	35.1	21.6	39.2	-4.8	22.1	33.6	31.2	37.7	-4.3			
	8.4	13.1	13.6	19.2	0.7	4.9	9.2	10.9	18.6	2.7	11.0	15.6	16.0	19.8	-0.1			
The traditional view that a man is the head of the family and responsible for providing economically for the family is still correct	22.6	33.4	35.9	37.9	-8.9	19.6	26.9	39.4	35.3	-13.5	24.8	37.6	32.6	40.0	-5.5			
	14.6	10.4	14.2	14.5	4.3	5.6	4.7	7.9	10.0	2.2	21.3	14.1	20.0	18.2	7.1			
Men should have more rights to make household decisions	32.6	40.8	39.6	39.9	-7	21.6	34.8	38.6	39.0	-14	41.3	44.6	40.5	40.7	-1.8			
	15.3	15.5	21.4	21.7	0	10.5	14.8	19.2	21.7	-1.6	19.2	16.0	23.4	21.7	2.2			
Contraception is the responsibility of women	37.7	47.7	42.4	40.1	-11.7	47.3	47.8	47.0	43.0	-4.7	30.1	47.6	38.0	37.8	-17.7*			
	22.2	18.7	24.0	25.3	4.8	12.0	16.1	18.8	23.3	-0.4	30.1	20.4	28.9	27.0	8.9			

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML					BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	
Only men should work outside home.	Disagree	44.0	52.3	51.6	48.1	-11.4*				44.9	50.9	60.6	49.2	-19.5*		43.3	53.2	43.2
	Str.	27.8	24.3	25.6	33.3	10.7				19.5	17.5	16.7	28.8	13.8		33.9	28.6	33.8
	Disagree																	37.1
Boys should not sweep and cook at home	Disagree	35.1	48.2	40.6	42.1	-12				34.8	49.2	48.5	42.7	-21.5**		35.4	47.6	33.3
	Str.	20.3	15.1	21.9	28.9	11.8*				15.2	11.3	17.4	27.2	13.2*		24.2	17.6	26.2
	Disagree																	30.3
Girls should be allowed to decide when they want to marry	Disagree	14.7	10.2	17.3	11.9	-0.7				19.3	11.6	18.1	11.7	1.9		11.1	9.3	16.4
	Str.	12.3	6.8	7.8	9.4	7.4*				10.4	8.4	6.8	10.8	6.9		13.8	5.7	8.8
	Disagree																	8.3
It is appropriate for a boyfriend to tell her girlfriend whom to talk to	Disagree	37.7	52.6	43.2	44.7	-12.9*				31.2	55.1	46.4	43.6	-26**		42.4	51.1	40.0
	Str.	23.5	25.6	26.4	32.3	3.4				19.8	19.1	18.6	27.4	8.4		26.2	29.7	34.1
	Disagree																	36.4
Since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education	Disagree	44.1	44.9	38.3	34.9	-3.9				50.9	49.7	48.9	35.8	-13.3		39.0	41.9	28.4
	Str.	36.5	36.5	43.5	46.8	3.0				29.6	29.0	34.7	45.5	11.1		41.6	41.3	51.8
	Disagree																	47.9
Total number of students	640	1502	887	1521						274	616	399	666			366	886	488
Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and district, main income earner and decision maker; *sig. at p≤0.05, **sig. at p≤0.01																		
																		855

Table - 5.11: Attitude toward gender attributes: proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statements related to gender role and responsibilities at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD
Men need more care as they work harder than women.	32.5	41.8		35.6	38.2	-6.3	28.7	39.2		39.6	39.6		35.3	43.6		31.9	37.1	-2.7
	19.1	15.1		21.5	25.0	7.3	14.1	8.9		15.9	17.9		22.9	19.1		26.6	31.0	8.7
Boys are violent by nature	38.2	38.0		41.1	31.3	-9.5	29.5	44.7		38.7	31.0		44.7	33.5		43.3	31.6	-0.4
	14.5	10.6		12.7	18.3	9.3*	15.1	9.1		6.5	20.5		14.1	11.6		18.7	16.4	0.3
Girls are tolerant by nature	18.4	18.4		20.1	18.4	-1.8	16.9	23.4		16.5	21.3		19.6	15.2		23.5	15.9	-2.8
	7.1	6.0		5.3	10.0	5.6*	6.0	4.6		2.3	12.6		7.9	6.9		8.2	7.8	0.4
Boys should not cry	40.7	51.7		47.3	42.1	-16.1**	40.5	50.6		51.8	42.9		40.8	52.4		43.0	41.4	-12.9
	20.2	15.7		21.0	24.4	7.7	16.8	14.2		17.0	25.5		22.8	16.7		24.9	23.5	5.1
Total number of students	640	1502	887	1521			274	616	399	666			366	886	488	855		

Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and district, main income earner and decision maker; *sig. at $p \leq 0.05$, **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$

Table - 5.12: Attitude toward GBV : proportion of students who disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statements related to GBV at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD
Girls who wear short clothes provoke boys for violence	27.6	22.0		23.5	24.9	7.2	18.4	23.0		25.4	21.4		34.7	21.3		21.8	27.8	20.3**
	14.1	11.0		13.6	13.1	2.5	8.9	10.3		9.3	12.7		18.2	11.4		17.5	13.5	1.9
It is girl's fault if a male student or teacher sexually harasses her	47.4	50.3		39.0	43.6	2.3	49.3	54.0		41.0	42.8		46.0	48.0		37.1	44.2	4.3
	33.0	35.8		48.0	46.1	-5.3	27.4	30.2		44.9	44.4		37.2	39.4		51.0	47.5	-4.6

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD		
	BL	ML		BL	ML					BL	ML		BL	ML				
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	41.5	42.3		38.6	39.1		0.5			46.1	41.9		43.3	43.0		4.3		
	30.0	26.1		30.9	34.2		6.6			27.9	25.4		27.0	32.7		6		
Violence against women is acceptable in some situations	33.0	38.2		39.4	34.9		-9.9			28.4	42.8		42.1	36.2		-20.6*		
	24.5	17.3		24.1	27.6		10.3			19.8	13.1		17.6	25.4		11.2		
Teasing is harmless fun	40.6	43.6		42.3	35.4		-9.6			42.1	43.7		47.8	35.6		-13.9		
	32.3	33.1		35.9	42.9		6.4			20.5	26.8		28.6	40.6		5		
It is appropriate for teachers to give physical punishment to students in certain situation	25.0	32.0		26.7	27.4		-6.1			17.7	29.7		23.1	24.9		-10.5		
	20.2	16.9		20.4	24.6		7.5			14.8	12.0		14.4	22.8		10.7*		
If someone's mother cheated his/her father, then the father can beat his/her mother	41.7	41.9		43.8	39.3		-4			45.2	42.6		49.1	39.1		-7.3		
	30.3	15.3		31.0	25.7		8.8			28.9	13.6		30.6	24.2		7.4		
Total number of students	640	1502		887	1521					274	616		399	666				
Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and district, main income earner and decision maker; *sig. at p≤0.05, **sig. at p≤0.01																		

Table - 5.13: Communication on gender and violence among girls and boys of GEMS school at ML, Bangladesh

	Boys		Girls		Total
Since participating in GEMS program, discussed about gender discrimination with					
No one	32.7		22.6		27.8
Brother/Sister	13.6		19.1		16.2
Father	14.8		11.1		13.0

	Boys	Girls	Total
Mother	16.8	41.1	28.5
Other relatives	6.9	7.0	6.9
School Friends	32.2	33.7	32.9
Friends from outside the school	11.8	10.4	11.1
Others	9.6	3.7	6.8
Since participation in GEMS, took action to stop gender discrimination**			
I did not see any discrimination	54.9	67.0	60.7
I saw but did not take any action	10.3	7.8	9.1
I saw and took action	34.8	25.2	30.1
Since participation in GEMS, discussed issues related to violence with			
No one	37.3	27.4	32.5
Brother/Sister	14.5	17.9	16.1
Father	14.1	8.5	11.4
Mother	14.3	29.8	21.8
Other relatives	8.3	5.6	7.0
School Friends	30.0	38.5	34.1
Friends from outside the school	10.8	6.9	9.0
Others	5.4	2.9	4.2
Note: Pearson chi square test used to test difference in response of girls and boys; **sig. at $p \leq 0.01$			

Table - 5.15: Experience of violence: Proportion of students who have experienced violence from teachers and other students in school in last three months at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD		
	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	BL	ML	ML
Violence perpetrated by teachers or students																		
Any violence	28.5	29.8	29.7	36.5	5.2	44.0	46.9	43.5	47.2	0	16.8	19.0	17.1	27.6	8.2			
Physical violence	21.6	22.1	22.8	26.9	3.3	36.6	37.2	37.1	36.7	-1.7	10.3	12.5	9.7	18.7	6.3			
Emotional violence	16.7	24.7	21.6	29.1	-0.7	27.0	41.0	30.9	37.3	-7.6	9.1	14.3	13.1	22.2	3.9			
Sexual violence	5.2	8.5	5.9	8.4	-0.8	9.5	16.5	8.1	10.9	-4.2	2.0	3.5	3.9	6.3	1.0			
Violence perpetrated by teachers																		
Any violence	24.0	24.7	25.7	31.3	4.7	38.1	41.0	38.0	39.9	-1.6	13.4	14.3	14.4	24.2	8.7			
Physical violence	18.0	16.0	19.7	21.5	3.5	30.8	28.7	32.5	28.7	-2.6	8.4	8.0	8.0	15.4	7.4			
Emotional violence	14.6	19.8	18.5	23.8	-0.2	24.9	33.5	26.8	30.2	-4.8	6.9	11.2	10.9	18.4	3.2			
Sexual violence	0.8	1.0	0.6	1.1	0.3	1.4	1.9	1.3	1.8	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.5			
Violence perpetrated by students																		
Any violence	15.4	21.2	20.0	24.3	-1.7	28.2	35.9	31.5	32.3	-7.4	5.8	11.9	9.4	17.6	2.0			
Physical violence	11.6	15.3	12.7	16.1	-0.4	21.5	26.3	22.7	22.4	-5.5	4.1	8.3	3.4	10.8	3.2			
Emotional violence	8.4	18.0	13.4	19.5	-3.7	14.6	31.7	21.5	26.2	-12.8	3.7	9.3	6.0	13.9	2.3			
Sexual violence	5.2	8.1	5.5	7.5	-0.8	9.5	15.9	7.1	9.4	-4.2	2.0	3.1	3.9	5.9	0.9			
Specific acts of violence experienced from teachers or students																		
Beat or hit or slapped you or pulled your hair	15.5	15.1	16.7	18.7	2.4	29.1	25.9	28.6	26.7	0.7	5.3	8.2	5.8	11.9	3.4			
Hit with an object	11.7	14.9	14.4	19.4	1.6	19.4	27.4	23.0	26.4	-4.9	5.8	7.0	6.6	13.6	5.4			
Threatened with knife/ weapon	4.0	2.2	2.4	1.7	1.2	5.0	3.3	4.3	1.9	0.1	3.3	1.5	0.7	1.4	2.6			
Threatened you verbally	7.7	12.3	10.3	13.9	-1.2	14.5	23.9	14.3	15.2	-8.4	2.6	4.8	6.6	12.8	3.7			
Passed comments or labeled based body or character, sect or caste	5.8	8.4	7.8	8.1	-2.3	12.5	14.3	14.5	11.8	-3.9	0.8	4.6	1.7	5.1	-0.4			

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Adj. DiD		
	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	
Used humiliating/ insulting language against	8.3	12.5	11.2	14.7			-0.9	13.2	21.2	17.4	19.9		-6.2	4.6	6.9	5.6	10.3	2.5
Ignored you or deliberately kept you out of activities	3.0	6.7	4.3	8.2			0.2	4.9	11.7	6.7	10.5		-2.9	1.5	3.5	2.1	6.3	2.4
Asked to stand on bench/corner	3.5	10.5	7.3	11.3			-3.1	5.1	19.0	9.4	17.3		-5.4	2.3	5.1	5.5	6.3	-2
Made you to do sit-ups	3.8	8.7	6.7	10.1			-1.5	6.1	14.3	11.0	14.5		-4	2.1	5.1	2.8	6.3	0.3
Locked you in a room/toilet	1.9	2.7	2.4	2.1			-1.1	3.1	5.8	4.1	2.3		-4.5	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.9	1.3
Passed sexual comments, whistled or showed you sexual photo or video when you were unwilling	3.3	2.3	2.5	2.6			1.2	4.8	4.2	2.2	3.2		1.8	2.2	1.1	2.7	2.1	0.5
Kissed or fondled you or forced you to do these when you were unwilling	2.4	2.3	2.7	1.9			-0.7	5.2	4.1	3.9	2.4		-0.3	0.3	1.2	1.6	1.5	-0.9
Exposed himself/herself when you were unwilling	1.6	2.3	2.9	1.5			-2	2.9	4.2	2.9	1.8		-2.1	0.5	1.2	2.8	1.3	-2
Stalked you	1.5	3.7	1.6	5.5			1.8	3.4	6.7	2.1	6.7		1.4	0.1	1.7	1.2	4.4	1.8
Forced himself or herself on you	3.0	3.8	2.3	4.2			1.3	6.2	7.4	2.2	4.9		1.6	0.5	1.5	2.4	3.6	0.5

Table - 5.16: Reporting of violence: Proportion of students who reported violence experienced in school in last three months to their teachers or principal and parents at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Adj. DiD						Boys						Girl						Adj. DiD					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	
Physical violence by principal/ teacher	28.5	20.2	20.3	17.4	5.5		31.1	13.8	20.6	14.6	14.2		21.4	34.9	19.2	21.7		21.4	34.9	19.2	21.7				21.4	34.9	19.2	21.7		-8.3
Parents	22.2	23.5	21.8	27.2	2.7		24.6	22.5	20.2	29.3	9.7		15.5	25.8	27.6	24.0		15.5	25.8	27.6	24.0				15.5	25.8	27.6	24.0		-9.4

	Total						Adj. DiD	Boy						Adj. DiD	Girl						Adj. DiD
	Non-GEMS			GEMS				Non-GEMS			GEMS				Non-GEMS			GEMS			
	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML		BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	ML		BL	ML	BL	ML			
Emotional violence by teachers	principal/ teacher	34.5	22.0	27.6	17.6	3.4	33.5	21.2	30.3	14.7	-0.2	37.2	23.6	21.5	21.6	9.7					
	Parents	20.7	22.4	28.6	27.2	-4.3	17.8	22.2	25.7	27.9	-3.6	28.6	22.8	35.0	26.3	-3.1					
Physical violence by students	principal/ teacher	44.8	19.1	25.8	26.8	27.5*	43.3	20.5	24.7	26.9	26.3	50.9	16.2	32.4	26.7	36.7*					
	Parents	37.0	25.8	28.1	26.8	7.9	31.5	25.6	24.4	29.6	10.3	58.5	26.0	51.0	22.0	-1.2					
Emotional violence by students	principal/ teacher	32.6	18.9	24.3	24.2	12.2	28.9	16.3	20.1	25.1	16.7	43.4	24.7	37.9	22.7	6.8					
	Parents	43.2	20.6	37.1	23.8	7.9	44.7	20.3	38.0	25.6	12.5	38.9	21.4	34.1	21.0	1.6					

Table - 5.17: Bystander GEMS: Proportion of students who witnessed violence in last three months in school and took some action at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total										Adj. DiD		
	Non-GEMS					GEMS					Non-GEMS		
	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	BL	ML	BL	ML	BL	BL	ML	ML
Witnessed Physical violence						18.6	14.6	22.4	14.5	-4.6			
Took positive action						44.8	55.3	49.4	56.1	-1.4			
Intervened with violence						14.3	11.5	12.2	7.6	-4.2			
Took negative action						23.1	7.7	13.1	9.9	11.2			
No. who witnessed physical violence						105	217	176	209				
Witnessed Emotional violence						8.8	6.1	7.9	7.6	2.0			
Witnessed Sexual violence						11.7	4.5	7.7	7.2	6.5*			

Table - 5.18: Perpetration of violence: Proportion of students who reported perpetrating different acts against other students in school in last three months at BL and ML, Bangladesh

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD
Perpetration of any violence by students	15.7	18.4	16.7	19.0	19.0	-0.8	24.7	26.2	26.2	26.2	23.4	-4.7	8.9	13.4	7.9	15.4	2.6	
Perpetration of physical violence by students	11.1	10.4	11.7	11.0	11.0	-0.2	20.2	14.1	20.2	14.7	14.7	-0.1	4.4	8.1	3.9	8.0	-0.2	
Perpetration of emotional violence by students	12.5	13.1	10.2	13.8	13.8	2.7	21.3	20.1	15.0	17.0	17.0	3.4	5.9	8.6	5.9	11.2	2.3	
Perpetration of sexual violence by students	8.4	8.8	7.2	9.2	9.2	1.4	11.0	14.7	9.7	11.4	11.4	-2.2	6.4	5.0	5.0	7.4	3.5	
Beat, hit, slapped, kicked or shoved a girl or a boy or pulled his/her hair	9.5	8.4	9.0	9.0	9.0	0.9	17.7	11.9	15.3	12.6	12.6	2.3	3.4	6.2	3.2	6.0	-0.2	
Hit a girl or a boy with an object	7.3	5.8	5.9	6.3	6.3	1.8	12.4	7.6	9.1	7.7	7.7	2.9	3.5	4.6	2.9	5.1	0.9	
Threaten a girl or a boy with knife or weapon	3.6	2.3	4.1	2.8	2.8	0	7.3	4.6	6.5	4.0	4.0	0.4	0.8	0.9	1.8	1.8	-0.1	
Threaten a girl or a boy verbally	8.2	5.2	6.6	5.3	5.3	1.3	13.2	9.2	10.9	6.4	6.4	-0.6	4.4	2.7	2.7	4.4	3.1	
Pass comments or labeled a girl or a boy based on body or character	7.3	5.5	5.2	4.9	4.9	1.2	14.5	8.4	8.1	7.1	7.1	5.4	1.9	3.7	2.6	3.0	-1.3	
Use humiliating/ insulting language against a girl or a boy	7.7	7.5	6.2	7.7	7.7	1.5	11.1	11.6	8.8	9.7	9.7	0.5	5.2	4.9	3.8	6.1	2.2	
Ignore a girl or a boy or deliberately keep them out of activities	5.0	4.4	4.3	4.9	4.9	1	10.3	7.1	5.6	6.7	6.7	3.9	1.0	2.7	3.2	3.4	-1.3	
Turned students against a girl or a boy	5.2	5.5	4.4	4.4	4.4	-0.4	10.9	9.4	5.8	6.3	6.3	2.4	0.8	3.0	3.2	2.8	-2.6	
Pass sexual comments, whistled or showed sexual photo or video to a girl or a boy	4.3	4.3	3.9	3.9	3.9	-0.1	8.1	7.4	5.6	5.9	5.9	1.3	1.4	2.3	2.4	2.2	-1.1	

	Total						Boys						Girls					
	Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS			Non-GEMS			GEMS		
	BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD	BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML		BL	ML	Adj. DiD
Kiss or fondle a girl or a boy when he/she was unwilling or forced him/her	6.3	4.2	3.9	3.4	1.3		9.2	6.9		6.2	4.6		4.1	2.5		1.9	2.3	1.8
Exposed himself/herself to a girl or a boy when he/she was unwilling	5.8	4.2	4.1	3.6	0.9		7.9	8.0		5.8	4.9		4.2	1.8		2.5	2.4	2.3
Stalked a girl or a boy	4.2	5.0	4.6	4.0	-1.6		7.4	8.0		5.6	4.4		1.8	3.2		3.8	3.7	-1.4
Forced yourself on a girl or a boy	5.8	4.3	3.7	5.1	2.8		9.2	7.7		4.6	7.7		3.3	2.2		2.8	2.9	1.3
Total number of students	640	1502	887	1521			274	616		399	666		366	886		488	855	
Note: DiD estimates are adjusted for father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, and district, main income earner and decision maker; *sig. at p≤0.05, **sig. at p≤0.01																		

6 SECTION

SUMMARY AND WAY FORWARD



Summary and Way Forward



GEMS works with young adolescents aged 12-14 years to promote gender equality, redefine masculinity and negate all forms of violence. The program is based on the premise that it is critical to engage both girls and boys in the gender discourse, at ages where concepts around these issues are being formed. GEMS adopts a gender transformative approach and aims to create a dialogue at the institutional level for sustained change. The program undertakes activities, led by school teachers, to promote equitable attitudes related to gender and violence among students; strengthen their understanding and skills to resolve conflicts without violence; and create a safe school culture that supports egalitarian and non-violent attitudes and behaviors.

GEMS was first developed and tested by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), Committee of Resource Organizations for Literacy (CORO) and the Tata Institute for Social Sciences (TISS) during 2008-11 in Mumbai, India. Subsequently, the program was adapted, implemented and evaluated by different organizations in different sites. This adaptation of GEMS in different socio-cultural contexts presented a unique opportunity to generate valuable regional and cross-cultural learning on how a similar school-based intervention can promote changes in different settings and what factors contribute to it. This report presents the evaluation of the program in three sites- Vietnam (DaNang), India (Jharkhand) and Bangladesh (Dhaka, Barisal, Barguna, Patuakhali). Undertaken across different timepoints, and with considerable variation in the implementation, as well as evaluation, a true comparison is not possible. This report provides the evaluation findings at each site. However, it also provides insights into the impact of the same program across different contexts, and the learnings emerging from the same.

The relevance and need for discussions on gender and violence for adolescent girls and boys cuts across contexts: In each site, a phase of formative research and adaptation was undertaken that led to its contextual adaptation. **What emerges from this experience is the flexibility of the GEMS program content, and its relevance in different socio-cultural contexts.** The core of the GEMS program focuses on building an understanding on the fundamental concepts of gender and violence - and its content draws from the lived realities of its participants. In each site, the examples and discussions enable a sharing of contextual experiences through its participatory pedagogy. The implementation also establishes the relevance and wider appeal of the program. Obviously, the need to challenge gender stereotypes, roles, inequalities and the use of violence find regional relevance, and is a felt need among young adolescents.

The training and implementation strategy varied across sites and potentially impacted the evaluation results: The implementation of GEMS was in collaboration with the Department of Education in all sites. GEMS has a deliberate focus on engaging teachers, and working with them as allies to lead the program, as opposed to adopting a NGO led approach. This draws from an understanding of gender and violence as systemic issues, that require to be understood and challenged not only at an individual level but also within institutions for sustained change. This imposes limitations and challenges in the implementation, and also introduces the possibility of wider variation in the transaction of the program content.

There was considerable variation in implementation across sites. The program was implemented at different timepoints with significant differences in the nature and

scale of implementation as well as in the evaluation design. The coverage was most extensive across the four districts (2 rural and 2 urban) in Bangladesh, as the program covered 350 schools, approx. 280,000 students, and trained 1,400 teachers. In Vietnam, the school size was large, and the implementation in 10 schools covered nearly 4,000 students and 181 teachers. In Jharkhand too, the program reached 4,000 students, but as the school size was smaller, 40 schools and 94 teachers were involved. The type of school too varied across sites- in Bangladesh, school size varied across the urban and rural settings, and madrasahs were also included. The government schools in Jharkhand, struggles with lack of teachers, absenteeism, infrastructure and other factors that influence quality education. In the city of DaNang, schools were large and were better equipped in terms of both infrastructure and teachers.

The GEMS program not only challenges norms and power hierarchies that are deeply embedded in educational institutions, it also introduces methods that are sharply divergent from traditional teaching practices. Open discussion, challenging the status quo and questioning are not encouraged in the traditional teaching pedagogy, and teachers had to undergo their own unlearning to let go of the 'power' drawn from the 'giving' of knowledge and information in didactic and hierarchical ways. A specific focus is laid on the GEMS teacher training program to create safe spaces for personal reflection and an acceptance of newer pedagogies. The extent to which this could be operationalized varied considerable across sites : in Jharkhand, India, the ICRW team was directly involved in the training of all teachers, while in Bangladesh, the large number demanded a cascade approach, often associated with dilution of program impact. In addition, the limitations of a 'skill-focused' teacher training were recognized and the ICRW team was invited for additional trainings to build perspectives of teachers- but only limited to the master

trainers. Training in Vietnam was also led by the Department of Education. An additional support planned in Jharkhand was to have a cadre of NGO field workers to support and work with teachers so that they become more confident to conduct sessions independently. This strategy was not adopted in the other two sites.

The evaluation results varied considerably across sites – both in the magnitude and in the nature of change. The evaluation measured impact among the students of classes 6th to 8th on gender attitudes, communication, interaction between peers and with teachers, violence related attitudes and behaviors. The detail in which these indicators were measured at each site has some variation. As the evaluation study was layered onto the opportunity of the program being implemented at different sites, it was not possible to set a pre-determined framework of design to guide each site. Thus, the timing of program initiation, resources, partners and nature of partnerships, and the socio-political situation at different sites influenced the evaluation design substantially. Variations included those of the overall design (RCTs in two sites and a quasi-experimental design in one); the frequency and method of data collection. Thus, Vietnam had a cross sectional survey at two- time points with data begin collected using pen and paper; the Jharkhand evaluation had three rounds of longitudinal survey using ACASI, while in Bangladesh, two rounds of cross sectional surveys using pen and paper could be completed in the time period of evaluation. The sample size for the surveys and the extent of qualitative data collected also varied across sites. Though there was an attempt to establish similar outcomes measures and indicators, the differences in design and processes were unavoidable. These differences limit our ability to compare sites in terms of the degree of changes in the key primary and secondary outcomes, and thus the study analysis does not attempt a cross-site comparison. Thus, the substantial variations in the program

implementation and evaluation design (as mentioned above) also impacted the results.

The questioning of existing gender biases, stereotypes and expectations, as measured by changes in individuals' gender attitudes, is at the core of the GEMS impact. In particular, change is expected with respect to understanding and comprehending gender roles, gender attributes and justification of peer violence, and rejection of corporal punishment. The second key area of impact is a supportive school environment that enables students to share and communicate their ideas on these issues. We also expect to see enhanced interactions between girls and boys as gender relations improve and become more equitable. Finally, we expect actions to start becoming visible: violence is recognized, reported and intervened on.

On Gender Attitudes:

- There was a significant positive shift in attitudes related to gender and violence in Vietnam and Jharkhand, while in Bangladesh, the change was not statistically significant. It's important to note that the program in Bangladesh has completed only one year on intervention (the complete intervention is for 2 academic years) and was also truncated into four months given delays in initiation of implementation. The length of exposure to the program appears to impact the degree of change. In addition, change is incremental and exponential – thus the program builds off and sustains on the foundation it lays, and issues get reinforced as the momentum for change is built.
- In Jharkhand, students who had attended 16 or more sessions (out of a total of 22) showered more equitable attitudes than those who had attended lesser sessions. A similar pattern is seen in Bangladesh, even though the change is not significant

- Within the larger realm of attitudes, the program enabled change on specific aspects – thus statements in the attitude scale that were directly linked with the concepts discussed in the classroom) sessions (such as gender stereotypes, roles) showed greater change than those that required students to apply the gendered perspective to aspects (such as contraception, property ownership, domestic violence)
- There was also a variation among girls and boys on attitude change- in Vietnam there was greater significant change among girls (who also had more equitable attitudes at BL), while in Jharkhand, the change was greater among boys

Communication, interaction and the school culture

- GEMS resulted in enhanced communication on issues of gender and violence among peers, and among students and teachers. This is an encouraging finding as the program aims to break the silence, resulting from the acceptance of everyday violence. In Vietnam, both girls and boys consider their friends as the most trusted individuals with whom to communicate about these issues, and in Jharkhand significantly more students that they had supportive peers on whom they could depend on in case they experienced violence. While there was increased comfort in interaction with teachers, there seemed to be a lack of trust among students to seek help for violence. In Bangladesh, where questions on communication were asked only at ML, three-fourth of the students in GEMS schools reported that they discussed about gender discrimination and one-third took action to stop it.
- In Jharkhand additional questions were asked around changes in specific gender segregated school practices- as changes in school culture was an additional indicator tracked here – there was a significant

change in GEMS schools on acts such as girls and boys playing together and sharing a desk. Let's present these as action toward creating new norm; also, it's not just reflection of change in attitude and behavior of students but also change in the outlook of teachers

Violence related behaviors

- There was no significant change in the experience of peer based or teacher perpetrated violence over time in any of the sites, on the other hand there was a slight increase noted in Jharkhand at ML in GEMS school, which could be a result of increased recognition and willingness to report. A significant change is found in Vietnam and Jharkhand in by-stander intervention as a result of exposure to the GEMS program- In Vietnam, both girls and boys – reported intervening in case of violence in school in GEMS school, where as there was a decline in non-GEMS schools. In Jharkhand, there were significant positive changes in by-stander intervention – though there is variation for different forms of violence among girls and boys. No such change is seen in Bangladesh at ML.

We recognize, however, that actual change in rates of violence could be difficult to achieve in a short span of two years, given that violence is very normalized at BL. Thus, changes in experience and perpetration of violence are regarded as secondary outcomes. In addition, the reporting of violence by students to adults can be influenced by the lack of trust for teachers, who are often perpetrators themselves, and the lack of any response mechanisms for addressing violence within schools or communities. Both of these require efforts beyond what the GEMS program provides.

These findings suggest that the program is successful in generating discussion on issue of gender discrimination and violence in schools- institutions that normalize and perpetuate stereotypes and

often justify the use of violence. However, the nature and length of programming mediates the change: the same program, when implemented differently in different contexts shows different results. This calls for greater attention to the operationalization of a program (the training, length of intervention, mode of transaction, and the external support provided to teachers impacting the quality of transaction). Violent behavior proves more difficult to impact and it seems that increased recognition may be influencing the reporting in surveys. While there are case studies of positive change from all sites, where students have taken bold steps to change discriminatory practices at home, protested child marriage, and even violence at home, the qualitative data (from an additional study conducted in Jharkhand) provides interesting insights into the pathway of change in violence. Students exposed to GEMS move from silence to narration of several incidents of violence in their lives (schools, family and community). There is a shift to responding in non-violent ways to resolve violence that they face. Students also share the internal conflicts as they try and restrain themselves from perpetrating violence, sharing how difficult that it is for them to stop reacting in violent ways, even as they know that it is wrong. There is change in thinking and justification around sexual harassment and violence.

The findings from the regional study calls for sustained and longer periods of programming to enable deeper change, and the criticality of ensuring robust implementation. Anticipating and planning for implementation, and the challenges inherent in government education system are important factors that can influence outcomes and impact. The study highlights the persistent lack of trust among students with respect to adult responsiveness to violence, which points to the need for comprehensive programming that permeates all levels of children's ecosystem to challenge harmful norms; providing capacities for non-violent interactions to



adults; and investing in institutional violence response mechanisms.

GEMS adopts a foundational dissonance approach – to create an environment to challenge gender discrimination and violence, but lays less emphasis in structured or coordinated actions on specific types of violence. A learning emerging from this is the

need to better align programming inputs and outcome indicators, and need for a larger discourse on issues related to measurement of change in violent behaviors in primary prevention programs. Finally, planning for guided action such that the intent to change is visible through demonstrated actions is a powerful step to sustain change within schools and communities.





ICRW Asia Regional Office
C-59, South Extension, Part II, New Delhi-110049
Tel: 91-11-46643333
Email: info.india@icrw.org

 @ICRWAsia |  @ICRWAsia | **Website:** www.icrw.org/asia