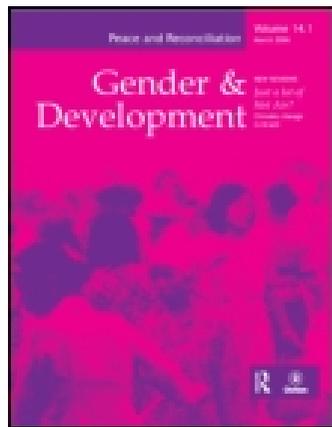


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Community mentors as coaches: transforming gender norms through cricket among adolescent males in urban India

Madhumita Das, Ravi Verma, Sancheeta Ghosh,
Samantha Ciaravino, Kelley Jones, Brian O'Connor and
Elizabeth Miller

Addressing violence against women and girls (VAWG) through the medium of male team sport may be a promising strategy for addressing interpersonal violence and gender norms transformation in urban communities. Parivartan is a violence prevention programme in a large slum community in Mumbai, India, which works with men and boys to reduce violence and promote gender-equitable attitudes and beliefs via membership of a cricket team and mentoring from coaches. This article discusses findings from a recent evaluation of the programme.

Lutter contre la violence contre les femmes et les filles (VCFF) par le biais des sports d'équipe masculins pourrait constituer une stratégie prometteuse pour remédier au problème de la violence interpersonnelle et procéder à une transformation des normes de genre au sein des communautés urbaines. Parivartan est un programme de prévention de la violence mené dans un grand bidonville de Mumbai, en Inde, qui travaille avec des hommes et des garçons afin de réduire la violence et de promouvoir des attitudes et des croyances soutenant l'équité entre les sexes, à travers l'adhésion à une équipe de cricket et le mentorat assuré par les entraîneurs. Cet article présente les conclusions d'une récente évaluation de ce programme.

Los deportes varoniles pueden convertirse en el ámbito que propicia la aplicación de una estrategia prometedora destinada a encarar la violencia contra las mujeres y las niñas (VCMN), así como a transformar la violencia interpersonal y las normas de género en las comunidades urbanas. En este sentido, el programa para la prevención de la violencia Parivartan trabaja con hombres y niños de una gran comunidad urbano-marginal de Mumbai, India, orientándose a reducir la violencia a través de la promoción de actitudes y convicciones de equidad de género a partir de su participación en un equipo de críquet y de la orientación correspondiente por parte de los entrenadores. El presente artículo examina los hallazgos arrojados por una reciente evaluación de dicho programa.

Key words: violence against women and girls (VAWG); masculinity; gender norms; urban community development; sport for development; mentors

Introduction

Across the world, in low-, middle-, and high-income countries, community-based programmes are pioneering an approach to reducing male violence which involves adult men mentoring a group of younger adolescent males to challenge traditional gender norms and violence against women and girls (VAWG), both inside and outside the home (Miller *et al.* 2013; Pulerwitz *et al.* 2006; Verma *et al.* 2008). Educating men and boys to adopt non-violent attitudes that support gender equality is increasingly recognised by major global health organisations as a promising public health strategy to prevent VAWG, and improve health outcomes for both sexes (Barker *et al.* 2007).

This article focuses on the implementation of Parivartan, a violence prevention programme implemented in an urban slum in Mumbai. The Parivartan programme aims to create marked – and measurable – changes in adolescent cricket players' attitudes and behaviour towards women and girls. Sport can be seen as masculine and masculinising (Bryson 1990). But just as sport can reinforce negative gender norms among boys, it has the potential to be used in programming aiming to replace these norms with more positive and progressive beliefs about women and gender relations. Parivartan's theory of change focuses on the influential power of community leaders – and in particular, sports coaches – as mentors and role models for young men (Das *et al.* 2012a).

The impetus to begin Parivartan emerged from the International Center for Research on Women's (ICRW)¹ long-standing commitment to transforming traditional hyper-masculine gender norms to reduce VAWG and improve women's health. Parivartan was developed from a US-based programme, 'Coaching Boys into Men' programme, which aimed to promote equitable gender norms, increase 'positive bystander intervention' (that is, the likelihood that someone witnessing violence will intervene), and ultimately reduce VAWG, through the medium of sport (Miller *et al.* 2013).² Parivartan was developed by ICRW, in collaboration with Apnalaya,³ People's Associate for Training and Health (PATH),⁴ Mumbai School Sport Association (MSSA),⁵ and Breakthrough.⁶

Our discussion here draws on recent research into the impact of the programme in two urban slum areas of Mumbai. Specifically, survey and interview findings from athletes and community mentors involved in Parivartan in the Mumbai slum (Das 2012b). We also use findings from a Mumbai school-based evaluation of Parivartan (Miller 2014a).

The slum communities of Mumbai

The slum communities of Mumbai are interspersed among a rapidly expanding megacity of over three million people (Office of the Registrar General of India 2011), making up 54 per cent of the total city population (<http://infochangeindia.org/poverty/news/54-of-mumbai-lives-in-slums-world-bank.html>, last checked by the authors 23 January 2015). In 2002, the United Nations defined slums as communities characterised by insecure residential status, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, and inadequate access to safe water, sanitation, and other infrastructure (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003).

A large majority of Mumbai's population are migrants from other states of India. It is estimated that 100–300 new families come to Mumbai daily (*ibid.*). The rapid rise in this city's population creates overcrowding. Most new migrants settle in slum colonies, or erect shanties on the nearest available footpath. Over half (54 per cent) of Mumbai's inhabitants live in shanties, another 25–30 per cent live in chawls and on footpaths, with just 10–15 per cent living in apartment buildings, bungalows, or high-rises (*ibid.*).

Many community programmes aiming to stop VAWG are working in such high-density urban settings, where personal relationships are often played out in close proximity to neighbours, who witness 'private' moments between couples and family members. Urban slums are also places where women and girls are forced to move around outside their homes in crowded, dark spaces where harassment and the risk of violence and intimidation are rife. The disapproval of community members can be a powerful influence on changing abusive behaviour in both 'private' and 'public' urban settings. The experience of spousal physical or sexual violence among ever-married women in Mumbai slum communities is reported as high as 23 per cent, compared to only 15 per cent in non-slum areas in the same city (International Institute for Population Sciences and Macro International 2008). Almost one in four (23 per cent) women in slum areas of Mumbai have experienced spousal violence at least once in their lives; this is much higher than for the non-slum areas of Mumbai (15 per cent). Street harassment and VAWG in Mumbai is quite high. A study by the AKSHARA Foundation in Mumbai found that over 60 per cent of college girls interviewed said they had been sexually harassed either on campus or while on their way to college. Half the male students said they had witnessed such incidents (Johannes 2006).

Cricket in the slums of Mumbai

Mumbai is the largest and most influential hub for cricket in the country, with high levels of cricket playing among boys and a large number of coaching centres. All coaches that provide cricket coaching in formal school-based settings for boys younger than 16 years are affiliated with a single organisation known as the Mumbai School Sports Association (MSSA). Coaching is part of an integrated programme that cuts

across public and private schools from a range of socio-economic strata. This existing cricketing infrastructure was the reason Mumbai was selected to develop and test the Parivartan programme in both formal (school) as well as informal settings within the same geographic location.

While cricket is one of the most popular sports in India, it is considered a male-only sport, and very few females play. The link between gender equality, sport, and socio-cultural development among youth has been explored in different settings (Gage 2008), but few studies have explored these connections among youth in South Asia (Das *et al.* 2012a). Participation in team sports in particular has significant power in determining the attitudes and behaviour of individual members. The ethos of competing with the goal of winning, and the experience of team-building, promotes ideals of belonging and solidarity with fellow members of a group, but this sense of inclusion is attained while simultaneously distinguishing 'our' team from the 'other'. Conformity to norms of behaviour is a mark of belonging and acceptance by the group.

Sports coaches can play a key role in positive change, giving boys an opportunity to see positive examples of masculine behaviour. Changing behaviour and attitudes of team members via sport offers a particular advantage over working with individual men and boys. 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.

In Parivartan, we tapped into this unique relationship in an effort to use cricket coaches for modelling gender-equitable attitudes and behaviours and as a channel for communicating positive messages to young male athletes about masculinity and respect for women. In recent years in slum communities in Mumbai, community development agencies have been employing the approach of 'near-peer mentoring' by training young adult males aged 18–30 to engage with younger, adolescent males in their communities, to promote social connection and discourage the younger males from risky behaviour. They have found that in creating these social connections, informal cricket games are a useful strategy for gaining the attention of adolescent males (Miller *et al.* 2014a). Parivartan aims to use cricket in this way. The approach focused on young male community mentors being recruited to coach cricket and to implement the Parivartan programme.

Implementing Parivartan in a slum community: context, the programme, and its impact

The Parivartan programme ran over 24 months. First, there was a baseline evaluation, in 2009. Second, in 2010, we ran the following components: training and capacity-building of the organisations involved, identification and training of coaches/mentors, and four-month periods of regular weekly sessions with athletes. Third, in 2011, we ran

a public education campaign and tournaments. Formal evaluations to assess the impact of the programme occurred after both second and third stages, as midline and endline reviews.

The context

Two slum communities in Mumbai, Shivajinagar and Cheeta Camp, were selected to trial Parivartan, as intervention and control sites, respectively, using a quasi-experimental approach. Shivajinagar is in the M-Ward of the Brihan Mumbai Municipal Area, including the neighbourhoods of Rafiq Nagar, Baba Nagar, Lotus Colony, Gajanand, and Baiganwadi. The area grew up in the 1980s, around the abattoir and Mumbai's rubbish dumps, and has been the focus of resettlement projects instigated by the city and the state. The area now accommodates more than 600,000 persons, within only 135 hectares of land (Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai 2010, 66). Cheeta Camp is a slum which grew up from the mid-1970s and is home to around one-third of the population of Shivajinagar, at 117,000 people (http://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/07/22/mapping-toilets-in-a-mumbai-slum-yields-unexpected-results/?_r=0, last checked by the authors 26 January 2015).

As in other parts of urban India, even within the crowded slum setting with limited space, cricket is played among men and boys of almost every age group. It is played informally as part of daily life, as well as competitively. Playing sports, specifically cricket, is an everyday activity for adolescent boys in both communities, but there are hardly any formal teams among this age group in Shivajinagar and Cheeta Camps. In Shivajinagar, boys and young men usually play in the rubbish dumping ground, which provides some open flat land for them. Additionally, teams from the community play in a larger field available close to their neighbourhood where the boundaries for each team overlap. It is only during a tournament which is usually financed and supported by political members from the slum community that youth get an opportunity to play on a proper cricket field.

There is not usually any coaching for these informal teams. Formal cricket coaching in India takes place at multiple levels from schools to clubs to associations. However, adolescent boys and young men in slum communities either attend municipal schools which do not provide coaching, or are not attending school regularly. Hence, the promise of coaching is attractive.

For the Parivartan pilot, Apnalaya found 16 potential mentors to provide cricket coaching in Shivajinagar with accompanying coaching on gender relations and VAWG. In Cheeta Camp, coaches were identified to provide cricket training only. The coaches in Shivajinagar were drawn from senior players from existing adult community cricket teams. Each mentor was given the task of recruiting a team of at least 15 adolescent boys from his own neighbourhood. The mentors were then trained in coaching cricket at a

sport clinic run by formal coaches from MSSA, and in gender life-skills, by Apnalaya, supported by ICRW. The training of mentors stretched over a four-month period.

The training programme for coaches

The training programme involved 120 hours of dialogue and critical reflection around gender, norms, power, masculinity, and violence. It was divided into two three-day sessions, followed by three two-day sessions which took place on weekends.

The training programme for the coaches to become community mentors aimed to:

- begin the process of transformation in their lives through intensive reflection on inequitable norms that manifest in their own lives;
- instil greater knowledge, skills, and self-efficacy to talk to young male athletes about VAWG;
- influence the attitudes of the members of their cricket teams towards women and girls, challenging harmful norms and promoting respect;
- help to reduce disrespectful and harmful behaviour towards women and girls among the members of their cricket teams.

Throughout the training, attention was also given to building mentors' confidence and skills in facilitation and communication with younger adolescents.

Coaching the players

After the training period, mentors began implementing coaching sessions with their cricket teams, on a weekly basis over a period of four months. A total of 210 adolescent males began participating in the programme in Shivajinagar. The athletes were aged between 10 and 16 years, and 80 per cent were still participating at the time of the 24-month follow-up evaluation (which is discussed in more detail in the next section). The reason for loss of athletes from baseline to endline was due to migration as well as loss of interest in the programme. A further 168 adolescents agreed to participate in straight cricket training in Cheeta Camp, as a control group. At the end of the 24-month period 133 (79 per cent) remained. Boys in both arms who moved out of the programme were mainly the older age group (aged 15 or 16).

The sessions in Shivajinagar used a specially designed Parivartan kit, consisting of a card series (discussion points about respectful language, sexual harassment or 'Eve teasing', consent), reference handbook, and a diary. The mentors engaged their adolescent boys and young men in conversation on topics related to respect, ethics, the notion of 'fair play' (including within the sport of cricket), gender norms, gender-based violence, relationship skills, consent, and related topics using a total of 12 cards with scripted discussion points.

Each of the session cards was designed to be delivered in 45–60 minutes, in weekly sessions run before or after playing cricket or in a community centre space. At the sessions, the session cards were delivered alongside a variety of methods, including critical reflection on one's attitudes and behaviours, role-play, and didactics. Coaches also used additional material such as posters, brochures, pamphlets, and postcards while conducting the sessions, and engaged the young cricketers in conversation on topics related to respect, ethics, gender norms, gender-based violence, and more. The mentors met every two weeks (depending on their availability) to reflect on the sessions that they had completed with cricketers, both challenges and positive stories, to encourage peer-to-peer learning. The coaching sessions were first evaluated at the mid-term point in the project.

In addition to the work with athletes, a social marketing campaign was rolled out for a month in both intervention and control communities, after the coaching sessions ended. This included a mobile van activism, radio messages on the issues, and street theatre, with the goal of reaching a broader audience of all ages. This campaign was intended to amplify the messages that the young cricketers received during the discussions with their coaches. The key messages delivered through the social media campaign included increasing awareness about VAWG, reducing sexual harassment, making public spaces safe for women and girls, and encouraging positive bystander intervention by men and boys. The mobile van activities covered different corners of each community, with the main activities taking place in schools and market places, as well as sports fields within the community. Posters and bill boards were displayed on the public bus, and public transport hubs, as well as in the markets. The social marketing campaign was evaluated in our endline evaluation.

Evaluating the impact of the coaching programme

The evaluation assessed attitudes and behaviour of participants in the Parivartan programme, before implementation (baseline in 2009), 12 months after the start (evaluating cricket coaching and card series sessions in 2010), and again 24 months after the start (evaluating the previous stages plus the public education campaign in both intervention and control groups in 2011). Unfortunately, this evaluation did not have sufficient resources to track athletes lost to follow-up. The quasi-experimental approach taken obviously placed great emphasis on monitoring the programme from the start and to participate, adolescents not only had to consent themselves, but parental agreement was also required.⁷ Boys who assented and had signed parental consents completed a self-administered survey by paper and pencil. Additionally, the mentors also provided consent to be interviewed about their experiences.

The survey measured change in a number of ways. Changes in attitudes towards women and girls, and gender relations, were measured via a scale of 21 statements.⁸ Fifteen of the items focused on gender attitudes in general, such as 'girls like to be

teased by boys' and 'boys lose respect if they talk about their problems'. The remaining six items explored views on whether a boy is justified in enacting certain behaviours towards a girlfriend, including 'telling her what kind of dress she can or cannot wear' and 'trying to convince her to have sex'.

Changes in attitudes disapproving of violence against girls were measured using a seven-item scale developed for a gender socialisation programme among middle school students in India (Achyut *et al.* 2011) to assess attitudes about violence against girls. Questions included 'In what situations do girls deserve to be beaten?', with responses including 'when she talks to a boy' and 'when she doesn't help in the household chores'.

We also assessed participants' intentions to intervene to combat VAWG when they see other men and boys behaving unacceptably by citing an example of violence against girls, such as teasing, showing pornographic images, pushing/grabbing, making sexual jokes, yelling, and spreading sexual rumours against girls. For each abusive behaviour, young men and boys reported on a six-point scale how likely they would be to say something to stop the behaviour from happening, ranging from 'This is fun, I will join them' to 'I believe that this should never happen and I will work to stop it whether I see it or not'.

Participants were asked about eight abusive modes of behaviour they might have witnessed among peers or friends in the past three months, and if witnessed, how they had responded, by selecting all applicable responses from a list including two negative responses ('This is fun, I joined them' and 'This is normal, it happens all the time, I did nothing') and four positive responses ('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', or 'I believe this should never happen and work to stop it whether I see it or not'). In addition, participants were asked whether in the past three months they had perpetrated any kind of violence against a female, in school or in the community (these forms of violence were 'touched, held them tight, exposed his/her body, said bad words, sang bad songs, wrote bad words, followed someone, showed bad photographs, beaten up, slapped, kicked, pushed, pulled hair, hit with an object, insulted, threatened with knife/weapon, shouted/yelled, used abusive language').

The survey data were analysed,⁹ and augmented with qualitative data from interviews with mentors and focus group discussions with young cricketers conducted between 2010 and 2011. The primary focus of these discussions and interviews was to understand and document processes of change among both the athletes and their mentors, including the development of critical analytic and reflective skills around one's own language and behaviour.

Analysing the impact of Parivartan's coaching programme

Our findings suggest our approach of using informal mentors to coach cricket as a medium for connecting with adolescent males who may be otherwise disconnected from formal school-based programmes may be a promising strategy for addressing interpersonal violence and gender norms transformation in urban, socially disadvantaged communities.

An interesting finding – which is consistent with other examples of gender-transformative programming globally (Miller *et al.* 2013; Pulerwitz *et al.* 2006; Verma *et al.* 2008) – is that both adolescents and mentors exposed to the programme reported improvements in positive bystander behaviour, and a reduction in perpetration of any violence, by the time of the 24-month evaluation. However, while attitudes to women and gender equality (including attitudes disapproving of violence against women) also appeared to improve, this was only up to the mid-term evaluation at 12 months, and these improvements were not statistically significant, as well as not being sustained at the 24-month mark.

The interviews with mentors provided further insight into the changes measured via quantitative methods. They described many behavioural and attitudinal changes among their athletes. Mentors observed that many of the boys were showing much more respect for each other, and towards women and girls, and especially that they were no longer using abusive language. An unanticipated finding was that mentors noted that many of the boys who were smoking or using other drugs were actively trying to quit. As noted by a mentor:

They no longer misbehave on the ground and now whatever problems they have, they come and share them with me. Some children still have to go a long run to change their attitude and behaviour completely. They do not get frustrated or aggressive any more, but they put in more efforts to get better. The boys respect each other. If they have some difficulties, they try to solve them through dialogue. They have changed at least 75 per cent. The boys have changed the way they talk and also are very cautious while using words. The best thing is that even their behaviour towards girls has started changing now. (Mentor interview, Shivajinagar Community, Mumbai, 24 October 2010)

Mentors also reflected on changes in themselves. There was a shared view that they should themselves be seen as direct beneficiaries of the Parivartan programme, as they were now better able to control their own aggression. They reported that the programme had helped them get rid of their addictive habits of smoking and tobacco, and to cut down on alcohol consumption. Some stated feeling they were in a better position to guide the players by example. At a focus group discussion, a mentor stated:

Yes, we got lot of benefit from the Parivartan programme. It has benefited all of us, me as well as my boys. But first we had to change ourselves for them. Now the boys also understand the need

for good behaviour and behave the way we want them to. Most of the boys like card number 12 [Modelling respectful behaviour towards women and girls], and they have benefited from that ... It has affected all. Effect is up to 90 per cent. (Mentor in focus group discussion, Shivajinagar Community, 5 November 2011)

Mentors reported that the programme had resulted in clear improvements in respect for women and girls, and the behaviours of young men and adolescent boys. They noted both individual and group behaviour changes, especially reductions in 'Eve teasing' (a common term for sexual harassment in India), and language used towards women:

Yes, there is a change among boys. Earlier the boys had their favourite places where they would sit in groups and tease or pass comments to girls and women passing by. They had this habit. But now they don't do this even behind our backs anymore. They say we don't feel good doing this to girls. (Mentor in focus group discussion, Shivajinagar Community, 15 October 2011)

A mentor cited an example of how his coaching had resulted in athletes changing their behaviour towards girls and women:

A few days ago, there was a girl who came to the coaching ground to inquire something about cricket coaching. She was talking to me. But these boys instead of concentrating on their practice were looking at her. I did not say anything to them at that time. But once the girl left, these boys came to me and started inquiring about her. That's when I made them understand that it was not good. When they heard this, they understood where they went wrong. But the next day when this girl came back none of these boys even looked at her. My boys have changed their behaviour even in the house. Now when I take them out, they do not misbehave with women or use abuse language. Even if they do, I tell them that this should not happen again. (Mentor, in-depth interview, Shivajinagar Community, 18 November 2010)

Mentors also reported that parents of the boys noticed changes in their sons' behaviour, and some had sought out the mentors to discuss what they were seeing.

Some issues for consideration

The programme, and the accompanying evaluation, raises a number of interesting points for consideration.

As a quasi-experimental evaluation with two non-randomly selected slum communities in Mumbai, the study has many limitations. First, quasi-experimental approaches to evaluation of social change are, of course, just that. There are many reasons for human beings to hold very different views and beliefs, and social scientists using quasi-experimental approaches need to be very clear that this means measuring change of the kind we aimed for in this programme is complex. In our evaluation, we found that at

the start of the programme, the young cricketers in the intervention community had somewhat more equitable gender attitudes at baseline compared to young men in the control community.

Another limitation focusing on pre-existing receptivity to progressive messages is that the project required individuals to agree to take part, and their parents to approve participation by giving parental consent; it is possible that the most progressive individuals and families were more likely to become involved. The young men and boys who may be at greatest need of participation in training sessions to make them feel positive about non-violent masculine identity and the contribution they can make as future partner and fathers may be less likely to be included in the programme.

In the previous section, we shared the finding that attitudes about violence against women seem to be more intransigent than actual behaviour. Our findings were consistent with the US implementation of Coaching Boys into Men, where gender attitudes also did not seem to shift to any considerable extent, over time (Miller *et al.* 2013). Interestingly, however, Parivartan's coaching programme was also implemented in 50 schools in Mumbai over a similar period (2009–2011) (Miller *et al.* 2014a). The school implementation resulted in improvements in gender attitudes among a slightly younger cohort of adolescent male cricket athletes (Miller 2014a). This suggests that continued research on the developmental timing and strategies to promote more gender-equitable attitudes and practices is needed.

A challenge with implementation and associated evaluation in the community-based setting was retention in the programme; as stated above, by the time of the 24-month follow-up, about 20 per cent of the baseline respondents had dropped out. Strategies to keep young men and boys engaged and participating in such prevention programming in the community are needed. However, in the lives of young people, two years is a lengthy period of time with much change and the fact that such a large proportion continued engagement with the programme is a very positive achievement.

Another issue was the resource-heavy nature of the programme, in terms of time taken for training mentors. Attitudes and beliefs are difficult and complex, and changing these required intensive investment in the coaches on whom the programme depends. A total of 120 hours of training may be difficult to replicate and to scale. However, the impact of programme delivery on the mentors (as reported qualitatively) suggests that the skills and knowledge gained through training and implementation of the programme is transferable to other parts of their lives, and has also had positive impact on their behaviour around other health concerns, such as reducing smoking and other substance use.

Finally, as a study limited to slum communities in a mega-city such as Mumbai, findings may not be generalisable to other rural and impoverished settings, in other parts of the globe. We were not able to explore in this study the different forms of violence perpetration and how the close-knit urban slum communities may contribute to less safety for women and girls. VAWG is different and distinctive in each context.

These limitations notwithstanding, intensive training of young adult male community mentors to implement a gender-transformative programme using sport as a medium for engaging adolescent males appears to us to be a promising strategy for addressing VAWG. For adolescent males growing up in these urban slum communities where there is such limited space to play, being invited to play cricket and to be coached by young adult males in their community appears to be an acceptable and feasible way to engage boys in efforts to change the conversation about gender equality.

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Notes

- 1 The ICRW, was founded in 1976. It is based in Washington, DC, USA, and has its Asia Regional Office in New Delhi, India. For more information about ICRW and its programme, see www.icrw.org (last checked by the author 14 December 2014).
- 2 The programme was implemented in the United States by Futures Without Violence (a US-based non-profit violence prevention organisation). For more information, see www.futureswithoutviolence.org and www.coachescorner.org (last checked by the author 14 December 2014).
- 3 Apnalaya is an NGO founded in 1972 to help children living in slums progress towards a better life. It strives to achieve this through urban community development projects in Mumbai. For more information, see www.Apnalaya.org.
- 4 PATH is a community-based organisation working in Cheeta Camp slum community in Mumbai. The organisation mainly works with women around reproductive and sexual health, and also provides training on skills development.
- 5 The MSSA caters to the needs of over 60,000 school children in 360 schools every year. For more information, see <http://www.mssa.co.in/content/history.html>.
- 6 Breakthrough is a global human rights organisation working to make violence and discrimination against women and girls unacceptable. For more information, see www.breakthrough.tv.
- 7 Consent forms for parents and assent forms for youth were translated into Hindi and Marathi, and were distributed prior to the programme. Mentors were asked to distribute parent informational letters and consent forms to the youth. Only youth returning completed parent consent forms were eligible to take the self-administered, paper survey. The study protocol was reviewed and approved by the ICRW Institutional Review Board.
- 8 Modified from the Gender-Equitable Norms Scale (Pulerwitz and Barker 2008) with items added from the GEMS programme in India (Achyut *et al.* 2011) and the CBIM US programme (Miller *et al.* 2012).
- 9 For more details of the technical aspects of survey methodology and analysis, see Das *et al.* (2012a).

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