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# EMPOWERING ADOLESCENT PROJECT IN SEVEN DISTRICTS OF UTTAR PRADESH

BASELINE ASSESSMENT REPORT

PREPARED BY - NRMCM

**NRMCM**



IKEA Foundation



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwife
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
AWW	Anganwadi Worker
CHC	Community Health Centre
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFA	Iron Folic Acid
MHS	Menstrual Hygiene Scheme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PHC	Primary Health Clinic
PRI	Panchayati Raj Institutions
SHG	Self Help Group
SSA	Sarva Siksha Abhiyaan
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease

## KEY DEFINITIONS

**Factual Beliefs:** The *factual beliefs* that accompany the behaviours of interest represent the local knowledge that is often referred to when people are asked why they perform certain actions. For example- People who practice open defecation have beliefs about where to go, when to go, and whether it is a safe activity. Factual beliefs are part of the reasons why individuals adopt a behavior, approve of it, and reproach those who act in ways that would harm others, be they children or adults, because they may disregard what is good for them.

**Personal Normative Beliefs:** are beliefs that answer questions which may vary from “*do you think it is a good thing to do/not to do X,*” to “*do you approve of doing/not doing X,*” to “*do you like doing/not doing X.*” Answers to these questions may show a positive or negative attitude toward a specific behavior, often coupled with factual beliefs that support that attitude.

**Empirical Expectations:** When we observe a behavioural pattern, we want to know whether the involved parties recognize the existence of the pattern; that is we want to know if empirical expectations exist. For example, in the case of breastfeeding, we may inquire about first milk (colostrum), offering water to the child, stopping breastfeeding after two months, or feeding babies specific foods. We want to know what women in the community think *some, most or all new mothers do* regarding each of these practices.

**Normative Expectations:** The method for measuring normative expectations consists of a description of various possible available behaviors, and a request that the respondent gives his or her own personal rating of each of these behaviors. *Are the described behaviors appropriate/inappropriate, good/bad, etc.?*

**Conditional Preferences:** Suppose we have established that a certain rule of behavior is collectively approved of and that the actors we are questioning think that most (or even all) the respondents believe it ought to be followed. Are these expectations causally relevant to the behavior we observe? Can behavior be predicted by the existence of such expectations? We must determine whether the individuals we study have a conditional preference for following the behavioural rule they know applies to their specific situation.

**Gauna:** Gauna is a north Indian ceremony associated with the consummation of marriage. It is associated with the custom of child marriage. The ceremony takes place a few years after marriage. Before the ceremony, the bride stays at her natal home.

## **1 BASELINE AT A GLANCE**

## 1.1 Impact

Empowered adolescent girls and boys in the project area demand and access gender equity in health and education in their homes and community for self and others

Indicator-wise baseline values for main impacts

Indicator	Girls (11-19 year)	Boys (11-19 year)	All (11-19 year)
Average age at marriage of 11-22 year girls	16.1 years	17.2 years	16.5 years
% of 11-19 year old females/ males who have experienced any kind of violence <sup>1</sup> within and/or outside their household in last one year			
▪ Any kind of violence experienced-within family	28.6%	49.4%	39.0%
▪ Any kind of violence experienced-outside family	23.3%	43.7%	33.5%
▪ Any kind of violence experienced	36.1%	55.9%	46.0%
% of 11-19 year old females/males who witnessed any kind of violence against females within and/or outside their household in last one year			
▪ Any kind of violence witnessed -within family	35.6%	49.7%	42.7%
▪ Any kind of violence witnessed -outside family	60.2%	68.9%	64.6%
▪ Any kind of violence witnessed	62.2%	73.5%	67.8%
Average years at school for 11-22 year old females/ males	8	8	8

## 1.2 Outcomes

**Outcome 1.** Increase in agency and empowerment of adolescent boys and girls – (Individual level)

**Outcome 2.** Gender equitable environment for adolescents at home – (Family level)

- Families have positive attitude towards empowerment of adolescent girls
- Family provides supportive environment to boys to continue education

**Outcome 3.** Community's gender norms and roles change positively for adolescent girls - Community Level<sup>2</sup>

**Outcome 4.** Networks of state agency/ duty bearers recognize issues of adolescents and their rights - (State Level)

<sup>1</sup> Violence is understood as emotional, physical or sexual violence perpetrated at household level by relatives or outside by relatives, friends or community. The levels at which the violence happens and the perpetrators will be assessed through a grid given at the end of the Log-frame. (ICRW DV TOOL-INDICATOR)

<sup>2</sup> Community level include - PRI members, SHG groups (reference group), Teachers, ASHA, AWW, ANM, NGOs (direct service providers) –

### 1.2.1 Marriage: Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
Average age at marriage of 11-22 year old girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is increasingly becoming acceptable for girls to not get married before the age of 18. However, often the age of children remains unknown and marriages may be taking place before the age of 18, even if reported otherwise.</li> <li>Marriage can be delayed only if girl is pursuing education.</li> </ul>
Average years at school for 11-19 year old females/males	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increasing number of adolescents' dropout after the age of 15 years old.</li> <li>Reasons vary for girls and boys; Girls dropout if school is far away from their home, if she gets married or if she required to assist in household activities or farming. Boys, on the other hand dropout if they are not performing well in school, if they are required to help with farming during the agricultural season or they often even migrate to cities to find work and earn.</li> </ul>

### 1.2.2 Gender based violence

- Adolescent girls and boys start seeking help (within/ outside home) in case violence within/ outside home is perpetrated on them/within or outside their family
- Adolescent girls and boys consider GBV unacceptable

Indicators	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
1.1.a. Out of 11-19 year old females and males who experienced violence within home in last one year, number of females/males who tried to seek help for themselves (within family or outside)	61.4%	60.8%	61.1%
1.1.b Out of 11-19 year old females/males who experienced violence outside home in last one year, number of females/males who tried to seek help for themselves (within family or outside)	69.5%	65.5%	66.8%
1.2. Average score achieved by the respondents who finds (SCORE) <sup>3</sup>			
▪ Beating a GIRL unacceptable	6.9	7.5	7.2
▪ Beating a BOY unacceptable	6.0	6.4	6.2
▪ Beating ANY GENDER unacceptable	12.9	13.8	13.4

<sup>3</sup> The composite score was calculated based on the questions asked in section VII of the individual questionnaire. All the variables with responses 'disagree /strongly disagree' were assigned score '1' else '0' and considered as positive attitude. In case beating a girl unacceptable, the lowest score was '0' while highest was '14' for age group 11-14 years and for age group 15-19 years the lowest score was '0' and highest score was '15'. In case beating a boy unacceptable, the lowest score was '0' while highest was '12' for age group 11-14 years and for age group 15-19 years the lowest score was '0' and highest score was '13'. Further these score were combined to calculate average score achieved by 11-19 years on unacceptance towards beating a girl/ boy/ any gender.

## Gender based violence: Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
11-19 year old females and males who experienced violence within home and tried to seek help for themselves	More physical violence experienced by boys (especially 11-14 years) than girls within household, hence more number of boys tried seeking help for themselves
Out of 11-19 year old females/males who experienced violence outside home and tried to seek help for themselves	While more number of boys reported facing physical violence outside home, more number of 15-19 years old girls reported trying to seek help for themselves in such cases
11-19 year old females and males who find Gender Based Violence within/ outside home unacceptable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Respondents find it the most acceptable to beat girls if: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ They do not help in household chores,</li> <li>➤ Do not complete their homework,</li> <li>➤ Do not obey elders</li> <li>➤ Talk on the mobile phone without elders' consent</li> </ul> </li> <li>• The 11-14 year old respondents' attitude towards beating girls using mobile phones without permission is much more negative than that of 15-19 years old respondents.</li> <li>• Attitude of 15-19 years old girls is more negative towards women not serving food to her husband</li> <li>• In most cases, the attitude of 15-19 year old adolescent boys towards girls being beaten found to be more positive than the rest.</li> <li>• Respondents find it acceptable for boys to be beaten if they: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Do not obey elders</li> <li>➤ Do not complete their homework</li> <li>➤ Fight with their brothers and sisters</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Attitude of girls towards boys choosing their spouses and not showing their masculinity where required was found to be more negative than that of boys.</li> </ul>

### 1.2.3 Life choices

Adolescent girls and boys able to negotiate their life choices in the family

Indicators	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11-19 years)	All (11-19 years)
1.3.Average score achieved by 11-19 year old females and males, who have talked about their	2.6	2.8	2.7

life choices with their parents/ any other adult in their household <sup>4</sup>			
1.3.b Number of 11-19 year old females and males, who have reasserted their needs related to life choices with their parents/ any other adult in their household <sup>5</sup>	1.0	1.1	1.0

### Negotiating Life Choices: Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
11-19 year old females and males, who have talked about their life choices with their parents/ any other adult in their household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adolescent boys have more frequent discussions than girls on mobile phone usage and mobility with their parents.</li> <li>Adolescent girls have more frequent discussions than boys on education and leisure time with their parents.</li> <li>Both adolescent girls and boys have limited discussions on marriage since the voice of the parent is more dominant on this aspect of decision making.</li> <li>Since adolescents do not recognise the importance of health due to lack of awareness on HIV/AIDs, anaemia etc, no discussion takes place.</li> </ul>
11-19 year old females and males, who have reasserted their needs related to life choices with their parents/ any other adult in their household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Boys are most expressive in reasserting their needs on usage and ownership of mobile phones.</li> <li>While girls are most expressing in reasserting their needs on the class they want to study.</li> <li>Reassertion on other aspects like mobility, leisure time, marriage and health is lesser for both girls and boys.</li> </ul>

<sup>4</sup> For average score calculation, variables from Section VIII of Adolescent Questionnaire were used. All the responses reported as 'Once or Twice' / 'Sometimes' / 'Often' for having discussion with parents/other family members on specific opinions were assigned score of '1' else '0' for each of the eight specific opinions asked from adolescent. The scores were combined for each of the respondent and average score calculated where lowest score was '0' (which mean no discussion took place) and highest score was '8' (which mean adolescent discussed all the specific opinions).

<sup>5</sup> For average score calculation, variables from Section VIII of Adolescent Questionnaire were used. All the responses reported as 'Yes' were assigned score of '1' else '0' for reasserting on all eight specific opinions asked from the adolescents. The scores were combined for each of the respondent and average score calculated where lowest score was '0' (which mean no reassertion took place) and highest score was '8' (which mean adolescent reasserted on all the specific opinions).

### 1.2.4 Leisure time

Amount of time spent by adolescent girls on leisure activities of their choice

Indicators	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Average hours spent in a day on leisure activities of their choice	2.84	3.44	3.14

#### Leisure Time Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
Time spent by 11-19 year old females on leisure activities of their choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Majority of the girls watch TV, play with their siblings and visit their friend's house during their leisure time.</li><li>Girls are not allowed to travel outside the village alone in their leisure time like boys although they did express a desire to do so.</li></ul>

### 1.2.5 Mobility

Mobility of girls for fulfilling strategic needs

Indicator	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Average score achieved by the adolescents going out of the house alone and/or with any person by walking or using any vehicle (Lowest score '0' to Highest score '10') <sup>6</sup>	5.2	6.8	6.0

#### Mobility: Qualitative assessment

Indicator	Baseline situation
% increase in 11-19 year old females reporting going out of the house for fulfilling strategic needs <sup>7</sup> alone and/or with peer females by walking or using any vehicle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Majority of the girls are not allowed to go out of the house alone or with peer females in any situation apart from visiting schools.</li><li>Girls mostly visit places like the market with their mothers only to purchase personal items.</li></ul>

<sup>6</sup> For calculating the average score, variable from section IV of individual questionnaire was used. Each of the specific 10 places of visit (asked from the adolescents) were assigned a score of '0' if the response was 'Do Not Go' else the score of '1' was assigned. The score of all the places were combined together and average calculated. The lowest score was '0' (which means no places were visited by the respondent) while highest score was '10' (which means all the places were visited by the respondent).

<sup>7</sup> The purpose of going out of house could be for visiting 1. Health facility (%); 2. Friends (%), 3. Family or relatives (%); 4. Market (%), 5. Village Fair. 6. Bank, 7. PHC, 8. School, 9. Other places outside the village/ community - specify (%)

### 1.2.6 Communication

- Adolescent girls accessing mobile phones
- Inter-gender communication is acceptable among boys and girls

Indicator	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Access mobile for entertainment/any information purpose	27.3%	46.6%	36.9%

Indicator	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
11-19 year old females and males reporting that communication with opposite sex is acceptable to them <sup>8</sup>			
▪ Both Boys & girls can talk others outside home	33.1%	34.7%	33.9%
▪ Only girls can talk others outside home	10.6%	11.2%	10.9%
▪ Only Boys can talk others outside home	13.6%	12.5%	13.1%
▪ No boys or girls can talk others outside home	42.6%	41.6%	42.1%

### Communication: Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
Frequency of use of mobile phone for different purposes <sup>9</sup> by 11-19 year old girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Girls mostly use mobile phones only for listening to songs or for contacting their parents during emergencies. They are not allowed to talk to boys.</li> <li>▪ Mobile phone usage amongst girls is limited because of a social stigma/perception that a girl using a mobile phone is wavered and disobedient.</li> <li>▪ Girls are allowed to use mobile phones only within the house, under the supervision of their parents.</li> <li>▪ There is a perception amongst girls that use of mobile phones would lead to distraction.</li> </ul>

<sup>8</sup> For communication with others, two variables from Section VII (GBV) of Adolescent Questionnaire have been used. To compute this variable the responses of 'Disagree' / 'Strongly Disagree' in Q.701.A & Q.702.A has been considered as a girl/boy or both can talk to other out of family.

<sup>9</sup> Different purposes could be making voice calls, sending text messages, sending MMS, clicking pictures through camera, playing mobile games, using internet, watching TV, listening to radio, for accessing social networking sites

11-19 year old females and males reporting that communication with opposite sex is acceptable to them	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Girls and boys are open to the idea of communication amongst each other but fear the consequences due to social control.</li> <li>Social control translates in the form of physical violence for boys in class and character accusation for girls outside class.</li> <li>Boys are more interested in inter-gender communication than the girls.</li> </ul>
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### 1.2.7 Attitude towards girls

Adolescent girls and boys have positive attitude towards empowerment of girls

Indicator	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Average score achieved by the adolescents towards positive attitude for girls (Lowest score '0' to Highest score '11') <sup>10</sup>	4.9	4.8	4.9

### Attitude towards Girls: Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
Number of parents/ family members who have positive attitude towards empowerment of girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is a big gap between the attitude towards empowerment and the prevailing practices.</li> <li>Though they believe in a girl having strong decision making and communication skills, they disapprove use of mobile phones and restrict mobility.</li> <li>Parents believe that education is essential for empowering girls, hence support it.</li> <li>Parents may delay their daughter's marriage till she is studying but it is not acceptable for a girl to get married late otherwise. There is community pressure as they consider late marriage to be shameful.</li> </ul>
Number of parents/ family members place who higher importance on continuing education of boys	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parents give importance to education, yet higher education is based on certain deciding factors such as aptitude and potential of the boy and the family's financial capacity.</li> </ul>

<sup>10</sup> Variables from Section V from the Adolescent Questionnaire were used for calculating average score on positive attitude towards girls. The responses of 'Disagree/Strongly Disagree' were assigned score of '1' for each of the statement asked from adolescents. Then all the scores were combined for each of the respondent where a respondent achieved score from '0' (which meant have total negative attitude) to '11' (which meant have totally positive attitude).

Community shows positive attitude towards empowerment of adolescent girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community does not approve of girl having access to mobile phones or having the freedom of mobility.</li> <li>Community looks down upon violence, yet is unable to take any action against. Violence is treated as a personal matter.</li> <li>Community does not consider late marriage as acceptable and therefore create pressure.</li> </ul>
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### 1.2.8 Health

**Outcome 5:** Adolescent girls access services from health system (Individual Level)

**Outcome 6:** Families allocate resources for meeting health needs of girls (Family level)

**Outcome 7:** Health service providers are responsive to adolescents health needs (Community Level)

Adolescent girls access health facilities<sup>11</sup> when needed

Indicator	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Visited any health facility due to any reason <sup>12</sup> in past 6 months	36.1%	51.9%	44.0%

Indicator	Baseline situation
11-19 year old females who fell sick in last six months reporting visiting any health facility for check-up/ treatment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More number of boys reported visiting any health facility in the last 6 months than girls</li> <li>Most girls visited any health facility for general illnesses such as fever and cold</li> <li>Menstrual and sexual health problems not considered to require any treatment</li> </ul>

Adolescent girls receive various benefits<sup>13</sup> from government health facilities/ workers in their village

Indicator	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Received any benefit/services from ASHA/ANM/AWW/Any other government facilities	15.3%	18.5%	16.9%

Indicator	Baseline situation
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<sup>11</sup> Health facilities may include Sub-centre, PHC, CHC, nearest private doctor's clinic,

<sup>12</sup> Any reason (either own illness or for information, accompanying anyone etc)

<sup>13</sup> Services include IFA tablets, Sanitary Pads, Information on Sexual and Reproductive Health

11-19 year old females accessing government health schemes and services with/by ASHA/ AWW/ ANM in their village in last 6 months	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Few adolescents access health benefits and scheme. These include provision of sanitary napkins and IFA tablets under ICDS</li> <li>Those who have availed these benefits stated that availability of and access to these remain irregular</li> </ul>
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#### Intermediate outcome 6.1: Parents understand health needs of females

Indicators	Baseline situation
Number of families/parents who do not differentiate between boys and girls about food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>While some stated that they provide both boys and daughters the amount of food they require, some stated that girls do not need as much food as boys do due to difference in their activities</li> </ul>
Increased number of parents/ family members have knowledge on health issues of adolescent girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Almost all parents were found to be unaware of anaemia as an adolescent health issue</li> <li>Many prejudices and discriminatory practices attached to menstruation exist</li> <li>Menstrual health of adolescents not considered a serious health aspect</li> <li>Awareness levels about sexual health issues was also found to be minimal</li> </ul>
Parents have positive attitude on discussing health needs of the girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Girls discuss health issues only with mother or older sisters in law and other female family members.</li> <li>Fathers do not discuss health issues with daughters</li> </ul>

#### Intermediate outcome 6.2: Parents take initiative for treatment of adolescent girls in case of illness

Indicator	Baseline situation
Number of parents/ family members have knowledge on health issues of adolescent girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mothers themselves lack awareness of common health problems such as anaemia, need for IFA, or other health related issues</li> </ul>
6.2.a Parents access various health schemes and benefits for adolescent girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parents had minimal awareness about health schemes and benefits available for adolescent girls</li> </ul>
6.2.b Number of parents/ family members take action on health issues of adolescents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Only when required by visible symptoms of illness</li> </ul>

#### Intermediate outcome: Health service providers are responsive to adolescents health needs

Indicator	Baseline situation
7.1.a Adolescents, their parents and community perceive improvement in health services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Family members and adolescents perceived quality of health services to be poor, both where provision of and access to health services and health infrastructure are concerned</li> <li>General lack of awareness among stakeholders regarding the health facilities and benefits available</li> </ul>
Health service providers identifying and reporting instances of GBV if they come across such cases	Health service providers do not see themselves as change bringers and lack awareness themselves

### 1.2.9 Education

**Outcome 8:** Adolescent girls demand gender equity in education - (Individual)

- Adolescent girls and boys have positive attitude towards completing at least secondary education
- % increase in 11-19 year old adolescent females and males having positive attitude towards completing at-least secondary education (Boys' attitude towards girl completing secondary education will also be assessed)

**Outcome 9:** Family members demonstrate support for higher education of adolescent girls (Family Level)

**Outcome 10:** Community institutions and leaders demonstrate positive action for higher education of girls (Community Level)

**Outcome 11:** State government ensures effective implementation of educational schemes for adolescent girls and (State Level)

Intermediate outcome 8. Adolescent girls demand gender equity in education - (Individual)

Indicators	Girls (11-19 years)	Boys (11.19 years)	All (11-19 years)
Number of adolescents who think that:			
• a girl should complete at least secondary education	30.6%	36.9%	33.8%
• A boy should complete at least secondary education	21.0%	24.0%	22.5%

• A girl can study up to any class he want to study	65.6%	57.3%	61.4%
• A boy can study up to any class he want to study	75.4%	72.0%	73.7%

### Education: Qualitative assessment

Indicators	Baseline situation
11-19 year old adolescent females and males having positive attitude towards completing at-least secondary education (Boys' attitude towards girl completing secondary education will also be assessed)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Girls and boys believe that they should be able to study till whichever class they prefer but did not specify secondary or higher education.</li> <li>More number of girls as well as boys believe that a boy should be able to study till whichever class he wants, as compared to girls.</li> </ul>
Parents of adolescent girls committing to finance their girl's and boy's education for secondary and beyond level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parents are not able to commit to financing their children's education due to financial compulsions.</li> <li>Parents often ask boys to work part-time and finance their own education.</li> <li>Most parents do not believe in educating their daughter further than higher education as they do not see the investment as fruitful. This is because she would go to her in-laws and would not be able to benefit her own family.</li> </ul>
Parents are aware of various schemes for girl/boy students and the procedure for availing those schemes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is limited awareness regarding schemes and the procedures to avail them.</li> </ul>
Parents of adolescent girls allow them to go to school escorted or unescorted	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Girls are allowed to go to school unescorted as it is seen as a purposeful activity and because most schools are in close vicinity of their houses.</li> </ul>
Parents of adolescent girls allow them use vehicles (cycle, bus etc) to go to school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parents allow boys to use vehicles but for girls, it often depends on the distance they are travelling and their age (mobility of girls above 15 years have more restrictions on mobility).</li> </ul>
Community institutions accepting/encouraging girls and boys to continue education at least till secondary level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community institutions accept adolescents continuing their education beyond secondary level, yet no specific action is taken to encourage it.</li> </ul>

Community institutions accepting/ encouraging girls to go out of the village to study secondary level and beyond (escorted/ unescorted, with or without vehicle)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is largely unacceptable for girls to travel a long distance to go anywhere, including a school. This is linked with concerns to their safety.</li> </ul>
Community institutions who took action to facilitate higher education for girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No specific actions were found to have been taken by community institutions to facilitate higher education. However, all community institutions and duty bearers have a positive attitude towards education.</li> </ul>
Advocacy for better provision and implementation of schemes /incentives/ scholarships for girls' secondary and higher education	N.A.

## 1.3 In Summary

### 1.3.1 Personal observations of researchers

#### As I saw it... (Researcher 1)

The baseline assessment reaffirmed the dire need to intervene, generate awareness, and most importantly to empower adolescents, especially girls, through enabling them to question the existing normative beliefs and prejudices in society, and boosting their self-confidence to assert their agency. Many members of community based institutions such as PRI members, ASHA and AWW also held opinions entrenched in existing gender biased prejudices. SHG and Nari Sangh members lacked the understanding of collective agency and the opportunities it offers.

Another interesting aspect was the difference in opinions observed amongst stakeholders who have lived outside the village and have been exposed to urban spaces. Their opinions were found to be more progressive, primarily characterised by the acknowledgment of the importance of functionality of both women and men in public spaces contrary to rural gender based norms.

Adolescent girls and boys were found to be more open minded than the parents. They questioned set norms and held more progressive opinions about gender roles and gender based discrimination. However, a conflict arising from the desire to question and subvert gender based norms and to please their parents and society by conforming to them was observed. This highlights the importance of working with adolescents who are at the threshold of adulthood and whose perceptions are critical as well as malleable. In this context, a holistic understanding of this period to be a bridge between childhood and adulthood, also needs to be developed amongst all stakeholders such as parents and community based institution members.

Adolescent girls and boys felt a lack of opportunities and avenues for awareness. They were curious about sexual and reproductive healthcare, different academic and employment avenues as well as the larger issues of gender based discrimination. Intervention activities, therefore, need to tap this curiosity, hunger for information and the reluctant defiance against adhering to discriminatory norms and beliefs. While capacity and confidence building of adolescents through awareness generation and sensitisation are of utmost importance, it is necessary to constantly keep in mind the community which envelops and defines their lives. Intensive intervention activities should hence, be carried out with adult community members parallel to the intervention with adolescent groups.

### **As I saw it... (Researcher 2)**

It would be wrong to say that the girls met with in the various districts of Uttar Pradesh were absolutely disempowered. What was observed on field was that girls were simply looking for opportunities which would enable them to break out of the constraints of their families and the village community amongst which they lived. As was gathered, there was a looming desire amongst the adolescents to learn and be more than their surroundings were allowing them to be. While girls wanted to break free from the societal pressures of prescribing to gender and societal norms, be educated and improve their self-sufficiency, boys wanted to be able to become economically independent before having to take the responsibility of starting a family.

Though it was disappointing to learn the low level of awareness amongst adolescents as well as the rest of the village communities regarding health and the ongoing government schemes that they could avail, their strong desire to learn and uplift themselves through education could be used as a strong stepping stone to begin the adolescent empowerment programme through various initiatives.

In an attempt to be able to implement an impactful programme to benefit the adolescents, it was felt that a large part of the focus needs to be made on the parents and elders of the village. Since it is the final say of parents and elders that determines the mobility, communication, education, marriage and other such important decisions in the lives of adolescents, it is largely the perceptions and beliefs held by parents that needs to be re-oriented in order to change the current situation. We noticed that societal perceptions played a decisive role in all the choices taken by parents as well as adolescents. If cues for norm bending are found within such a space, gradual attitudinal changes may be able to lead to a larger change.

### 1.3.2 Possibilities to be explored

#### Marriage

While the trend seemed to be that parents thought that girls should not get married before the age of 18, it was observed on the field that many girls were in fact getting married much before 18, and boys before the age of 21. There is a greater awareness about the legal age of marriage for girls (at 18 years) compared to 21 years as the legal age for marriage for boys.

Girls get married early because of several reasons. Very often they believe they were past the legal age of marriage, a belief based on the information from the parents rather than authentic birth certificates. In reality, their actual age may be lower, in many cases barely 16. A direct correlation between pursuing a purposeful activity such as education and the age of marriage was also observed. Adolescents were also found to not have a say on their age of marriage or choice of partners.

- Better documentation of birth and making parents and children aware of the real age may help adolescent girls negotiate delaying their marriage. Hence, some initiatives could be taken to raise awareness regarding proper registration of birth and recording real age after birth. Also checking of exact age by the girls and boys themselves and their parents from the documents could be taken up.

#### Gender

According to the field observations, findings and inferences drawn, it was observed that gender based discrimination was entrenched in prevalent social norms which define gender roles and accordingly the expectations from adolescents to conform to them. In this context, the ideas of an 'obedient girl' and an 'obedient boy', need to be redefined and gender roles questioned during, and so do the norms which define the dependency of girls and women on male members of the family. Gender based violence against both girls and boys, within households, was found to be primarily disciplinary in nature. Facing any sexual harassment was found to lead to restriction of girls' mobility and independence. These aspects need to be kept into consideration such that the interventions address these prejudices.

- Cases of positive deviance can be identified in villages wherein boys help their mothers and sisters in sharing their domestic burden. These boys can be projected as role models and change agents within their peer groups to influence the perceptions of parents and other community people at large.
- The link between a girl's movement and her safety needs to be visited and the underlying prejudices addressed. At present the justifications for restricting mobility

of girls are generic and based on external, disconnected sources. The perceptions around safety needs to be contextualized to the village context and solutions sought from the adolescent and parent groups. The annual plans around these solutions may provide working ground for these groups.

- The situation of dependency of girls and women on their male counterparts or guardians needs to be highlighted and girls and women should be empowered to be economically and socio-culturally autonomous. Visits to key institutions/ places (like Panchayat/ banks/ post office/ blocks) could be the first steps towards such empowerment. Role models at the community level can be trained on these aspects and empowered to facilitate change in perceptions, to ensure sustainability
- Inter-gender communication within the village can be shown to be an avenue through which safe spaces can be created for girls. Boys can support the girls while travelling to places outside the village, thereby impacting restricted mobility of girls. Inter-gender communication in forms of monitored discussions on educational aspects such as workshops and projects, can also be advocated for.

## **Health**

According to the field observations, most stakeholders, adolescents, parents and in some cases even frontline health workers were found to be ignorant of health issues specific to adolescents and health schemes. There exists an overarching lack of awareness about anaemia, menstrual health and other sexual and reproductive health issues such as HIV/AIDs. Several prejudices and discriminatory practices associated with menstruation were also observed. People however were hungry to know more.

- Discussions on sexual and reproductive health need to be facilitated. An entry point for this can be HIV/AIDs. Most respondents were found to be partially aware of it and curious to know further.

## **Education**

As was observed on the field, it is becoming increasingly acceptable and considered favourable for children to be educated at least till class 12<sup>th</sup>. For adolescents, education is considered to be a platform that gives them exposure to the outside world, especially in the rural context, whereby they feel limited by their immediate surroundings.

- Education and economic independence are the most accepted reasons for delayed marriages and could be an entry point to influence age of marriage. Some of the options for the project could be-

- Introducing career counselling in schools and with parents so that they may see a future in educating their children
- Leveraging on partner organization's capacity and strengths to promote skills.
- Collaborating with existing initiatives and organizations working on skills and livelihoods like Pratham in Gorakhpur etc. and linking adolescents and their groups with these initiatives

## **Communication and Media**

Mobile phone usage amongst girls was found to be limited in comparison to adolescent boys. Perceptions of parents around safety issues of girls were mostly influenced by the media's take on incidents of GBV with no empirical evidence to suggest otherwise.

- Sensitization of media personnel may be done through workshops so as to spread information about GBV incidents more sensitively. Even positive deviances can be covered in the media more sensitively. This may help change perceptions of parents of adolescents on various adolescent issues.
- The ownership, control and access to use of the mobile phone is limited to the male head of the household and at the most – sometimes to the son of the household, adolescent girls have less accessibility. Usage of mobile phone amongst girls is allowed only under the supervision of the parents. To break these norms in the community, the project can engage with mobile phones as effective forms of mass communication to spread information about the existing government schemes, available courses in Universities in the cities, existing vocational training courses in nearby areas. Information dissemination within communities would, therefore make girls aware of their entitlements and rights and at the most, facilitate the process of demand creation. This way, adolescents may also see the importance of discussing about their life choices and reasserting their needs with parents.

## **Monitoring Progress**

Institutional dynamic work plans (annual and perspective) may be facilitated by the project as a key to build discussions on adolescent issues and collective progress monitoring.

## 2 INTRODUCTION

## 2.1 Introduction

The project 'Empowering Adolescents' supported by IKEA Foundation is to be implemented by Breakthrough (BT) to engage and empower 400,000 adolescents in the state of Uttar Pradesh (India) during 2016-2020. The project is expected to impact 'Empowerment of adolescent girls and boys aged 11-19 years' in the way that they 'demand and access gender equity in health and education in their homes and community for self and others'.

The project is being implemented in 7 districts (Lucknow, Varanasi, Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Gorakhpur, Maharajganj, Siddharthanagar) of Eastern UP and 18 blocks within these districts have been selected for interventions. 405 Gram Panchayats have been selected for intervention in these 18 blocks.

The project will have two key interventions, training and media and communication. The training will be conducted with children of classes 6, 7, and 8 in their schools or with out of school children of similar age in the community. Through these interventions, the project aims to impact adolescents aged 11 to 19 years, their families and communities in which they live.

## 2.2 Methodology

Given the resources, the proposed project impact assessment design is a pre-post design in which the data on various indicators will be collected prior to the project implementation and at the end of the project. These values will be compared and changes in the indicator values reported. The causal inference for the changes in values and attribution of such changes to the project interventions will, however, be ambiguous. To resolve this, there is a possibility of conducting with-without comparison using Propensity Score Matching at the end-line given sufficient resource availability.

## 2.3 Sampling

The population targeted by the project consists of different groups. These can be categorized as:

1. Adolescents Boys (11-19 year old)
2. Adolescent Girls (11-19 year old)
3. Parents of Adolescents
4. Community Members (such as members of SHGs, Nari Sangh, Kishori Sangh)
5. Duty Bearers (such as Asha, Anganwadi Worker, ANM, Gram Panchayat Members, Government Officials etc.)

The baseline assessment consisted of both quantitative and qualitative data. While outcome indicators for change in aspects for adolescent boys and adolescent girls are primarily quantitative, for rest of the stakeholder groups the indicators are primarily qualitative. Thus the measurement of indicators related to adolescent boys and girls has been both quantitative and qualitative in nature whereas the measurement is largely qualitative in case of other stakeholders.

For quantitative assessment of indicators, adolescents are divided into the following four groups on the basis of age and gender categories:

1. Adolescent Boys (11-14 years)
2. Adolescent Boys (15-19 years)
3. Adolescent girls (11 – 14 years)
4. Adolescent girls (15-19 years)

For other stakeholders, the sample frame is parents of adolescents, community members and duty bearers of the Gram Panchayats which are selected for interventions.

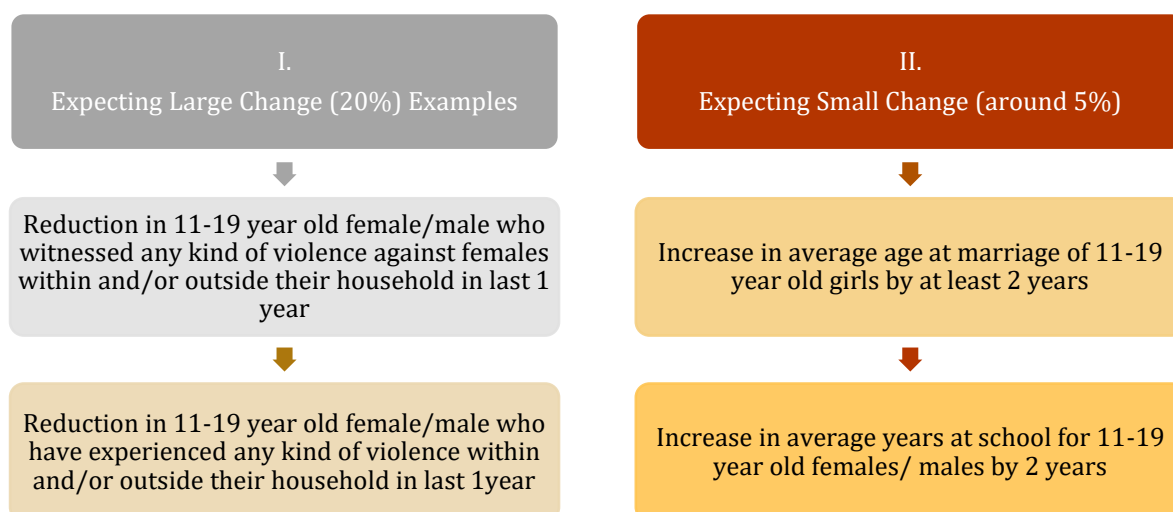
### 2.3.1 Sample Size

The determination of the overall sample size for the baseline is governed by several considerations, including the effect size of the key indicators, the subgroups for which the indicator values are required, the desired level of precision of the estimates, the availability of resources, and logistical considerations.

For determining sample size in projects which aim to increase or decrease values of a particular or a set of properties like Gender Based Violence, it is important to find out or assume the change that the project will be able to bring in.

A set of indicators were developed to assess the impact and outcomes of the project which are given in the Annexure I. These indicators can be divided into two categories; one where small change is expected (change in behaviour) such as increase in average age at marriage and increase in mean years at school, and second change in attitude which are direct outcomes of the project and are more likely to experience change compared to behaviour.

Figure 2.1: Indicators



The sample size is calculated for each group with the premise that the results are valid at the project level and are comparable within the sub-groups of age and gender.

The key target population for this empowerment projects is adolescents aged 11-19 years. The project activities will be implemented for 3 years. At the end of project, the respondent aged 19 years will be of age 22. As age at marriage and education are two key impact indicators for project's success and will be influenced by media and communication interventions as well, we propose to measure these two indicators for males and females aged 11 to 22 years. For other indicators, the age group will remain 11-19 as the key intervention of training will be imparted to adolescents of less 15 year of age primarily.

The sample size for the baseline is calculated based on the following formula

$$N = \frac{deff \times \left[ Z_{1-\alpha} \sqrt{2 \cdot P(1-P)} + Z_{1-\beta} \sqrt{P_1(1-P_1) + P_2(1-P_2)} \right]^2}{(P_2 - P_1)^2}$$

Where,

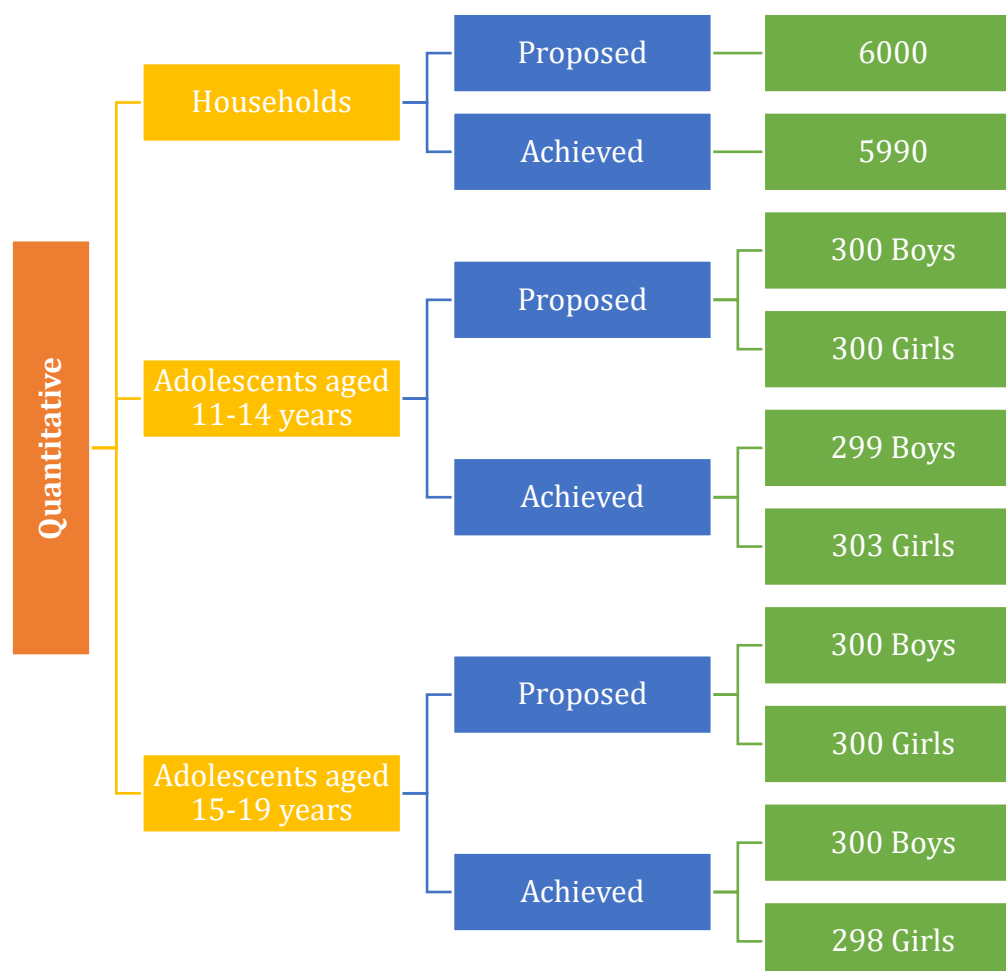
- P1 is the hypothesized value of the indicator at base-line;
- P2 is the expected value of the indicator at the end-line
- $P = (P_1 + P_2) / 2$
- $Z(1 - \alpha)$  is the standard normal deviate value for an  $\alpha$  type I error
- $Z(1 - \beta)$  is the standard normal deviate value for a  $\beta$  type II error
- Deff is the design effect in case of multi-stage cluster sample design and is taken as 2 for the current study
- A buffer of 20% has been taken into consideration and added to the calculated sample size

Based on the calculations, the sample size for group 2 indicators with small predicted change (i.e. marriage and education) comes to around 2400 with 6 percent change, at a 95% confidence interval, 10 percent non-response rate and design effect of 1.5.

Sample size for indicators with large predicted change (i.e. primarily attitudes) comes to around 300 with 20 percent change, at a 95% confidence interval, 20 percent non-response rate and design effect of 2.

Questions related to small change indicators were included in the house-listing questionnaire while questions related to the large change expected were included in the individual questionnaire.

Figure 2.2: Quantitative Sampling (proposed & achieved)



For indicators expecting large change, for each of the four groups of adolescent (boys (11-14), girls (11-14), boys (15-19), girls (15-19)) a sample of 300 was proposed to be contacted for interview. In total, 1200 adolescents (boys & girls aged 11-19 years) were proposed to be interviewed in the project area. The sample size is statistically significant at the project level and the indicators can be compared across sub-groups.

To have a representative sample across the project area and given the resources, a total of 5 respondents from each group of adolescents totalling 20 respondents from each village were selected. A total of 60 villages were selected for sampling and interviews.

For collecting data on the indicators with small change expected, which required a sample size of 2400 each for boys and girls, was depended on the house-listing survey. The house listing was meant to reach to five times the number of households as the total sample of 1200 adolescents to be covered for indicators with large change expected. Thus the house-listing was proposed to cover 6000 households in the 60 villages.

### 2.3.2 Selection of locations and respondents

The baseline survey was done in all the project districts and in all the blocks within these project districts. Hence, the baseline survey ensures a realistic representation of sample and valid analysis.

Within all the project blocks, a list of project villages along with their population and availability of any type of school (government/private) was made. Then the required number of villages within a project block were selected randomly.

Figure 2.3: Sampling design

District
•All 7 districts were selected
Block
•All 18 projects block were selected
Village
•3 villages (where at least one school is available)/block selected randomly in districts where 3 project blocks are present •4 villages (where at least one school is available)/ block selected randomly in districts where 2 project blocks are present
Households
•Within each of selected villages, about 100 households were listed where at least one adolescent aged 11-22 years are available •House-listing done across all corners of the villages
Individual Adolescents
•5 individuals from each age categories/village were selected for interview

Within each of the project blocks 3-4 villages were selected for quantitative and qualitative interviews with target respondents. In districts where two blocks are selected for project intervention, 4 villages per block were sampled for the survey. In other districts where three blocks are selected for project intervention, 3 GPs per block were selected. In total 60 villages were selected across 18 project blocks and 1200 households/respondents were interviewed. The number of villages covered is indicated in the table below:

Table 2-1: Number of selected villages for baseline survey

DISTRICTS COVERED	BLOCKS COVERED	VILLAGES COVERED
1. <b>Ghazipur</b>	1. Kasimabad Block	4
	2. Mardah Block	4
2. <b>Jaunpur</b>	1. Buxa Block	4
	2. Machhalishahar Block	4
3. <b>Varanasi</b>	1. Arajilines Block	4
	2. Kashi Vidyapeeth Block	4
4. <b>Lucknow</b>	1. BKT Block	3
	2. Gosaiganj Block	3
	3. Mohanlalganj Block	3
5. <b>Gorakhpur</b>	1. Bhathat Block	3
	2. Jangal Kaudia Block	3
	3. Campaiganj Block	3
6. <b>Maharajganj</b>	1. Brijmanganj Block	3
	2. Laxmipur Block	3
	3. Nautanwa Block	3
7. <b>Siddharthnagar</b>	1. Jogia Block	3
	2. Naugarh Block	3
	3. Shohratgarh Block	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18 Blocks</b>	<b>60 Villages</b>

In order to identify the target sample, households (with adolescents girls/boys aged 11-19 years) from the selected villages, a mapping and physical house-listing survey was undertaken.

Since the baseline assessment was to capture the information on average age at marriage and increase in average years of schooling among adolescents, the number of households required to be listed was more than 5 times the sample required. In total, approx. 6000 households were to be listed and the required information collected for adolescents aged 11-22 years. During house-listing (schedule given in Annexure 2) procedure questions related to age, marriage, education, current residence status and availability for interview etc. were asked from the elder members of the family, preferably head of the household, in the selected households. The listing of 11-22 years old adolescents across households provided a number to identify the eligible household (with adolescents aged 11-19 years) for further interview processes.

The household members (11-19 years old) listed from canvassing the household listing questionnaire were categorized into four groups i.e. 11-14 years old boys, 11-14 years old girls, 15-19 years old boys and 15-19 years old girls in each village. A random selection of desired number of individuals was done for each age and gender category through an automated process. There was no manual intervention in the selection of individual adolescents for interviews.

In each village, a total of 4 field investigators conducted the listing survey after dividing the village into four segments. Each of them was required to list at least 25 households where at least one 11-22 years old boy/girl was available. After listing in all the 4 segments, the listing data was compiled at one place i.e. a laptop. After uploading the data in a computer, an automated process compiled the data and disaggregated the member data into different categories. Then the program automatically selected the desired number of individuals, category-wise, and provided the basic details of the selected individuals on the digital device (Tablet) for further interviews. During these processes it was ensured that not more than 1 adolescent selected in a household for individual interview even they fall in separate categories i.e. age group and gender.

In total, 7098 households/families were contacted across 60 select villages in project districts. Of these, the listing questionnaire was canvassed completely across 5990 households, since the remaining households did not have any eligible members i.e. girls/boys aged 11-22 years old or were found closed/vacant during the visit. Table shows the results from the listing exercise.

*Table 2-2: Number of households with eligible respondents*

Categories of households	N
Found Only boys	2084
Found Only Girls	1725
Found Both Boys & Girls	2181
<b>Total households</b>	<b>5990</b>

### 2.3.3 Survey instruments

#### Quantitative:

Two Structured survey questionnaires were used for primary data collection at household and individual level, as already described.

- **Listing questionnaire for households:** A structured questionnaire (Annexure 2) was used for collecting information on age, marriage and education among girls and boys aged 11-22 years in the households.
- **Questionnaire for girls/boys aged 11-19 years:** A structured questionnaire was used for interviews with adolescents (Annexure 3). Following nine (9) sections were included in the individual questionnaire, as follows:

Section I: Basic identification (district, block, village, completion status of interview, investigators details etc)

Section II: Introduction and consent-Parent/Respondent

Section III: Socio-economic background (age, caste, religion, education, marriage, household assets, sources of information/entertainment, media habits etc)

Section IV: Household chores, leisure time & movement outside

Section V: Attitude towards girls and education of girls/boys

Section VI: Visit at any facilities/centre and benefits received (any health facilities, functionaries like ASHA, ANM, ICDS Worker etc)

Section VII: Attitude towards gender based violence within/ outside

Section VIII: Voice on life choices

Section IX: Witnessing/experiencing any form of violence (verbal, physical & sexual): Sexual harassment/violence related questions were not asked from respondents aged 11-14 years.

## Qualitative

Table 2-3: Sample for qualitative data

Respondents	Tools	No. in a district	No. in 7 districts
Boys (15-19 years)	FGD	1	7
Girls (15-19 years)	FGD	1	7
Mother of adolescents/ adult female in adolescent's house	FGD	1	7
Fathers of adolescents/ adult male in adolescent's house	FGD	1	7
ASHA	Interview	1	7
Anganwadi Worker	Interview	1	7
ANM	Interview	1	7
PRI member	Interview	1	7
School Teacher	Interview	1	7
Community Institutions (Nari Sangh/ SHG/ Kishori Sangh/ Farmer's Groups)	FGD	1	12
Government officials	Interview	1	7
NGOs	Interview	1	7
<b>Total</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>84</b>

In addition to the quantitative survey, qualitative information was collected to provide supportive/additional behavioural data at the individual, family, community and duty

bearer levels. 12 qualitative sessions/interviews were conducted in each district with a total of 84 qualitative interviews/discussions. (Table 2-3):

**Focused Group Discussion (FGD):** The key respondents for FGDs were parents and adolescent boys/girls aged 15-19 years. Separate FGDs were conducted according to the participants' category i.e. separate FGDs for fathers of adolescents, mothers of adolescents, adolescent girls aged 15-19 years and adolescent boys aged 15-19 years. Open ended guidelines were prepared for FGDs. The discussions were held based on the guideline but the flow of the discussions were not as per the sequence of questions/guideline. It was a free flow discussion. In FGDs, the following tools were also used:

- **Pocket chart voting and participatory ranking:** Was used to investigate people's preferences and priorities related to the project issues.
- **Vignette:** A hypothetical situation close to the real life situations was made which leads participants to reveal their perceptions, values, social norms or impressions of events.

**Key Informant Interviews (KI):** Respondents for key informant interviews were ASHA, ANM, AWW and members from PRI, SHGs, CBOs etc. An open ended guideline was also prepared for these key-informant interviews.

#### 2.3.4 Field operations

##### **Pilot testing of survey instrument**

The survey tools were pre-tested in the field before start of main field work. Pre-testing helped to check the flow of questions, language, translation and clarity of questions for the respondents. The pilot testing was conducted in the block of Bakshi ka Talaab (BKT), in Lucknow district, on 16<sup>th</sup>- 17<sup>th</sup> August 2016.

##### **Training**

A team of experienced field investigators, supervisors and application developer etc., was deployed for data collection. At least graduation and minimum of 2-3 years of similar data collection experience and ability to use digital devices etc. were the mandatory requirement for recruitment of these field personnel.

An intensive, four day training for field investigators was conducted at Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh), from 21<sup>st</sup> August to 24<sup>th</sup> August 2016, by NRMC core team members with representation from BT. Initially, field members were provided class-room training with a printed copy of the questionnaire, followed by training with the digital device (tablet).



This was followed with mock practice sessions.

After several rounds of in-house mock practice during first three days, the team was brought for field practice to a village situated in BKT block of Lucknow district.

86 field personnel attended the training of which 60 members were selected for actual data collection.

### **Team movement**

After field training the data collection work started simultaneously at Lucknow, Siddharthnagar, Maharajganj and Gorakhpur. The data collection was completed in these districts on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2016 then the team shifted to the districts of Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Varanasi. The field work was completed on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2016.



### **Monitoring**

The field activities were closely monitored by NRMC team and personnel deployed for the purpose. During entire duration of data collection, NRMC team was present in the field to monitor data quality.

#### **2.3.5 Ethical Considerations**

The right of informed consent, which refers to the requirement that respondents be given complete and accurate information so that they can make an informed decision about their participation in the survey.

The right to refuse, which refers to an individual's right to decline to participate in the survey or to refuse to answer individual questions once an interview has begun.

The right to accurate representation, which requires honesty in dealing with respondents and answering their questions about the survey. For example, Field Personnel cannot tell the respondent that an interview will take only a few minutes if they know it will last considerably longer.

All personnel involved in the collection, processing, and analysis of the survey data were sensitized to safeguard the rights of survey participants. Field Interviewers were in direct contact with these respondents, they were capacitated to demonstrate high ethical standards in all of contacts related to this survey.

### **Privacy and confidentiality**

This study sought personal and sensitive information about private matters like child marriage, violence, reproductive/sexual health etc. These issues are sensitive in nature and the privacy of respondents and confidentiality of the data needed to be maintained.

Since child marriage is against the law, the study potentially puts mothers and fathers whose daughters are married, before 18 years of age, at risk of imprisonment/fine. The field team was sensitized not to disclose any details about those who participated in the study, thereby avoiding likely penalisation.

### **Consent from parents & respondents**

A consent was taken from each of the respondent before start of their interview. The interview only took place when a respondent agreed to participate in the survey/provide information.

In case of respondents aged below 18 years, a consent from parents were also taken for interviews. And, in case of respondents aged below 15 years, parents/other elder member were given option to accompany the respondent while interview.

#### **2.3.6 Data management & analysis.**

All the interviews were done using digital device even house-listing. Even, the selection of individual respondents for interview was automated. Thus, the data entry errors were minimized. For the recording of response from respondents, the automation was done using CSPro application. Upon completion of data collection, the complete data was transferred into SPSS. All the corrective measures were adopted to validate the data and then used for analysis.

#### **2.3.7 Limitation**

The baseline data has been collected only in the project areas, with no control area/data. Hence, impact cannot be measured accurately only comparing by baseline and impact data after completion of the intervention. For a more accurate impact assessment from project intervention, it is recommended that control villages are taken into consideration. This provides a platform for comparison of the project's impact data with a control data and to measure realistically the impact of the project intervention.

#### **2.3.8 Background Characteristics of Respondents**

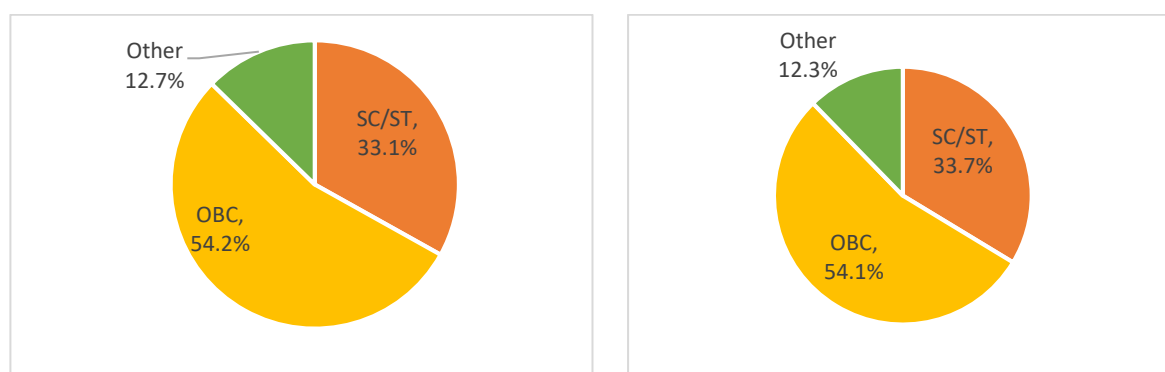
The baseline survey was conducted with a representative sample of households (at program level) selected for project implementation across all the seven districts in Uttar

Pradesh. This chapter outlines the basic characteristics of the project villages. The data from both the data sets (household listing and individual interviews) have been analyzed as required, for data presented in this chapter.

### 2.3.9 Caste & Religion

About 90 percent of the adolescents interviewed were Hindus while the remaining respondents were Muslims (Figure 2.4). More than half of the households (54.2 percent) with eligible members (aged 11-22 years) belonged to OBC (Other Backward Class) category while one third (33.1 percent) households belonged to SC/ST (Schedule Caste/Schedule Tribe) group. The individual adolescents were selected for interview as the same proportion of caste group covered under house-listing.

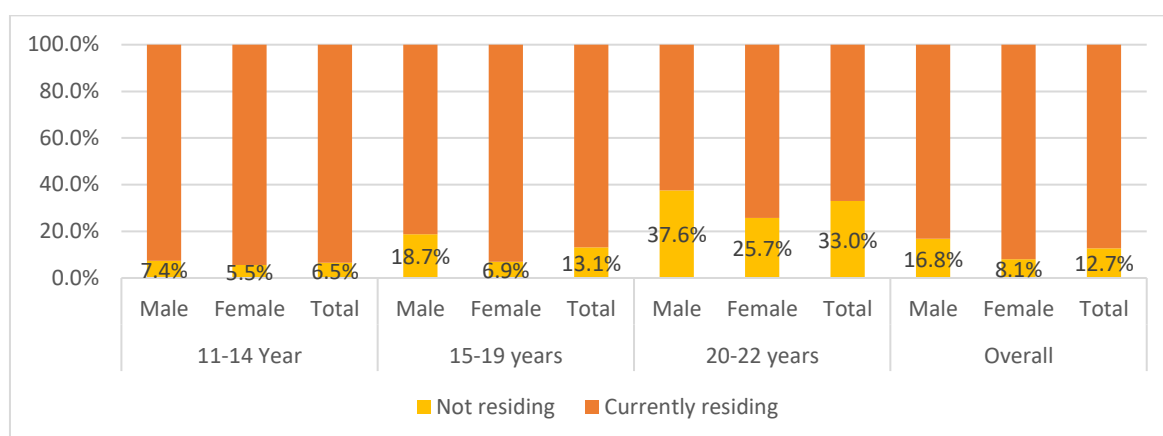
*Figure 2.4: Caste group of households listed against caste group of selected sample*



### 2.3.10 Residence status of adolescents

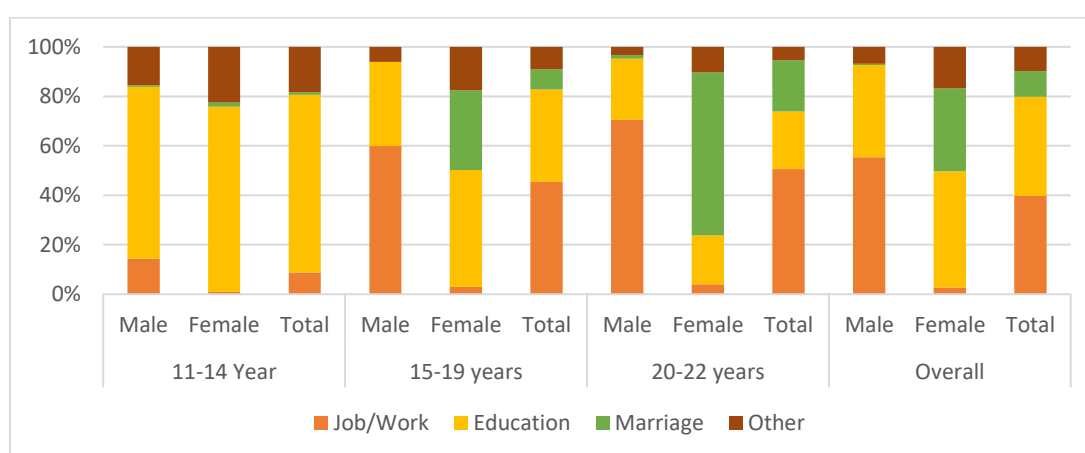
During the listing of the households, the current status of residence was asked for all the household members aged 11-22 years followed by reason for residing outside. (Figure 2.5) shows that the proportion of adolescents residing outside the village increases with age. The percentage of 11-14 year olds residing outside the village is 6.5, which doubles for 15-19 year olds and is almost 6 times for adolescents aged 20-22 years.

Figure 2.5: Current residence status of the household members aged 11-22 years (N-11759)



Majority of male adolescents reside outside the village for jobs or work (55.3 percent), while majority from adolescent girls reside outside for education purposes or marriage. Although only a small number of adolescent girls reside away from the family but the important point is that the reason these few are allowed to stay outside the village is mainly education (Figure 2.6)

Figure 2.6: Reason for residing outside (N-1495)



### 2.3.11 Household amenities and ownership

The survey data shows the following characteristics (overall) of the households in the survey villages:

Table 2-4 - Household characteristics of the respondent

Type of house	Pucca – 28%	Semi pucca – 57%	Kutcha – 15%
<b>Toilet</b>	Own facility – 31%	Open defecation – 69%	Public facility – 0%
<b>Fuel for cooking</b>	LPG – 30.3%	Wood – 57.5%	Dung cakes – 11.5
<b>Cooking area</b>	Separate kitchen – 28%	No separate kitchen – 72 %	
<b>Drinking water source</b>	Handpump – 90.6%	Piped water – 4.6%	Well – 1.7%; Others – 3.2%
<b>Land ownership</b>	Own cultivable land – 74.8%	No cultivable land – 25.2%	
<b>BPL status</b>	APL card- 36.9%	BPL card – 40.5%	AAY card – 7.8%

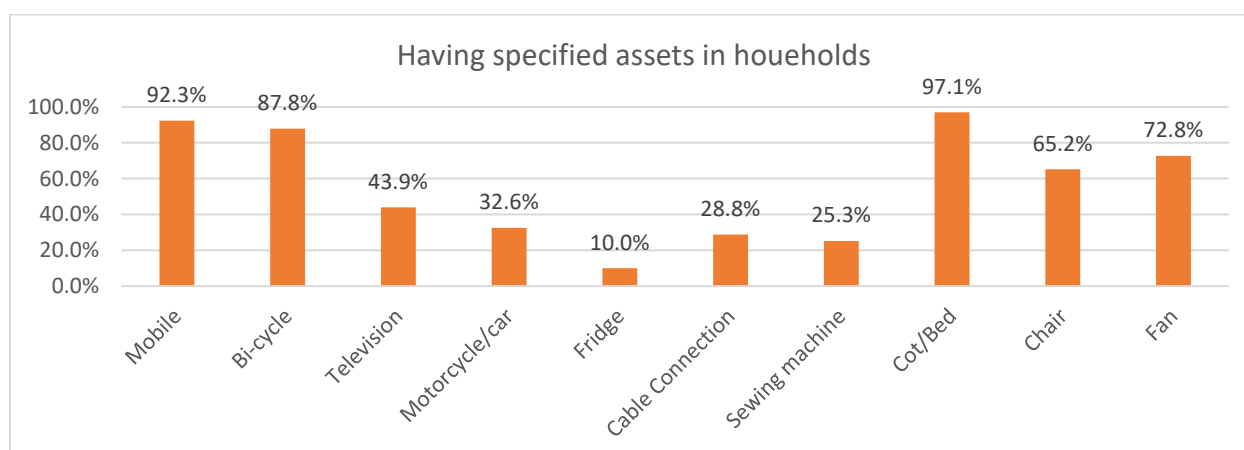
During the field visit, in selected areas, it was observed that human waste was present at the outskirts of the villages which is a sign of lack of toilet facility in houses or practices of open defecation even after having own toilet facility.

More than nine-tenth of the respondents are reported that handpump water is the main source of drinking water for them and their family. The same pattern has been found across all the districts.

### Asset ownership

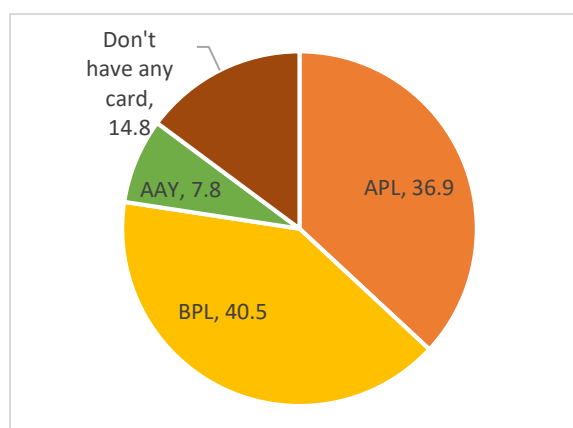
Figure 2.7 summarizes the ownership of assets among surveyed families. More than 90 percent of surveyed families had a mobile phone and bed/cot. Negligible number of households owned assets like tractors, threshers, radios or animal drawn carts (hence not shown in the graph). About 88 percent of households had bicycles which is a major means of local travel.

Figure 2.7: Availability of Assets in the Households



### 2.3.12 BPL status

Figure 2.8: Types of ration cards owned



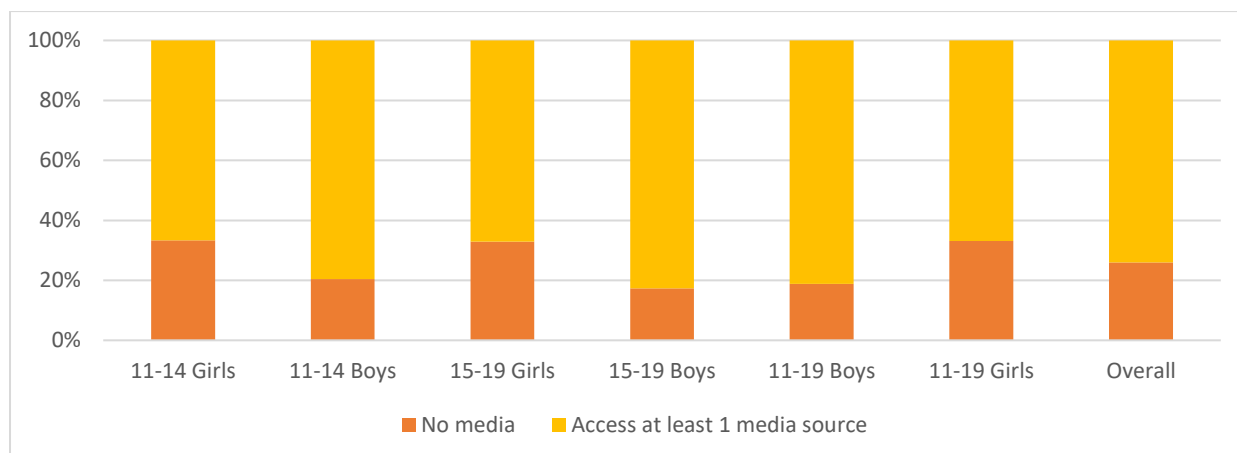
More than 40 percent of selected respondent reported that their family has BPL card (Below Poverty Line) while almost 37 percent adolescents said that their family has APL card (Above Poverty Line). Remaining respondents either belong to AAY category (Antyodaya Anna Yojana) or do not have any type of card.

## 2.4 Access to Media/Communication Sources

### 2.4.1 Access of various sources for information/entertainment

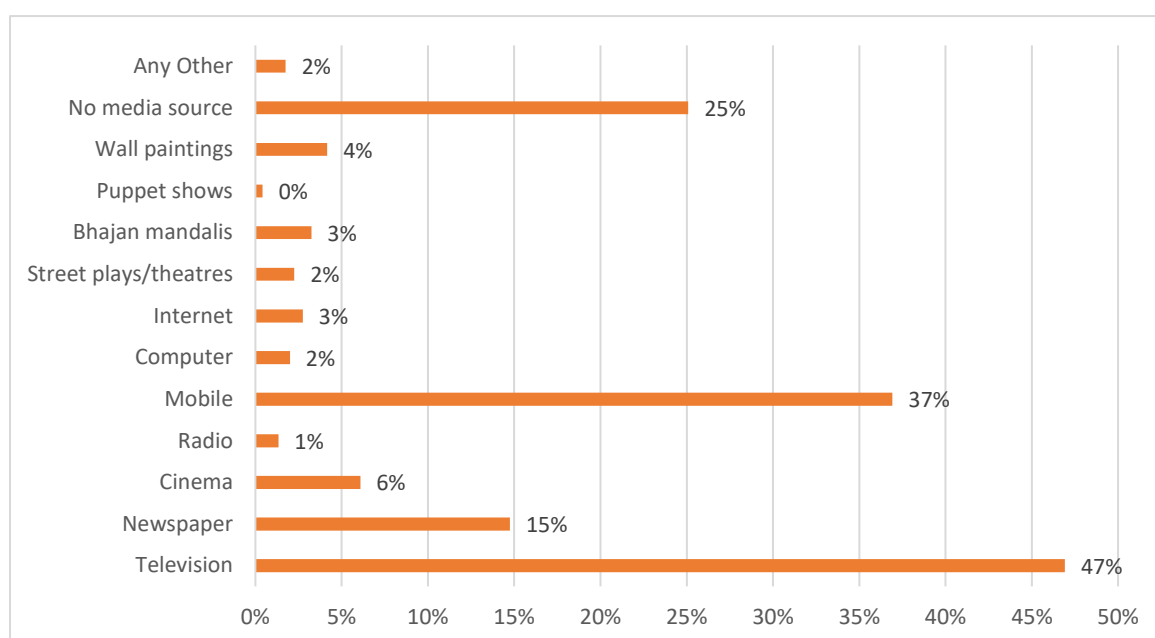
Majority (three-fourths) of the adolescents reported that they have access to some media source for information and/or entertainment purposes. Gender wise analysis shows that access to media sources is lower for girls as compared to boys (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9: Access to media sources



Television (47% of respondents) and mobile (37% of respondents) emerged as the main media sources for entertainment and/or information for adolescents. Access to newspapers and other media sources like cinema, street plays, wall paintings, computer, radio etc. are also reported as sources of media but the proportion of adolescents accessing these is negligible (Figure 2.10).

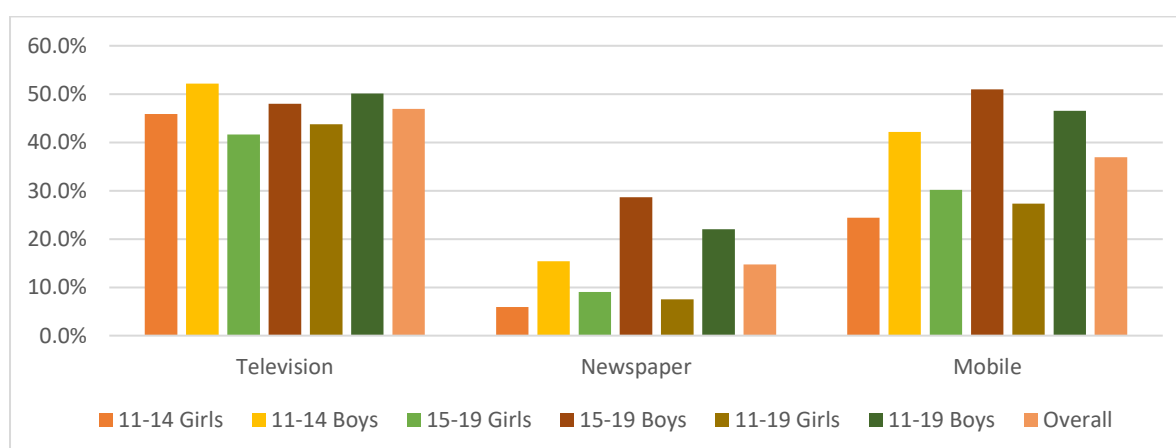
Figure 2.10: Types of media sources accessed



Access to mobile and newspaper is higher for boys as compared to girls across all the age groups. However, the difference between different age-groups and genders is less for television. Gender-wise analysis of data indicates a similar pattern of accessing television for boys and girls, except adolescent boys of 11-14 years age-group. Almost one-third of them have access to television outside their house. Overall, less than half (563 out of 1200 respondents) from the all categories of respondent have reported that they access television for information and/or entertainment. Further analysis related to the television is based on the sample who reported to having access of television.

About 44 percent of households reported ownership of a television while the access to television is higher at 42 to 52 percent. This implies that the adolescents have access to television outside their own house as well. Of those who reported television as their information and/or entertainment media source, almost 23 percent do not own a television.

Figure 2.11: Usage of television, mobile and newspaper

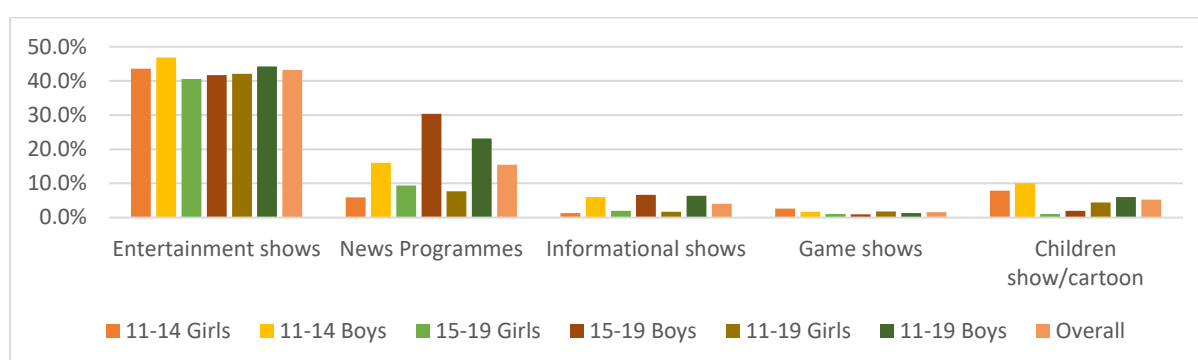


## 2.4.2 Watching Television

Major channels being viewed by the respondents include Zee Anmol, Star Utsav, DD National, Zee TV, Star Plus, Sony Pal, Rishtey, etc with an average of 7-10 percent of respondents viewing these channels. Other channels reported less than 4-5 percent viewership. A small proportion of adolescents (8-10 percent) from 11-14 years view cartoon channels also. Informational shows and games shows are reported but the proportion of respondents watching these shows is very low.

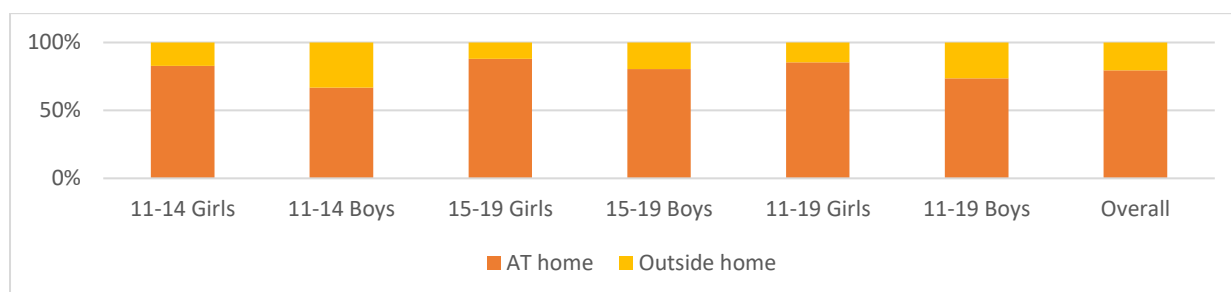
Television is used mainly for entertainment purposes for all categories of respondents. News programs are viewed by only 6 -16 percent of the respondents of different categories, except for adolescent boys aged 15-19 years, where about 30 percent access news channels (Figure 2.12).

Figure 2.12: Types of television shows watched



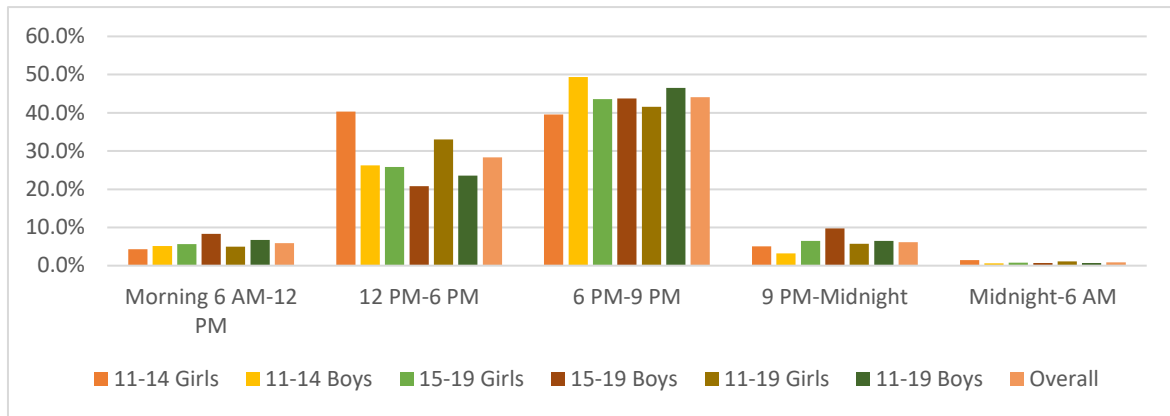
Analysis of data about the main place for watching television shows that more than two third of the respondents watch television at home (with family or alone). Remaining watch television outside home (friend/relative/community places). Across both the age categories it has been observed that proportion of adolescent boys and girls watching television outside home is reducing with increase in age.

Figure 2.13 television watched inside/outside home



Overall, 44 percent of adolescents watch television in the evening (between 6-9 pm), with no difference between girls and boys of different ages. Little more than one-fourth of adolescents watch television between noon to evening time (12-6 pm).

Figure 2.14: Times at which television is watched



### **3 MARRIAGE**

### 3.1 Introduction

This section outlines the beliefs and norms regarding early marriage, held by various stakeholders. The findings that emerged from the field, provide an insight into the reasons behind the prevalence of early marriage, along with describing the notions attached with marriage of adolescents.

### 3.2 Baseline findings

This section consolidates data collected during household listing and from individual interviews. Figure 3.1 below shows the overall marital status of adolescent girls and boys aged 11-22 year old in the sample villages. Since this graph includes married girls (daughters) who are not living at home, the proportion of married girls is higher. On an average, every 17<sup>th</sup> adolescent found to be married among 11579 adolescents found in the listing survey.

Figure 3.1: Marital status of adolescents (N=11759)

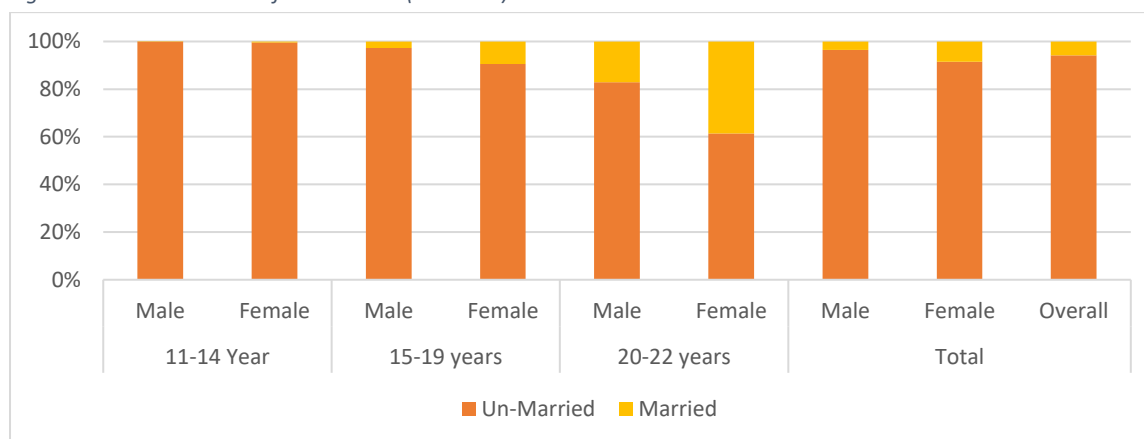


Figure 3.2 shows the age at which married girls and boys got married. The total number (N) of married girls and boys is 691. It provides evidence regarding the high prevalence of early marriage among the girls who got married before the age of 22 in the sample villages. Instances of early marriage is evidently higher amongst girls, as compared to boys. The graph (3.2) demonstrates that 302 out of 469 (64.4%) married girls and 206 out of 222 (92.8%) married boys in the age group of 11-22 years got married before the legal age of marriage i.e. 18 years (girls) and 21 years (boys).

Figure 3.2: Age at marriage (N= M – 222, F – 469)

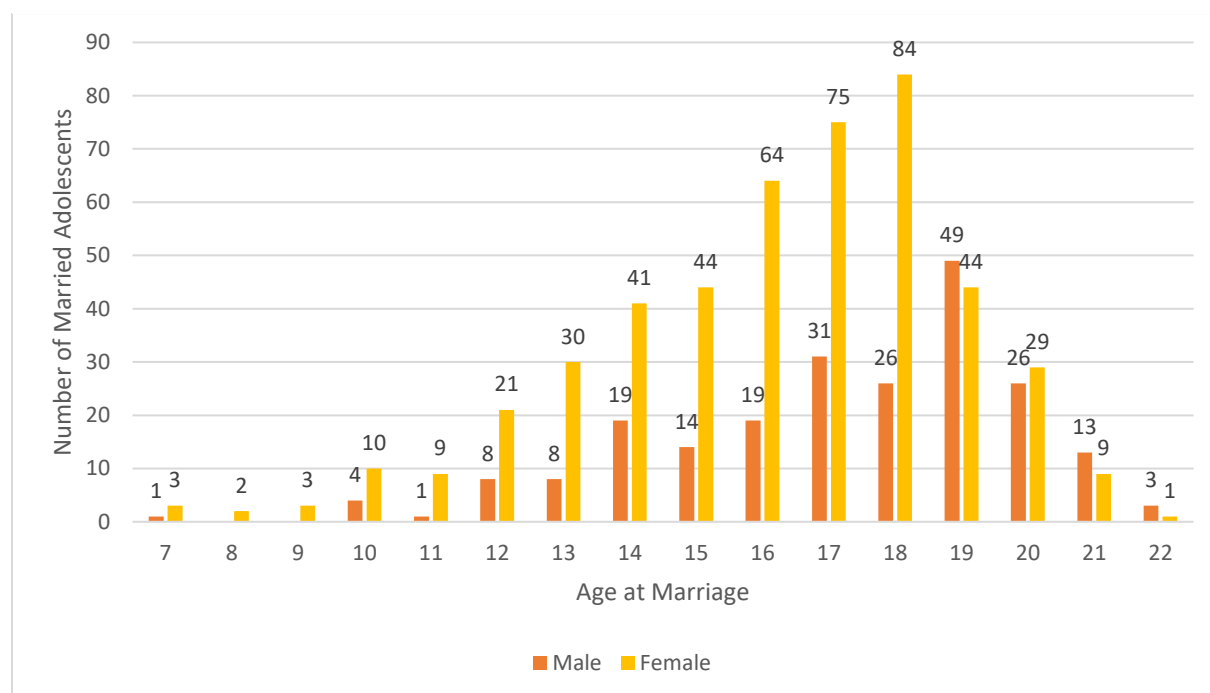


Table 3.1 corroborates the findings shown earlier. It can be seen that the average age of marriage of both boys as well as girls is below the legal age of marriage.

Table 3-1: Mean age of marriage

	MALE	FEMALE
MEAN	17.2	16.1

### 3.3 Attitudes and reasons for early marriage

The section below shall explore the reasons attributed behind the practice of early marriage given by the various stakeholders involved.

#### 3.3.1 Adolescent girls

The FGDs held with the adolescent girls in sample villages highlighted some of the following reasons for early marriage;

##### Real age not known:

It appeared from the field investigations that some of the adolescent girls are not aware of their actual age and have perhaps been misinformed deliberately by their parents. It

was commonly found that adolescent girls, when asked about their age, reported being above 18 years of age despite all their physical characteristics displaying otherwise. This misconception regarding their child's age, makes it convenient for parents to get their children, especially their daughters married early. Since, it is made to seem that the marriage is taking place within the legal bounds of marriage (after the children are 18 years old), but in reality they may be less than 18 years old.

Better documentation of birth and making parents and children aware of the real age may help adolescent girls negotiate delaying their marriage.

### Legal age of marriage not known

The awareness about the legal age of marriage amongst adolescent girls in the sample villages varied. While most girls were aware of the legal age of marriage, girls in Banka village in Ghazipur did not know the exact legal age of marriage.

### Legal age decides marriage

When asked about the ideal age of marriage for girls, most girls in all the villages said they believed that the legal age of marriage should be pushed further and that they should only get married after the age of 21. The reason for this was that they felt that it was only around that age that a girl is able to finish her basic education and attain mental maturity. The ideal age of marriage for girls was linked with their desired educational level as they are able to finish their higher education (inter or class 12) and graduation only after the age of 18 years.

### No say in the decision on timing of marriage

There is very low participation of girls in decision making regarding marriage. The adolescent girls during FGDs said that it is considered socially inappropriate for adolescents to talk to their parents about their marriage. This also means that they have no say regarding the age at which they want to get married or the choice of their groom.

In Sidharthnagar, the girls said how could they talk of such matters...the parents only understand these things better. In Gauharpur and Maharajganj, the girls giggled and said that if they talk about their marriage,

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Hum in sab ke baare mein kaise baat kar sakte hai...ma baap hee zyada samajhte hai."*

*-Tetri bazaar, Sidharthnagar*

*"...(giggles)...hum hee pehle se shaadi ke baare mein baat karenge toh woh sochenge ki humein hee jaldi parhi hai...sirf badhe hee bol sakte hai waise bhi...."*

*-Gauharpur, Maharajganj*

they (parents) will think that they are in a rush to get married...anyway elders only the adults who could discuss such matters.

### Social norm on marriage decisions

There exists a social norm that elders are the only ones who can make decisions regarding when and with whom their children should get married as they know best. The adolescents abide by this social norm, along with the rest of the community. They too feel that elders are the only ones capable of making such decisions, thereby indicating their low level of self-confidence and an unwillingness to challenge existing norms. However, that is not the only reason, since many adolescent girls also feel shy and/or fear ridicule and sometimes, even abuse, which keeps them from expressing their opinion regarding such an important decision regarding their lives.

### 3.3.2 Adolescent Boys

#### Legal age of marriage

Most of the adolescent boys during the FGDs, believed that the ideal age of marriage for girls should be increased in order to delay their marriage till they are physically and mentally prepared. For themselves, they believed they needed to be economically independent before getting married. The adolescent boys felt that girls and boys both needed to be above the age of 21 to be adequately prepared to handle the responsibility of a marriage.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*“Humaare hisaab se aage padhaana chahiye, sharir aur mansik taur par galat prabhav padta hai, life nahi bana paate hain, kamzori ho jaati hai...”*

*– Gaur village*

#### *Voices from the field...*

*“...Kyunki ya toh sharam lagti hai... ya samman ki baat hai...hum apni khud ki shaadi ki baat nahi kar sakte, bahut ajeeb lagta hai.”*

*– Mithari Village*

#### Social norm on marriage decisions

Much like the girls, the boys also are too shy to express or assert their opinions regarding time of marriage or choice of marriage partner. This is also because it is considered inappropriate for children (even older than 18) to express their views regarding their own marriage or such issues.

#### Lack of knowledge on legal age of marriage

Boys who participated in the FGDs in Ghazipur, Varanasi, Gorakhpur and Siddharthnagar did not know the exact legal age of marriage. Upon asking the legal age of marriage, they provided a range of 17-21 years.

## Support early marriages

Though most boys openly expressed that girls and boys should only get married after the age of 18-19 years, some of them also justified early marriage in specific instances. They supported the view, predominantly held by parents/elders that sometimes children are married off early for their own good, so that they do not go astray. For instance, if an adolescent is not going to school and sitting idle, he/she is pushed for marriage so as to prevent them from engaging in any behaviour that may bring shame to them or their family.

### *Voices from the field...*

*“Aisa bhi hota hai ki ma  
baap nahi chahte ki unke  
baccho ki shaadi jaldi ho lekin  
bacche bhi idhar udhar bigad  
jaate hai ya unke bigadne ka  
dar rehta hai isilie bhi kai  
baar ma baap jaldi shaadi kar  
dete hai.”*

*- Nautanwa village,  
Maharajganj*

### 3.3.3 Parents

#### Mothers

### *Voices from the field...*

*“Agar ladki sayaani ho  
gayi toh shaadi kar di.”  
-Chhapwa village*

#### Unaware of actual age of daughters

It was found that in many instances, parents are not aware about their children's actual age since there is no legal proof of age as birth of infants often remains unregistered. It became evident that age is decided based on physical attributes that indicated maturity.

#### Pretend to adhere to legal age

A social desirability bias was noted in the responses whereby the age of marriage was reported as being the same as the legal age of marriage. In many cases, both parents as well as adolescents reported that cases of early marriage have reduced drastically, while the reality may have been different.

#### Economic and social reasons

Early marriage is linked to economic problems and poverty, fear of girl eloping, threat to girl's security and societal prejudices. It is a sentiment echoed by most parents that children choosing their own life partners was a matter of great shame and embarrassment for the family and a stigma that the girl was “spoilt”.

### *Voices from the field...*

*“Bigad jaati hai ladkiya agar  
jaldi shaadi na hui toh”.*

*- Siswa Grant; a sentiment  
echoed by mothers in most FGDs.*

## Marriage as a better option to sitting idle

The mothers also felt that if the girl is not occupied with her education, she must get married and not sit idle (to protect the pride of the family by preventing any mishap before marriage). Therefore, marriage is seen as a means to secure a girl and her family's honour in society. The mothers felt that these days mostly girls are married off only after they pass high school. If the girl is not good in studies and she is sitting idle at home, then her marriage is arranged early.

### *Voices from the field...*

*'Aajkal zyadatar ladkiyon ki shaadi inter pass karwane ke baad hi karwate hai. Agar ladki padhai mein achchi na ho aur ghar pe baithe rahe toh uski shaadi jaldi ho jati hai'*  
- Indaur village, Ghazipur

Education and other purposeful activity or money generating activity may be seen as a justified reason to delay marriage

## Physical safety and health of girls

Mothers were aware that a marriage takes its toll on the physical as well as the mental health of girls, yet they talked about a girl's body breaking/being severely affected after marriage as a positive thing. They believed that in that condition, threats to her safety were reduced.

### *Voices from the field...*

*"Shareer toot jaati hai shaadi aur baccho ke baad, tabhi woh apne pati ke saath surakshit ho jaati hai kyunki woh apne pati ke saath bandhan mein ho jaati hai".*  
- Chhapwa Village

## Support for legal age

### *Voices from the field...*

*"Ladkiya kamzor padh jaengi...phir bacche kaise paida kar paengi?"*  
- Nautanwa village, Maharajganj

When asked about the reasons as to why a girl should not get married before the age of 18, mothers' reasons were based on the role of a girl as a child bearer in the future. The mothers do not delay their daughters' marriage to prevent the adverse effects on the daughter's health, rather they agree to do so to

preserve her health as a future mother and of the to-be-born child. Hence, the concern remains the girl's child bearing capacity.

### 3.3.4 Fathers

#### Economic reasons

In many FGDs, fathers did not support early marriage for the girl child but there were a few FGDs in which fathers justified early marriage on monetary grounds. They said that they had more difficulty in finding a groom and have to pay higher dowry if the girl is above the age of 20.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Jo umar zyaada ho jaaye toh ladka milne mein dikkat hoti hai aur dahej bhi zyaada maangte hain."*

– Kamlapur Bichilka

#### Social pressure

Fathers believe that there are various challenges associated with delaying the girl's marriage beyond 18 such as societal pressure and social prejudices. A father's ability as the head of the household is often questioned if he is not able to find a suitable groom for his daughter at an early age. Also, they feel that their 'burden' should be lessened.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Tamaam dikkate hoti hain. Zimmidariyon se chutkara hee nahi mil paata jab tak ladki ki shaadi na hui ho. Humaara bojh bhi dheere dheere halka hona chahiye. Bhay bhi ho jaata hai ki kaun shaadi karega."*

– Seswa Bujurg

#### Early marriage to prevent trouble

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Kuch bachhe apne parivaar ko pareshaan kar dete hain toh unki majboori bann jaati hai kam umra mein shaadi kara dena."*

- Mirpur Karaundi, Jaunpur district

Like some of the boys, fathers too attributed early marriage to the girl's behaviour by saying that only those girls who cause trouble for their families are married off early.

#### Caste and cultural practices

In various discussions, the issue of caste was also brought up, whereby respondents said that families belonging to lower castes are generally the ones who practice early marriage. In villages where Dalits are in minority, one of the factors contributing to early marriage of girls is securing their safety from the upper caste men by marrying them off early.

### 3.3.5 Community Institutions

FGDs with various office bearers of the community institutions reveal the following attitudes about early marriage:

- Except in Ghazipur, members of the PRI and ASHA and Anganwadi workers, knew the legal age of marriage.

- Most duty bearers and panchayat members denied the prevalence of early marriages in their community. They said that while marriages before the age of 18 did take place, it had reduced over the years since education had become a priority for the parents as well as the kids, and hence, marriages take place only after the age of 18. However, this did not imply that children finished their education before getting married.
- There were a few PRI members in districts such as Gorakhpur and Maharajganj who believed that a girl should get married early as it increases the chance of her getting a 'good groom' and helps her to 'settle down' faster.
- In Maharajganj, some duty bearers/frontline workers used negative examples of children caught having sexually/socially inappropriate relations to legitimize early marriage. They said that marriage was necessary to avoid instances of eloping and inappropriate/premature sexual relations. In Gorakhpur an Asha worker mentioned a girl who eloped this year and said this is why girls should be married off earlier because you can't trust girls these days.
- The safety of girls is used as a reason for early marriage. In Gorakhpur, an SHG member stated that we want girls to get married early because we don't want to be responsible for her safety for too long.
- Some of the duty bearers, especially young ones or the ones who had exposure of outside the state (Mumbai/ Delhi etc) had progressive views on marriage and various other aspects of girl's empowerment. They felt that the girls should first finish education at least till class 12, should be mobile and should be economically independent.

***Voices from the field...***

*"Isi saal, gaon ki chaar ladkiya bhaag gayi  
isliliye, ladkiyon ki shaadi jaldi kar dena  
chahiye... kyuki aajkal ladkiyon pe bharosa nahi  
kiya ja sakta."*

*- Asha worker, Bhairva, Gorakhpur*

***Voices from the field...***

*'Hum ye chahte hai ki ladki ki shaadi jaldi ho  
jaye taaki humein uske suraksha ki zimmedari  
zyada der tak nahi lena chahte hai'*

*- SHG, Ashrafpur, Gorakhpur*

### **3.4 In summary**

- Most stakeholders were aware of the legal age of marriage and most, barring a few, also felt that children should only get married after the age of 18 as it was important for them to be physically fit and finish their basic education (at least till class 10th).
- We can infer from the quantitative as well as the qualitative data that though the prevalence of early marriages has reduced, there is still a considerable number of early marriages that do take place. This practice is justified by the parents and community on various grounds.
- The main reason that emerges from the discussions is that early marriage is a means of ensuring that a girl is 'protected'. The only way a girl is seen to be protected is by placing her firmly under male control. It is expected of the girl to remain submissive

to her husband and that she works hard for her in-laws' household, apart from bearing children.

- A girl is considered settled for life and an end to the parent's 'burden' once she gets married.
- Early marriage is considered good for the girl and for the family. Deviating from this practice elicits community pressure.
- Additionally, these fears act as drivers of early marriage, whereby the developing body of an adolescent girl is viewed as a liability or danger that can be dealt with by pre-emptively marrying her off.

In order to create an impact on this phenomenon occurring widely across the sample villages, initiatives involving life skills and other such skills and educational workshops may help enable the adolescents to have a say regarding delaying their marriage. Awareness regarding the actual age may aid negotiation with parents and help challenge the social norm wherein marriage is seen as a means to securing the honour of the girl and her family. Finally, education and economic independence are the most accepted reasons for delayed marriages and could be an entry point to influence age of marriage.

## **4 GENDER BASED VIOLENCE**

## 4.1 Introduction

This section delves into the perceptions surrounding gender based violence against adolescents and through it, attempts to understand the social norms and beliefs which inform it. These perceptions are also explored across stakeholders to gauge prevailing power dynamics as well as to recognise deviant behaviour and cues for norm bending.

While gender based violence, especially against adolescent girls and married adolescents, was found to exist in many case, these acts of violence, especially within the household, verbal, mental and physical, were found to be embedded in a culture of silence. Reporting of violence experienced within the household by girls was much lesser than boys. During FGDs too, when asked about it, most of the mothers and adolescent girls refused facing it until probed. While in most cases, physical or verbal abuse within the household is not recognised as violence in the village communities, and even if it is acknowledged, the reporting of them remains minimal. Violence perpetrated outside of home on the other hand, is recognised, and the solution to it is mainly the restriction of girls' mobility away from spaces that are deemed unsafe. The invisible boundaries for movement of adolescent girls and boys as well as the repercussions of not adhering to these, are considerably different for boys and girls.

## 4.2 Adolescents who witnessed and experienced violence

### 4.2.1 Violence experienced

According to Figure 4.1, out of all respondents, the highest number of adolescents who have experienced any kind of violence<sup>14</sup> within the family that is 57 percent, lie in the 11-14 year boys group, followed by 42 percent boys aged 15-19 years. More 11-14 year old girls have experienced violence within the family than 15-19 year old girls. The same holds for violence experienced outside the family by boys. Percentage of adolescent girls who have experienced any kind of violence outside the family is similar for both age groups.

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<sup>14</sup> The variable on any form/kind of violence (witness or experience) has been computed combining responses received from adolescents on the specific questions related to various forms of violence (verbal, physical and sexual). All the related variables have been taken from Section IX from the Adolescent Questionnaire. All the reported cases were combined and categorised into 'experience/witness any form of violence' and 'not experience/witness any form of violence'. However, the responses/data of proportions of adolescents' responses on specific form of violence has been mentioned in Annexure.

Figure 4.1 - Respondents who have experienced any kind of violence within the family

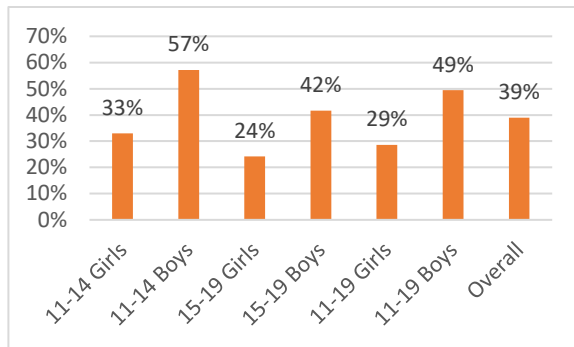
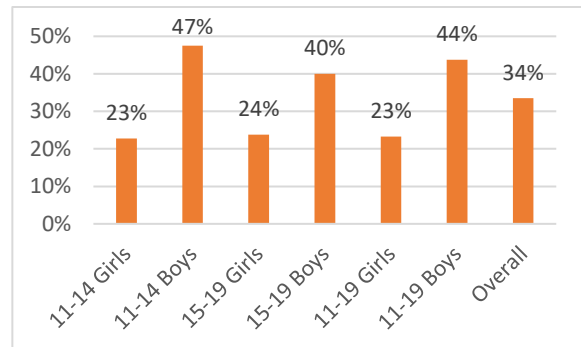


Figure 4.2 - Respondents who have experienced any kind of violence outside the family



#### 4.2.2 Experienced violence and sought help

According to Figure 4.3, of those who have experienced violence within family, the highest percentage of respondents who sought help, 68 percent, belong to the 15-19 year old adolescent boys group. On the other hand, a higher number of 15-19 year old adolescent girls, 76.5 percent, reported the attempt to seek help on experiencing violence outside the family, as seen in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.3: Respondents who have experienced any kind of violence within the family and tried to seek help

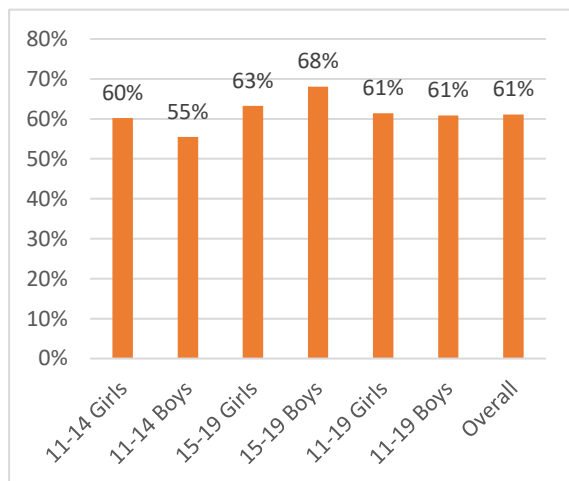
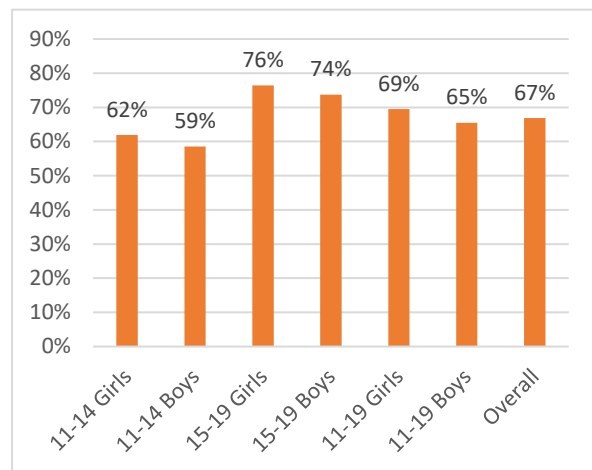


Figure 4.4: Respondents who have experienced any kind of violence outside the family and tried to seek help



The consolidated figures for all adolescents who have experienced any violence within or outside their homes and those that sought help are illustrated in the following figures.

Figure 4.5: Respondents who have experienced any kind of violence (overall)

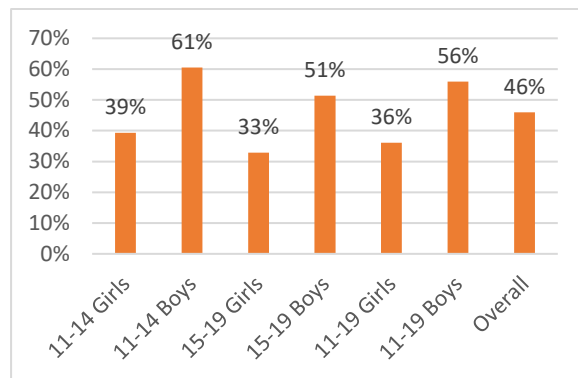
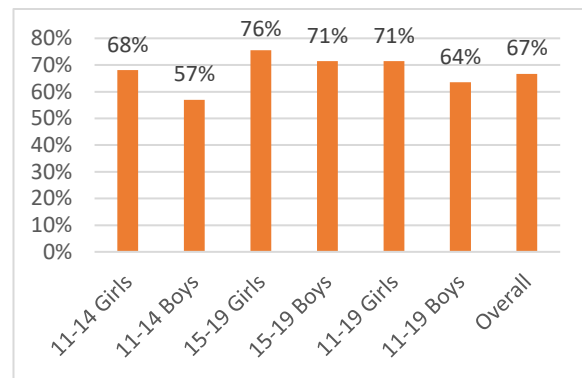


Figure 4.6: Respondents who have experienced any kind of violence and tried to seek help (overall)



### 4.2.3 Adolescents who witnessed violence

The highest percentage of respondents who have witnessed violence within the family are 11-14 year old adolescent boys group as can be seen in Figure 4.7. According to Figure 4.8, more number of 15-19 year old adolescents have witnessed violence outside the family, 74 percent boys and 65 percent girls.

Figure 4.7: Respondents who have witnessed any kind of violence within the family

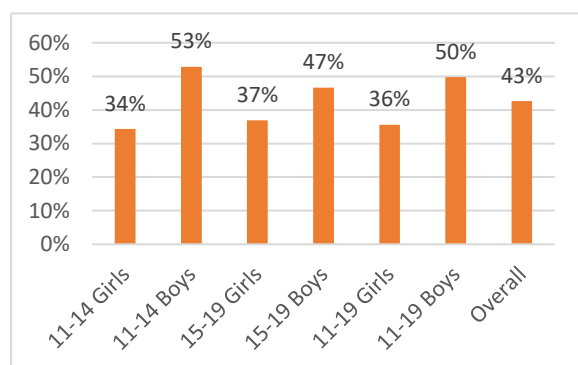
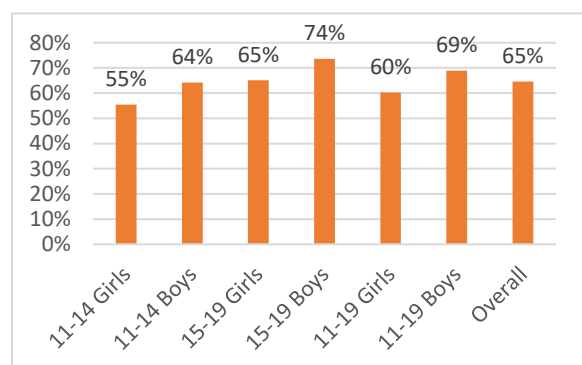


Figure 4.8: Respondents who have witnessed any kind of violence outside the family



### 4.2.4 Witnessed violence and sought help

Out of those who witnessed violence of any kind within the family, 75.4 percent 15-19 year old boys and 72.4 percent 15-19 year old girls reported taking any kind of initiative for the victim. An overall of 68.8 percent respondents reported the same, as shown in Figure 4.9. According to Figure 4.10, 73.1 percent 15-19 year old boys and 69.4 percent girls reported taking any kind of initiative for the victim.

Figure 4.9: Respondents who took initiative for victim on witnessing violence within family

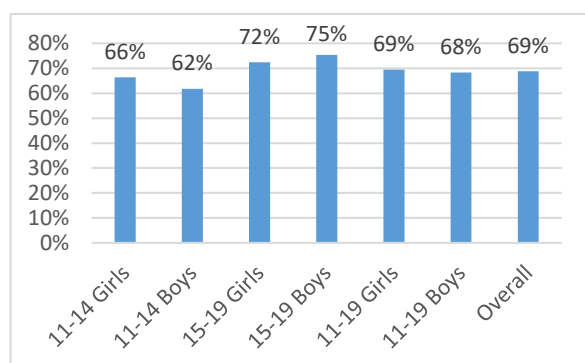
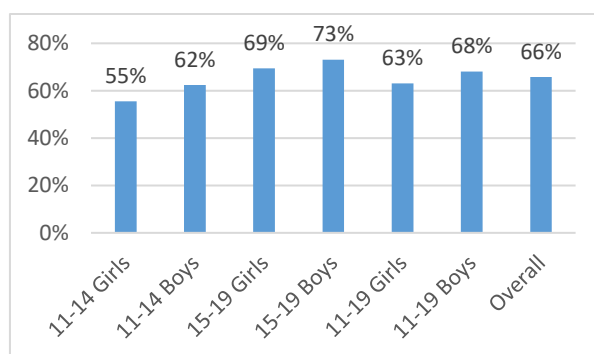


Figure 4.10: Respondents who took initiative for victim on witnessing violence outside family



The following figures show that the older adolescents (both boys and girls) are more able and willing to seek help when they witness someone being a victim of violence.

Figure 4.11: Respondents who have witnessed any kind of violence (overall)

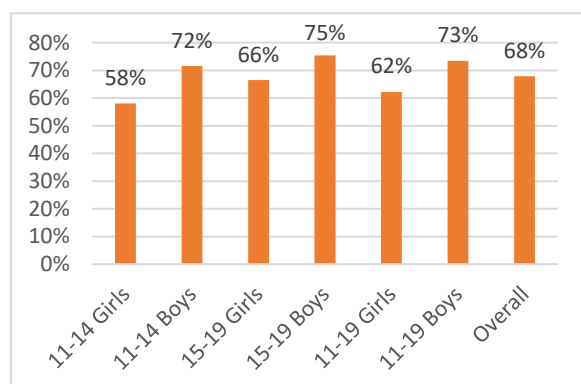
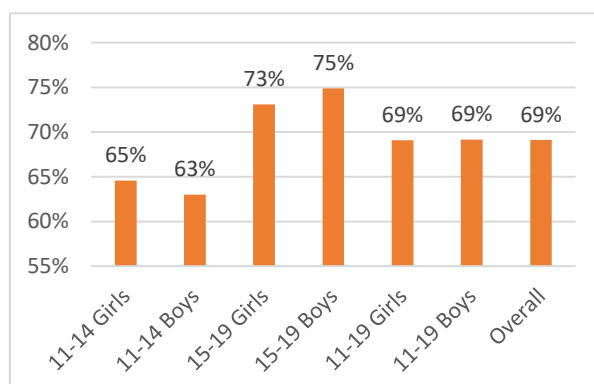


Figure 4.12: Respondents who took initiative for victim (overall)



### 4.2.5 Types of Violence

To have an in-depth understanding of gender based violence inflicted upon adolescents, the different modes of violence (verbal, physical and sexual), were covered during the assessment. Adolescents were asked questions on the forms of violence in the quantitative survey. Cases of witnessing and experiencing sexual violence were enquired about, only from adolescents aged 15-19 years. Out of these respondents, a negligible percentage of adolescents stated that they had witnessed acts of sexual violence. The percentage of adolescents who experienced it was much lower, due to which no clear inferences can be drawn on the reasons and perpetrators, and hence sexual violence is not reported in this chapter.

The following observations were made on forms of verbal and physical violence:

## Verbal Violence

In the context of verbal violence, respondents were asked whether they experienced or witnessed various forms of verbal violence. They were asked if they were insulted, made to feel bad about themselves, threatened to be hurt by anyone outside the family or by family members or if they had witnessed this. 10.8 percent adolescents reported witnessing and 8.8 percent adolescents reported being insulted and made to feel bad about themselves within the household and 10.3 percent outside. 29.7 percent adolescents reported witnessing others being threatened to be hurt by people outside the family.

### Reasons

Where verbal violence is concerned, the main reasons for being subjected to it were found to be:

- **Not doing household chores-** Out of those respondents who faced verbal violence, maximum respondents, both girls and boys, reported not doing household chores as a reason for verbal violence inflicted upon adolescents both in the cases of experiencing and witnessing it. A higher percentage of such violence within the household corroborates with the inference that violence is used by the family as a corrective tool.
- **Going out to play and going out with others-** A marked difference was observed between the number of boys and that of girls who witnessed and experienced verbal violence for going out to play and going out with others. More boys reported facing violence for engaging in these activities, especially within the household. This could be because the set rules limiting the act of venturing into public spaces is stauncher for girls and hence internalised to a higher extent among them. However, while boys do venture out to play or with their peer groups, they witnessed or faced verbal violence for doing so.
- **Not completing homework/reading and not obeying elders-** A higher number of boys than girls reported witnessing or facing verbal violence on not focusing on their studies as well as not obeying elders.

Table 4-1 and Table 4-2 show the reasons for which the highest percentages of girls and boys faced verbal violence, out of those respondents who witnessed and experienced it.

*Table 4-1: Reasons for verbal violence, witnessed by respondents*

Reasons of verbal violence	Witnessed					
	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Going out to play	42.6%	22.7%	27.9%	14.5%	36.3%	18.8%

<b>Going out with others</b>	40.0%	21.8%	14.0 %	14.0 %	28.9%	18.1 %
<b>Not doing household chores</b>	44.3%	21.3%	41.9 %	21.2 %	43.3%	21.3 %
<b>Not completing homework/ reading</b>	36.5%	16.2%	15.1 %	13.5 %	27.4%	14.9 %
<b>Not obeying elders</b>	35.7%	17.6%	17.4 %	14.0 %	27.9%	15.9 %

*Table 4-2: Reasons for verbal violence, experienced by respondents*

<b>Reasons of verbal violence</b>	<b>Experienced</b>					
	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<b>Overall</b>	
	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>
<b>Going out to play</b>	36.3%	15.2%	17.9%	12.8%	29.3%	14.6%
<b>Going out with others</b>	34.1%	20.0%	10.7%	23.1%	25.2%	20.8%
<b>Not doing household chores</b>	50.5%	24.8%	51.8%	23.1%	51.0%	24.3%
<b>Not completing homework/ reading</b>	45.1%	21.0%	16.1%	23.1%	34.0%	21.5%
<b>Not obeying elders</b>	38.5%	12.4%	17.9%	10.3%	30.6%	11.8%

## Perpetrators

According to the respondents who witnessed or experienced verbal violence, the highest percentage of them reported parents inflicting verbal violence upon them. The percentage of respondents witnessing and experiencing verbal violence inflicted by mothers was observed to be similar for both girls and boys. A high percentage of boys reported witnessing (74.2percent) and experiencing (72.3percent) verbal violence inflicted by fathers upon boys. The other perpetrators of violence, as reported by considerable percentages of respondents, are siblings, teachers, friends and male residents outside family, especially in the case of boys. Table 4-3 and Table 4-4 exhibit the perpetrators of verbal violence both witnessed and experienced.

*Table 4-3: Perpetrators of verbal violence, witnessed by respondents*

<b>Perpetrator of verbal violence</b>	<b>Witnessed</b>					
	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<b>Overall</b>	
	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>
<b>Mother</b>	44.4%	12.4%	44.1%	18.9%	44.2%	15.6%
<b>Father</b>	74.2%	30.7%	36.6%	22.3%	58.1%	26.6%
<b>Sister</b>	15.3%	2.9%	17.2%	10.3%	16.1%	6.5%

<b>Brother</b>	33.1%	14.9%	20.4%	16.7%	27.6%	15.8%
<b>Teacher</b>	4.8%	49.8%	7.5%	27.5%	6.0%	38.8%

*Table 4-4: Perpetrators of verbal violence, experienced by respondents*

Perpetrator of verbal violence	Experienced					
	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
<b>Mother</b>	43.6%	8.5%	53.4%	11.6%	47.4%	9.4%
<b>Father</b>	72.3%	21.4%	15.5%	14.0%	50.7%	19.4%
<b>Sister</b>	11.7%	4.3%	22.4%	14.0%	15.8%	6.9%
<b>Brother</b>	37.2%	11.1%	22.4%	11.6%	31.6%	11.3%
<b>Men residents outside family</b>	3.2%	28.2%	1.7%	11.6%	2.6%	23.8%
<b>Friend</b>	3.2%	27.4%	1.7%	14.0%	2.6%	23.8%
<b>Unknown person</b>	3.2%	39.3%	6.9%	18.6%	4.6%	33.8%

### Reporting Verbal Violence

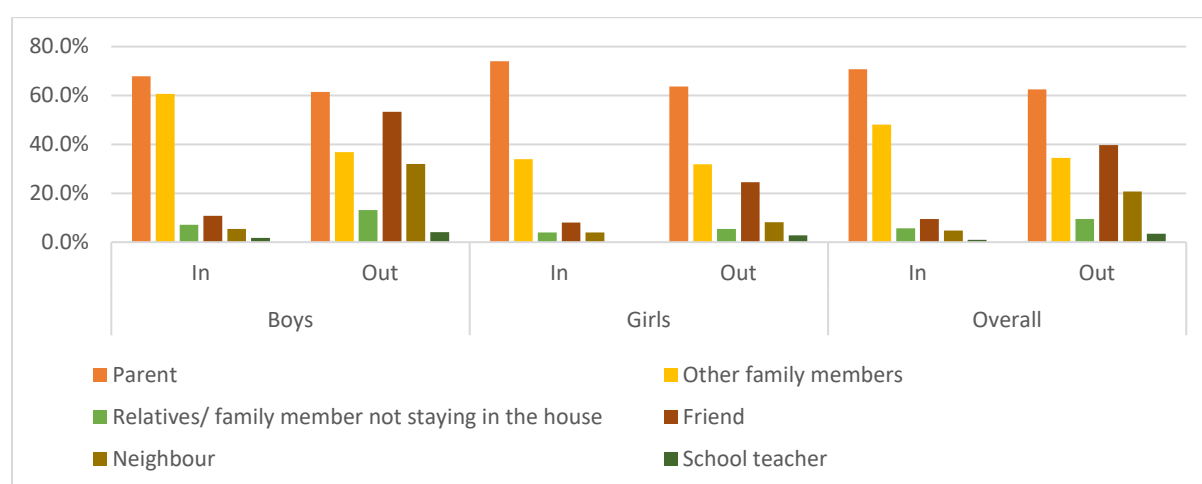
Out of the total respondents who reported witnessing cases of verbal violence, 48 percent informed someone about witnessing it within the household, and 45.4 percent reported witnessing in outside, as seen in Table 4-5

*Table 4-5: Percentage of respondents who told anyone about witnessing verbal violence*

Told anyone when Verbal Violence Witnessed	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
<b>Told</b>	44.8%	46.4%	52.1%	44.4%	48.0%	45.4%
<b>Did not tell</b>	55.2%	53.6%	47.9%	55.6%	52.0%	54.6%

As seen in Figure 4.13 the highest percentage of those who reported witnessing violence, talked about it to their parents and other family members.

Figure 4.13: Persons, respondents reported witnessing verbal violence to



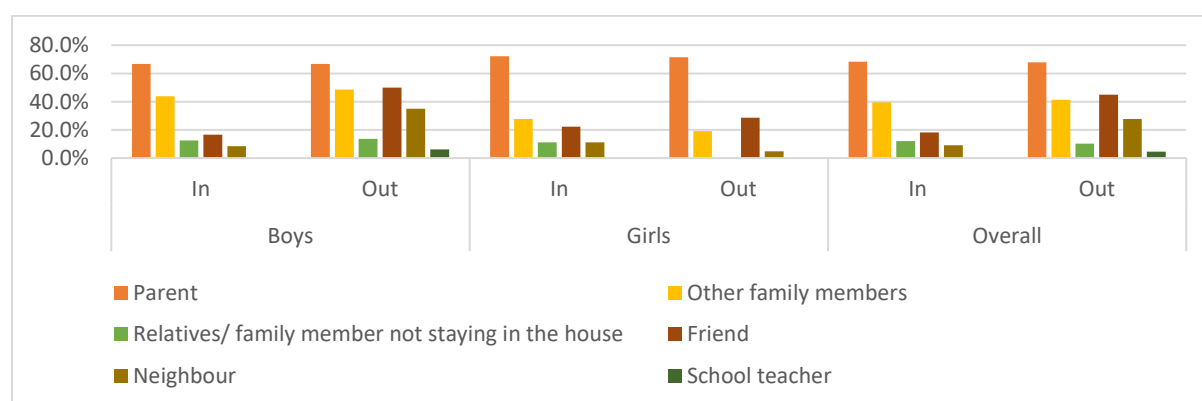
43.4 percent among those respondents who experienced verbal violence, told someone about experiencing it within the household and 54.4 percent outside the household, as seen in Table 4-6.

Table 4-6: Percentage of respondents who told anyone about experiencing verbal violence

Told anyone when Verbal Experienced	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
<b>Told</b>	51.1%	56.4%	31.0%	48.8%	43.4%	54.4%
<b>Did not tell</b>	48.9%	43.6%	69.0%	51.2%	56.6%	45.6%

According to Figure 4.14, most respondents who reported experiencing verbal violence, spoke mostly to their parents and other family members about it.

Figure 4.14: Persons, respondents reported experiencing verbal violence to



## Physical Violence

In the context of physical violence, respondents were asked whether they were or they witnessed someone being slapped, arms twisted, kicked, intentionally burnt, or subjected to any other physical pain. 30.6 percent respondents reported witnessing someone being slapped within the household and 37.8 percent reported witnessing it outside. 23.9 percent respondents reported witnessing someone's arm being twisted or hair pulled, and 22.6 percent reported witnessing someone being punched or hit with the intention of hurting, outside the house.

### Reasons

The reasons, reported by respondents, of physical violence being inflicted on them were found to be similar to the reasons for which verbal violence is inflicted on them. In many cases, physical and verbal violence go hand in hand.

Table 4-7 shows the predominant reasons for which physical violence was witnessed among adolescents. According to the findings, 47.7 percent adolescents witnessed physical violence within households for not doing household chores. The other reasons for witnessing physical violence were found to be going out to play, not obeying elders, and not completing homework.

*Table 4-7: Reasons for physical violence, witnessed by respondents*

Reasons for physical violence	Witnessed					
	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Going out to play	34.9%	18.8%	28.0%	17.1%	32.1%	18.1%
Watching television	26.2%	15.5%	19.1%	8.8%	23.3%	12.8%
Going out with others	29.3%	14.8%	17.2%	13.5%	24.4%	14.3%
Not doing household chores	55.9%	27.1%	35.7%	18.1%	47.7%	23.4%
Not completing homework/ reading	38.4%	25.6%	21.0%	20.7%	31.3%	23.6%
Not obeying elders	35.4%	18.4%	22.9%	13.5%	30.3%	16.4%

Table 4-8 displays the reasons for which physical violence was experienced among adolescents. The reasons for experiencing physical violence are similar to those for which it was found to be witnessed. A higher percentage of boys reported witnessing as well as experiencing physical violence than girls.

*Table 4-8: Reasons for physical violence, experienced by respondents*

Reasons for physical violence	Experienced					
	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Going out to play	36.5%	20.9%	28.6%	10.5%	33.7%	18.0%

<b>Watching television</b>	28.2%	15.2%	13.6%	7.9%	23.2%	13.1%
<b>Going out with others</b>	34.2%	17.8%	13.6%	14.5%	27.1%	16.9%
<b>Not doing household chores</b>	48.9%	18.8%	40.7%	9.2%	46.1%	16.1%
<b>Not completing homework/ reading</b>	45.9%	38.7%	25.0%	38.2%	38.7%	38.6%
<b>Not obeying elders</b>	36.5%	15.2%	22.1%	9.2%	31.5%	13.5%

## Perpetrators

Similar to the observations on verbal violence, the highest percentage of those who perpetrate physical violence, according to the respondents, are parents and family members (brothers and sisters) within the household. 38.2 percent boys and 40.7 percent girls reported witnessing physical violence being inflicted by mothers within the household. 70.7 percent boys and a comparatively lower percentage of girls (30.5 percent) reported witnessing it being inflicted by fathers within the household. Where witnessing physical violence outside the household is concerned, 41 percent boys and 20.8 percent girls reported witnessing it being inflicted by unknown persons. The other perpetrators of physical violence, as witnessed by the respondents, are siblings, friends and teachers.

*Table 4-9: Perpetrators of physical violence, witnessed by respondents*

<b>Perpetrator of physical violence</b>	<b>Witnessed</b>					
	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<b>Overall</b>	
	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>
<b>Mother</b>	38.2%	10.8%	40.7%	19.2%	39.2%	14.4%
<b>Father</b>	70.7%	32.8%	30.5%	20.0%	54.5%	27.4%
<b>Sister</b>	11.8%	3.9%	23.4%	11.4%	16.5%	7.1%
<b>Brother</b>	28.0%	12.3%	30.5%	19.2%	29.1%	15.3%
<b>Friend</b>	5.7%	20.8%	3.6%	4.9%	4.8%	14.0%
<b>Teacher</b>	3.7%	14.2%	.6%	8.6%	2.4%	11.8%
<b>Unknown person</b>	2.0%	41.0%	3.0%	20.8%	2.4%	32.4%

In case of experiencing physical violence, the findings are similar to those of respondents witnessing it. Table 4-10 shows the percentages of respondents who experienced physical violence inflicted by different perpetrators both within and outside households.

*Table 4-10: Perpetrators of physical violence experienced by respondents*

<b>Perpetrator of physical violence</b>	<b>Experience</b>					
	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<b>Overall</b>	
	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>	<b>In</b>	<b>Out</b>
<b>Mother</b>	40.6%	8.0%	66.2%	15.0%	49.4%	9.9%

<b>Father</b>	75.3%	19.3%	22.5%	18.8%	57.1%	19.2%
<b>Sister</b>	8.9%	3.3%	19.0%	15.0%	12.3%	6.5%
<b>Brother</b>	24.0%	9.0%	19.0%	12.5%	22.3%	9.9%
<b>Friend</b>	3.3%	22.6%	1.4%	11.3%	2.7%	19.5%
<b>Teacher</b>	3.3%	37.7%	0.0%	30.0%	2.2%	35.6%
<b>Unknown person</b>	3.3%	31.1%	0.0%	11.3%	2.2%	25.7%

## Reporting Physical Violence

Out of the respondents who witnessed physical violence a higher percentage of adolescents did not tell anyone about it. 37.2 percent adolescents talked to someone about witnessing it within the household and 38.3 percent talked to someone about witnessing it outside, as seen in Table 4-11.

*Table 4-11: Percentage of respondents who told anyone about witnessing physical violence*

<b>Told anyone when Physical Violence Witnessed</b>	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<b>Overall</b>	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
<b>Told</b>	38.1%	41.3%	35.9%	34.3%	37.2%	38.3%
<b>Did not tell</b>	61.9%	58.7%	64.1%	65.7%	62.8%	61.7%

Figure 4.15 shows that out of those who talked about witnessing physical violence, most talked about it to parents, other family members and friends.

*Figure 4.15: Persons to whom respondents reported witnessing physical violence*

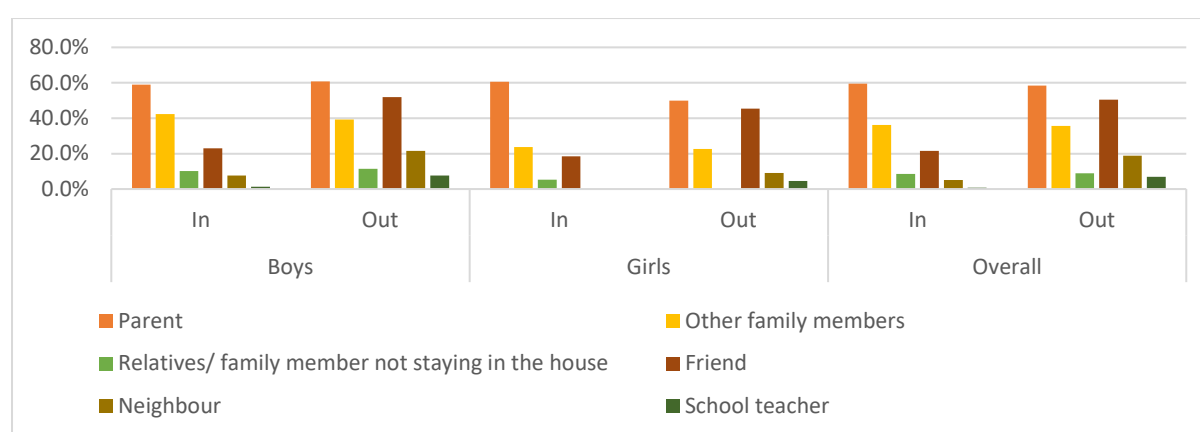
In the case of experiencing physical violence, a comparatively lower percentage of respondents, 28.1 percent within and 34.6 percent outside, talked to anyone about experiencing it, as seen in Table 4-12.

*Table 4-12: Percentage of respondents who told anyone about experiencing physical violence*

<b>Told anyone when Physical Violence Experienced</b>	<b>Boys</b>		<b>Girls</b>		<b>Overall</b>	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
<b>Told</b>	28.8%	37.3%	26.8%	27.5%	28.1%	34.6%
<b>Did not tell</b>	71.2%	62.7%	73.2%	72.5%	71.9%	65.4%

Most of the respondents who talked about experiencing physical violence, did so with parents, other family members and friends, as showed in Figure 4.16.

Figure 4.16: Persons, respondents reported experiencing physical violence to

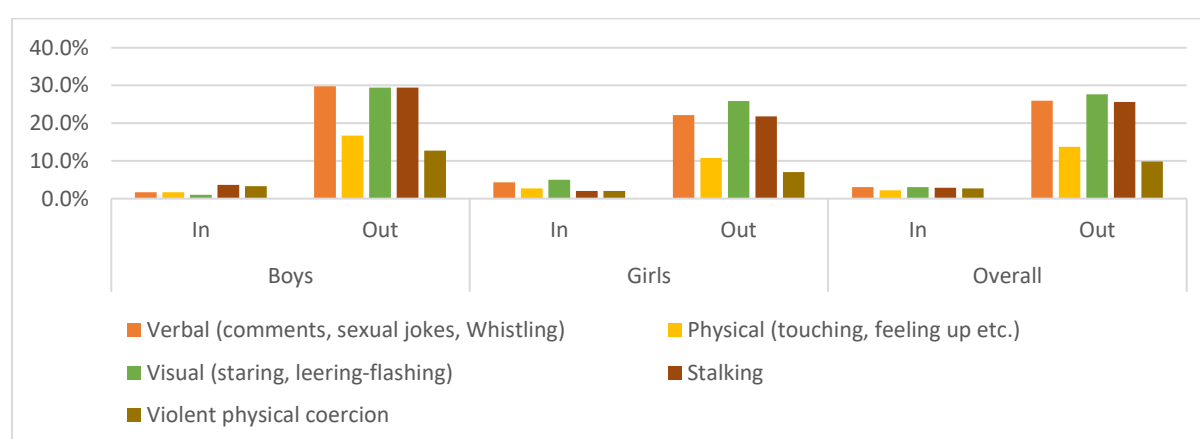


## Sexual Violence

Cases of witnessing and experiencing sexual violence were enquired about, only from adolescents aged 15-19 years. Out of these respondents, a negligible percentage of adolescents stated that they had experienced acts of sexual violence. On the other hand, where witnessing sexual violence is concerned, a higher percentage of respondents stated doing so.

While enquiring about sexual violence, the respondents were asked whether they witnessed or experienced any verbal sexual violence such as sexual comments and jokes, physical sexual violence such as being touched or felt up, visual sexual violence such as being stared, leered or flashed at, stalking or violent physical coercion. Figure 4.17 shows the percentage of respondents aged 15-19 years who witnessed any of the aforementioned acts of sexual violence.

Figure 4.17: Percentage of respondents who witnessed any kind of sexual violence



## Reasons

As seen in Table 4-13 there are several reasons which sexual violence and harassment were attributed to. According to the findings, sexual violence inflicted within the household for revenge on past matters was witnessed the most, that is 40.9percent of respondents stated witnessing it. Outside the household, out of the respondents who witnessed sexual violence, most, 24.1percent, stated the reason behind it being the perpetrator taking revenge due to being ditched or duped in an affair or relationship. The other reasons are shown in Table 4-13

Table 4-13: Reasons of sexual harassment, witnessed

Reasons of sexual harassment	Witnessed					
	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Revenge on past matter	63.6%	25.2%	18.2%	13.9%	40.9%	20.2%
Caste/religion based discrimination	13.6%	8.7%	9.1%	4.0%	11.4%	6.6%
Victim was raising voice against corruption/system/violence	4.5%	7.1%	4.5%	1.0%	4.5%	4.4%
Victim was under influence of alcohol/drug	36.4%	18.9%	22.7%	14.9%	29.5%	17.1%
Culprit was under effect of alcohol/drug	22.7%	20.5%	13.6%	9.9%	18.2%	15.8%
Ditched/duped in an affair/relationship	13.6%	25.2%	9.1%	22.8%	11.4%	24.1%
Bullying	31.8%	20.5%	9.1%	14.9%	20.5%	18.0%

## Perpetrators

According to the respondents who witnessed any form of sexual violence, fathers within the household, especially in the case of boys, inflicts sexual violence the most. This can be in the form of commenting or joking among others. Outside the household, 52.6percent adolescents reported that they witnessed unknown persons inflicting sexual violence upon victims. Table 4-14 shows the perpetrators of sexual violence, as witnessed by the respondents.

Table 4-14: Perpetrators of sexual violence witnessed by respondents

Perpetrators of sexual harassment	Witnessed					
	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Mother	13.6%	1.6%	40.9%	8.9%	27.3%	4.8%
Father	72.7%	15.7%	31.8%	7.9%	52.3%	12.3%
Brother	13.6%	6.3%	27.3%	7.9%	20.5%	7.0%
Other male relatives	27.3%	3.1%	4.5%	2.0%	15.9%	2.6%
Men residents outside family	18.2%	15.0%	0.0%	12.9%	9.1%	14.0%
Friend	18.2%	24.4%	4.5%	20.8%	11.4%	22.8%

Unknown person	4.5%	59.1%	22.7%	44.6%	13.6%	52.6%
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## Reporting of Sexual Violence

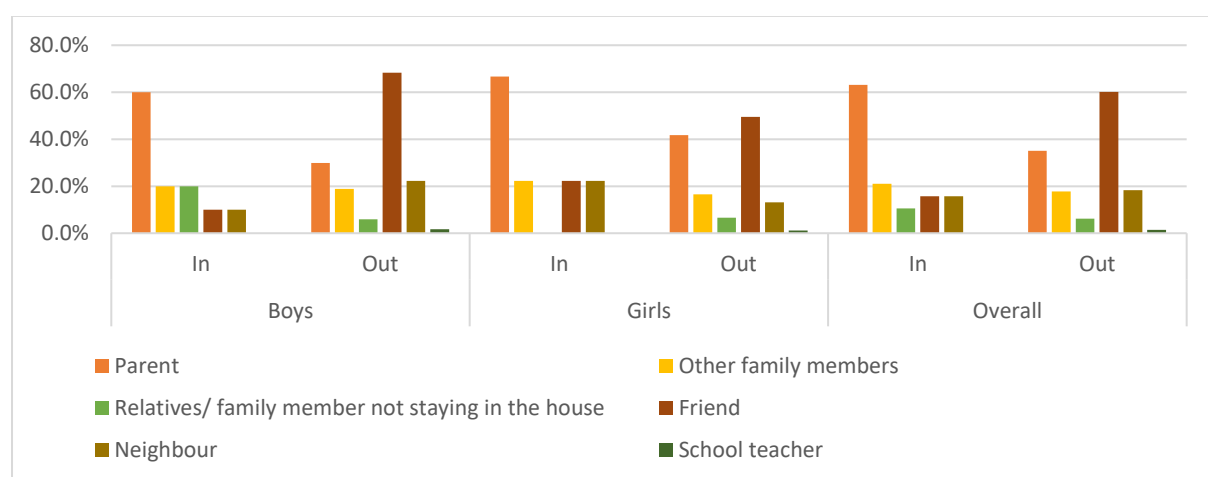
As seen in Table 4-15, out of the 15-19years old respondents who witnessed any kind of sexual violence or harassment, 43.2percent talked to someone about witnessing it within the household and 57percent adolescents reported witnessing it outside.

Table 4-15: Percentage of respondents who told anyone about witnessing sexual violence

Told anyone when Sexual Violence Witnessed	Boys		Girls		Overall	
	In	Out	In	Out	In	Out
Told	45.5%	54.3%	40.9%	60.4%	43.2%	57.0%
Did not tell	54.5%	45.7%	59.1%	39.6%	56.8%	43.0%

According to Figure 4.18 respondents who witnessed sexual violence talked about it to their parents and friends.

Figure 4.18: Persons, respondents reported witnessing sexual violence to



## 4.3 Attitude towards violence

There is an acceptance of physical punishment as a corrective tool both among the adolescent and the parent groups that was found to shape attitudes and perspectives on violence.

The idea of the 'obedient girl' remains a social norm and observance of rules required to belong to the category of an "obedient girl" is seen, by most adolescent girls, as the solution to avoid disciplinary violence meted out within the household. During the FGDs conducted, when adolescent girls were asked about the incidence of verbal and physical violence against them within the household, especially violence inflicted by parents and elders in the family, most of them stated that such violence can be reduced if adolescents behave according to accepted behavioural norms.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Kabhi aisa lagta hai ki sahi se rahe taaki ghar pe  
maar na pare. Fir lagta hai ki ghar ke bado ka rawaiyya  
aur nazar badalna chahiye'* Adolescent girl, Banka,  
Ghazipur

A girl from Banka village in Ghazipur district states that sometimes one feels that it is better to behave in the manner that is considered right so as to avoid violence on ourselves at home, and at other times one feels like challenging the

perspectives of the elders at home.

However, adolescent girls were observed to recognise the prejudices which inform this idea. The realisation that the established norms limit their agency is in conflict with their acceptance of the need and methods of corrective punishment. For example, they stated that being beaten if they do not do household chores and engage in leisure activities limits their wish to do so. However, most of them find it acceptable to be beaten if they do not adhere to the tasks expected of them. An in-depth discussion saw the girls critiquing violence within the households. Their views rested on two main arguments:

- Methods of reprimanding should be modified and violence should be replaced with reasoning.
- Mind sets of elders, which inform these social norms, should be changed.

Unlike elders in the family, for whom hitting girls in the case of disobedience is an acceptable corrective measure, adolescent girls consider it an inappropriate method. According to some, elders should have discussions with adolescents and listen to their opinions

When asked whether the intensity and reasons behind the violence faced within the household varies between girls and boys, the girls stated that while both girls and boys are admonished for not listening to the elders at home, disciplinary actions are stricter for girls. Girls are considered easier to control and more important to control and their actions more closely monitored. As one respondent states, "boys get scolded and beaten less because they are dearer to the parents". According to the quantitative data, Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, however, more boys reported facing violence and seeking help than girls. This was found to be contrary to the aforementioned perceptions captured through discussions. Various reasons may inform this difference. Firstly, violence and its impact, while acknowledged to be faced and sought help against, may be perceived differently by both genders. Secondly, the acceptance and internalisation

***Voices from the field...***

*'Ladko ko daant aur maar  
kam padti hai kyunki who  
mata pita ko aur pyaare  
hotien hain'*

*-Paharpur, Lucknow*

There exists an experiential awareness, among girls, of gender based discrimination wherein deviant behaviour is sanctioned for boys but reprimanded for girls. An underlying resentment against the collective perception of girls being a family burden/responsibility until marriage, was also observed.

Along with parents, elder brothers were also observed to be perpetrators of disciplinary

***Voices from the field...***

*'Choti choti baaton mein,  
jab uska kaha nahi manti  
toh bhai marta hai'*

*- Barahpati, Gorakhpur*

violence against girls within the home. When adolescent girls were asked about their relationship with their elder male siblings in terms of prevailing gender roles such as household work, mobility, etc., they stated that any argument readily leads to the elder brother resorting to physical violence. An adolescent girl in Barahpati village of Gorakhpur states that even for small things if she does not do what he says, her brother hits her.

Elder brothers impose restrictions on adolescent girls' mobility, activities and leisure time. In many cases, a new found control over a younger sister leads older brothers to set stricter rules and restrictions and inflict more severe punishments than those implemented by the parents. With increasing age, physical violence by parents reduces, but continues through older male siblings. In the absence of the father, who goes out to work, the elder brother becomes the acting male head and exercises 'control' over the sister's activities and movement

The normative definition of the 'obedient boy' is more loosely characterised, with obedience being conditional as long as the boys remain within the sphere of the set gender role for them, which is mainly contributing to the family's economic security. As one adolescent boy puts it, boys get scolded and beaten if they don't listen to elders at home, if they roam around outside for too long or they get into bad company.

***Voices from the field...***

*Agar ghar pe baat nahi maante,  
zyada der tak bahar ghoomte hai ya  
galat sangat mein par jaate hai toh  
daant aur maar padti hai'*

*-Mithari, Lucknow*

While boys are given more freedom in terms of mobility and entertainment, boundaries do exist for them. Transgression of these boundaries leads to physical punishment. These boundaries are based on:

- Employability- boys are expected to adhere to the gender role assigned to them wherein they are to strive towards becoming the bread earners for their families.
- Peer groups- while boys do not have any stringent restriction on their mobility, they are admonished based on the company they keep, especially if it consists of boys who do not strive towards engaging purposeful activities
- Engagement with the opposite sex – interactions of boys with adolescent girls, who are not related to them, are expected to be minimal.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Agar koi ladka  
chedkhani ya  
badtameezi karta hai  
toh use mar padti hai'*

*-Mirpur Karaundi,  
Jaunpur*

Boys do get beaten up for harassment of girls. People believe that the female body should be honoured and protected by men. Hence, if a boy commits an act of disrespect or violence against girls he is generally punished by physical violence. However, the girl targeted by the boy also gets effected by the act and her mobility is further restricted.

#### **4.3.1 Attitude of adolescents towards violence**

Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 below summarize the attitudes of adolescents towards physical violence inflicted upon girls and boys respectively. The respondents were provided a list

of set norms and asked whether they agree or disagree with girls and boys being beaten if they do not adhere to them. The percentages in the table denote the number of respondents who agreed with girls and boys being beaten when they broke the rule. As the statements are negative, the higher the percentage of respondents who agree with these norms, the more negative the overall attitude is towards deviance. The percentages have been colour coded such that the darkest shades (red and yellow) denote the maximum adherence to negative attitude in context of each norm.

According to Table 4.1, the respondents find it the most acceptable to beat girls if they do not help in household chores, do not complete their homework, do not obey elders, stay out late and talk on the mobile phone without elders' consent. A difference between attitudes of 11-14 year old adolescents and 15-19 year old adolescents is seen in certain cases. The 11-14 year old respondents' attitude towards girls using mobile phones without permission is much more negative than that of 15-19 year old respondents. On the other hand, the attitude of 15-19 year old girls is more negative towards women not serving food to her husband than the other respondents. In most cases, the attitude of 15-19 year old adolescent boys towards girls being beaten is seen to be more positive than the rest.

Table 4-16: Attitude of respondents towards physical violence against girls

No	Statement	11-14 years		15-19 years	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
1	If she talks to a boy who is not a member of her family	49.50%	50.50%	49.00%	47.00%
2	If she stays out late	50.50%	55.20%	51.70%	43.30%
3	If she does not help in household chores	62.70%	60.50%	58.70%	46.60%
4	If she goes out to play	27.70%	29.40%	26.80%	23.00%
5	If she does not complete her homework	68%	61.90%	66.10%	53.00%
6	If she doesn't obey elders	68.70%	64.20%	69.80%	55.30%
7	If she fights with others in class	56.70%	56.60%	58.10%	47.00%
8	If she fights with brothers and sisters	55.50%	56.80%	55.70%	44.70%
9	If she replies back when harassed by boys	33.00%	30.40%	32.50%	30.30%
10	If she wants to continue her education against her family's wish	26.80%	25.70%	24.50%	26.40%
11	If she protests against decision of her family members to get her married	48.20%	32.10%	24.50%	30.30%
12	If she wants to marry a boy of her choice	49.50%	28.10%	42%	29.60%
13	If she talks on mobile phone without her elders consent	59.70%	57.20%	48.70%	47.00%
14	If she does not serve food to her husband	47.50%	44.20%	57.40%	42.00%
15	If she refuses sex to her husband			24.80%	21.40%

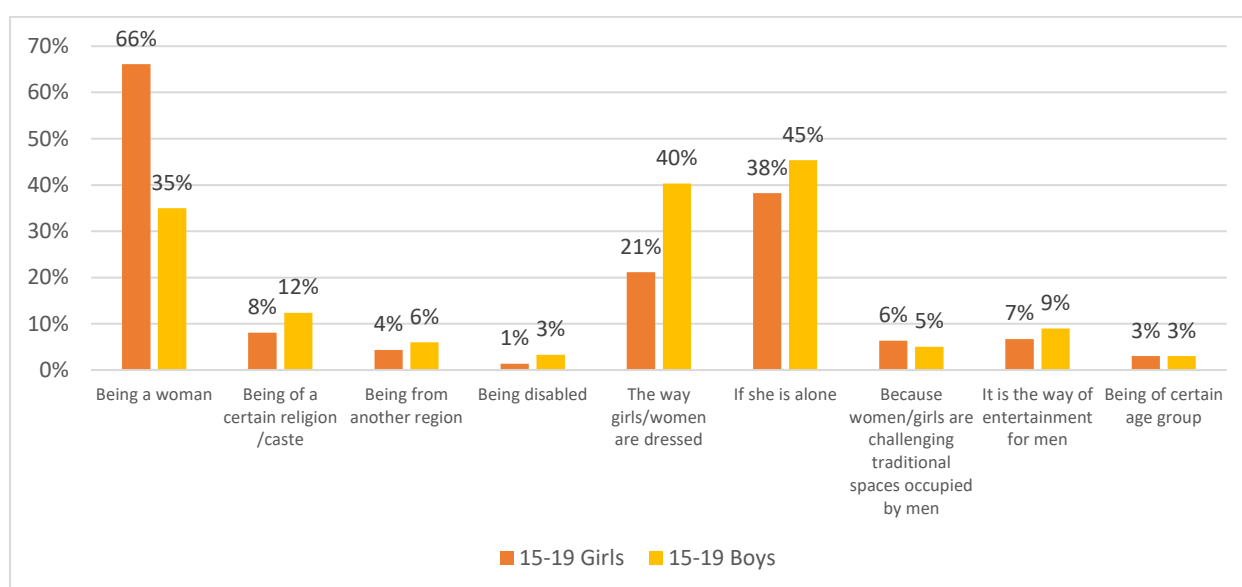
Table 4-17: Attitude of respondents towards physical violence against boys

No	Statement	11-14 years		15-19 years	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
1	If he talks to a girl who is not a member of his family	51.80%	51.50%	40.60%	47%
2	If he goes out to play	32.00%	27.70%	23.90%	24.00%
3	If he stays out late	46.20%	52.90%	46%	41.40%
4	If he does not help in household chores	47.50%	57.20%	49.60%	51.30%
5	If he does not complete his homework	63.40%	65.60%	60.70%	56%
6	If he doesn't obey elders	69.60%	63.90%	66.70%	60.70%
7	If he fights with others in class	58.70%	58.50%	57.40%	49%
8	If he fights with brothers and sisters	53.40%	62.60%	60.00%	53.40%
9	If he wants to continue his education against his family's wish	27.40%	27.10%	24.80%	24.60%
10	If he protests against decision of his family members to get him married	46.50%	31.80%	37.50%	29.30%
11	If he wants to marry a girl of his choice	44.50%	23.10%	37.20%	23.70%
12	If he talks on mobile phone without his elders consent	48.60%	49.10%	41.60%	38.00%
13	If he does not show his masculinity where It is required			52.10%	41.80%

According to Table 4.2, the respondents find it acceptable for boys to be beaten if they do not obey elders, do not complete their homework and if they fight with their brothers and sisters. Attitude of girls towards boys choosing their spouses and not showing their masculinity where required was found to be more negative than that of boys.

When the 15-19 year old respondents were asked what according to them is the primary reason behind facing harassment is, 66.1 percent girls stated that girls and women are harassed because of their gender, that is, for being a woman. 45.3 percent boys stated the reason for harassment of girls and women is their venturing out alone, and 40.3 percent boys attributed inappropriate dressing as the cause for girls and women being harassed, (Figure 4.19). This shows a considerable difference in the attitudes of girls and boys towards what they think to be the reasons for sexual violence faced by girls and women outside home. While both the groups considered the female body as the core reason for experiencing harassment, the male respondents consider women and girls to be actively responsible for the sexual violence they face and the girls consider their very gender to be at the crux of the violence inflicted upon them.

Figure 4.19: Reasons reported for harassment of girls and women



### 4.3.2 Parents attitude towards gender based violence

Issues of violence and harassment against adolescent girls and women remain shrouded in collective behavioural silence, and are informed by the normative expectation of protecting honour:

- Individual honour- belief that such issues if brought in the public domain can be a hindrance to the girl's marriage and future
- Family honour - belief that society will judge the family negatively
- Honour of the community/village- the honour of the familial microcosm translates into the community's honour

This was observed when discussions on the act of reporting gender based violence against adolescent girls and women and ensuring requisite legal action, were held with groups of mothers of adolescents. While they stated that such violence is unacceptable to them, reporting to the police or any institutional body was seen as a last resort and is to be done only in cases where the act of violence is grave. Mothers felt that if a girl is harassed by a boy, the matter should be resolved within the village itself. One should go to the police only if the matter is really grave because it is a dishonour for the family.

Mothers were observed to be primarily responsible for directly 'controlling' and 'monitoring' girls and hence are the implementers of set social norms based on gendered roles and tasks such as:

- Household chores- which is the domain of girls/women and hence a priority.
- Upholding the idea of honour: associated with the behaviour and physical safety of girls and how to sustain it.
- Ensuring the application of what society deems appropriate behaviour for girls: how to talk to elders, especially male members of the family, listening to elders, not voicing an opinion contrary to existing normative beliefs.

Transgression of any of these set norms by girls is strictly addressed through corrective violence such as hitting and verbal abuses, within the household.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Bhai beheno mein toh ladai hoti rehti hai. Ye hinsa nahi hai'*

When mothers were asked about the dynamics between adolescent girls and their older male siblings in the context of gender based violence, they dismissed it as trivial disagreements among siblings that cannot be called violence.

This indicates that there are different levels of monitoring within the family. While adolescent girls find the imposition of rules and associated violence inflicted by elder brothers restricting and unfair, the elder brothers consider it their duty, and the parents do not recognise it as violence.

Where domestic violence is concerned, the mothers deemed it normatively wrong and unanimously stated that it should be stopped. However the underlying social norm here is the strong idea of the home as a unit such there is a conditional preference for maintaining silence about all internal conflict, especially in the case of male members. Also, they felt that a married girl can raise her voice against physical violence only if her family supports her.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Ek ladki gharelu hinsa ke khilaf awaz tabhi utha sakti hai jab uska maika uska saath de'*  
-Indaur, Ghazipur

The causes attributed to domestic violence were:

- Alcoholism
- Disobedience of the wife
- If a husband suspects the wife of having an extra marital affair which may be based on very flimsy evidence such as wife talking to another man

The vulnerability and dependence of women on the husband and her in-laws is largely accepted. Marriage of a girl is perceived as a transfer of responsibility from her parents to her in-laws. There exists a normative expectation from women to therefore depend

absolutely on her family by marriage. This, in turn, increases her vulnerability in cases of violence inflicted by the husband or in-laws.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Har ek ghar mein kuch na kuch hota hai. Daant toh zyada ladkiyon ko padti hai. Lekin ladka agar nikamma ho toh usko maar padti hai.'*

*-Siswa Bujurg,  
Siddharthnagar*

When asked about violence inflicted on girls by fathers, they stated that fathers usually do not hit daughters once they grow older. After entering adolescence, corrective punishment is meted out to girls in the form of physical and verbal violence predominantly by mothers. On the other hand, with adolescence in boys, the domain of corrective violence, specifically physical violence, shifts into the fathers' hands. As one father says, girls are scolded more than boys, but if the boy is useless (*nikamma*) then he gets beaten up.

The reasons cited by fathers for scolding or hitting girls were much lesser than those cited by the mothers. They agree that transgression of social norms is a just cause for punishment. However, the boundaries stated by them are much wider and equal for girls and boys. These reasons for scolding/punishing girls as stated by the fathers are:

- Not studying
- Coming in contact with a set of socially undesirable peers
- Not engaging in purposeful activities, especially gendered activities
- Movement outside the household without permission from parents

***Voices from the field...***

*'Ladkiyan agar bina bataaye ghoomne chali gayi toh daant padti hai, agar galat sangat mein padh jaati ho toh daanta jaata hai.'*

*-Kamlapur Bichilka,  
Lucknow*

***Voices from the field...***

*'Biwi ke saath jhagda tab hota hai jab wo ghar ka kaam theek se nahi karti'*

*-Maharajganj*

While gendered social norms were not stated as a reason for punishing daughters, in the case of wives, they clearly stated that if wives are not obedient and do not do their household chores properly, they are scolded.

This is an indication of the multi layered power dynamics within the family. While the man, as the patriarchal head of the family, wields direct control over the wife, the wife has control over the adolescent daughters.

### 4.3.3 Community Based Institutions

#### PRI Members

There exists an empirical belief among most PRI members that in many cases of harassment, the girls are to be blamed too. Thus, gender based discrimination manifests itself in how acts of violence against girls and women are viewed. Any deviant behaviour among girls - related to attire, communicating with the opposite sex, independent mobility, etc., is cited as the cause for violence inflicted on them. As the members of a PRI said, "There are many reasons for violence. Sometimes it is the fault of the girls but they don't agree. The girls do not agree with the rules and this gets attached with political interests".

***Voices from the field...***

*'Hinsa ke kayi karan hai.  
Kabhi kabhi ladkiyon ki  
galti hoti hai par woh  
mante nahi. Ladke bhi  
kanoon ko mante nahi aur  
aisi samsya rajniti se jud  
jaati hai'*

*-Niyamatpur and Sirsia,  
Gorakhpur*

In many cases of continued harassment, there are socio-economic and political inequalities between the victim and the perpetrator which are also one of the reasons why they go unreported or no action is taken.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Agar gao ka koi ladka  
gao ki ladki k saath  
chedhkhani karta hai toh  
use panchayat dand degi.  
Police mein complain nahi  
karenge kyuki ye gao ki  
baat hai aur samjhauta  
gao mein hi karenge'*

*Durgasthan, Ghazipur*

The Panchayat Institution is considered to represent justice as well as to uphold honour of the village, which is seen to be compromised if cases of violence against girls are reported to the police. During interviews, when PRI members were asked about how they would intervene in cases of gender based violence within the village, most stated that scope of judgement shall stay in the hands of the panchayat. The gravity of the punishment is considered secondary to upholding honour and a compromise is reached within the village itself.

## Frontline Health Workers

On bringing up the issue of domestic violence, most of the frontline health workers stated that they, or anyone else in the village cannot intervene because if they try to do so, the women defend their husbands. There is thus an internalisation of domestic violence and consideration of the family as a unit wherein internal conflicts remain unacknowledged, even by the victim.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Aurate gharelu hinsa k  
baare mein chup rehti hai.  
Koi agar madad karne ki  
koshish kare toh apne pati ki  
galti par parda dalti hai'*

***Voices from the field...***

*'Ladki agar akele bahar  
jayegi toh uske saath  
chedhkhani hogi'*

*-AWW, Durkhushi,  
Ghazipur*

The frontline health workers do not think as empowered women or change agents. On the other hand, they were found to subscribe to gender-biased views. During discussions on violence experienced by girls outside the household, the frontline health workers stated that such violence can be abated by restricting the mobility of girls and women. As an AWW says, "If a girl goes out alone, then she will be harassed".

Mobility of girls is linked to harassment and violence in the outside sphere. While the underlying factual belief which substantiates it is that the environment is unsafe, the solution to it, according to the respondents, lies in restricting the girls' movement and

activities. The thought processes of most health workers are therefore aligned with those of other women in the villages and are determined by existing social norms.

### SHG/Nari Sangh

SHGs and Nari Sangh members stated that the commonest type of gender-based violence adolescent girls encounter is harassment outside home, while married women face violence within the home. The primary cause of domestic violence was attributed to alcoholism. As one SHG group said, “Our village has a liquor shop. Husbands come home and beat their wives but no one comes to stop them – people only watch”.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*‘Humare gao mein daaru ki dukan hai. Pati ghar aake maarta hai par rokne nahi aata. Sab dekhte hai’*

*-Ashrafpur, Gorakhpur*

#### *Voices from the field...*

*‘Ladkiyo ke saath hinsa hoti rehti hai kyuki wo chup rehti hai. Ladkiyo ko hinsa ke khilaaf aawaz uthana chahiye’*

*-Badaura, Ghazipur*

They stated that one of the reasons why violence continues to be inflicted on girls outside home is because they stay silent out of fear of judgment or are silenced to maintain their and their family’s honour. They felt that violence against girls persists because they keep quiet about it. Girls should raise their voice against the violence they face (Ghazipur).

These perceptions indicate that while SHGs and Nari Sangh members recognise the prevailing normative expectation of silence as a hindrance to reduction in violence against girls and women, they fall short of looking at its prevalence and thinking of a solution collectively. During discussions on issues of violence, their responses were from an individual perspective rather than a collective one. SHG and Nari Sangh activities were found to be limited to monthly meetings for collection of money and for getting MGNREGA job cards. Collective entrepreneurial activities or engagement in social issues have not been taken up by them.

### 4.4 In Summary

- Boundaries based on roles within the households and for mobility, are stricter and more enforced for adolescent girls than for the boys. Transgression of these boundaries is dealt with more strictly for girls than for boys.
- Mothers are stricter than fathers and are directly responsible for discipline of the children. While fathers’ responses indicated towards a larger space for girls’ agency, this could be because fathers stay out of home for work, and the responsibility of disciplining girls is given to mothers. Hence, while fathers may adhere to the same social norms, they might afford to hold an opinion contrary to the actual scenario.
- Community based institutions such as SHG/Nari Sangh and frontline health workers responded more in the capacity of mothers than empowered institutional representatives.

- PRI members as well as youth clubs (boys) were found to be powerful and influential figures. While in most cases the PRI members were found to be upholders of existing social norms, in some they were open minded about their approach towards gender based inequality. Youth club members were found to have strong opinions about issues of gender based discrimination and violence, were mostly progressive and voiced their opinions against set gender based norms.

Cues for norm bending could include:

- Redefining the idea of an 'obedient girl' and questioning gender roles;
- Promoting an enabling and safe, supportive environment for mobility of girls rather than curbing a girl's movement for her safety;
- Promoting the idea that a girl doesn't have to be dependent – either on her family or on her in-laws;
- Capacity building of SHG/Nari Sangh members and frontline health workers and channelizing their opinions, such as control of alcoholism in the village, into collective action could also be a point of intervention. They can therefore become models for change;
- Gender sensitisation of PRI members and youth clubs (boys).

## **5 NEGOTIATING LIFE CHOICES**

## 5.1 Introduction

This section examines the ability of adolescents to negotiate major life choices like health, education, marriage, mobility, communication and leisure time with their families. It also throws light on whether adolescents are able assert themselves to shape their lives as per their wishes and to get what they would like.

## 5.2 Baseline findings

The adolescents were asked if they discuss various important decisions of life with their parents/other family members.

The table below summarizes the findings from the survey. The responses can clearly be segregated into three distinct categories: issues that are almost never discussed between parents and children, issues are discussed by a few children and others that are discussed by about half the adolescents. The ability of the adolescents to negotiate with parents on these important life choices and the norms that shape the same are analysed below.

Table 5-1: Proportion of adolescents discussing life choices with parents/other family members

Items	Proportion of adolescents discussed at least once		
	11-19 Girls	11-19 Boys	Overall
<b>Least Discussed</b>			
<b>Choice of groom/bride</b>	6%	6%	6%
<b>The age at which want to get married</b>	8%	9%	8%
<b>Somewhat Discussed</b>			
<b>To get more food than what is usually provided</b>	22%	28%	25%
<b>To use mobile phone</b>	26%	37%	31%
<b>To have more leisure time</b>	30%	29%	29%
<b>Most Discussed</b>			
<b>The class till which they want to study</b>	53%	47%	50%
<b>Going out of the house</b>	58%	61%	59%

### 5.2.1 Least discussed life choices

The first category which consists of least discussed matters of adolescent girls and boys with their parents, shows that any matter related to marriage cannot be spoken about by most adolescents with the elders. It is evident from the table that there is no difference between the genders on the frequency of discussion on marriage or on the choice of bride/groom. In most cases, it is the voice of the parent that is more dominant than the

adolescents in deciding the age of marriage and the groom/bride. Hence mostly no discussion and reassertion takes place with parents.

### **5.2.2 Age of marriage and choice of life partner**

The following graphs show the frequency of discussions adolescents have with parents regarding the age at marriage, choice of groom/bride and the frequency of these discussions. It is evident from Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.3 that a majority of the adolescents (more than 80%) reported that they never discuss their marriage with their parents. An even higher proportion of girls (84 percent) in the age group of 15-19 years reported that they never have discussions at home about the age at which they want to get married. A negligible proportion of adolescents reported that they sometimes have such discussions.

Figure 5.1: Frequency of discussion with parents on the age at which the respondents want to get married

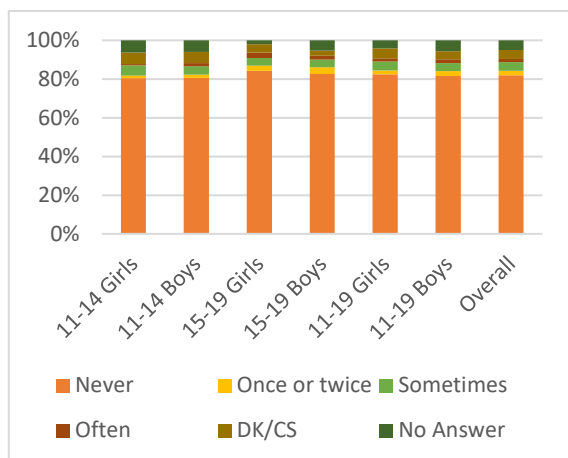


Figure 5.2: Respondents who reasserted on the age at which they want to get married

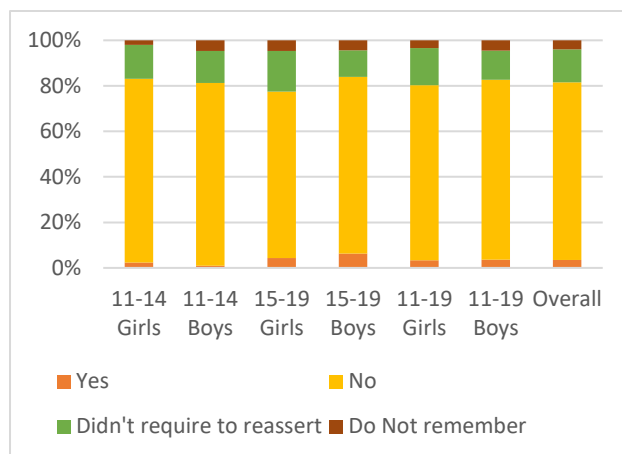


Figure 5.3: Frequency of discussion with parents on choice of groom/bride

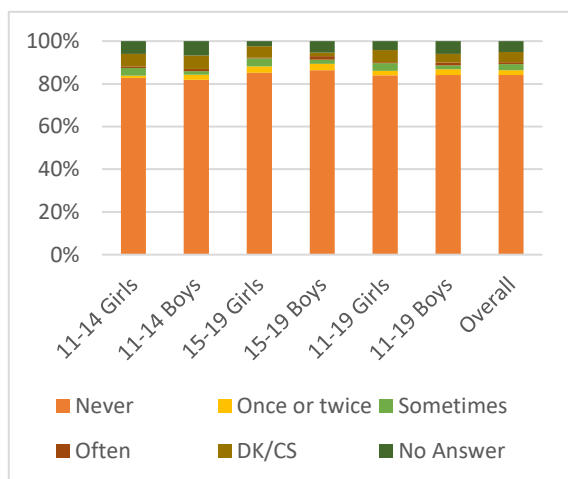


Figure 5.4: Reassertion about choice of groom/bride

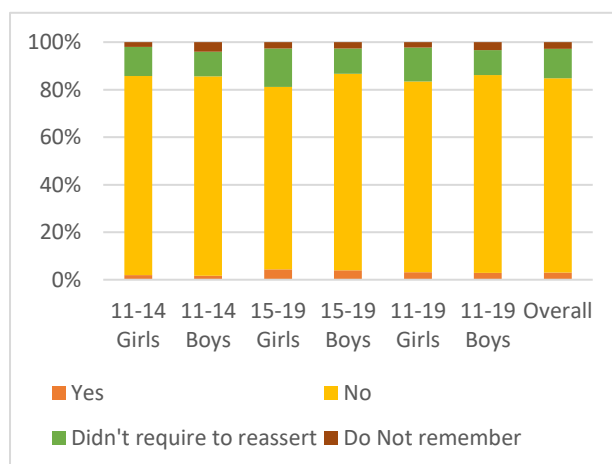


Figure 5.2 suggests that even out of those few who do have discussions at home on age of marriage, only a very small percentage are able to reassert their views on the age of marriage, and of these the proportion of 15-19 year old boys is higher in comparison to girls in the same age group. However, field discussions suggest that boys express their opinion openly to parents about marriage only when they are financially independent. In spite of boys being able to express their opinions, eventually they have to do what their parents decide.

In the FGDs, majority of the girls stated that they are not supposed to express their opinions regarding marriage as they are expected to obey their parents' decision, as tradition demands. Talking openly about marriage is perceived as bad due to the parent's expectation that children should not question in these matters.

However, some boys and fathers in Varanasi and Jaunpur, mentioned that after the parents have chosen the bride/groom, the respective boy or girl are allowed to meet each other and are asked if they like the decision or not. This is especially true for educated and economically independent bride/ groom. A father said, “If we arrange the marriage against the wishes of the boy/girl, the family will have problems after the marriage”.

### Voices from the field...

*“ladke ya ladki ki ichcha ke khilaaf shaadi karayenge to baad mein parivar walon ko hi musibat jhelni padegi”*

– FGD with fathers,  
Varanasi

In most cases though, even if adolescents do have some choice, their parent’s decision is final.

### 5.2.3 Somewhat discussed life choices

The second category consists of issues that a small percentage of adolescents do discuss with their parents. This category includes mobile phone usage, leisure time and demand for food. While girls have less discussions with parents on their need to use mobile phones and demand for more food, they do discuss the need to get leisure time more with parents as compared to boys. The figures below show detailed responses on these within the different age groups of adolescents and the proportion that reassert their demands.

Figure 5.5: Frequency of discussions with parents for more leisure time

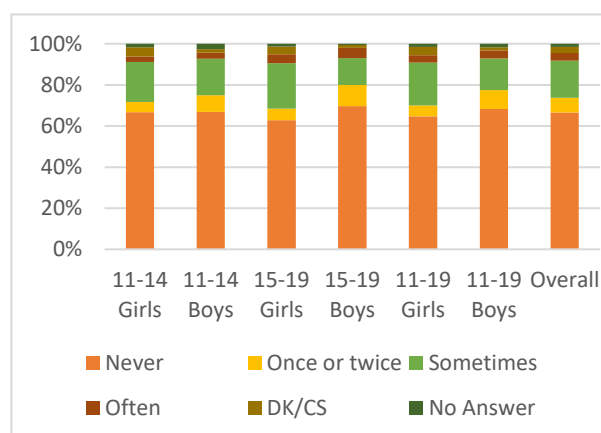


Figure 5.6: Reassertion for more leisure time

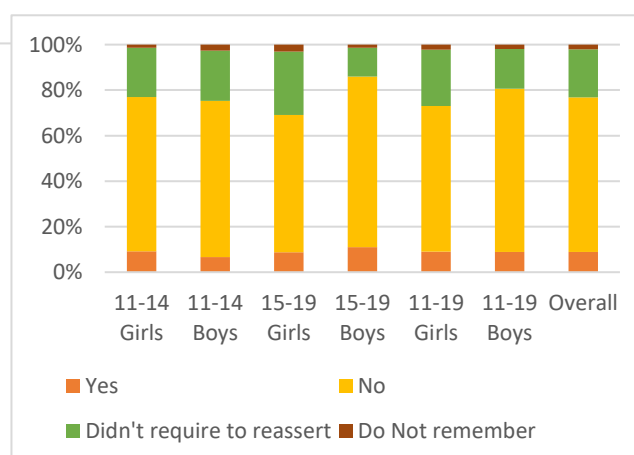


Figure 5.9: Frequency of discussion with parents to use mobile phones

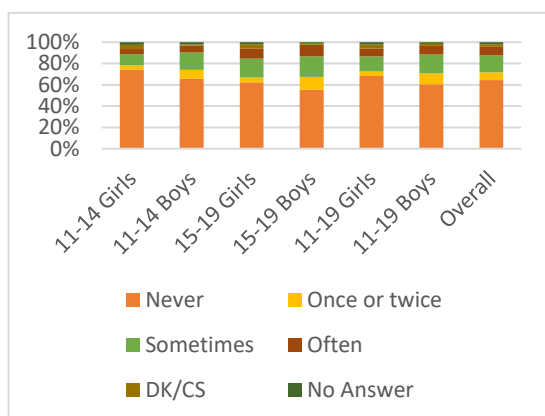


Figure 5.10: Reassertion to use mobile phones

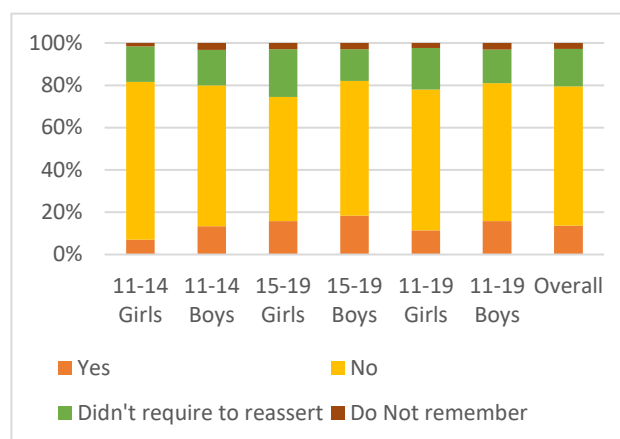


Figure 5.7: Frequency of discussions with parents to have more food

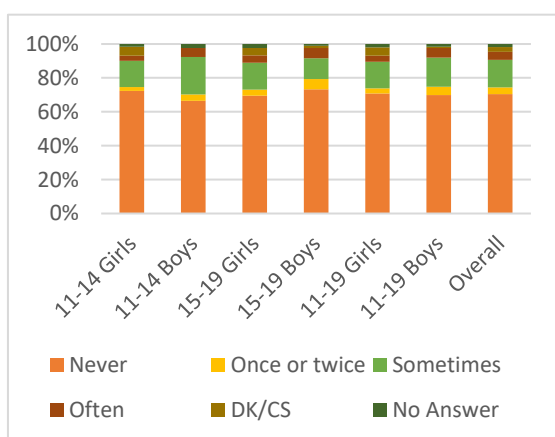
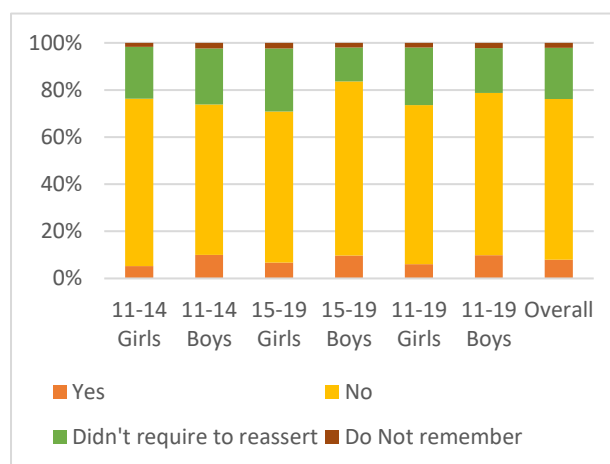


Figure 5.8: Reassertion to have more food



#### 5.2.4 Need for more food

Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8 suggest that majority of the adolescents neither have discussions with their parents on their need for more food nor do they reassert their needs. It is evident from figure 5.8 that overall, about 24 Percent adolescent girls feel that they do not require to reassert their needs to want more food in comparison to 19 percent boys. When asked about this during the FGDs, the answers varied based on the way the statement was framed. For instance, when asked whether girls can ask for more food if they want, parents said that girls could ask for more food. However, when the same statement was framed differently and asked as whether they believed girls should keep their hunger in control, most parents agreed with the statement. Though there was no apparent inequality in food habits, there was an underlying social prejudice that was noticed, whereby some mothers felt that the amount of outdoor activities determined the amount of food required. However, these activities did not count household chores as a strenuous one, which often translated in to girls staying at home not requiring as much food as boys who remains outdoors. Whether this social prejudice translated in to a food

shortage per se, cannot be said as there was no detailed investigation done regarding food habits.

### **5.2.5 Mobile use**

Figure 5.9 and Figure 5-10 suggest that a majority of the adolescent boys in the age group of 15-19 years (19%) sometimes have discussions with their parents on the need to use a mobile phone. Majority of the adolescents reported that they never discuss with their parents that they want to use a mobile phone. Majority of adolescent girls (74.3%) in the age group of 11-14 years reported that they never discuss their need to use a mobile phone with their parents.

Qualitative findings confirm that girls do not discuss their need to use mobile phones in the family with parents due to financial constraints. Boys, on the other hand do not have discussions with their parents regarding mobile phone usage since they already have the freedom to use mobile phones. However, the figures above suggest that adolescent boys in the age group of 15-19 years do reassert their needs as compared to adolescents in other age groups.

### **5.2.6 Leisure time**

The following show the frequency of discussion adolescent boys and girls have with their parents on leisure time and whether they reassert their needs on getting more leisure time.

Even though only a small percentage of the adolescent boys in the age group of 15-19 years ever discuss the need to get more leisure time, the maximum number reported of adolescents who reassert their wishes fall in the age group of 15-19 years boys. From Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.6 it is also evident that some of the adolescents do not require to reassert their needs out of which 15-19 year old girls were the ones who reported this the most (27%). Since majority of the adolescent girls and boys do not discuss with their parents about having more leisure time, majority (about 65 percent on an average) also do not reassert their needs about getting more leisure time than they usually get.

The reasons for minimal discussion of adolescents with parents on leisure time depends on a variety of factors which could be perception based or situational. Boys already get sufficient leisure time and therefore do not talk to parents about it while girls know that even if they talk about it they will not be given more time. Also, the burden of household chores is so much that the girls hardly find any time and find it pointless to talk to their parents about it.

### **5.2.7 Most discussed life choices**

The third category consists of the most discussed matters with parents which includes the class till which they want to study and going out of the house. The voice of the girl is more dominant in matters that require her time and movement outside the house in comparison to doing things within the house. Girls are further more vocal than the boys in expressing their views on the class till which they want to study.

The graphs below represent the quantitative findings on the frequency of discussions adolescents have with their parents on these issues and if they reassert their needs/opinions with their parents on such matters.

Figure 5.11: Frequency of discussion with parents on wishing to go out alone or with friends

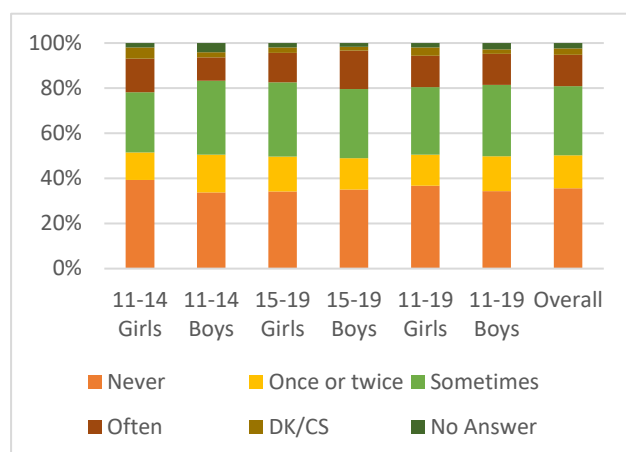


Figure 5.12: Reassertion on going out or alone with friends

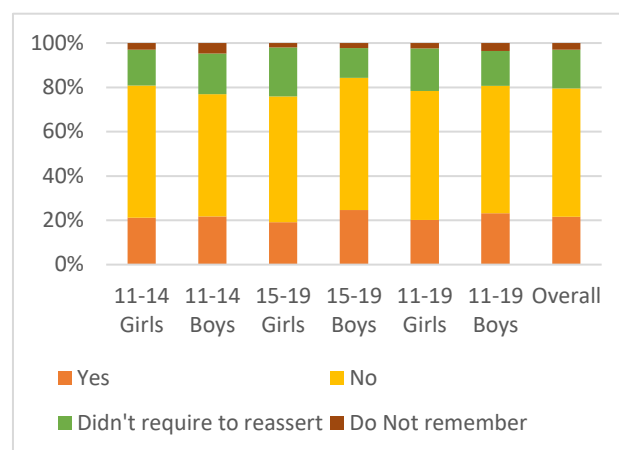


Figure 5.13: Frequency of discussion with parents on the class till which they want to study

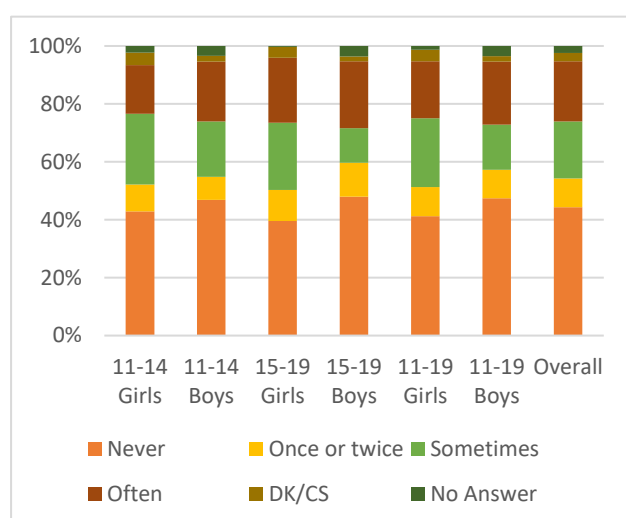
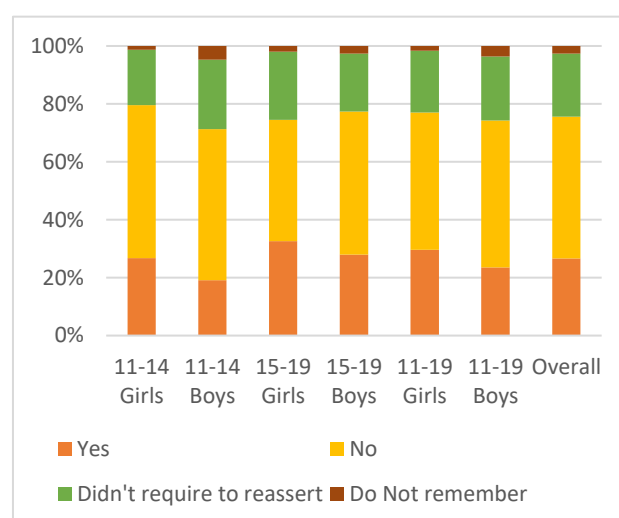


Figure 5.14: Reassertion of class till which respondent wants to study



## Education

Almost 40% of the girls and 50% of boys never have discussions with their parents on the class till which they want to study (Figure 5.13 and Figure 5.14). Adolescent girls reported having discussions with their parents about education more frequently than the boys. Maximum no. of 15-19 year old girls reported that they reassert their opinions on

the class till which they want to study as compared to the adolescents from other age groups. More than 40% of adolescent girls and boys below the age of 15 do not reassert their opinions on education with their parents.

The reasons for adolescent boys having less discussion about education with their parents emerged from the field discussions and interviews conducted with the mothers and AWWs. Mothers stated that boys are often in a hurry to start earning as they want money in their own hands to spend. Consequently, they migrate to cities like Delhi and Bombay in search for jobs. On the other hand, girls stated that they actively pursue education and voice their opinions on education openly with their parents in the hope to delay their marriage and break free from the social restrictions.

## **Mobility**

Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.12 shows that mobility of the most discussed topic and on an average, about more than 50 percent adolescent girls and boys in age group 15-19 year have discussions with their parents on going out of the house alone or with friends. Only 40% of girls in the age group 11-14 never discuss their need for going out alone with their parents. While majority of the adolescent girls and boys reported that they don't reassert their needs regarding going out of the house alone or with friends, there were also significant proportion of adolescents (15% on an average) who reported that they didn't need to reassert their needs with their parents.

From Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.12 it is clear that while equal proportion of adolescent girls and boys have frequent discussions regarding mobility with their parents, adolescent boys are more assertive in expressing their needs than the girls. This further validates the findings from the FGDs that explain the reasons behind these facts which are as follows:

- Girls feel that it is important to attempt talking to parents about their mobility at least once. However, they do not find it necessary to reassert their needs because parents do not allow them to go outside the village on their own due to the fear of safety.
- Boys, on the other hand are only supposed to seek permission once from their parents about the places they visit outside the village and the conditions under which they are allowed remain flexible. Since the repercussions for boys is not as severe as girls in terms of breaking boundaries of mobility, even though there are restriction for boys as well, most often boys do tend to reassert their needs regarding mobility. This is supported by the quantitative analysis below.

### 5.3 In Summary

Marriage and related issues are totally taboo and hardly ever discussed between parents and adolescents. One of the reasons could be that there are stronger social norms governing this aspect of life than the others.

Where the decision relates to family values and domestic conditions, such as mobility of girls or level of education, these tend to be the most frequently discussed issues.

Finally, it appears that there may be an acceptance of gender-biased thinking that makes for lifestyles that are accepted and roles that are not questioned such as those of a girl in household chores. Also, where the girls think it is futile to ask for or not in the interest of the family (such as financial constraints) this may deter her from even voicing her wishes, whereas within the same family circumstances, boys may be willing to do so and it may be more acceptable for boys to do so.

## **6 HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND LEISURE TIME**

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines gender-based differences in the average time spent on household chores by adolescent girls and boys and the amount of leisure time enjoyed by them at home. It further explores the perceptions and attitudes of adolescents, parents and community members on the same.

## 6.2 Attitudes of adolescents

The figures below represent quantitative data collected during the field survey from adolescent girls and boys assessing the frequency of doing household chores and the average time spent on household chores.

Figure 6.1: Respondents reporting frequency of conducting household chores

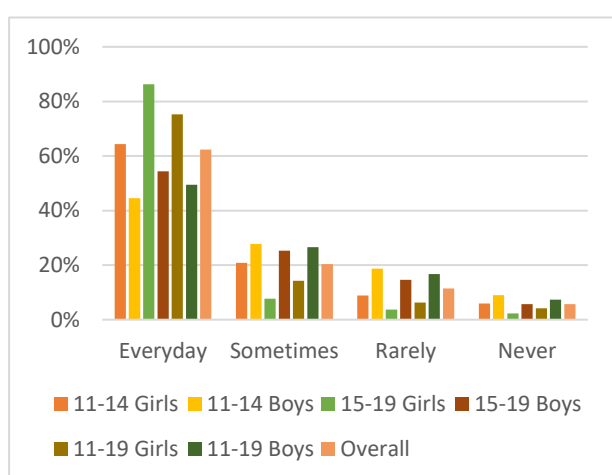
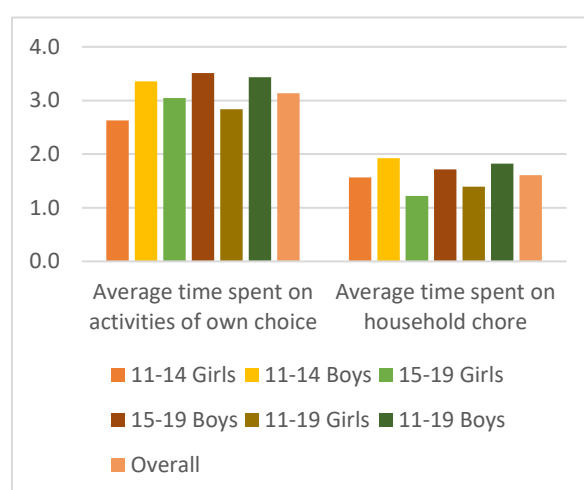


Figure 6.2: Average time (in hours) spent on HH chores/leisure time



Even though around 85 percent 15-19 year old adolescent girls reported conducting household chores on a daily basis in comparison to 15-19 year old boys (around 55 percent) (Figure 6.1), it was found that the average time spent on household chores by both girls and boys was almost the same (Figure 6.2). Both boys and girls in the age group of 15-19 year olds reported spending an average of 2.5 hours on household chores.

The figures below assess the attitude of adolescent girls and boys on leisure time and gender roles surrounding household chores.

Figure 6.3: A girl doesn't need as much leisure time as boys do

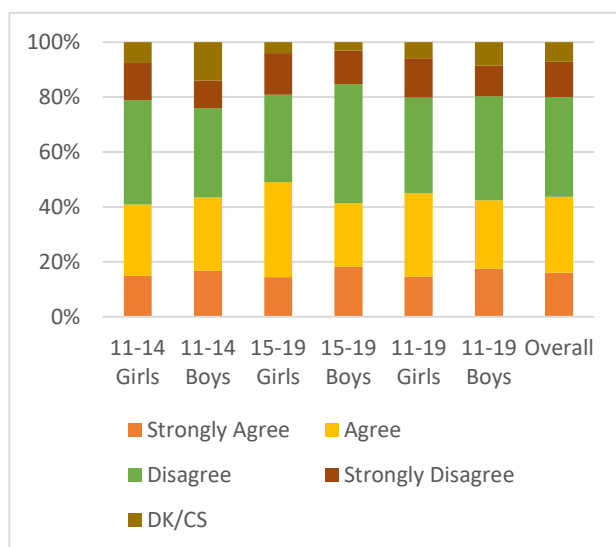


Figure 6.4: A girl needs to do household chores as she needs to learn them before going to her in-laws' place

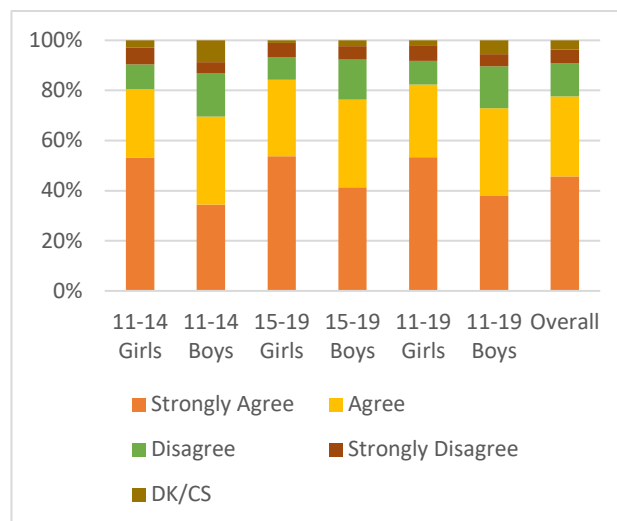
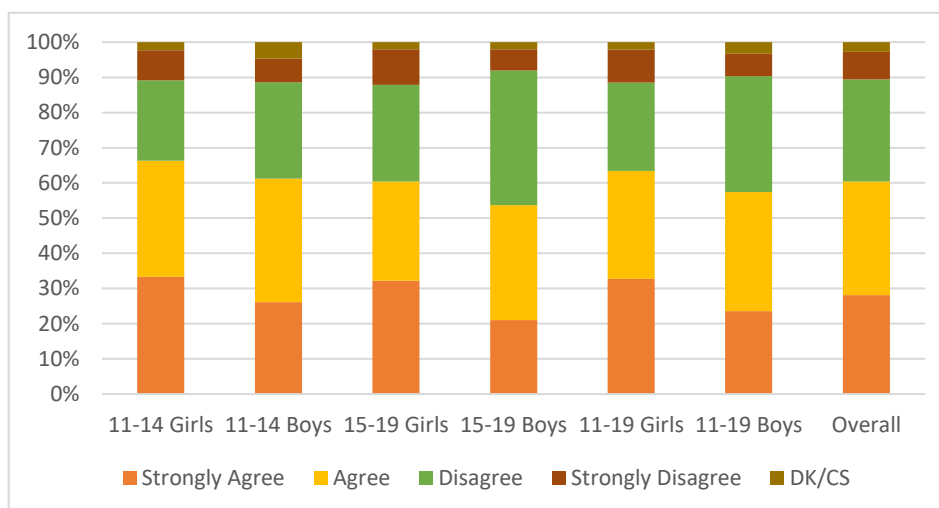


Figure 6.5: A boy does not need to help in domestic chores like cleaning, washing utensils, cooking, etc. because it's a girls job/duty



From Figure 6.3, Figure 6.4 and Figure 6.5, it is evident that the attitude of adolescent boys is marginally more positive than girls with regard to equality in the leisure time and division of labour in performing household chores. Approximately 55 percent of 15-19 year old boys disagreed to the fact that a girl does not need as much leisure time as boys do as against only 47 percent adolescent girls in the same age group.

A higher proportion of girls in comparison to adolescent boys also agreed that girls must do household chores as they need to learn these before marriage. As compared to adolescents in other age groups, a higher percentage of 15-19 year old boys (44 percent) displayed a positive attitude towards boys doing household chores like cleaning, cooking, washing utensils etc.

#### ***Voices from the field...***

*“ladko ko zyada khaali samay milta hai. Unko koi kuch nahin kehta kyunki woh mata pita ko pyaare hote hain”*

*-a girl in Paharpur*

The figures above also suggest that the leisure time is slightly less for girls than boys in both the age groups and this was validated from the field discussions with the girls. The field discussions further indicated that girls tend to watch TV or listen to music while doing household chores. Some of the girls in the FGDs further stated that boys tend to escape most household responsibilities because they are given more importance and are dear to parents and hence,

granted more free time.

Stereotypical mind-sets make parents believe that girls are supposed to do the household work. The primary reasons behind this perception are that:

- Mothers need help with household work, especially if they work on the fields as well. Since boys don't listen to them and the older males don't share the domestic work, mothers need to and find it easier to get help from daughters.
- There is a perception that girls are 'supposed to do household work as it is their duty'.

On the use of leisure time, most of the boys stated that in comparison to girls, boys have the freedom “to go out and play, go for a walk, watch TV, listen to songs on the mobile”. Boys who have younger sisters do not help them out with any household work as there is a perception in their minds that all household work would be taken care of by the women of the house.

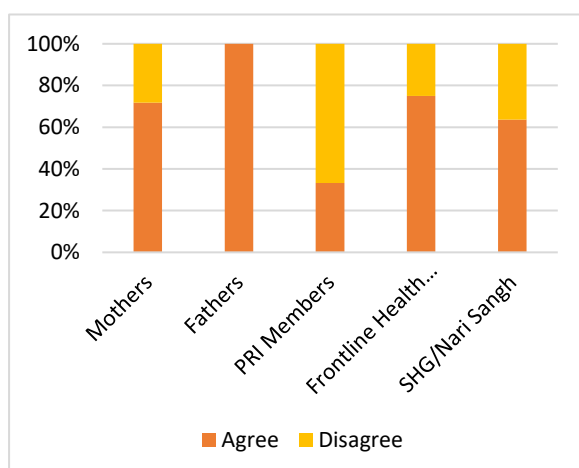
#### ***Voices from the field...***

*“Khelne jaate hain, tahaalne jaate hain, TV dekhte hain, gaane sunte hain mobile par”, “Padhai, khel kood ho jaata hai khali time main”*

### **6.3 Attitudes of parents and community**

The following graphs represent the attitude of parents and the larger community on gender based differences in leisure time and household chores.

*Figure 6.6: A girl doesn't need as much leisure time as boys do*



*Figure 6.7: A girl must do household chores as she needs to learn that before going to in-laws' place*

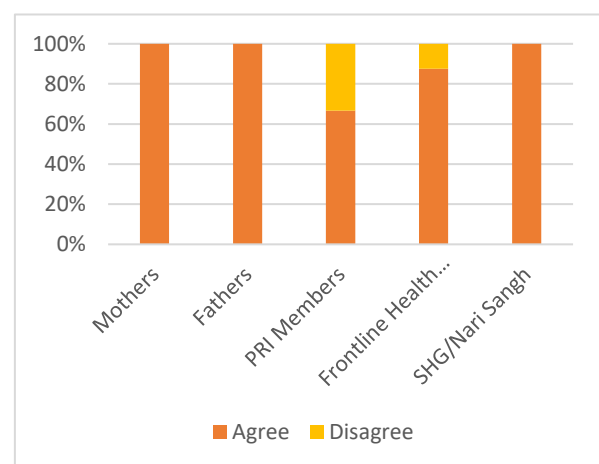


Figure 6.8: A boy does not need to help in domestic chores like cleaning, washing utensils, cooking, etc. because it is a girl's job/duty

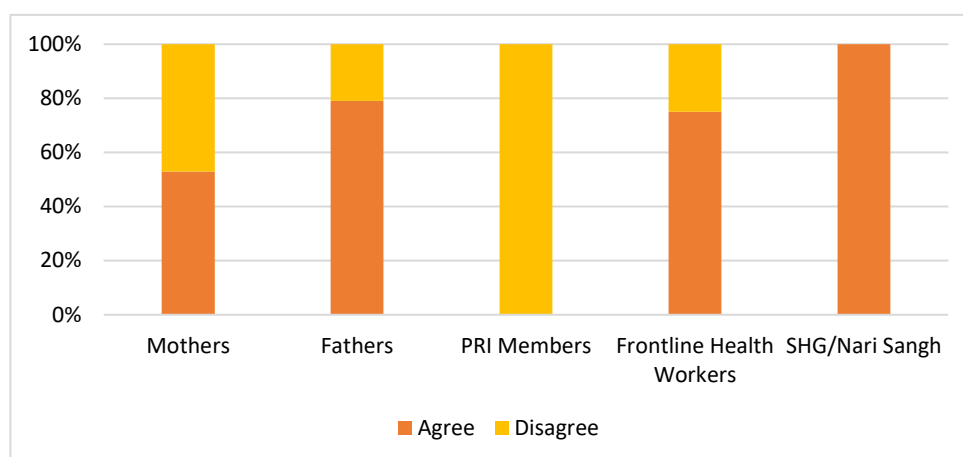


Figure 6.6, Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.8 above show that all fathers who were interviewed during field visits displayed a negative attitude towards girls getting more leisure time. Few mothers in comparison, showed a positive attitude. Both mothers and fathers agreed to the fact a girl must do household chores as she needs to learn that before going to her in-law's place.

Even though the majority of parents thought that boys do not have to help with household chores, there were a few parents who disagreed. More than 40% mothers felt that boys should also help in household work.

Despite this positive attitude, most mothers stated that boys don't help or listen to them. Since the majority of fathers are also of the opinion that a boy does not need to help in domestic chores like cleaning, washing utensils, cooking etc., mothers do not get sufficient support to involve them in the household chores. Due to this perception of fathers, boys also tend to get more free time than girls.

However, perceptions around household chores and leisure time vary across regions. The underlying reasons behind these perceptions are either based on normative beliefs, exposure to greater opportunities or the idea that 'free time should be used in productive ways'. Some of the examples that emerged from the field discussion are as follows:

- Mothers in Chhapwa Village in Maharajganj stated that girls shouldn't be given too much free time and must be kept occupied so that their mind does not wander.
- In districts like Siddharthnagar, mothers stated that girls want to learn skills and practice their hobbies but have nowhere to go. Their perception is based on the fact that by engaging in activities like stitching etc, girls would be doing something productive in their leisure time.

- In Lucknow, some of the adolescent girls stated that they get a lot of free time since their parents are supportive of educating them and sharing their household burden. Districts like Jaunpur and Lucknow were found to be more progressive in terms of granting free time to adolescent girls.

The perceptions of the members of various community institutions were very different to those of the mothers during the field interviews. As compared to the parents, community institution members like the frontline workers and the PRI members displayed a more positive attitude towards equality in leisure time and sharing of household chores between girls and boys.

Some of the duty bearers were more progressive and forward thinking in their views on equality between girls and boys in terms of conducting household chores. An AWW from Adrauna village, Varanasi said that everyone needed leisure time, be it boy or girl. An ASHA

***Voices from the field...***  
*“mera khud ka ladka ghar ke  
 kaam kaaj karta hai  
 -a ASHA worker, Lucknow*

worker from a village in Lucknow stated that her own son did household chores.

For fathers, their perception and attitudes stem from stereotypical gender roles which contrast with the perceptions of the community institution members.

***Voices from the field...***  
*“sabko aaraam chahiye hota  
 hai chahey woh ladki hi kyun na  
 ho”  
 -AWW in Varanasi*

## 6.4 In summary

- Mothers, in comparison to fathers do not have a negative attitude towards granting more leisure time to girls. Their actions, however do not reflect their attitude since boys are never there to share the domestic burden and girls are therefore expected to spend most of their time helping mothers. In contrast, fathers tend to have a more negative attitude because of their normative beliefs that emerge from the stereotypical gender roles.
- Leisure time is perceived as an ‘unproductive activity’ by mothers since it is not spent on useful activities like studying or doing the household work.
- The gendered role of a girl to help with household chores is also seen as a necessary preparation for her future role as homemaker after marriage. Girls are moulded in this way so that they don’t protest against their gendered roles after marriage and not expect much free time from their in-laws. In a way, it is a training for their future role as daughters in law.

## 7 MOBILITY

## 7.1 Introduction

Mobility entails freedom for female adolescents who are allowed to go out of their houses for fulfilling strategic needs alone or with peer females by walking or using any vehicle. Strategic needs include reasons for going out of house that in a certain way empower adolescent girls, and could be for visiting health facility, to meet friends, family or relatives, to the market (%), to village fairs, or to various institutions such as banks, PHC, school, or any other place outside the village/ community.

## 7.2 Baseline findings

Gender based differences in mobility are evident both from the places that are visited by adolescents and in the mode of transport used to get there. Some places are visited mainly by boys and others by girls. These differences are summarized in Table 7-1 below. As is very evident from the figures below, boys have greater access to all the places than girls in the same age group, with the difference being more for markets, fairs, banks, post office and for places outside the village. However, when questioned on the reasons for this, the adolescents not going to these places largely said that it was because they did not need to go to these places. A negligible proportion<sup>15</sup> had safety reasons or that community would disapprove. (The exact percentages for all of these is given in the Annexure). Parents not allowing the adolescents to visit these places also do not emerge as a major cause for not going.

Table 7-1: Proportion of adolescent girls and boys visiting various places

Places of visit by alone/with any other person	11-19 Years		Total adolescents
	Girls	Boys	
Market	49.1%	86.5%	67.8%
Health centre	73.4%	76.1%	74.8%
AWW Centre	12.3%	21.5%	16.9%
Village Fair	60.1%	81.5%	70.8%
Bank	18.8%	37.9%	28.3%
Post Office	4.8%	17.5%	11.2%
School	78.9%	87.5%	83.2%
Relative House	88.7%	94.5%	91.6%
Outside village	67.9%	89.1%	78.5%

The survey also investigated gender-based differences in the freedom given to adolescents to visit these places. They were asked if they went alone or were usually

<sup>15</sup>Safety issues was list as reason by 0.2 – 0.3% adolescents for most places with a maximum of 1.3% for village fairs; less than 1% for community disapproval for all places.

accompanied when they went to various places, and if they were accompanied, then by whom. The table below (Table 7-2) summarizes<sup>16</sup> the data on this.

Table 7-2: Gender based profile for independence of access to various places

Place of Visit	Girls (11-19 year old)		Boys (11-19 year old)	
	Alone	Accompanied by	Alone	Accompanied by
Market	26.1 %	45.8 % with mother	77.2 %	27.8 % with father
Health centre	8.4 %	58.0 % with mother	49.6 %	54.8 % with father
Relative house	4.1 %	82.6 % with mother	40.9 %	66.0 % with father
AWW Centre	51.4 %	17.6 % with mother	71.3 %	20.2 % with friends
Village Fair	11.4 %	65.7 % with mother	54.7 %	55.3 % with friends
Post Office	34.5 %	27.6 % with friends	79.0 %	21.9 % with father
Bank	22.3 %	38.0 % with father	63.1 %	32.0 % with father
School	64.3 %	36.9 % with friends	80.7 %	56.7 % with friends
Friend's house	65.3 %	19.7 % with friends	92.2 %	30.1 % with friends

From the above table, the places can be divided into three categories:

- Places where girls are largely accompanied by mothers, boys go alone or with fathers. This category includes markets, health centres and relatives houses. These could be because of common interests between mother and her daughter and father and his son. For example, if girls have to purchase items for personal use they are accompanied by mothers rather than by fathers or other family members.
- The exception is the bank, where both girls and boys are largely escorted by the fathers if they are accompanied. Further, among the adolescents who visit the bank, the highest proportion is of 15-19 year old adolescent boys (59%). This could be because boys, as future bread winners are expected to be familiar with the banking processes, and secondly, boys are seen as more suited to handling bank matters like standing in queues, interacting with men in the bank, handling paper work etc.
- The second category includes places where adolescents go alone or with their friends, such as to school or to other friends' houses.
- The third category is where girls are escorted by family members but boys can go alone or with friends such as village fairs or AWW centre. Interestingly, of those that are escorted to the post office, girls are more often accompanied by their friends while boys go with the fathers.

These differences in gender-based access are further examined in the following section on invisible boundaries based on the findings from the FGDs.

To get a better idea of the mobility of adolescents and the gender-based differences, the survey looked at the mode of transport used to access these places. The gender-based difference in mode of transport is summarized below (Table 7-3) by using the data for

<sup>16</sup> Detailed figures given in Annexure 4

the three most common destinations (data for all other destinations is given in Annexure 4).

Table 7-3: Mode of transport used to visit common places

	Place of visit accessed by most adolescents (from table 7.2)	Girls (11-19 year old)		Boys (11-19 year old)	
		Walk	Cycle	Walk	Cycle
1	Relatives house	10.8%	8.8%	8.5%	30.7%
2	School	61.2%	15.5%	52.6%	46.9%
3	Health Centre	42.6%	13.6%	36.2%	42.2%

Most adolescents (91.6%) visit relatives' house, but of these 75% said they use modes of transport other than walking or cycle given the location of the relatives' house. However, within the village the school and the health centre are accessed by most adolescents. Table 7-3 shows that only a small percentage of girls use cycles compared to boys for visiting the same location within and around the village.

Further, from the above table, the highest usage of cycles by girls is for going to school. Hence, to get an idea of the impact of age on access of adolescents to cycles, Table 7-4 summarizes the data for different age groups for use of different modes of transport used to go to school.

Table 7-4: Mode of transport to go to school

	11-14 Years old		15-19 years old		11-19 years old		Overall
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	
Do not go	7.6%	6.4%	34.9%	18.7%	21.1%	12.5%	16.8%
Walk	77.2%	64.5%	45.0%	40.7%	61.2%	52.6%	56.9%
Bicycle	12.9%	39.1%	18.1%	54.7%	15.5%	46.9%	31.2%
Any other vehicle/ means	4.0%	7.7%	5.0%	8.3%	4.5%	8.0%	6.3%

From the table above (Table 7-4), important differences in the mode of transport used by girls and boys can be seen.

- First, as the adolescents grow older proportion of boys and girls who do not go to school increases – from 7.6% to 34.9% for girls and from 6.4% to 18.7% for boys – as is evident from the figures for 11-14 age group and 15-19 age group. The increase is considerably higher for girls.
- Secondly, with age a higher proportion of boys and girls use cycles, but the increase is higher for boys.
- The proportion of boys and girls walking to school decreases for both groups. This is partly because of using cycles but equally because of older children dropping out.

From the qualitative data, it is also apparent that there are gender-based biases shaping access of adolescents to various places. Some of the other perceptions that shape access and mobility of adolescents to various places are summarized in the sections below.

### 7.3 Mobility for girls

The quantitative analysis points to the existence of gendered spaces and invisible boundaries for a girl's mobility. Places like the bank, market and places outside the village are accessed more by boys in comparison to girls. A girl's mobility is restricted to places within the village like friend's place, health centre and the AWC.

Mobility of a girl is layered

- Places she is allowed to go alone or places she is allowed to visit if accompanied by friends.
- These are places she can visit only in the daytime etc.
- For various destinations, the boundaries maybe within the village (for example, school); or to areas that are within the hamlet (friends' house). For example- a girl can visit places outside her house only during the day time. Even going to schools is dependent on the distance of the school from the village. Hence girls are allowed to cycle to schools but If the distance is beyond 10 km then their mobility to schools is also restricted.

Girls are only given the freedom to be mobile when places of accessibility are considered safe by the parents. The invisible boundary is limited within the vicinity of the village or within the periphery of 2km-5km from the village. In exceptional circumstances, the invisible boundary often gets extended beyond 5km from the village. Visiting such a place is considered purposeful or adds value to the overall well-being of the child like going to school.

Older brothers are often expected to escort their younger sisters to various places which also makes them controllers of her mobility. A boy from a village in Varanasi stated that it is better that girls should not be permitted to go in the dark for her safety.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Ladkiyon ke liye yahi acha hai.  
Suraksha ki wajah se raat ko nahi  
jaane dena chahiye."*

*-A boy in Varanasi*

The two most commonly cited reasons for restricted mobility of adolescent girls were:

- **Community disapproval**  
Independent girls (who go to various places alone) are instantly labelled 'wayward'. Girls walking around alone contradicts the societal image of a 'good girl' who obeys and listens to her parents. This also affect the image of the parents within the community.
- **Safety issues** (Fear of harassment from boys)  
While adolescents and parents reported that the restricted mobility of girls is due to safety reasons, ironically, they did not report any such incidence. This could imply that the fear of harassment is disproportionately exaggerated by parents and other elders to control the movement of girls to keep them safe.

Further, there are places like the Anganwadi Centre (AWC) that both boys and girls do not access. Majority of the adolescents from the quantitative survey reported that they do not visit the AWC because they do not perceive a need to go. Field discussions with adolescent girls and boys validate their reasons for not visiting the AWC. The reasons include:

- The AWWs do not usually visit the homes of adolescents and most adolescents are unaware of the services they can access at the AWC.
- There is a common perception that AWW provide services only to pregnant and lactating mothers and that they have no role to play in the lives of adolescent girls and boys.

Discussions around mobility do not typically take place between adolescent girls and their parents since mobility is not considered as an important facet in a girl's life. In one of the FGDs in Lucknow, a girl stated girls should make an attempt to ask for greater freedom of movement, and to try and explain to the parents, but finally they will do what the parents say and never go against the parents' wishes.

***Voices from the field...***

*"ek baar baat karke  
dekhna chahiye, unko  
samjhana chahiye, lekin  
woh jo kahinge hum uske  
khilaf kabhi kuch nahin  
karte"*

*-A girl in Lucknow*

## **7.4 Mobility for boys**

For boys also, there are restrictions in the places they can access, the time when they can go and the duration they can stay out. However, the conditions for them are more flexible. Hence, they have greater freedom to negotiate on boundaries set for them. Travelling at night is a major restriction for boys and they are expected to get permission from their parents. From the field discussions in Siddharthnagar, some of the boys stated they get permission to go out of the village occasionally only and then they are dissuaded from going out at night. Even during the day they are not given permission for a long absence and hence, they usually visit nearby places only and go walking or use a cycle.

***Voices from the field...***

*"Kabhi kabhi gaon ke bahar ghoom  
sakte hain. Raat ko jaane se mana karte  
hain par aur din mein bhi zyada samay  
ki anumati nahi hai. Aas paas paidal ya  
cycle se chale jaate hain".*

*- Boys FGD, Siddharthnagar*

FGDs further indicated that freedom in accessing places is higher for boys due to the following reasons:

- While boys are expected to seek permission if they are going beyond the boundaries set for them, they are more likely to get it than girls are.
- The consequences of not obeying parents are not as severe as they are for girls.
- Exposure of boys to the outside world is considered essential given that boys are expected to go out in the world and become earning members of the families.

## **7.5 Attitude of parents**

From the field discussions with mothers and fathers, it emerged that:

### **Safety of girls and mobility**

In some districts, there are genuine concerns for safety of girls due to reported incidents of trafficking, like in Maharajganj, near the borders. A mother in Chhapwa Village Maharajganj said that times were unsafe and they can't trust anyone. They believe that the girls are not mature enough to handle themselves and once the border is crossed, the

girls can never be found. Therefore mothers attempt to keep the girls close to them. However, the concern for safety expressed as a limitation on movement of girls also happen to be in villages where there have been no reported incidents of GBV, especially in Lucknow, Varanasi and Jaunpur.

### Distance and facilities

A father from Kamalpur Bichilika Village in Lucknow during the FGDs stated that “some people do allow the girls to go out and study but most don’t because going 12 km alone is not easy and security has to be considered. Some girls use cycles to go this distance, but one has to keep the social conditions in mind”.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*“jug kharab hai, kisi pe bharosa nahin hai. Apne bachiyon ko samabhal ke rakha hai.”*

*-FGD in Chhapwa Village, Maharajganj*

#### *Voices from the field...*

*“Kuch log anumati dete hain bahar jaake padhne ki par ladkiyan khud bhi nahi jaati hai. Par zyaadatar manaahi hoti hai kyuki 12 km akele aane jaane mein dikkat hoti hai, suraksha ke karan se. Kuch ladkiyan jaati hai cycle se. Samay aur ravaiya dekhna padta hai.”*

*-A Father in Kamalpur Bichilika Village*

### Fear of freedom of movement to attitudes of girls

Fathers view the attitude of girls as an important factor in allowing her to go to places on her own. There is a sense of fear even in the minds of the fathers that she might get ‘spoilt’ if her attitude/company is not right. A girl is considered highly impressionable and one who can be easily influenced if she is not strong willed or in ‘bad company’.

Mothers also expressed similar fears that freedom to a girl would lead her to indulge in ‘immoral activities’ like talking to boys, or being friendly with boys etc. This is also one of the major reasons why girls are frequently accompanied by their mothers in visiting places like the market and the village fair and why mothers don’t allow their daughters to travel alone.

### Image of a girl

The image of a ‘good girl’ is one who does not venture far or alone from the village. By common social rules, a girl can visit relatives’ houses alone if the house is within the village, but should be accompanied by friends or family members if they visit the market or village fairs, etc.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*“Ek sayaani ladki aise zyaada door nahi jaa sakti”*

*“Ladkiyan rishtedaaro ke ghar akele jaa sakti hai agar unka ghar gaon mein ho toh...”*

*Ladkiyan akele nahi jaa sakti bazaar ya mele mein. Saheliyon ke saath jaana chahiye ya koi bada saath mein hona chahiye”*

*-a father in Seswa Bujurg village*

### Household duties

Mothers also said that they restrict movement of girls because they need the daughters to stay at home for household chores. As one mother in Jaunpur said, “If girls go out then who will help with household chores?”

#### *Voices from the field...*

*“Agar ladkiyan bahar jaengi toh ghar ke kaam main haath kaun bataega”*

*-mother in Jaunpur*

## Need for the visit

Purpose is an additional factor for fathers to decide the places that a girl can access along with the freedom that can be given to her. One of the fathers in Seswa Bujurg village stated that, “if a girl has a job outside, then why should she not go, of course she will go”.

### *Voices from the field...*

*Agar ladki ki bahar naukri lagi ho  
toh kyun nahi jayegi, zaroor jayegi.  
-a father in Seswa Bujurg village*

Employment outside the village is seen as a justified reason for girls to go out of the village and to go alone.

## 7.6 Attitude of community workers

There are AWWs who view mobility as desirable and necessary for girls. One of the AWWs in Paharpur Village, Lucknow stated that “the girls today should not have to face the restrictions they had faced as girls, rather girls have the opportunity to study and go out”. They believe that girls would become independent if they travel to colleges outside their village, in the cities to study.

### *Voices from the field...*

*“Hum nahin chahate ki jo humare  
saath hua, who humari ladkiyon ke  
saath ho. Aajkal ladkiyan kum se kum  
padhai karke bahar toh jaati hain”  
-AWW in Paharpur village*

However, there are perceptions amongst them that allowing girls to be more mobile will invite judgements from the community and hence there is no point in sending them out of the village anywhere. People question the benefit in allowing girls to go out alone. An ASHA worker in Gorakhpur stated that, “Girls should stay at home only. Society talks of girls if they are allowed to go out alone”.

### *Voices from the field...*

*“Faiyda kya hai, ladki ko ghar pe  
hi rehna chahiye. Samaj hamesha  
taane marta hai agar ladki ko akele  
bahar jaane ki azaadi dein”  
- An ASHA worker in  
Gorakhpur*

These differences in perceptions exist due to different regions, age and exposure of frontline workers. AWW and Asha workers with exposure to cities like Delhi and Mumbai are more progressive in their views.

## 7.7 In summary

- Overall, mobility of girls is dependent upon factors such as:
  - ✓ Time: A girl is allowed to travel to places outside her house only during the day time.

- ✓ Attitude: Girls are mostly perceived as naïve and someone who can be easily taken advantage of. Less exposure to the outside world makes them lack 'the street smart attitude'.
  - ✓ Safe Space: Parents allow girls to visit only those places that are considered safe by parents like places within the village. This is the reason why majority of the girls walk to places instead of using bicycles because they are not allowed to venture far from the village. In this sense, Safe spaces happen to come under the purview of their invisible boundaries.
  - ✓ Invisible Boundaries: Parents like to keep their daughters within their vicinity due to fear of being kidnapped, trafficked or facing any form of GBV, therefore they create boundaries for girls to places they can access like friend's place, AWC, doctor etc.
  - ✓ Purpose: Purpose is an additional factor for parents to decide the places that a girl can access along with the freedom that can be given to her. For example- She can go to places that are beyond 5 km from the village provided she is going to schools or going to do jobs. Mobility for girls is only considered socially desirable to places which are meant to be purposeful like schools. Roaming to other places in leisure time is looked down upon by parents and other community institution members since girls are seen as wasting their time and not doing anything productive.
- While these factors decide the freedom of mobility for girls, some of the factors like time and invisible boundaries also exist for boys. However, there is a flexibility for boys to negotiate on these conditions since parents do not attach safety concerns with boys as much as they do for girls. For boys, it is generally the peer group that parents consider in deciding how far their invisible boundary can extend and the places they can access.
  - The safety concern linked to a girl's mobility is so strong that even if girls face any form of harassment on the way to the school or some other place which they visit alone, they fear that their mobility would further get restricted if they tell their parents.
  - Social control on mobility for girls is less as compared to the influence it has on inter-gender communication. It is mostly the parents who control the movement of their daughters.
  - Any deviant behavior observed that breaks the established boundary for girls is mostly allowed because there is a purpose behind visiting that location. For example- girls in the FGDs in Gorakhpur stated that there is only one girl in the village who has a scooty and she rides it to the market to fetch vegetables for her mother.

## 8 COMMUNICATION

## 8.1 Introduction

This section analyses perceptions of adolescents about girls having access to mobile phones and communication between girls and boys. It also analyses the differences between girls and boys in terms of the access they are allowed to mobile phones. The baseline survey FGDs also focused on understanding perceptions and attitudes of family and community members towards inter-gender communication and the gender-based discrimination in all the seven project districts. The section further investigates the underlying reasons that support these perceptions.

The project aims to impact the access that girls have to phones and aims to increase the frequency of use of mobile phone for different purposes, which could include making voice calls, sending text messages, sending MMS, clicking pictures through camera, playing mobile games, using internet, watching TV, listening to radio, or for accessing social networking sites. The project will also attempt to increase acceptability of inter-gender communication in the project villages.

## 8.2 Attitude of adolescents

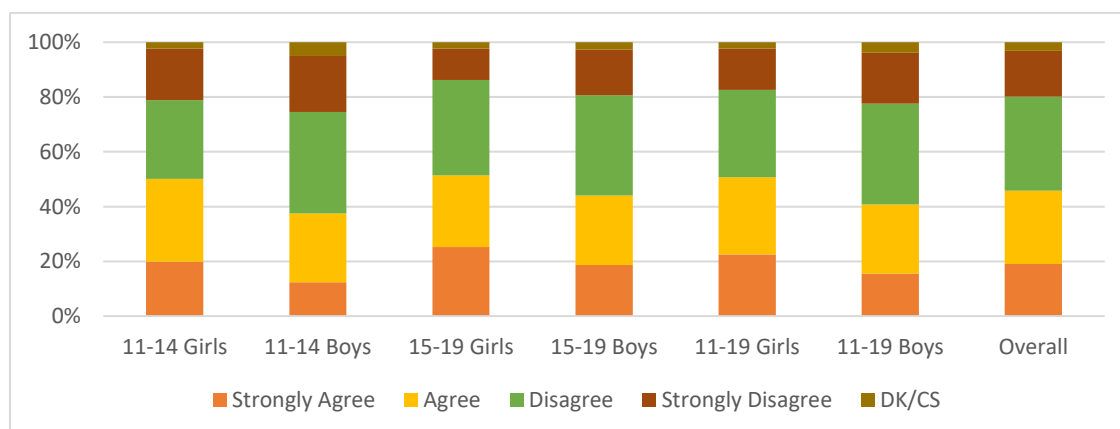
Various statements were used to elicit opinions from adolescent boys and girls to assess their attitude on inter-gender communication and mobile phone usage.

The taboos on communication between boys and girls are clearly evident from the responses received to a few key questions asked during the survey. Only about 50% of the adolescents supported inter-gender communication.

### 1. Should girls and boys sit together at school?

Figure 8.1 shows the responses to the above question. About 50% of the girls and 40% of the boys feel it is appropriate for boys and girls to sit together in class. Most feel that they should sit separately.

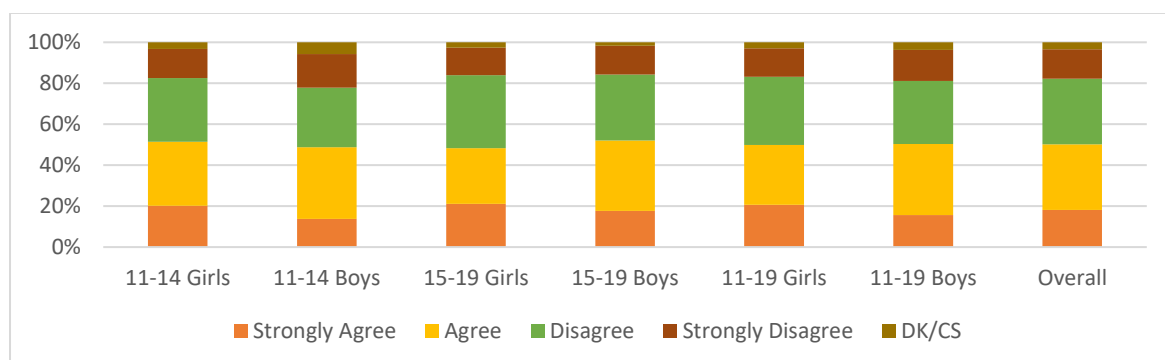
Figure 8.1: A girl may not sit regularly with boys in classroom



## 2. Girls and boys should not talk to each other too much

Adolescents are equally split into those that support inter-gender communication and those who don't (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2: A girl may not talk to boys for long in school or outside school



In the FGDs several girls expressed the opinion that it is all right for boys and girls to be friends and for them to have interactions amongst themselves. However, this positive attitude towards inter-gender communication is generally not reflected in their actions. Girls and boys do not talk to each other out of school and while in school, girls and boys sit separately. This can be attributed to the following reasons:

- Girls and boys are ridiculed if talk to each other. The act of girls talking to boys is perceived as a moral defect and lack of good upbringing.
- Community disapproval of a boy and a girl to be friends is so strong that it has created fear in the minds of both adolescent girls and boys.
- Schools do not allow them to sit together and restricts conversation between them.
- Sitting arrangements are fixed by school. Figure 6.3 shows a class in progress with the girls on one side and the boys on the other, even in an open place. Sitting places are similarly demarcated within classrooms as well.

Field discussions with adolescent boys on the aspect of inter-gender communication, indicate that boys feel that their uneducated parents will misinterpret the friendship between girls and boys. One of the boys in Rampur Behera Village in Lucknow said that if they were seen talking to a girl, their illiterate parents would view it negatively and scold them. Although, boys and girls wish to interact with each other they are apprehensive as it not seen positively by people in the village.

### *Voices from the field...*

*“Ladki se baat bhi kar li  
toh anpadh maa baap galat  
matlab nikaalte hain aur  
daant dete hain”.*

*-Rampur Behera*

### 3. Girls' use of mobile phone should be restricted

Figure 8.3: A girl may not be allowed to use mobile phones as it increases the chances of her getting spoilt

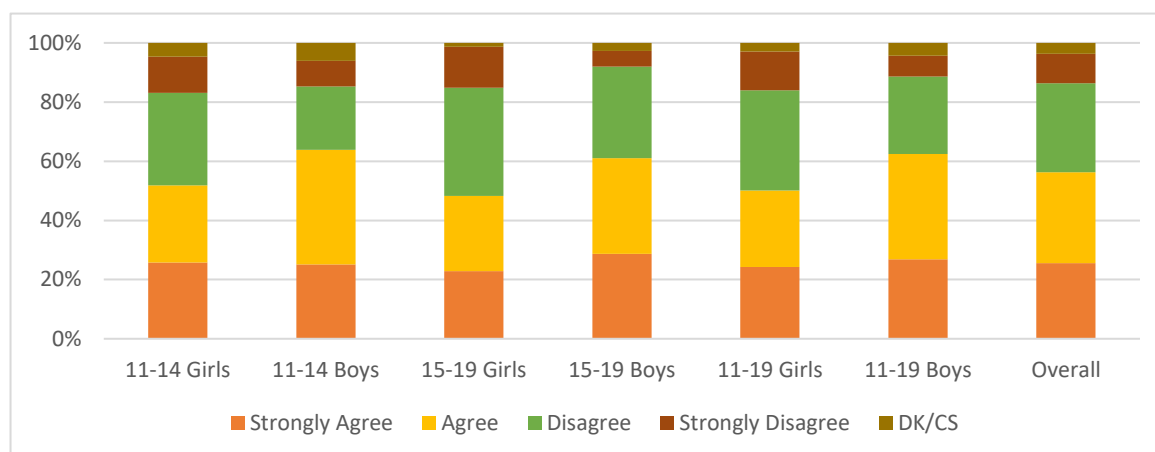


Figure 8.3 shows that majority of adolescent boys (61 percent or more) have a negative attitude towards the usage of a mobile phone by girls. However, a majority of adolescent girls (more than 50 percent) reported having a positive attitude towards girls using a mobile phone. Unlike the adolescent boys, adolescent girls did not think that increased use of mobile phone increases the chances of girls getting spoilt. On the contrary, girls stated that mobile phone usage amongst boys was not appropriate, since they tend to use mobile phones for watching pornographic videos.

From the FGDs with girls and boys it emerged that girls have less access to the usage of mobile phones outside the house in comparison to boys. The accessibility is more inside the house but only under the supervision of parents. Mobile phone usage by girls is restricted in order to prevent communication with boys. There is a fear amongst parents and others in the community that if use of mobile phone by girls is not monitored, it may mislead them into engaging in romantic relations with boys. In this sense, the social stigma attached to the use and ownership of mobile phone by girls is strong, and girls find it acceptable to not talk on the phone.

Ownership of mobile phones is often considered inappropriate by the girls themselves. Girls stated that mobile phones always cause distractions. If a girl has a phone, her number often gets circulated amongst the boys and they tend to become victims of harassment, receiving unwanted calls from boys. Because of this they would rather not have a phone. Further, they feel that if they share such harassment incidences with their parents, their mobility would further get restricted.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Humme mobile phone chahiye hi nahin, acha hai ki na mile. Padhai nahi ho pati"*

*Paharpur Village*

One of the girls in Paharpur Village in Lucknow stated, "We didn't want a mobile phone, so it is good that we didn't get one. It would distract us from studies".

While girls see mobile phone as a distraction, boys find it necessary for entertainment and communication purposes and don't see it as a distraction. Their perception on the usage of mobile phones also makes them feel the need to have one of their own.

### 8.3 Parents and Community members

The following figures are a representation of the qualitative data collected during FGDs with parents of adolescents and members of community institutions.

Figure 8.4: A girl should not sit regularly with boys in classroom

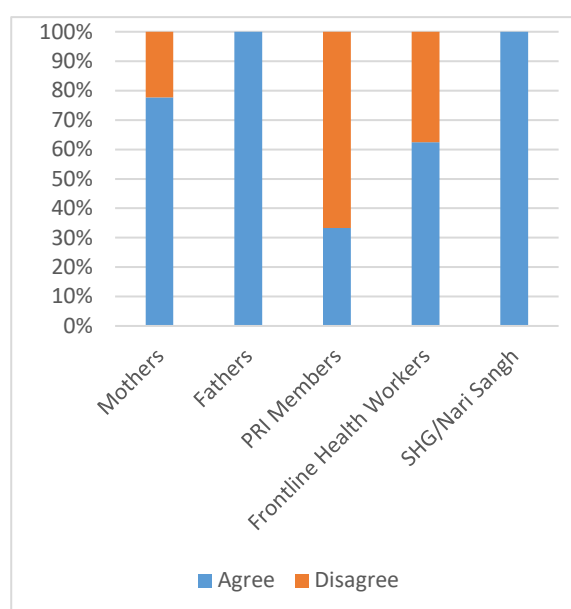
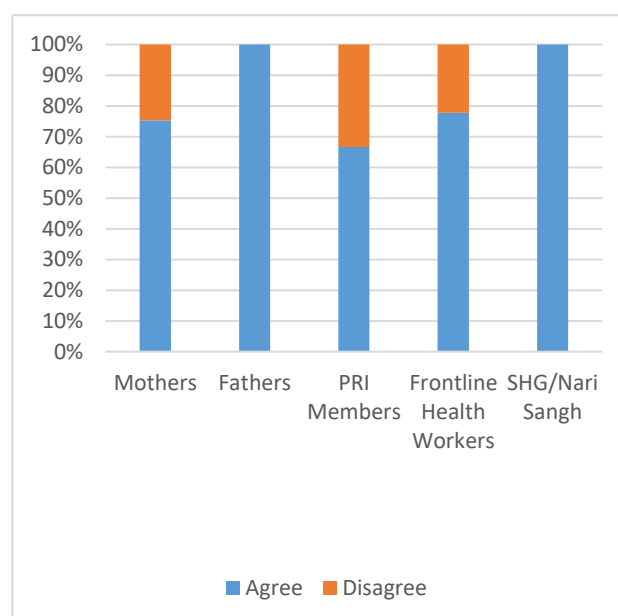


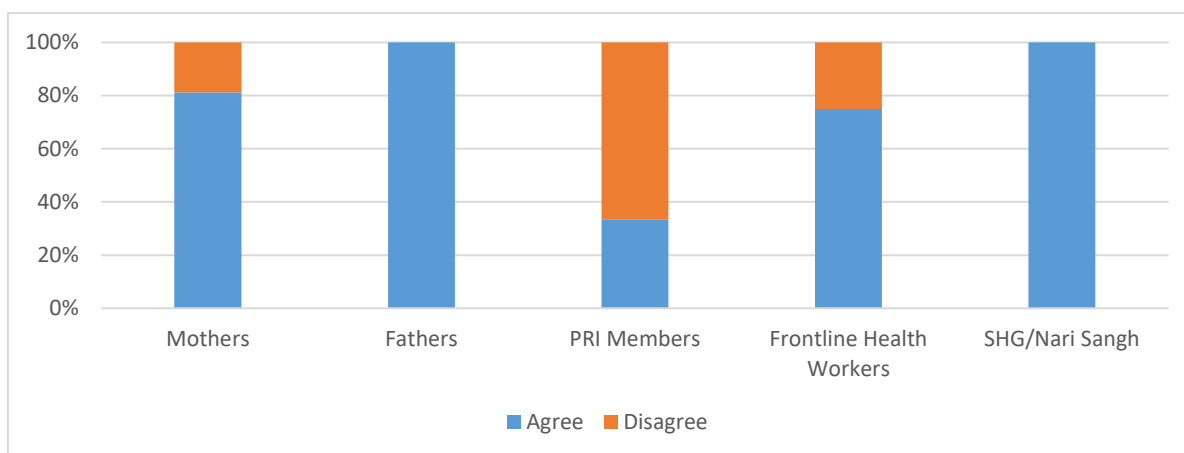
Figure 8.5: A girl should not talk to boys for long in school or outside school



It is evident that all the fathers and the SHG/Nari Sangh members had a negative attitude towards interaction between girls and boys in class and outside class. A small proportion (20-25%) of the mothers, however feel there should be interaction between girls and boys.

Figure 8.6 below shows that the same views are reflected in the use of mobile phones by girls, with all fathers and SHG members being against it.

Figure 8.6: A girl should not be allowed to use mobile phones as it increases the chances of her getting spoilt



They felt it increases the chances of girls getting spoilt.

In one of the FGDs, a mother in Gorakhpur stated that the time is such that nobody talks to each other unless they are related. Another said that if a girl and boy talk to each other they will fall in love. There is a constant fear amongst the mothers that any form of inter-gender communication will lead to romantic entanglements and elopement. This is perceived to be against family honour. Even when the evidence is scarce to suggest that increased communication between boys and girls have made them elope, stories and stray incidents happening in other villages instil such fear in the mothers.

***Voices from the field...***

*“Zamaana kharaab hai, bina sambandh ke koi baat nahi karta”,*

*“ladka ladki agar aapas main baat karenge toh unke beech pyaar ho jata hai”*

*-mothers in Gorakhpur*

While it is true that mothers fear disapproval from society in terms of allowing their daughters to use mobile phones more frequently, paradoxically they do not seem averse to the idea of interaction taking place between girls and boys as long as the intention is right. In the FGDs, one of the mothers also stated that mobile phones should be given to girls as they tend to become useful during emergencies, especially if girls are travelling to places outside the village.

***Voices from the field...***

*“Ladki ke liye jab tak var nahi dhoond lete hain tab tak mobile nahi dete hain”*

According to the perceptions of fathers, communication between girls and boys is socially desirable only when they are about to get married. Giving mobile phones to girls at that time is considered acceptable.

Even if girls don't own mobile phones but simply use it, then keeping a tab on them is considered necessary, mainly to ensure she is not talking to boys. A father in Siddharthnagar stated that the parents keep themselves informed about who called their girls and from where.

***Voices from the field...***

*"Jaankaari lena padta hai. Ladki se poochte hain kahaan se phone aaya, kiska phone aaya."*

- A father in Siddharthnagar

People at the community level are no different in their perceptions from those of parents. Most community members thought that inter-gender communication was inappropriate and pointless. They think talking between boys and girls is simply a waste of time and does not result in anything productive. One of the Asha workers in Kolhui village in

***Voices from the field...***

*"Ladke aur ladkiyan school main kyun baat karen? Faltoo baat karne mein kya faayda?"*

Varanasi stated vehemently, "Why should girls and boys talk in school? What is the benefit in useless talk?"

Government school teachers are also strict upholders of this norm. They ensure segregated sitting areas for boys and girls in class. They don't want to be seen as

aiding any form of communication between girls and boys by the people in the community due to the collective practice of abetting something that is largely disapproved by the community. In a FGD conducted with boys in Gaur Village, Varanasi, one of the boys stated, "There are conditions under which inter-gender communication is perceived as being acceptable. For instance, boys can only talk to girls outside the school and not while they are in school. Any deviant behaviour to this norm is reprimanded with physical violence against boys. Teachers find it essential to hit the children as a measure of corrective action. If people see a girl and boy together, they ask a lot of questions, and make wrong interpretations".

***Voices from the field...***

*"School ke bahar baat kar sakte hain lekin school mein nahi aur kuch logon ke saath ulta hota hai. Teacher bolte hain ki baat karni hai toh bahar nikal jao. Sarkari school mein ladka-ladki ka baat cheet karna galat samajhte hain toh mana karte hain, pitai bhi ho jaati hai ladkon ki aur ladki ko daant denge.. Samaaj wale saath mein dekh le toh bohot pooch-taach karne lagte hain, galat samajhte hain."*

- A boy in Varanasi

## 8.4 In summary

- From the FGDs with girls and boys, it emerged that in comparison to boys, girls have less access to the usage of mobile phones outside the house. In this sense the social stigma attached to the usage and ownership of mobile phone by girls is so strong that it has conditioned people in the community, parents and adolescent boys to assume that using mobile phones is illicit. Even while using mobile phones within the house, parents see it necessary to monitor the activities of a girl.
- Inter-gender communication in school is encouraged and considered positive by approximately 50% of both boys and girls despite there being a negative perception of mobile phone usage amongst girls. However, from the quantitative findings it is

clear that both 50 percent boys and girls, on an average consider interactions outside the school to be negative.

- Negative perceptions emerge from the social perception that it is inappropriate for girls and boys to talk to each other whether in school or outside school.
- It is the community that discourages any form of interaction between girls and boys thereby influencing their behaviour towards each other in schools. This also explains how the positive attitude of adolescents towards inter-gender communication does not reflect in their actions. Government school teachers are the strict upholders of this norm and are often found segregating seats for boys and girls in class. School teachers also believe that boys should talk to girls outside school only.

These collective behaviours are practiced because they are seen as socially desirable and stem mainly from normative expectations. Normative expectations arise due to a 'fear' in the minds of the people in the villages that increased interaction and use of mobile phones will make the girl spoilt and increase her chances of eloping with a boy.

## **9 ATTITUDE TOWARDS GIRLS**

## 9.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the results from an attitudinal survey of various stakeholders towards adolescent girls. This was based on certain positive as well as negative statements that the stakeholders were asked to respond to by expressing their level of agreement or disagreement. In depth assessment was also done on the image that various stakeholders have on what makes for a strong girl, and how they thought girls could be supported to become more empowered. Further, an assessment was done on what girls think about being able to become stronger.

## 9.2 Baseline findings

Adolescents were asked if they agree or disagree to the statements below and the percentage of adolescents who agreed with the same are listed in Table 9.1.

Table 9-1: Attitude towards girls

S. No.	Statement	Girls who agree	Boys who agree
1.	<i>A girl must do household chores as she need to learn that before going to in-law's place</i>	82.4%	72.9%
2.	<i>A girl cannot say when she wants to get married because the elders know best</i>	67.4%	65.1%
3.	<i>A boy does not need to help in domestic chores like cleaning, washing utensils, cooking etc. because it is a girl's job/duty</i>	63.4%	57.4%
4.	<i>A girl may not be allowed to go alone/with peers outside as it is inappropriate for a girl to go alone/ peers in our community</i>	51.1%	57.1%
5.	<i>A girl may not sit regularly with boys in classroom</i>	50.8%	40.7%
6.	<i>A girl may not be allowed to use mobile phones as it increases the chances of her getting spoilt</i>	50.1%	62.4%
7.	<i>A girl may not talk to boys for long in school or outside school</i>	49.9%	50.4%
8.	<i>A girl should not do higher studies as it will be difficult to get her married then</i>	45.6%	42.2%
9.	<i>A girl doesn't need as much leisure time as boys do</i>	45.0%	42.4%
10.	<i>A girl will not get suitable groom if her marriage is delayed</i>	37.5%	36.6%
11.	<i>A girl should be married off early so that she does not face safety issues</i>	30.6%	34.1%

In the first statement 'A girl must do household chores as she needs to learn how to do them before going to their in-laws' place', a majority of both boys and girls (72-83%) agreed. It is considered important that girls learn all the household chores before going to her in-laws as it shall be expected of her (Figure 8). Household chores are considered a girl's duty, especially after she goes to her husband's house. More girls as compared to boys agree with the statement and the difference between the perceptions is significant. This

is also supported by the agreement on the third statement '*A boy does not need to help in domestic chores like cleaning, washing utensils, cooking etc. because it is a girl's job/duty*'. A large number of girls agreed that a boy need not help in household chores. More than 63% girls and around 57% boys feel that domestic chores are a girl's duty and hence, boys do not need to do such activities. This indicates that there is a clear gendered division of household labour, whereby girls are expected to know and do the household chores, whereas boys are most often, not asked to help around within the household. It can be clearly seen that a girl's attitude is far more negative than the boys, whereby they support the existing gendered division of labour, both as unmarried girls and after marriage too.

The reasons for supporting this as voiced during FGDs suggest that knowing the household chores before going to the in-laws is considered essential for the girls as it facilitates her adjustment in the new home. Additionally, many respondents also said that if girls do not know their duties, they are often taunted and in some cases, it results in violence being inflicted on them by the in-laws as well. Hence, in order to avoid such situations, it becomes pertinent for a girl to know and to have done household chores from an early age.

As can be seen in the responses given to the second statement, more than 65% girls as well as boys agreed that a girl cannot have a say regarding when (age at which) she should get married since elders know best. This points to the social norm that exists that elders know best and therefore should be the only ones taking decisions regarding their children's lives. As is evident, many adolescents have internalised this social norm and do not express the desire the question it, as was also evident from their responses to negotiating life choices.

In statement 4, more than 50 percent girls and boys felt that a girl should not go outside alone/with peers since it is considered inappropriate by their community. However, higher percentage of boys (57%) as compared to girls displayed a negative attitude towards a girl's mobility. It may be inferred that there is a largely divided opinion regarding a girl's mobility. While some adhere to society's beliefs and justifications that are used to restrict a girl's mobility, many want to break away from it, especially girls.

Statement 6 shows that more than 50% girls and more than 60% boys agreed that girls should not be allowed to use mobile phones since it increases the chances of them getting spoilt. It is believed that having/using a mobile phone causes distractions for a girl and inclines her towards engaging in behaviour that is considered inappropriate such as establishing and maintaining friendships with boys. Higher percentage of girls felt that girls should be allowed to use mobile phones since it is not a determining factor for them getting spoilt. However, a higher percentage of boys felt that girls should not be allowed to use mobile phones. Therefore, for this statement a more negative attitude is observed amongst boys as compared to girls, which may be an important factor in restricting girl's communication. The qualitative data gathered also corroborates this as most stakeholders feel that there was no need for a girl to have/use a mobile phone as she need not interact with anyone outside of her immediate family unless she travels outside the village for purposeful activity like education, job etc.

In statement 8, a comparatively higher proportion of adolescents (both boys and girls) disagree with the statement that a girl pursuing her higher education does not increase the difficulty of her getting married. However, as was seen from the qualitative discussions, one of the reasons girls are often discouraged from studying further is because parents believe that they will not be able to find a suitable and equally educated boy for their girl. Since such instances have taken place in their vicinity, whereby a higher dowry was demanded for highly qualified girls, parents wish to marry off their daughters early and avoid educating them beyond a certain point.

Where statement 9 is concerned, though there were a significant number of respondents who disagreed with it and believed that girls and boys require the same amount of leisure time, more than 40% of both girls and boys agreed and felt that girls do not require as much leisure time as boys. A slightly higher proportion of girls, as compared to boys agreed to the statement. This points to a largely gender biased attitude held by adolescents, even girls themselves, regarding the amount of leisure time needed by girls.

In statement 10, a majority (more than 60%) of both girls and boys disagreed with the statement that a girl is unlikely to get a suitable groom if her marriage is delayed. This shows a largely positive attitude held by girls and boys regarding delaying a girl's marriage. However, around 37% of both girls and boys agreed to the statement, thereby, indicating that a negative attitude persists too.

Similarly, in statement 11, respondents were asked whether they believed that girls should be married off early in order to avoid facing safety issues. The responses indicate that more than 67% of girls and more than 62% boys disagreed with the statement, thereby showing a negative attitude towards marriage being seen as a safety net for adolescent girls. While most respondents believe that there is no relation between marriage and the safety of a girl, around 30% of both boys and girls agreed that a girl should be married off early in order to ensure her safety, supporting the view held by most elders that early marriage is a way to ensure that a girl is 'protected', or placed firmly under male control. It is a dominant belief that girls will be safer or free from threat of danger once she is bound within a marriage.

In summary, the responses clearly indicate that there are many adolescents who agree and support common social norms. They support the commonly cited reasons for early marriages for girls such as the fear of not finding a suitable match if marriage is delayed or if a girl is well educated, or that early marriage ensures her safety, etc. The quantitative and qualitative findings on the prevalence of early marriage have already been discussed in the chapter on marriage which corroborates the above findings. The adolescents also agree with most other gender-based lifestyle choices and roles.

### **9.3 Idea of a strong girl**

Various stakeholders were asked what traits and qualities they thought a girl should have in order to be considered strong and empowered. The following figure (Figure 8.) presents the characteristics of a strong girl as defined by adolescents, their parents and community members. Except for the girls themselves, all others feel that good education

is an important aspect for a strong girl. Communication skills and exemplary moral and social behaviour are other criteria that make up the image of a strong girl.

Figure 9.1: Different concepts of a strong girl

Stakeholder	Their thoughts on what make a “Strong Girl”
Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•One who can refuse, retaliate and have the courage to speak her mind in front of others</li> </ul>
Boys	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Well educated</li> <li>•Good communication skills</li> <li>•Follows all the social norms</li> <li>•Who gives support and desires to move forward.</li> </ul>
Mothers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Well educated</li> <li>•Ability to handle all household work load</li> <li>•Be an example for others- not talk too much, not eat in front of or before others</li> </ul>
Fathers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Well educated</li> <li>•Confident in interactions with good communication skills</li> <li>•Preserve family honour</li> <li>•Be an example - not talk too much and not eat before others</li> <li>•Has a strong mind</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Well educated and confident decision maker</li> <li>•Financially independent</li> <li>•Able to balance work and home</li> <li>•Able to create a good social image - with sound morals of 'right' and 'wrong'</li> <li>•Have independence but also be obedient</li> </ul>

The responses were highly varied and sometimes even contradictory. Many responses were found to be contradictory to the other beliefs held by them regarding girls and the practices they followed. However, while there were some respondents who considered

strong decision making and communication skills as important for a strong girl to have, there were also many respondents who felt that a strong girl must be one who can withstand the pressures of life such as household chores and marital responsibilities and be the 'ideal girl' who adheres to all social norms.

It is also evident that an 'ideal girl' was seen as a 'strong girl'. An ideal girl is one who is obedient and one who fulfils her duties such as doing household chores well and stays within the pre-set boundaries. The mothers' interpretation of a strong girl especially reflects their gender biased views on a girl's role in her image of a strong girl as one who can successfully perform all household duties. Some fathers too, believed that a strong girl is one who embodies traits such as the will to preserve her family's honour, adhere to the set boundaries and perform her household duties.

#### *Voices from the field...*

##### *What they say makes a "strong girl"...*

###### **Girls**

- *"Ladkiya mazboot hoti hai lekin unko dabaa diya jaata hai". – Tetri Bazaar*

###### **Boys**

- *"Baat cheet karne mein achhi ho. Seedhe tarah baat karti ho bina dare."- Goar*
- *"Talented, padhne mein tez, behavior acha ho, bolne ka dhang, bade chotte ka lihaaz karti ho, kaam karne mein theek ho."- Goar*
- *"Padhne likhne mein tez, kaam karne mein aage ho, rahan sahan acha ho. Sidhanagar*

###### **Mothers**

- *"Agar ek ladki ghar ke saare bojh utha pae tabhi who mazboot hai."- Chhapwa village*
- *"A strong girl must work hard and help their mothers with all their chores." – Siswa Grant*

###### **Fathers**

- *"Jo ghar ke kaam achhe se kare, padhai likhai zyaada ho, ghar aur samaj ki izzat aur maryada karti ho". -Seswa Bujurg*
- *Parivar ka palan kare, bade chotto ka khayal rakhe, padhi likhi ho, baat cheet kar sake.'*
- *"Uske paas himmat honi chahiye, mehnat ka kaam karti ho, apna bachaw khud kar sakti ho, galat kaam ka virodh kar sake."- Sidhanagar*

###### **Community members**

- *Bol-chaal, tez ho jawab dene mein, ashikshit bhi saksham ho sakti hain, kaam kaaj mein, doosro ko sahi rasta dikhayegi, mata pita ko bhi saksham bana rahi hai"*

## **9.4 Opinions on what needs to be done**

Various stakeholders were asked what they felt could be done to make the girls stronger. Girls felt that they needed things that would boost their confidence levels such as education and more respect from their parents. Boys on the other hand, felt that

girls needed more protection in order to enhance their confidence. Encouragingly, some boys felt that girls should be motivated to continue their education and be given the same amenities as are given to boys. This showed that the boys are aware of gender-inequality, and that they perceive the need to remedy it. When fathers were asked what should be done to strengthen girls, some said that her strength depended on her upbringing and the values she is taught, along with academic education. Figure 9.2 summarizes the views expressed.

*Figure 9.2: What should be done to make girls stronger*

Stakeholder	Their thoughts on how to make girls stronger
<b>Girls</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They need to be given support and freedom from their parents so that they are able to receive education as well as exposure.</li> <li>• Parents should provide positive examples and role models rather than referring to negative examples and distrusting their own daughters and fearing negative outcomes, thereby restricting their mobility.</li> </ul>
<b>Boys</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls should be protected and encouraged</li> <li>• Should be provided education</li> <li>• Should be kept in discipline and made to understand (social norms)</li> <li>• Girls should be given same opportunities and facilities as boys</li> <li>• Should not be suppressed</li> </ul>
<b>Fathers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Must educate the girls</li> <li>• Must teach them social and practical skills along with academic education</li> </ul>

### Positive Deviance

*“I didn’t know my father because he was never around, but when I finally met him, all I knew was that he did not want to educate me further...”*

Priyanka, a 22 year old girl from Goar village in Varanasi, fought against her father when he came to the village take her away with him. He wanted his daughter to get married and in order to convince her, he told her that if she wanted to study further that she may do so after marriage.

Priyanka knew it was a plan to take her away which would result in her having to quit school. *“ Papa mujhe bahane se le jaana chahte the taaki who meri shaadi karva sake ..mujhe yeh pata chal gaya tha.. Maine tabhi awaaz uthayi...”*

Her uncle and aunt who she lived with, supported her after her mother passed away but she knew that she had to stand up for herself. Therefore, she worked hard and decided to finish her graduation, with a bachelor’s degree in Arts, specializing in Psychology, Sociology and Home Science.

To become financially independent, she gave tuitions to children from her village. She charges Rs. 50 to teach each kid various subjects and manages to earn between Rs. 300-500 per month, based on the number of kids who attend her classes.

Upon being asked what she does with that money, she said that she uses it to fulfil her needs - she buys undergarments and sanitary napkins; eats what she likes sometimes. She wants to be independent so that her uncle and aunt, who have their own daughters do not have to bear the cost of her needs and wants. She said that being financially independent and being able to spend on the things she desires, makes her feel empowered. She also said that not having to ask for things and making her own decisions, and purchasing things based on her liking, made her feel good.

### Opinion of girls

While the girls voiced firm opinions on the idea of a strong girl, they did not believe that they could ever be empowered. They lack self-confidence and find the idea of a strong girl to be abstract and one that is mostly unattainable. Many of them also thought that the society they lived in was not conducive for them to be empowered.

There was, however, one girl who raised her voice against early marriage and fought to study further. During the FGD with the girls, it became evident that this girl wanted a better future, not only for herself but for all the girls in the village. She could serve as a good role model for the girls in the village who feel helpless and powerless about their own lives.

### 9.5 In summary

There exist contradictory ideas regarding what a strong girl should be like and what the reality of girls in the villages actually is. Additionally, there are conflicting imageries between the idea of an ideal girl and a strong girl, whereby both traits are expected to exist simultaneously in a girl even if they are contrary to each other. For example, a strong

girl should be independent, capable of decision making and yet be obedient and adhere to social norms.

These traits appear unattainable, given the existing situation in the villages, one that is unlikely to provide an enabling environment for girls. Keeping their socio economic context in mind, it is considered impractical/impossible for a girl to be empowered, both by the adolescent girls themselves and many of the elders.

## 10 HEALTH

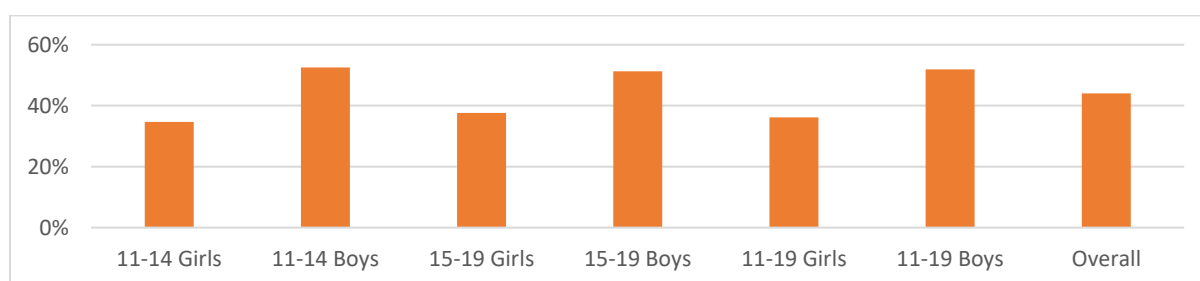
## 10.1 Introduction

The following section explores the quantitative and qualitative baseline study findings on different aspects of adolescent healthcare, especially sexual and reproductive healthcare. Perceptions of different stakeholders on the aforementioned have been analysed to garner a holistic understanding of the existing norms and beliefs which inform awareness about issues specific to adolescent health issues such as anaemia, menstruation, HIV/AIDS, and awareness about, and access to healthcare services. This section also attempts to understand differences in access to healthcare services between adolescent girls and boys.

## 10.2 Access to healthcare services

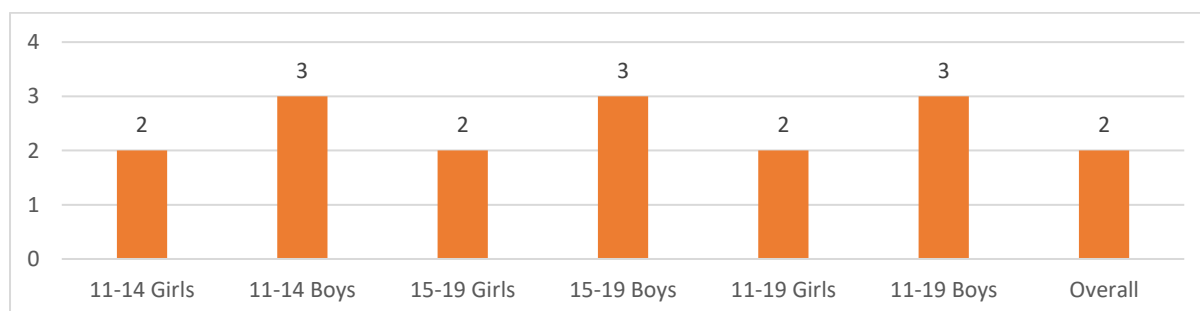
There are considerable gaps where availability of, and access to adolescent healthcare are concerned. These coupled with lack of awareness about the specific health issues which adolescents face, have led to adolescent healthcare being a necessary area of intervention. Out of all adolescent respondents, few visit healthcare facilities and most of those who do, visit these centres for general illnesses such as fever and cold.

*Figure 10.1 – Proportion of Adolescents who visited any type of health facility/ related centre in the last 6 months due to any reason*



As seen in Figure 10.1 around 50% respondents stated that they'd visited any type of health facility or centre in the last 6 months. Out of these, in both the age groups of 11-14 years and 15-19 years, more number of boys visited health care facilities than girls. (52.5percent of 11-14 year old boys, as compared to 34.7percent of girls and 51.3 percent of 15-19 year old boys as compared to 37.6percent girls).

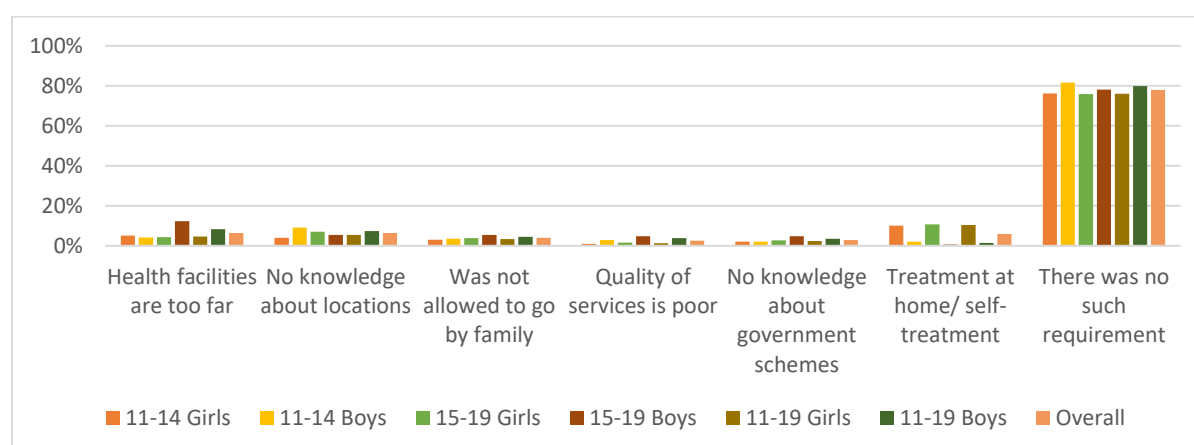
*Figure 10.2: Average number of visits to health centres by respondents in past 6 months*



The average number of visits made to health facilities by the respondents in the last 6 months was around 2.47 (Figure 10.2). Though the difference is not significant, the

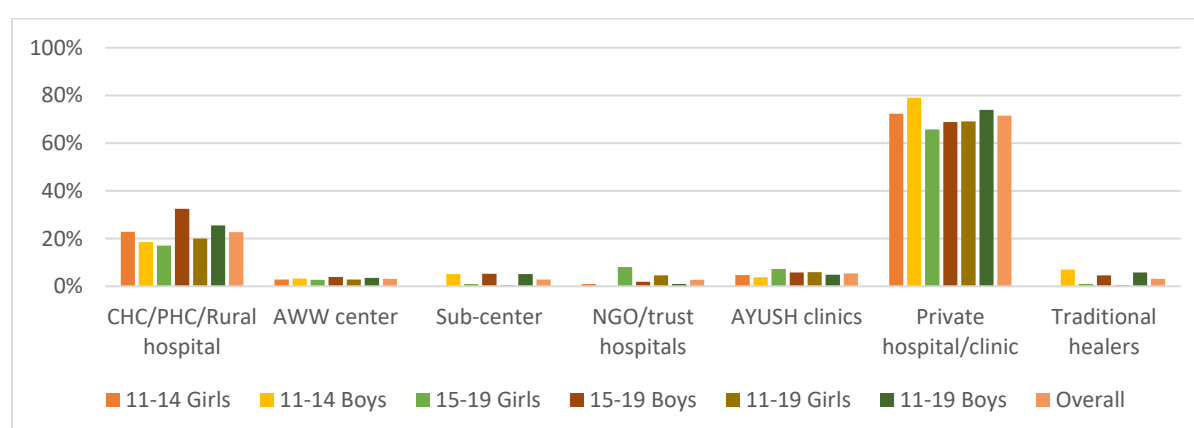
average numbers of visits made by girls in the 11-14 years and 15-19 years categories were found to be lesser than the overall average.

Figure 10.3: Reasons for not visiting any health facility in past 6 months (N-672)



When the 672 respondents who did not visit any health facility in the last 6 months, were asked about the reasons for not doing so, an average of 76 percent adolescent girls (11-19 years) and an average of 79.9 percent adolescent boys (11-19 years) stated that there was no reason for them to do so. Figure 10.3 shows that most of the adolescents (11-19 years) considered themselves healthy and according to them, had no health problems which would have required them to visit any health centre or facility in the last 6 months. **However, a much higher number of girls (40) received treatment at home compared to boys (4).**

Figure 10.4: Type of health centres visited by respondents in past 6 months (N-528)



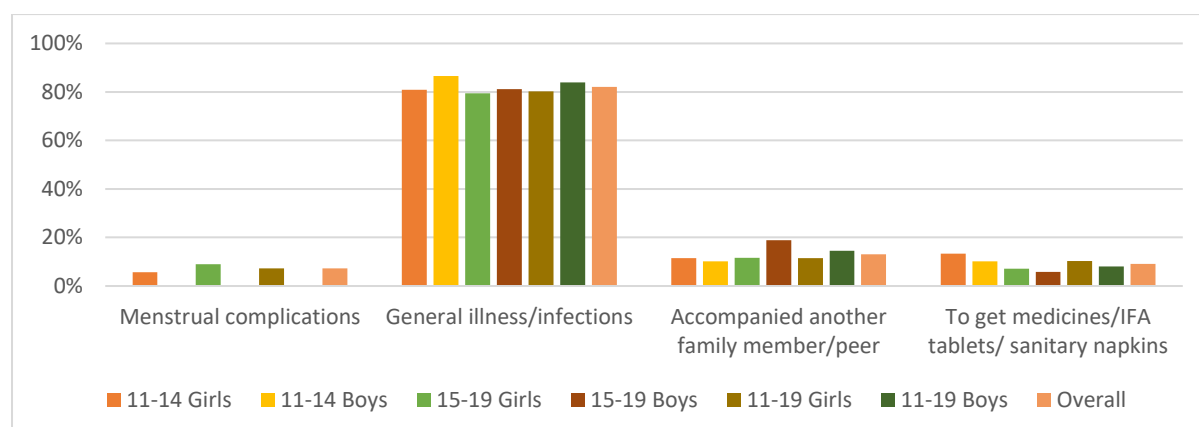
A preference for private clinics over public health centres for treatment of health issues was observed. Out of the 528 adolescent respondents (11-19 years) who visited any healthcare facility in the last 6 months, an average of 71.5 percent visited private clinics or hospitals, as shown in Figure 10.4. During the FGDs carried out, many stated that they visit private doctors. However, it remained unclear as to whether these private doctors are registered medical practitioners.

During the FGDs, it was found that most of the villages visited, do not have Anganwadi centres. The AWW and ASHA workers focus primarily on pregnant women, lactating mothers and new born children. In some villages, such as Durkhushi and Indaur in Ghazipur, the AWW and ASHA workers stated that the availability of amenities and benefits such as IFA tablets, sanitary napkins has been irregular due to which they have not been able to provide these services to all beneficiaries. Many AWW and ASHA workers are not adequately informed about sexual and menstrual health issues and hence are unable to impart information on the same to adolescents.

An ASHA worker confided that both her daughters had irregular periods and other menstrual complications, and asked the team member conducting interview for advice. Such lack of awareness about adolescent sexual and menstrual healthcare among frontline health workers was observed in some villages.

Of the 528 respondents who visited any health facility in the last 6 months, an average of 82 percent adolescent girls and boys (11-19 years) had general illnesses and infections, as seen in Figure 10.5. Only 8.9 percent adolescent girls aged between 15-19 years and 5.7 percent adolescent girls aged between 11-14 years reported visiting healthcare facilities due to menstrual complications. On the other hand, during FGDs when the stakeholders were asked about health issues faced by adolescent girls, many of them, both adolescent girls and mothers, stated that menstrual health related issues are quite common among them.

Figure 10.5: Reasons for visiting any health facility by respondents in past 6 months



### 10.3 Reasons for not availing various health related benefits

The respondents were asked for reasons why they did not receive health related benefits from various functionaries – ANM, ASHA, AWW and other Government functionaries. Table 10.1 below summarises the responses.

Table 10-1 - Reasons stated by respondents for not receiving any benefit from Other Govt Facilities

Health Facilities/ Benefits Providers	Respondents	Didn't require to visit the facility/ avail any service/benefit	No knowledge about benefits/services	They never provide any service/benefit
ANM	Girls	34.0	34.3	38.3
	Boys	58.3	21.8	25.3
ASHA	Girls	32.4	29.5	43.4
	Boys	59.1	21.3	24.9
AWW	Girls	34.7	32.4	38.7
	Boys	60.3	22.4	23.7
Other Government Functionaries	Girls	33.4	35.3	36.7
	Boys	59.5	23.7	23.0

Some of the findings are:

#### Did not need any services

- Almost 60 percent of adolescent boys (11-19 years) stated that they did not require to visit them or avail any service or benefit.
- 34% of the girls did not need any service. Hence, they need more assistance on health issues compared to boys.

#### Did not know

- Adolescent girls have more awareness about the services which the various health related functionaries can provide, compared to boys.
- Even among the girls the awareness about services that ASHA can provide is higher (29.45%) than the awareness about services provided by the others.

#### Services were not provided

- About 36.7% to 43.4% adolescent girls (11-19 years) stated that the respective functionaries do not provide any services or benefits to them.
- This figure for availing services from ASHA workers is the highest, wherein an average of 43.4 percent adolescent girls (11-19 years) could not avail any of these services and benefits due to the ASHA workers not providing them.

## 10.4 Menstrual health and hygiene

Menstrual health and related issues are considered strictly a female domain and a social norm of silence exists where conversations regarding menstrual and sexual health with the opposite sex, even within the family (father, brother, etc.) are concerned. When adolescent girls were asked about whether they discuss any issue related to menstrual health with their fathers or any male member of the family,

### *Voices from the field...*

*'Hum iske baare mein sirf  
ma ya bhabhi se baat karte  
hai. Aisi cheezo ke baare  
hum papa se kaise baat  
kare?'*

– Adolescent girls

### *Voices from the field...*

*'Ladkiyan toh in sab cheezo ke  
baare mein apni ma se hi baat karti  
hai'*

–Fathers, Seswa Bujurg

they refused vehemently and considered the very discussion of it absurd. The girls said that they normally discuss these issues with their mother or sisters-in-law.

This question received the same response from all stakeholders with whom FGDs were held, with everyone asserting that girls discuss their personal health issues only with the mothers or older women in the house.

There are several prejudices attached to menstruation and a menstruating girl is considered impure. The social norm of impurity and the practices associated with it are invariably collectively followed and are based on the conditional preference of adolescent girls and women in following them. Mothers stated, “the girls inform us when their periods start so they don’t do anything wrong”. Some of the things menstruating girls are prohibited from engaging in, include:

- Hair washing
- Visiting temples
- Enter the kitchen (if she does, the food in the kitchen is thrown away and the kitchen is washed)
- Sleeping on a mattress or using a pillow (she is give a separate cot without mattress)

### *Voices from the field...*

*'Ladkiyan hume bata deti hai  
jab unka masik shuru hota hai  
taaki unse koi galti na ho jaye'*

–Mothers

While girls do talk to their mothers about their menstrual health and related physical discomfort and pain, informing mothers also serves the purpose of ensuring the imposition of the prohibitions related to it.

### *Voices from the field...*

*'Aajkal zamana badal gaya hai.  
Ladkiyo ko masik kam umar mein  
ho jata hai. Ladkiyan sayani jaldi  
ho jaati hai'*

–mothers Taal Likhia,  
Gorakhpur

Menarche is understood as an indication of onset of puberty which leads to the imposition of new gendered social norms such as more intensive household work, a change in attire, restrictions on movement, etc. Physical changes are also viewed as a step into adulthood and the period of adolescence is largely ignored.

An early onset of menarche is viewed with curiosity and discomfort by most mothers and older women, as it signifies sexual and physical maturity of the girls for them. Mothers

compared the age of menstruation during their generation with that of adolescent girls these days. Due to their lack of awareness they attribute this difference to the changing scenario characterised by increased awareness of girls about sexual and reproductive health issues.

## 10.5 Health Schemes

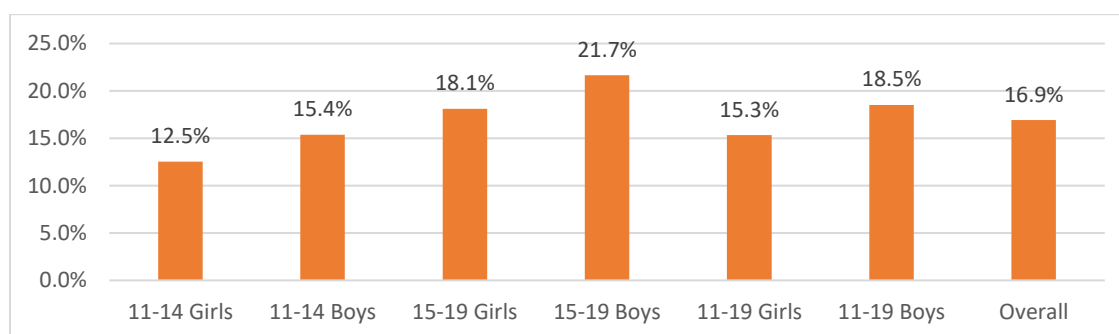
As seen in Figure 10.1, out of all the respondents only 18.1 percent adolescent girls aged 15-19 year and 12.5 percent adolescent girls aged 11-14 years received any benefit or service in the last one year. The benefits accessed mostly include IFA tablets under the ICDS scheme and provision of sanitary napkins previously by ASHA workers and currently through schools. However, out of those who received IFA tablets, most girls remain unaware of the reason why they received them. Most respondents said they received sanitary napkins irregularly. There have also been complaints regarding the poor quality of sanitary napkins.

Frontline health workers were also observed to lack a holistic understanding of menstrual health. They also say that they can only educate girls on hygiene related information. “Earlier they used to give pads through PHC, but not any longer.” While most of them stated that they carry out door to door campaigns to spread awareness about menstrual hygiene, these awareness campaigns are limited to them informing girls about using soap and water and keeping themselves clean and do not delve into discussing menstrual health related problems and other aspects of sexual and reproductive health.

### Voices from the field...

*‘Ladkiyon ko hum masik dharm k samay saaf safai ke baare mein batate hai. Pehle pad diya karte the par ab PHC se pad nahi milti’*  
-ASHA worker

Figure 10.6: Respondents who received any benefit or service in past 1 year



## 10.6 Anaemia

An overarching lack of awareness, from among mothers and adolescent girls to some frontline health workers, was observed, especially in the case of prevalence of anaemia among adolescent girls.

### Voices from the field...

*‘Humein is baare mein pata nahi. Humare khoon ki jaach hui bhi ho toh kisine is baare mein bataya nahi’*  
-Adolescent girls

During the FGDs, many parents and adolescent girls associated anaemia with IFA tablets distributed by ASHA/AWW/ANM. However these tablets are provided only to pregnant women in the village and thus anaemia as a health issue is only perceived to affect pregnant women.

***Voices from the field...***

*Ye toh pata hai ki garbhavati mahilao ko iron ki goliya milti hai taaki uska swasth acha ho. Par avivahit ladkiyon ko iron ki goli ki zaroorat nahi'*

*-Adolescent girls*

Adolescent girls and their parents are completely unaware about anaemia as a health issue for adolescent girls. They know that pregnant women get iron tablets to keep them healthy but question the need for iron tablets for unmarried girls.

Many adolescent girls said that they are healthy and do not need IFA tablets. Either a lack of apparent symptoms of anaemia or due to the lack of awareness about anaemia, the symptoms themselves remain unrecognised. The popular perception of IFA tablets being consumed only by pregnant women acts as a prejudice and is also a deterrent to adolescent girls consuming them.

According to some frontline health workers who were interviewed, in certain cases, adolescent girls were given IFA tablets which they discontinued due to side effects such as gastritis. Some did not take as others teased them about being pregnant.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Ladkiyon ko IFA goliyan di thi par use unhe gas ho jata tha toh unhone lena chor diya. Kafi ladkiyan is liye bhi nahi leti kyunki unhe chiraya jata ki ye goliyan sirf garbhavati mahilao ke liye hai'*

*-ASHA worker*

However, though some girls stated that they had consumed these tablets, they were found to be mostly unaware about the reason for having them.

Another reason cited by frontline health workers for not providing adolescent girls with IFA tablets was that PHCs do not provide IFA tablets for them and the ones provided for pregnant women are also provided on an irregular basis.

## 10.7 HIV/AIDS

There exists a lack of awareness or partial awareness about HIV/AIDS. While it seemed to be a hushed matter among parents, the adolescents were curious and wanted to know more.

***Voices from the field...***

*'Haan, suna toh hai AIDS ke baare mein. TV mein dekha hai aur poster bhi. Bas itna pata hai ki ek se zyada logo ke saath sharirik sambandh se hota hai. Bachche is baare mein kyu baat karenge?'*

*-Mothers*

***Voices from the field...***

*'Suna hai AIDS ke baare mein par ghar pe kabhi baat nahi ki. TV mein dekha tha. Kuch pata nahi par janne ki ichcha hai'*

*-Adolescent boys*

However, the knowledge of it being a sexually transmitted disease has led to an absence of conversations regarding it, especially with parents. Parents on the other hand are either

not aware or do not consider it a matter of discussion with unmarried adolescents. They have seen ads on TV and posters too. They only know it is due to multiple physical relationships. Hence, they question the need to talk to children about it.

### **10.8 In Summary**

Adolescent health issues are not considered health problems. When asked about health issues faced by adolescents, the parents mentioned diseases and sickness but nothing related to menstrual and sexual health and specific adolescent health issues such as anaemia.

There is complete silence regarding sexual health which translates into lack of awareness about sexually transmitted diseases as well as other issues related to sexual health. However, both adolescents and parents are curious and hungry for awareness regarding these health issues.

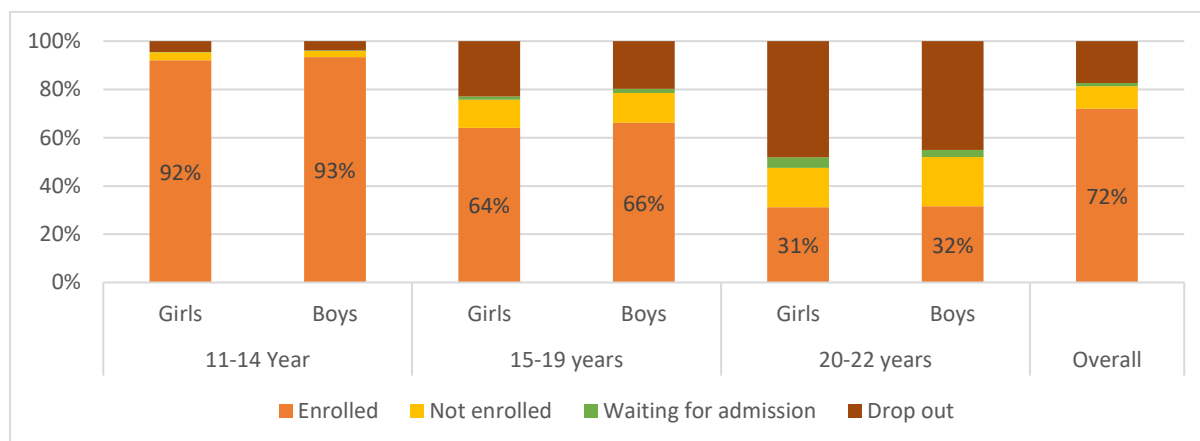
## 11 EDUCATION

### 11.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises findings about the current status of education and the attitude of the communities towards education. Most of the villages surveyed had a government junior school and multiple number of private schools. However, many of the villages such as Bahatura, Sidhagar and Kashi Vidyapeeth did not have a senior secondary school or had one that was not functional.

From FGDs and interactions with school teachers and other duty bearers it was evident that there is a preference for private education over public education, despite the availability of basic infrastructure and teachers in government schools. People feel that the discipline and quality of education in private schools is far superior than it is in government schools. Children, as well as parents, took school more seriously when they paid a higher fee. For instance, the higher secondary school in Kashi Vidyapeeth is non-functional as it has a very low enrolment level. Most children go to a private school nearby. In Gorakhpur district, Kazipur village has one government school (Junior high school) and 11 private schools. It also emerged that there is often pressure on the parents by local influential members of the community to send the children to private schools owned by them, even on debt. However the inability to pay fees sometimes makes them send children back to the government school.

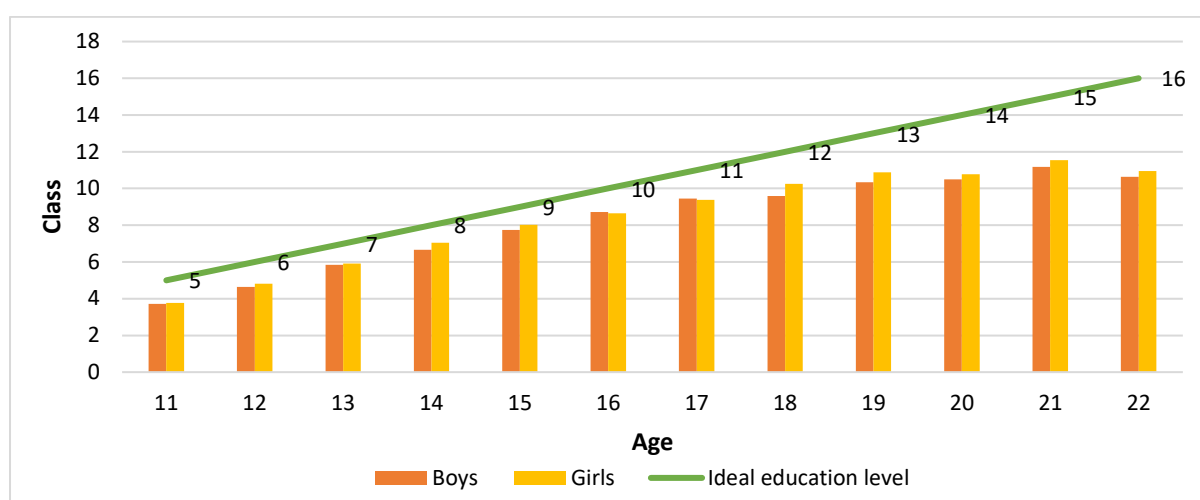
Figure 11.1: Enrolment status



### 11.2 Baseline findings

Figure 11.1 represents the enrolment status of 11-22 year old girls and boys, which shows that more than 90% of girls and boys aged between 11-14 years are enrolled in schools currently. As the age group increases, there is a significant dip (around 60%) in the number of boys and girls who are enrolled, which indicates that there is a high dropout rate after the age of 14 or class 8<sup>th</sup>. Till class 8 enrolment is high as education is free and compulsory.

Figure 11.2: Mean years of education



A gap between the current educational level and the ideal can be clearly seen in **Figure 14**. As was observed during the baseline, the reason for this gap may be attributed to the fact that kids often join school late or attend school intermittently, which disrupts their education, causing them to take more than a year to pass a class. This gap further widens at the age of 16 onwards owing to the increasing dropout rate.

### 11.2.1 Attitudes towards education of adolescents

#### Girls

During the FGDs, girls said that they view education as the only way to gain exposure to the outside world, yet it was observed that they have no future aspirations. Though they express a strong desire to be educated, they are unaware of the avenues education can open up. Aspirations, if any, are limited to becoming a teacher or giving tuitions.

It is important to note that education is also the only means available for a girl to delay her marriage. As was observed, if a girl was bright in studies, she could negotiate to study further and hence also delay her marriage.

There is a huge demand for skills training amongst the girls as they see it as a useful supplement to education. They view skills training as a means to gain financial independence in the future and a window to increased mobility.

When asked if they assert to study further, girls said that they often cannot assert their desire to study further as they do not want to add to their parents' financial burden.

#### *Voices from the field...*

*"Agar unke paas paisa hee na ho, toh humare poochne se bhi kya hoga?"*

*- Goar village*

#### Boys

The FGDs held with adolescent boys indicated that many of the boys value employment more than education. There is often pressure on them to contribute to the family's income. There were several instances when boys from Siddharthnagar had migrated to places such as Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Punjab for employment at a very young age (14 onwards).

***Voices from the field...***

*“Kai baar mata pita kehte hai ki khud kamao aur padho, lekin kai baar yeh dikkat ho jati hai ki ya toh padhe ya kamae...dono ek saath mushkil ho jaata hai.”*

*– Mithari village*

In Mirpur Karaundi, there were some boys who attended school and worked part-time. However, this was not possible in districts such as Siddharthnagar where opportunities were less. Further, some boys said that the parents wanted them to earn and support themselves for further education, which was

not easy.

Earning was a more lucrative option for several boys because of the financial independence it brings them. The freedom to spend money without the need of a parent's permission is a driver for them to seek employment in lieu of education.

Here too, gender roles are pre-defined such that the boys are seen as the future bread winners of the family, thereby attaching greater emphasis on work rather than education due to its immediate economic returns. Education is given importance only if the parents think that the child has academic potential, and education would increase his future earning capacity.

## **Parents**

As per the FGDs, it became clear that for mothers, education is the only acceptable reason to delay marriage for a girl.

Some parents want to educate their children, but attribute their inability to do so to economic inadequacy. Their positive attitude towards education can be promoted as a long term investment rather than as a burden.

Another reason for discontinuing further education of girls was distance of schools from the village, and parents felt that travel to school was a threat to a girl's safety. This was especially true for remote villages in districts such as Siddharthnagar and Maharajganj, especially since they were located in heavily forested areas.

Mothers believed that girls were often brighter at studies and that boys preferred earning over receiving education. However, spending on a boy's education was seen as more fruitful as they were expected to become the breadwinners of the family as compared to girls who would no longer be an asset to the family after marriage. As one mother says, “what is the use of educating a girl...it is more of a loss...she has to go off one day”.

***Voices from the field...***

*“Kya faayda ladki ko zyaada padhake?...zyaada nuksaan hee hota hai...use jaana toh hai hee ek din”*

*- Gangapur, Varanasi*

When fathers were asked about the education of adolescents, they reported a high drop out rate after class 8 due to various reasons such as unaffordability of education, the distance of the school, related safety issues along with the need for children's labour during the agricultural season. A father in Kamlapur village said, “To complete class 12, children have to go to Mohanlalganj. Boys and girls say they want to study after class 8, but we can only educate them depending on domestic and social circumstances. Mostly girls do not study after class 8”.

Some fathers also believed that children lose interest in studies which is why it is not worth educating them further. This was often supported by the comment that village kids do not study. Only those children who proved to be bright, were pushed to study further and finish their higher education, keeping the parents' financial capacity in mind.

***Voices from the field...***

*“dehaat ke bacche padhte hee kaha hai?”.*

Interactive workshops amongst children and their parents along with counselling would help in changing perceptions. The perception that “dehaatis” or villagers are incapable of achieving success needs to be changed through life skills and capacity building workshops. Attitude of adolescents towards education of girls.

Figure 11.3: Respondent's opinion about level of education for girls

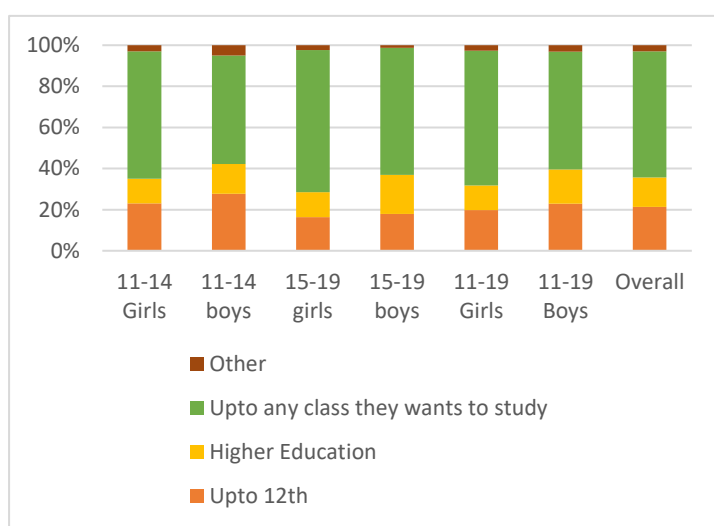
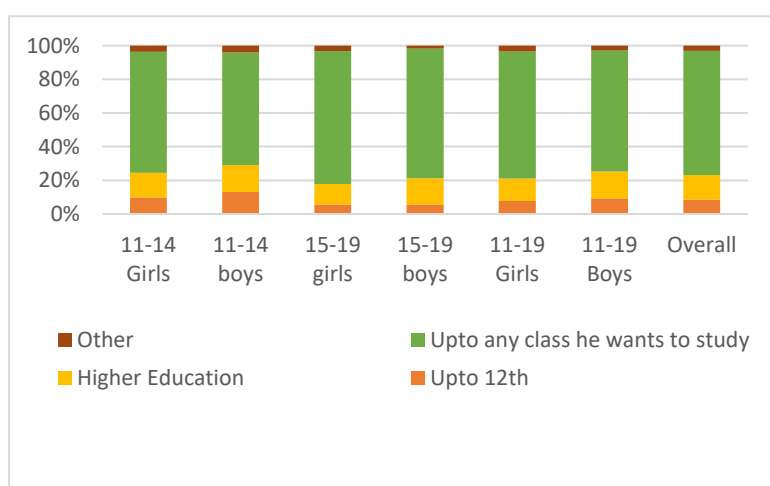


Figure 11.4: Respondent's opinion about the ideal level of education for boys (till which class they should study)



In the graph shown in Figure 11.3, it is seen that 61% girls and boys aged 11-19 years said that a girl should be able to study till any level she desires. However, when we compare the findings in Figure 19, 74% girls and boys said that a boy should study till whichever class he wants to. While only 66% girls amongst the female respondents believed that a girl should be able to study till whichever class she desires, more (75%) girls felt that way regarding boys.

Similarly, more (72%) boys believed that they should be able to study till whichever class they desired but only 57% of them felt that way regarding girls.

This points to the existing gap between the decision making and freedom of choice regarding education amongst boys vis-à-vis girls.

Figure 11.5: Respondent's opinion about reasons for why girls should study

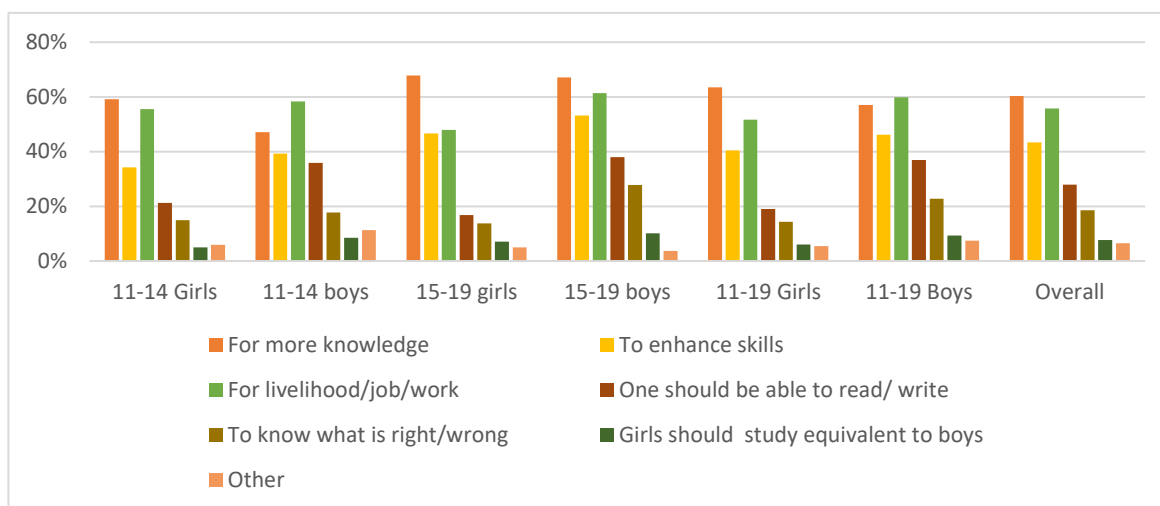
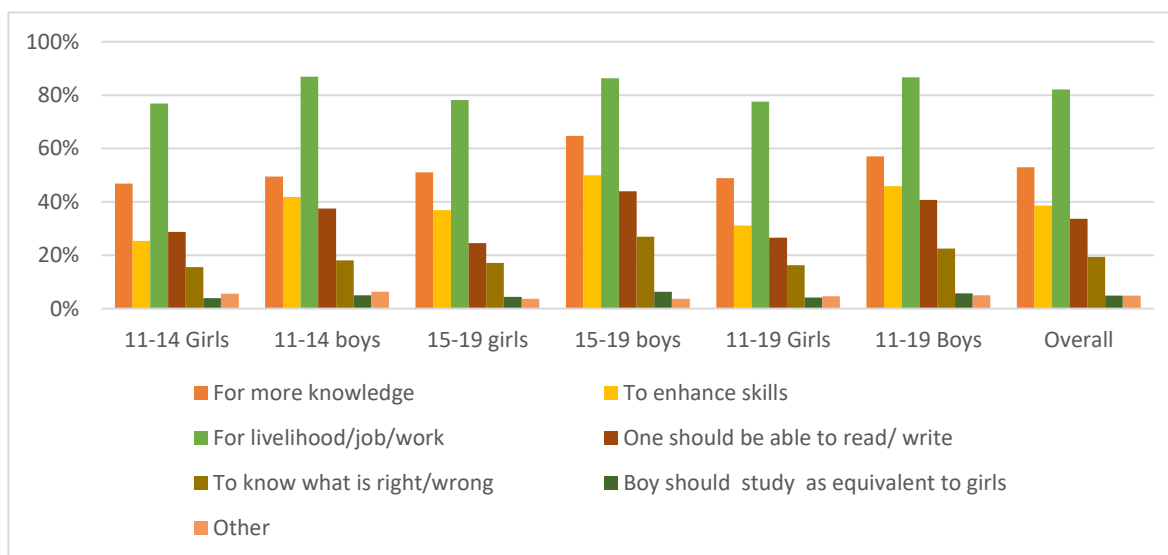


Figure 11.6: Respondents opinion about reasons why boys should study



It is believed that a girl should study primarily in order to gain knowledge as can be seen in Figure 11.5, however it is perceived that boys should study for livelihood purposes. While the reasons for girls studying have also been attributed to work and livelihood, the proportion is much lesser (around 58%) as compared to more than 85% who attributed livelihood as a reason for boys to study. The other reasons given for why girls and boys should study varied, whereby enhancing skills and being able to read and write were given as reasons, however, there was no significant difference amongst such reasons attributed to girls and boys.

When asked the reasons as to why girls and boys should not study further (as a following question to which class should girls and boys study till), most adolescents responded that education was too expensive, however, 50% of 15-19 year old boys felt

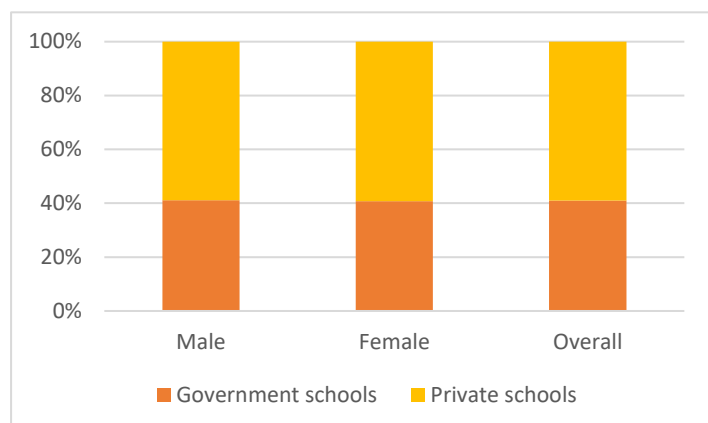
that one of the reasons for girls not studying further is also because it may be a threat to their safety with regard to travelling to educational institutions, whereas only 29% felt the same about their own gender.

Figure 11.7: Respondent's opinion about continuing education of married girls at in-laws' place



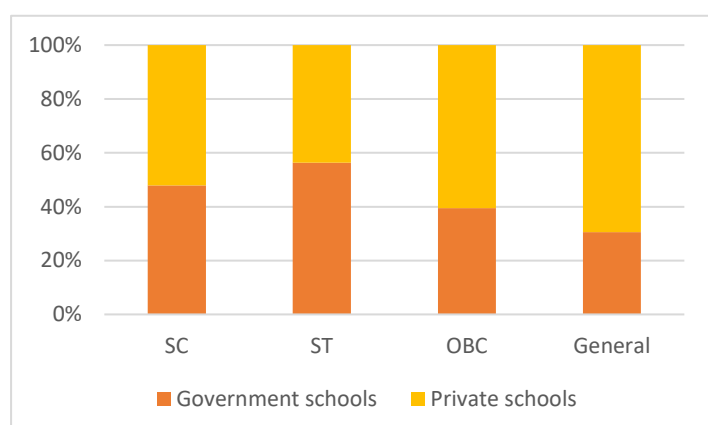
Majority of the respondents, both boys and girls agreed that girls should be allowed to continue their education by their in-laws, however more girls compared to boys felt that way.

Figure 11.8: Gender wise enrolment in type of school



Amongst the enrolled population, it can be seen that a majority (59%) are enrolled in private schools as compared to government school. There is no difference in the enrolment status amongst girls and boys amongst the sample, as shown in Figure 11.8.

Figure 11.9: Caste wise enrolment in type of school



As can be seen in Figure 11.9, it was found that a large proportion amongst the communities are enrolled in private schools but a more members amongst the ST population were enrolled in government schools. However, ST population was only 3% in the total sample.

### 11.3 In Summary

While there exists a positive attitude towards education, various practical issues determine whether adolescents opt for higher education. The data shows a high enrolment rate, with no difference amongst girls and boys, yet dropout rates after the age of 16 remain high. Factors such as the family's financial capacity, child's aptitude and possibility of future financial contribution towards family expenses determine whether adolescents are encouraged to study further or pursue higher education.

Parents prefer private school education over government school education as the quality of education, infrastructure and discipline is considered better in private schools. This preference is associated not only with better discipline and resources but also with class mobility (aspirational preference). The ability to afford private education provides the families with a positive image of upward mobility and social status.

Community institutions and frontline workers asserted that education was an important means to achieve empowerment but they admitted that higher education for girls resulted in some challenges such as higher dowry and difficulty in finding a suitable match or equally qualified groom.

Career counselling can be made available so as to explore options. Success stories of role models can be shared.