



ENGAGING COACHES AND ATHLETES IN FOSTERING GENDER EQUITY:

Findings from the Parivartan Program in Mumbai, India



SUMMARY REPORT
May 2012



This report provides the results of a study undertaken by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Futures Without Violence, implemented by Mumbai Schools Sports Association (MSSA), Apnalaya, and Breakthrough, with financial support from the Nike Foundation. The ICRW with its partner conducted this study by engaging cricket coaches and mentors in schools and the community to teach boys lessons about controlling aggression, preventing violence, and promoting respect.

For additional information on this study, please contact:

Madhumita Das, PhD
mdas@icrw.org
www.icrw.org

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FOSTERING GENDER EQUITY:
Findings from the Parivartan Program in Mumbai, India**

Authors

Madhumita Das (ICRW)

Sancheeta Ghosh (ICRW)

Elizabeth Miller (Univ. of Pittsburg)

Brian O' Conner (Futures Without Violence)

Ravi Verma (ICRW)

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ICRW

Ravi Verma
Madhumita Das
Sancheeta Ghosh

FUTURES WITHOUT VIOLENCE

Brian O'Conner
Elizabeth Miller

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ENGAGING COACHES AND ATHLETES IN FOSTERING GENDER EQUITY:

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INTRODUCTION

Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) is a comprehensive program that aims to reduce violence against women and girls and alter norms that foster gender inequity. Developed in the United States (US) by Futures Without Violence in 2000, the program engages coaches as positive role models and trains them to deliver messages to their male athletes about the importance of respecting women and understanding violence never equals strength.

Based on lessons from implementation of CBIM in the US, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) developed and piloted an India specific cricket-based adaptation of the program. Renamed and redesigned as ‘Parivartan’, which means transformation, the Mumbai-based program engaged cricket coaches and mentors in schools and the community to teach boys lessons about controlling aggression, preventing violence, and promoting respect.

BOX 1: Why sports? Why cricket?

In addition to the home and school environment, sports is an important venue for learning about gender roles and relationships. Coaches serve as more than just instructors in sports techniques. Because of their position they are often seen by boys as role models. We tapped into this unique relationship in an effort to use cricket coaches in modeling gender equitable attitudes and behaviors and as a channel for communicating positive messages to young male athletes about the core concepts of masculinity and respect for women. We chose cricket because it enjoys widespread popularity in India, is a predominantly male sport, and Mumbai houses many coaching centers. Cricket is played by boys in school as well as in more informal community-based settings.

ICRW along with Futures Without Violence partnered with the Mumbai Schools Sports Association (MSSA) and a non-governmental organization Apnalaya to implement Parivartan in the formal school system and the slum community of Shivaji Nagar, respectively. Schools associated with MSSA in the west and southern parts of the city that offer cricket to their students were approached to participate in the program. After meetings with school administrators, 26 coaches and their teams agreed to participate. For the community program, Apnalaya identified experienced senior players in Shivaji Nagar and asked them to build their own cricket team of approximately 15-20 boys each. These senior players were designated as “mentors”. A total of 16 mentors in Shivaji Nagar participated in the program. The schools in the study were predominantly private or aided schools and their students were mostly from middle to upper middle socio-economic households. The community teams on the other hand were made up of athletes from low socioeconomic households.

The program consisted of training school coaches and community mentors to lead interactive sessions with athletes using training cards and other resources. The intervention also entailed building the capacity of partner organizations to learn about gender concepts, communication and facilitation skills to support the cricket coaches in the implementation of the program. ICRW researchers assessed program effectiveness by measuring changes in perceptions, attitudes and behaviors related to gender equity and violence against women and girls among the athletes exposed to the program. It also explored similar changes among the coaches and mentors as well their experiences in implementing the program. This report summarizes the key findings from the evaluation.

BOX 2: What does the Parivartan program aim to accomplish?

By engaging cricket coaches and mentors, the program seeks to:

- Raise awareness about abusive and disrespectful behavior;
- Promote gender-equitable, non-violent attitude; and
- Teach skills to speak up and intervene when witnessing harmful and disrespectful behaviors.

By becoming partners in preventing violence and promoting gender equity, the male coaches/mentors and athletes thus would contribute to transforming damaging social norms that condone abuse against women and girls and improve their safety.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

Using a training of trainer approach, the Parivartan team¹ trained 26 school coaches and 16 community mentors to use a **special kit consisting of a card series, reference handbook and a diary**. The cards were translated in Hindi and Marathi and included discussion topics such as: respect, responsibility, insulting language, disrespectful and harmful behavior towards women and girls, aggression and violence, and relationship abuse. The card series consisted of:

- 4 preparatory cards (before implementation);
- 12 training session cards (during implementation);
- Teachable moment cards (during implementation); and
- 3 overtime cards (following implementation)

A series of planned **group sessions** facilitated by the coaches/mentors formed the basis of the intervention for the athletes. These sessions followed the sequence of the card series and involved group discussions, games and films. Coaches also used additional material such as posters, brochures, pamphlets, and post-cards while conducting the sessions on a weekly basis, where they engaged the athletes in conversation on topics related to respect, ethics, gender norms, gender-based violence, and more. The coaches' facilitation of these sessions with the athletes was supported by partner agencies and the Coaches Leadership Council². Most of the group sessions at the school took place on the grounds before the regular practice of the game. On the other hand, mentors used the Apnalaya space to conduct the sessions with athletes on the community teams.

The training for the school coaches lasted 12 days over a period of four months. On average, all coaches participated in at least six days of the training program, while half of them attended all 12 days of the training.

The training of the 16 community mentors was conducted for 10 days over the same period with an additional two to three hours of group discussions held on every Sunday evening throughout the implementation phase of the project which lasted for almost a year. All 16 mentors attended all 10 days of training. Besides Parivartan-specific training, mentors from the community also attended a three day 'coaching clinic' focused on cricket skills training and physical development.

¹ The team consisted of ICRW staff, members of the implementing organizations trained on gender, and coaches from the Leadership Council.

² The Leadership Council consisted of coaches identified during the formative research phase who demonstrated dedication to the aims of the project. Their role was to provide support to the program by reaching out to other coaches, co-facilitating training workshops and advocating Parivartan at different sports forums.

EVALUATION

Research Questions

- What changes occurred in gender- and violence-related attitudes, perceptions and behaviors among the Parivartan athletes?
- What effects did participation in the training and the overall program have on the coaches?
- What changes did the wives, mothers or daughters of the coaches and mentors perceive as a result of the men's participation in the program?

Study Design

The Parivartan program was implemented in school and community settings in Mumbai. To evaluate the program, the study utilized a quasi experimental design with two arms in each setting; an intervention arm and a comparison arm. In the intervention arm, the coaches or mentors received the specialized training and resource material, which they used to implement the program with their athletes. In the comparison schools and community teams, the coaches or mentors provided their usual coaching throughout the study period and were not given any additional instruction³.

Data Collection

The school and community athletes in each of the study arms completed a survey at baseline before initiation of the intervention (September to November 2009) and at follow-up (a year later). The survey examined the athletes' attitudes towards gender stereotypes and roles, boys' control over girls' behavior, and violence against girls as well as violence-related behaviors (witnessing, intervening and perpetrating violence).

The Parivartan coaches (26) and mentors (16) also responded to a survey at baseline and follow-up (a year later) which explored their attitudes towards gender stereotypes and roles, men's control of their wives' behavior, and justification of wife beating. Additionally, at follow-up six in-depth interviews were conducted with the coaches and two focus group discussions held with the 16 mentors.

The researchers also interviewed 15 female relatives (wives, mothers, or daughters) of the coaches and mentors to document perceived changes in the coaches' or mentors' gender-related attitudes and behavior.

³ At the end of the study period, these coaches and mentors received training in the use of the card series. The ICRW field team along with members of the Leadership Council conducted regular check-ins through phone calls as well as made personal visits to support the coaches and mentors of the comparison group in implementing the program.

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Athletes

Only those athletes who completed both baseline and follow-up surveys were included in the analysis. The sample consists of 168 athletes in the intervention schools and 141 in the comparison schools, and 168 athletes from the intervention community teams and 133 from the comparison community teams.

As shown in Table 1, the cricket athletes who participated in this study were between the ages of 10 to 16 years. Most of the school athletes were between 13 and 14 years of age with a few who were 15 years or older. In the community, the athletes were more evenly distributed across the three age ranges. Most of the school athletes were Hindu whereas the majority of community athletes were Muslim. More mothers of athletes in the community worked outside the home, mostly in the informal sector, compared to the school athletes. The student athletes came from higher economic households as compared to the community athletes, as evidenced by their type of house.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of the athletes from formal and informal track				
Demographic characteristics of the athletes	School		Community	
	Intr. (N=168)	Comp. (N=141)	Intr. (N=168)	Comp. (N=133)
Age				
10 to 12 years	42.9	27.0	27.4	36.8
13 to 14 years	53.0	65.2	36.9	32.3
15 to 16 years	4.2	7.8	35.7	30.8
	$\chi^2 = 9.16$ p=0.01		$\chi^2 = 3.08$ p=0.214	
Religion				
Hindu	75.0	95.0	33.9	40.6
Muslim	20.2	2.8	46.4	57.1
Others	4.8	2.1	19.6	2.3
	$\chi^2 = 24.3$ p<=0.00		$\chi^2 = 21.33$ p=0.000	
Mother's work status				
Yes	34.5	34.8	24.4	25.6
No	65.5	65.2	75.6	74.4
	$\chi^2 = 0.00$ p=0.97		$\chi^2 = 0.53$ p=0.817	
Type of house				
Pucca	66.7	63.1	6.5	18.8
Kuchha	33.3	36.9	93.5	81.2
	$\chi^2 = 0.42$ p=0.52		$\chi^2 = 10.58$ p=0.001	
Intr.= Intervention group Comp.= Comparison group				

Coaches

Twenty-six school coaches and 16 mentors completed the evaluation survey at baseline and follow-up. The school coaches were older than the community mentors (mean age 41 years versus 22 years). Most coaches and mentors had completed high school.

RESULTS: KEY FINDINGS FROM THE ATHLETES

The findings are organized around the following key areas:

- Attitudes towards gender stereotypes, roles and behaviors
- Attitudes towards violence against girls
- Intentions to intervene in response to hypothetical scenarios of abuse against girls
- Actual bystander intervention behaviors in response to witnessing the abuse of girls
- Violence perpetration
- Acceptability of the program and self-reported behavior change

The school and community athletes participating in the program demonstrated a greater positive shift in gender attitudes compared to non-participants.

Each athlete responded to a series of 21 statements about gender (see BOX 3). Fifteen of the statements were about gender stereotypes around manhood (e.g. boys lose respect if they talk about their problems) and appropriate roles for girls and women (e.g. a wife should always obey her husband). The remaining six items were about whether a boy is justified in enacting certain controlling behaviors toward a girlfriend. The athlete's responses ranged from "agree" to "disagree" on a 5-point scale.

BOX 3: Gender attitudes scale items

Manhood and Masculinity

Boys do not remain faithful to their girlfriends for long.

Boys lose respect if they talk about their problems

Boys need to be tough even if they are very young

It is bothersome when boys behave like girls

There are times when a boy needs to beat his girlfriend

Only men should work outside the home

Girls and Women's Roles

Girls cannot do well in Math and Science

It's a girl's fault if a male teacher sexually harasses her

A wife should always obey her husband

If a girl says no it naturally means yes

Violence against girls is perpetrated by strangers

Since girls have to get married they should not be sent for higher education

A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together

Girls like to be teased by boys

Girls with less clothes provoke boys

BOX 3: Gender attitudes scale items

Boys' Controlling Behaviors

A boy is justified in:

- Telling her which friends she can or cannot talk to or see.
- Not allowing her to go outside alone
- Pressuring her not to breakup with her boyfriend
- Telling her what kind of dress she can or cannot wear
- Telling her what to do all the time
- Trying to convince her to have sex

Manhood and Masculinity

Overall, for the school as well as community athletes, agreement with at least five of the six statements about masculinity and manhood declined from baseline to follow-up, while for the comparison group, their agreement with most of the statements remained the same or increased.

Figures 1 and 2 highlight some of the important changes among the school and community athletes, respectively, with regard to statements about traditional notions of masculinity.

As shown, at baseline, there was strong support for the statements, suggesting that despite their young age, many boys had already been exposed to and absorbed the idea that real men are tough, unemotional and unfaithful. Yet, the data showed a significant positive shift among the school and community athletes exposed to the Parivartan program for the items shown.

Despite improvements among the athletes in this domain, there were a number of items for which agreement with the statements changed only a little. These were “only men can work outside the home” among school athletes, and “it is bothersome when boys act like girls” and “at times a boy needs to beat his girlfriend” among the community athletes.

Figure 1: Percent of school athletes agreeing with select statements about masculinity

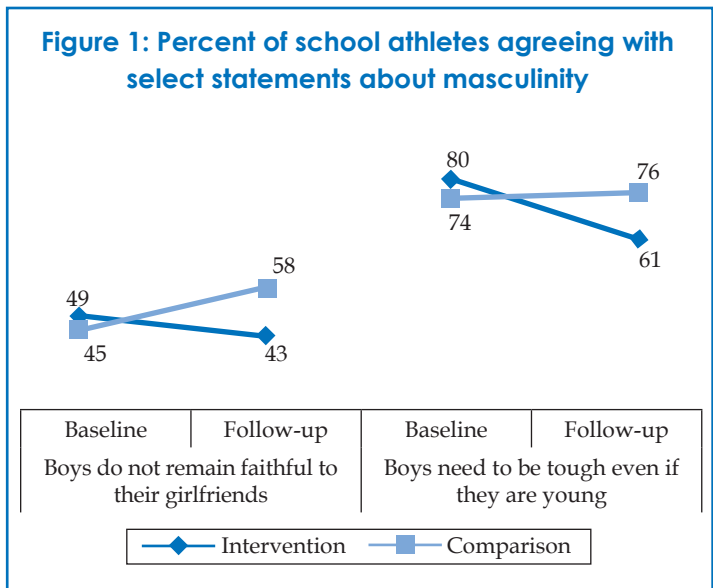
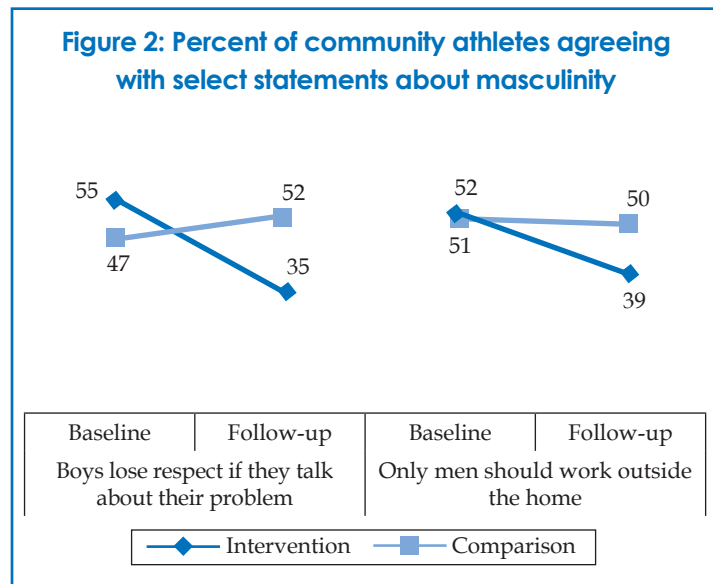


Figure 2: Percent of community athletes agreeing with select statements about masculinity



Girls' and Women's Roles

Looking at the items in this domain, which focuses on attitudes about the role of women and girls, there was a positive improvement for all of the statements among the school intervention group and for most statements among the community intervention group. In contrast, for the comparison athletes, their support for all of the statements increased or stayed the same.

Figures 3 and 4 show select items for the school and community athletes, respectively, for which there was a significant decrease in agreement among the intervention groups.

What is particularly noteworthy in Figure 4, is the large change among the community athletes participating in the program in their agreement with the statement, "If a girl says no, it naturally means yes."

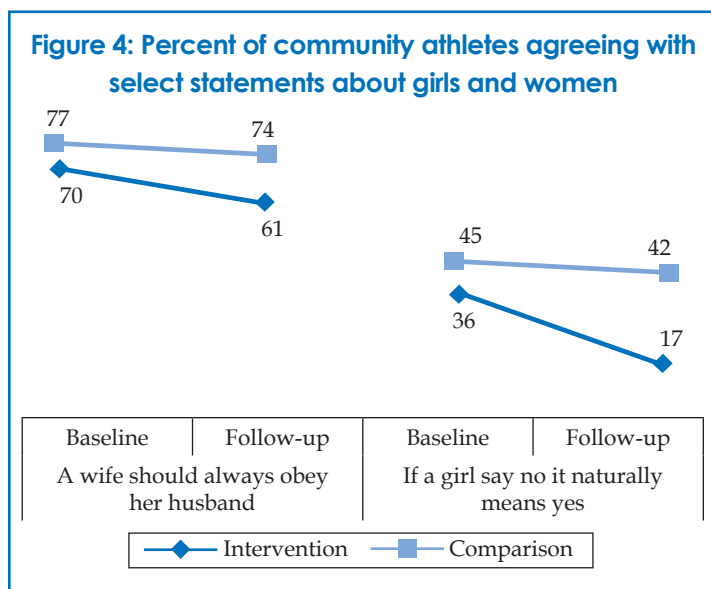
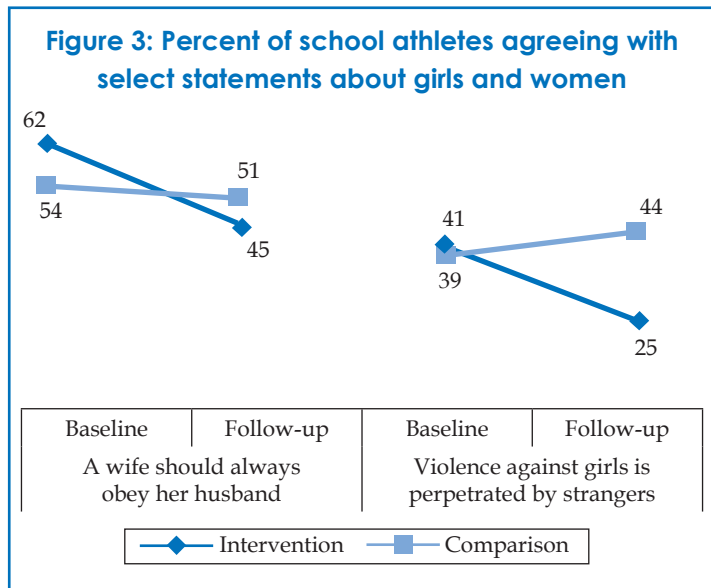
However, there continued to be areas that despite some improvement remained challenging. About a fifth of the school athletes still believed that girls like to be teased by boys and more than 50 percent said the way a girl dresses may be a justification for teasing.

Boys' Controlling Behaviors

For the statements around boys' control of girls' behavior, there has been less improvement among the Parivartan athletes compared to the other two domains in the scale. Among the school athletes, only two out of the six statements showed a significant decline in acceptance from baseline to follow-up. These were "which friends she can or cannot talk to or see" and "pressuring her to breakup with a boyfriend". At the community level four out of six controlling norms showed a decline from baseline to follow-up. The greatest declines were for the items about breaking up with a boyfriend and control over what kind of clothes she can wear. There were more modest declines around controlling a girl's activities, and control over the sexual relationship.

Changes Across the Three Domains

Each athlete received a total score based on his level of agreement/disagreement with the 21 statements across all three domains. The higher the athlete's score the greater his disagreement with the statements about gender stereotypes and discrimination (i.e. higher scores indicate more gender equitable attitudes).



These scores were then added together for each group (intervention and comparison) and an average calculated.

The data show (Figure 5) that there is a significantly greater increase in the mean score for the school and community athletes receiving the intervention than for the non-participants. This means that the Parivartan athletes demonstrated an overall greater positive shift toward more gender equitable attitudes than the comparison athletes.

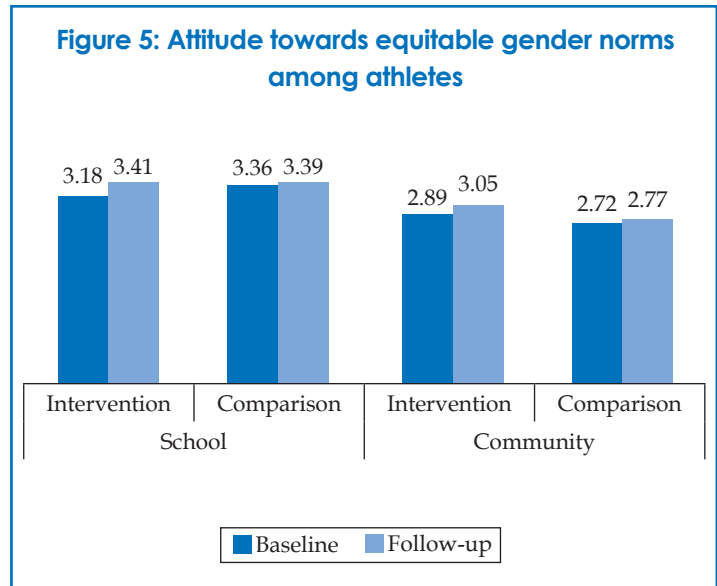
The community athletes became significantly less supportive of physical abuse of girls, however there was not a corresponding level of change among the school athletes.

The respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with seven specific situations when girls deserve to be beaten (BOX 4).

The change in mean scores on the seven-item scale to gauge attitudes toward violence against girls shows that the community participants became less tolerant of the beating of girls in given situations compared to non-participants and the difference was statistically significant. For the school athletes, there was not a similarly significant change.

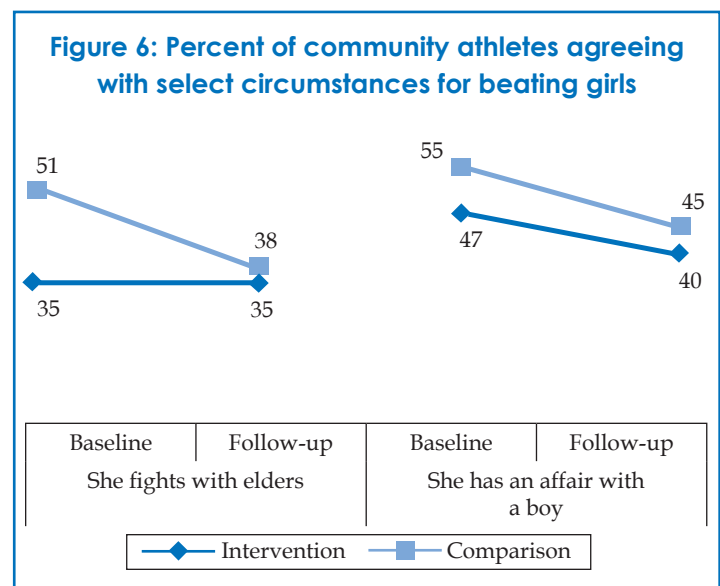
Among the community athletes in the program, there was a decline in agreement with all seven statements, whereas for the comparison group, their level of agreement mostly increased or stayed the same.

Figure 6 shows the situations with greatest reduction in agreement among the community athletes. Strong agreement for beating girls under certain circumstances remains, however, particularly when she doesn't help with household chores (mentioned by more than half of the community athletes in the intervention group at baseline and follow-up).



BOX 4: Violence Attitudes (“In what situations do girls deserve to be beaten?”)

- When she stays out late
- When she doesn't help with the household chores
- When she doesn't complete her homework
- When she doesn't obey elders
- When she fights with the others in class
- When she fights with brothers and sisters
- When she has an affair with a boy



There was a greater positive shift among school and community program participants compared to comparison participants in their intentions to intervene in response to hypothetical scenarios of abuse against girls.

In the questionnaire, the athletes were asked to imagine seven scenarios of abuse against girls and indicate what they would do in response. The hypothetical examples were eve teasing, forcing girls to look at pornographic images, pushing/grabbing girls, making sexual jokes, assaulting a girl sexually, yelling at girls and spreading sexual rumors about girls. For each example, participants selected one of six responses:

- Two were negative behaviors: “This is fun, I joined them” and “This is normal, it happens all the time, I did nothing”.
- Four were positive behaviors: “I talked to the person afterwards,” “I talked to the person involved about why it’s wrong and brought it up to other people,” “I felt really bad and intervened to stop the act in the moment,” and “I believe this should never happen and will work to stop it whether I see it or not.”

At baseline more than half of school and community athletes in both the intervention and comparison groups said they would intervene in a positive way to stop each of the acts listed. Examining the data from baseline to follow-up shows a greater overall shift from a negative response to a positive response for the participating school and community athletes compared to their non-participating counterparts.

For the school athletes, there was greater improvement from a negative to a positive intention to intervene in response to observing sexual joking about a girl or a girl being sexually assaulted. For the community athletes participating in the program, the hypothetical situations in which they said they would be more likely to positively intervene were sexual joking, assaulting a girl sexually, yelling at girls and spreading sexual rumors about girls.

Despite improvements in behavioral intentions to intervene, there were no significant changes in the Parivartan athletes’ bystander intervention behaviors.

At follow-up, the athletes indicated whether they had witnessed any of eight abusive behaviors (BOX 5) against women and girls in the last three months perpetrated by their peers or by someone in the school or community.

For those behaviors that they witnessed, participants then reported how they responded to the behavior by selecting all applicable responses from a list of two negative and four positive behaviors (see previous section).

BOX 5: Types of sexually abusive behaviors

- Making degrading comments about a girl’s appearance*
- Making degrading comments directly to a girl*
- Making sexual jokes*
- Getting angry/yelling at girls*
- Deliberately pushing/shoving/grabbing a girl*
- Assaulting a girl sexually
- Spreading sexual rumors about a girl, and
- Sharing pornographic images without her consent.

*Indicates the most commonly reported behaviors witnessed by athletes.

Overall, school and community athletes witnessed substantial levels of violence directed at girls in their environment. For example, at baseline and follow-up, school athletes witnessed nearly two types of sexually abusive behaviors in the last three months. For the community athletes it was more than three.

Thirty-two percent of community athletes exposed to the program reported witnessing more than 5 types of sexually abused behaviors during the last three months while 10 percent of the school participants reported the same. BOX 5 shows the most commonly reported behaviors.

The school athletes exposed to the program reported fewer negative intervention behaviors in response to witnessing at follow-up compared to comparison athletes. The community athletes reported more positive bystander intervention behaviors compared to the comparison group. But these differences were not statistically significant.

Peer violence shows some decline but still remains high among both the school and community athletes.

At follow-up, athletes were asked about physical, emotional, or verbal abuse perpetration against peers in the past three months. Among the school athletes, more than 80 percent in both arms reported at least one type of violence perpetration against peers in the school, home or the community in the last three months. This declined somewhat for both groups.

The perpetration of peer violence among the community athletes was also high at baseline (95 percent), which declined at follow-up (83 percent). There was a significantly greater decline among the exposed community athletes (a 12 percentage point decrease) compared to the non-exposed group (a 6 percentage point decrease).

Among the community athletes, both program and non-program participants reported a decline in sexually abusive behaviors.

Sexual harassment perpetration was reported infrequently by both groups. Boys were asked if they tried to force a girl to kiss them or to expose her body parts or to see pornographic images or to touch them against her wish.

There was a substantial difference in the level of perpetration of sexual harassment against girls among the exposed and non-exposed community-based athletes. Though the result shows some change, this should be interpreted as a promising change. These findings point to the need for more in-depth research especially in a country where talking about sexual harassment is taboo and there is limited evidence to prove the existence of such violence among adolescents.

Table 2: Percent of athletes reported perpetration of sexual abuse against girls from community track

	Community track	
	Intervention	Comparison
Baseline	17.3	36.8
Follow-up	14.3	31.6

The program was well accepted by both the school and community athletes and prompted self reported behavior change that aligned with the aims of the Parivartan program.

Exposure to the card series sessions was greater among the community athletes, 56 percent of whom participated in seven or more sessions out of a total of 12 sessions. Less than a third of the school athletes completed seven or more sessions.

Despite the differences, both groups responded positively to the program. Among the school athletes, all said that they enjoyed the card series sessions implemented by the coaches/mentors and 92 percent indicated that they felt comfortable with the topics being discussed. High levels of acceptance were also

reported by the community athletes where 88 percent of the athletes reported enjoying the sessions and 77 percent felt comfortable during the session.

Ninety-four percent of community athletes and 78 percent of school athletes reported that they have undergone at least one type of change as a result of their participation in Parivartan.

Those that indicated that they had changed in some way were asked an open ended follow-up

question to provide details about the kinds of changes they have experienced. Table 3 shows that for the school athletes, the most common change was stopping the use of abusive language; for the community athletes it was helping with household chores.

Table 3: Self-reported behavior change among school and community athletes		
Behavior	School N=168	Community N=168
Stopped using abusive language	89.6	66.2
- Stopped teasing girls	71.3	81.2
- Stopped making derogatory comments on appearance of girls	78.0	76.6
- Helping my mother/sister in household chores	73.2	92.9
- Stopped disrespecting others	70.1	70.1
Keeping my belongings in their proper place	72.0	90.3
- Stopped becoming aggressive	74.4	78.6
Multiple responses permitted		

RESULTS: KEY FINDINGS FROM THE COACHES

The findings are organized around the following key areas:

- Attitudes towards gender roles and relationships
- Attitudes towards men's control of a wife's behavior
- Attitudes towards wife beating and sexual violence
- Women's perceived changes in the coaches' and mentors' gender-related attitudes and behaviors

The school coaches and community mentors demonstrated increased support for more equitable gender roles and relationships.

The coaches/mentors responded to a series of 18 statements (BOX 6) to assess their support for gender equity. The options ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" on a 5-point scale. Each coach/mentor received a total score based on his responses. Based on this score, each coach/mentor was characterized into one of three categories of support for gender equity⁴: low, medium and high.

BOX 6: Gender Attitude Scale Items

Manhood and Masculinity

There are times when a man needs to beat his wife.

Boys/men do not stay faithful to their girlfriend/wives for long.

Boys/men need sex more than girls/women.

Men don't usually intend to force sex but sometimes they cannot help it.

If men do not get sex from their wives/girlfriends, it is alright if men find someone from whom they can get it.

To be a man you need to be tough.

Women's Roles

Since girls get married they should not be sent for higher education.

Violence against girls is perpetrated by strangers.

Girls like to be teased by boys.

If a woman gets raped she must have done something careless to put her in that situation.

Girls with less clothes provoke boys.

If a girl says "no" she usually doesn't mean it.

It's a women's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.

Girls trap boys by getting pregnant.

A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.

Men and women are only equal in well-to-do families.

Men and women are so biologically different that they cannot possibly be equal

⁴ The 18 item scale was found to be reliable at baseline (Cronbach's alpha 0.79).

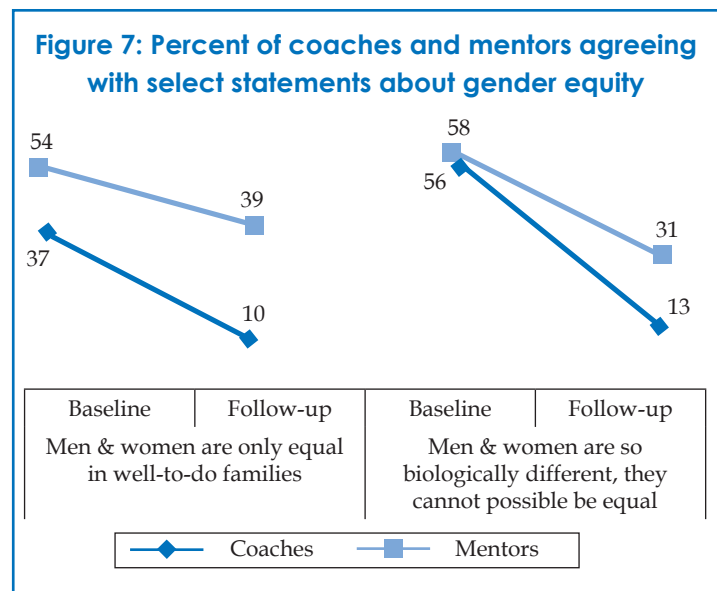
There was a marked shift among the coaches and mentors across the three categories. For example, the proportion of coaches who expressed high support for gender equity nearly tripled from 19 percent at baseline to 54 percent at follow-up. For the mentors it increased from 56 to 88 percent. One reason why more of the mentors scored in the high gender equity category at both baseline and follow-up may be that they were younger than the school coaches and thus less rigid in their thinking about gender roles and relationships.

Category	Coaches		Mentors	
	Baseline	Follow-up	Baseline	Follow-up
Low	11.5	0.0	12.5	0.0
Medium	69.2	46.2	31.3	33.3
High	19.2	53.8	56.3	87.5

Overall, the coaches and mentors improved their attitudes on 13 and 14 of the 18 items, respectively. Figure 7 highlights steep declines in agreement with two statements about gender equity.

At baseline, 54 percent of the coaches and 37 percent of the mentors felt that “men and women are only equal in well-to-do families”, which dropped to 39 percent and 10 percent, respectively, at follow-up.

Similarly more than half the coaches (58%) and mentors (56%) believed that “men and women are so biologically different that they cannot possibly be equal” which then declined to 31 percent among coaches and 13 percent among mentors.



This positive shift was supported by qualitative data from the coaches/mentors. According to one coach,

“the program helped me think how as men and women we are all equal. Earlier I used to think that men are always powerful and they can do anything that they want. But now I think in a different way”.

Another coach noted:

“.....indeed, it has been beneficial... first of all it has brought a change in me. My wife says what happened to you.... Earlier I did not do anything at home but now I understand that it is really important to do household chores. Since women do all the hard work I always use to think that’s what they should be doing and never considered their work as work at all. But now I see her doing so much for everyone at home with out even expecting anything in return. All we do is sit at ease and order tea, food and so on but it is everyone’s responsibility to understand these things. It is not easy! She also need support and rest”

The school coaches and mentors became less likely to justify men’s control over their wife’s behavior.

The coaches/mentors were asked about the frequency that men are justified in controlling the behavior of their wife in six situations (BOX 7). The three possible responses were ‘always’, ‘sometimes’, and ‘never’.

Table 5 shows the shift between categories from baseline to follow-up for the school coaches and community mentors. For example, one among every five coaches at baseline reported a low level of support for controlling behavior, which increased, to 85 percent after the intervention. Mentors on the other hand reported much more equitable attitudes at baseline. Nevertheless, there was an important shift from 63 percent to 81 percent of those in the low category, indicating that they did not justify men’s control of women’s behavior in most situations.

The analysis over time for a few select items showed that one-third of coaches justified having control over their wife’s mobility, specifically for the situation ‘if she is going outside alone’ and a similar proportion felt that a husband is justified in ‘telling his wife what she should do or not’. The proportion justifying these norms declined to 12 and 4 percent, respectively.

The qualitative data illustrated changes in the coaches’ and mentors’ thinking about men’s controlling behavior. But the data also brought out their concern for women’s and girls’ safety and the role restrictions played in protecting them, albeit in a gender inequitable way.

According to one coach:

“We persist so many restrictions on girls and pressurize them in every aspect. When I think about it and their tolerance level it frightens me and raises several questions like why do we do only to girls why not boys. I would like my daughter to do everything and be free for choosing her own path and I have spoken about that to her. (After a silence)... you know what I just fear about how violent we are against women and girls in public spaces and that increases my stress and forces me to think all over again about by daughter.”

Fear around public space security came up during the discussions with the mentors who mentioned that slums were very unsafe for women and girls, and thus many families put heavy restrictions on girl’s mobility and other behaviors.

Box 7: Controlling behavior

- Telling her which friend she can or can’t talk to or see
- Not allowing her to go outside the home alone
- Pressing her not to divorce him
- Telling her what kind of dress she can or can’t wear
- Telling her what she should do
- Trying to convince her to have sex with him

Table 5: Distribution of coaches and mentors across categories: Controlling Women’s Behavior

Category	Coaches		Mentors	
	Baseline	Follow-up	Baseline	Follow-up
High	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Moderate	50.0	15.4	37.5	18.8
Low	19.2	84.6	62.5	81.2

The school coaches and community mentors decreased their support for wife beating.

The men were asked about their level of agreement with seven statements about wife beating (BOX 8). The options ranged from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” on a 5-point scale. Each coach/mentor received a total score based on his responses. Based on this score, each coach/mentor was characterized into one of three categories of support for wife beating: high, medium, low.

Table 6 shows the changes across the categories from baseline to follow-up among the school coaches and community mentors. The coaches in the low category nearly doubled from 42 percent to 81 percent. There also was a big change among the mentors from 56 percent to 75 percent.

Figure 8 shows changes among the coaches from baseline to follow-up for select items. For the coaches, there were large declines in support for wife beating when “she doesn’t look after the children” and “she shows disrespect towards her in-laws” (Figure 8).

For the mentors, the items that showed the greatest decline in justifying wife beating were when “she doesn’t look after children”, and “she is unfaithful to her husband”.

The school coaches and mentors increased their understanding of women’s and girls’ perspectives around sexual violence.

During the interviews and focus group discussions the men noted that they had become more understanding of women’s and girls’ vulnerability to violence. According to a coach:

“Earlier we use to hear the stories in news paper about teasing, attempt of rape and use to think that these women might have given a lead or did something to provoke. But now I realize the pain and trying to understand how to change the mind set of the adolescent boys regarding violence which is so very important here”.

But some also continued to feel that girls were not totally devoid of responsibility for boys’ actions:

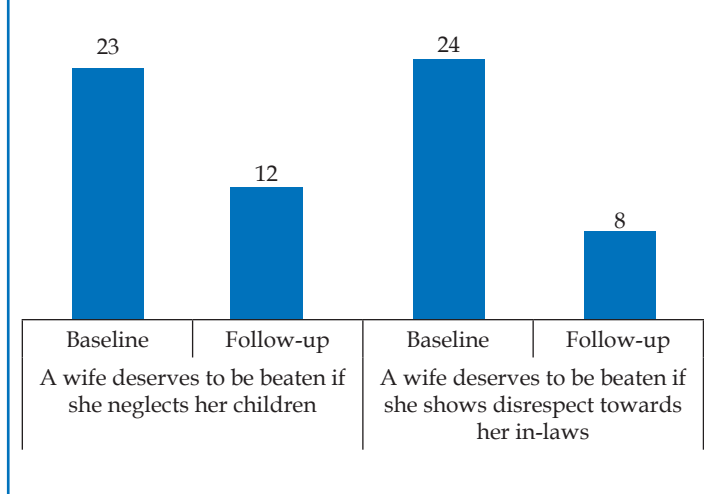
BOX 8: Justifying wife beating

- She goes out without telling her husband
- Burns the food or doesn’t cook properly
- She neglects her child
- She argues with her husband
- She refuses to have sex with her husband
- She is unfaithful to her husband
- She disrespects her in-laws

Table 6: Distribution of coaches and mentors across categories: Justifying wife beating

Category	Coaches		Mentors	
	Baseline	Follow-up	Baseline	Follow-up
High	11.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Medium	46.2	19.2	43.8	25.0
Low	42.3	80.8	56.3	75.0

Figure 8: Percent of coaches justifying wife beating for select items



"...eve teasing a girl is a big crime and we should all try to stop wherever we see this act happening...(after a pause) but we should also make girls understand decency and restrict them to wear indecent dress".

The female relatives of the coaches and mentors noted improvements in the men's gender-related attitudes and behaviors.

These positive changes clustered around communication with family members, sharing of household responsibilities, views about women in society, aggressive behavior and emotional and sexual intimacy.

Communication with family members

In India, communication between female and male family members is largely restricted to the passage of information or a decision from a male member to a female member. Many of the women reported observing a change in the way the coaches/mentors interacted with them, other female members in the family and their children. According to the wife of a mentor:

"Earlier he never spoke to anyone. He would not even talk to his sister or his mother. He never tried to understand them. He used to say all people are like this around here. But I did not approve of it. But now he has changed. He behaves properly with everyone He behaves politely with his mother and sister too..... Earlier things were not like this. Now he respects everyone, listens to what I say and does not pick up fights with people anymore.

Another wife noted:

Now he talks to the children, understands them. Earlier he would not even talk to them. Now he asks everyone what we need, what he should get for us? He talks nicely to his mother, his sister."

Sharing of household responsibilities

Overall, the women noted positive changes in how the men thought about and respond to family and household needs. According to one mother:

"Now he knows that the responsibility of the family lies with both men and women. He has changed a lot and I feels he is on the right path, working hard, he asks where the children want to go and takes them out for a picnic. He is sharing the responsibility with his wife."

One wife recounted how things had remarkably changed in her household:

"In the beginning he never paid attention to the household chores never helped me in the house but now he helps me. He looks after the children he tells them stories. In the morning he fetches water he does not wake me up (after uttering this, she started smiling,). He prepares tea he also prepares breakfast for the children. I usually don't keep well all the time and for last 8-9 months my husband took all these responsibilities and has never complained that he is doing additional work or doing something which is not meant for a man."

Views about women and girls

Many women talked about how the men's views about the position and rights of women and girls in society had changed. As the wife of a coach explained:

"He discusses with me how women and girls face violence in our society and elsewhere, he says that girls and women should be respected. Now you see women cannot move freely alone anywhere. We discussed about the girl raped in Delhi that was in news the other day. Now he is of the opinion that girls should be educated".

Aggressive behaviour

Many women cited reductions in the men's level of aggression. According to one mother:

"My son was very short tempered and due to that we had a very difficult time. At times my husband used to get very angry with his behaviour and he use to beat him a lot. His aggressiveness has also created problem with the neighbours. But now I see him so cool so much controlled. I will not say he doesn't get angry now but at least not to that extent which creates problem for others."

Emotional and sexual intimacy

Several wives described an improvement in the overall quality of their relationships, citing improved emotional and sexual intimacy. The wife of a coach recounted the ways in which their relationship changed over the course of her husband's involvement in the program.

".....now we both share our emotions with each other. He has changed a lot. In the beginning he never shared anything. He used to keep everything to himself. He would share it only if he felt like. But now if he has anything in his mind he tells me. He says he feel good and relaxed after sharing his thoughts with me. He tries to discuss things with me to get to the solution. I also do the same.... I always feel that he is the only one close to me here and I have complete faith to share my thoughts. When I share my feelings with him I feel relaxed."

The wife of a mentor described how his approach to sex and intimacy has changed.

"...in the beginning when he was in the mood of having sex he never asked me about my willingness... Even he thought that he is the husband so he can do that but now its not like that, he thinks that if I am not in that mood its all right. And it's not necessary that you should have intercourse. We talk to each other. This never happened before but now he talks to me for 2-3 hours about what I like and dislike. I used to take pills for family planning but he stopped me. He said that, if I take pills it may create problem but if he uses condom he will have no problem."

DISCUSSION

Findings from this study suggest that training and ongoing support can equip coaches and mentors to deliver an innovative program to young male athletes which can improve the athletes' gender related attitudes and behaviors. Participation in the program also can transform the perspectives and practices of the coaches and mentors, as well.

There is some evidence that the community athletes achieved greater positive changes than the school athletes. This may be because the mentors in the community were closer in age to the athletes and that they shared the same social and economic background. The school coaches were much older than the boys they coached and they also held more rigid views about gender than the mentors at the start of the program. The mentors also demonstrated greater support at follow-up for gender equity than the coaches on certain indicators, which may have also had an influence on the athletes they mentored.

One area in which the coaches and mentors wrestled with was women's and girls' mobility. They identified various security and safety considerations for justifying men's control over their behavior. This is an area that needs greater attention. Male coaches and mentors need continuous support and hand-holding in dealing with their own dilemmas on issues relating to women's rights and equality.

The reports from the coaches' and mentors' female relatives about the changes they perceived in the men are encouraging. These women were self-selected and do not represent an objective assessment of the men's attitudinal and behavioral changes. Nevertheless they demonstrate the potential of the program to make important inroads in men's interactions with their wives, mothers, daughters and the wider community around communication, household responsibilities, aggression and women's rights.

Given the short duration of the program, it is not clear how sustainable these changes are, given the deeply rooted and inequitable patriarchal norms that exist to counteract any progress made. Thus in order to maintain these changes, it is important that the program be institutionalized within existing structures and the messages be reinforced through other channels of communication used by adolescent boys and their coaches and mentors. In addition, the next generation of the program should more actively engage with women and girls.

For more details about the Parivartan please contact:

ICRW Asia Regional Office:

C-139, Defence Colony, New Delhi 110024

Tel: 91-11-46643333/24635141

Web site: www.icrw.org/asia

ICRW Headquarters:

1120 20th Street NW Suite 500 North

Washington, DC 20036 Tel: 202.797.0007

Web site: www.icrw.org