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Gender attitudes and violence among urban adolescent boys in India

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Young males’ perpetration of violence against females is prevalent across the globe, and is associated with inequitable gender attitudes including the condoning of violence against women. A cross-sectional survey was conducted among boys ages 10-16 (N = 1040) from urban neighborhoods of Mumbai, India to examine the relationship among adolescent males’ gender attitudes, attitudes condoning violence against women, exposure to family and community violence, and violence perpetration against peers and girls. More equitable gender attitudes were associated with significantly less likelihood of sexual violence perpetration. Promoting equitable gender attitudes may be an important modifiable factor in preventing violence against women and girls, especially among boys who have been exposed to violence.

Keywords: Gender-based violence; violence perpetration; gender equity; sports; violence against women; coaches; exposure to violence

Introduction

Perpetration of violence against females by young males is prevalent across the globe, and is associated with gender norms that support inequitable attitudes towards women and girls, including condoning of violence against women (Dalal et al., 2012; McMahon, 2010; Santana et al., 2006; Warkentin & Gidycz, 2007) Several studies among adolescents have documented various aspects of sexual and gender norms present in societies that are associated with adolescent sexual aggression and violence perpetration. Harmful notions of masculinity and male aggression are not only prevalent, but often expected and normalised in relation to violence against women (Hines, 2007). A recent population-based study from South Asia found a range of 28–51% of adolescent males aged 15–19 years holding attitudes supportive of wife-beating (Dalal et al., 2012). Studies from across the globe highlight that boys may experience pressure to behave in sexually aggressive ways, and that expectations for male and female sexual and intimate involvements are often different, where girls are often expected to accommodate male needs and desires (Abbey & McAuslan, 2004; Cleveland et al., 2003; Foshee et al., 2001; Tolman et al., 2003). Such inequitable gender attitudes and behaviours among adolescents are associated with perpetration of violence against women and girls (Dalal et al., 2012; Flood & Pease, 2006; Reed et al., 2008, 2011).

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Youth violence research generally differentiates between exposure to violence at home (i.e. witnessing inter-parental violence and experiencing violence victimisation at home) and exposure to violence in other settings, commonly referred to as community violence exposure. Exposure to family and community violence is common, often co-occurring (Finkelhor et al., 2009), and consistently linked to disruptive behaviour among youth (Blum et al., 2003; Fang & Corso, 2007; Fergusson et al., 2006; Flannery et al., 2001; Flood & Pease, 2006; Rosario et al., 2003) as well as youth violence perpetration in studies from across the globe (Bossarte et al., 2008; Ehrensaft et al., 2003; Gil-Gonzalez et al., 2008; Herrenkohl et al., 2004; Rivera-Rivera et al., 2007; Swahn et al., 2008). Most studies on exposure to family and community violence are grounded in social learning theory, and only a few studies have addressed the associations of such violence with inequitable gender attitudes and how those attitudes may in turn relate to perpetration of violence against women (Reed et al., 2008, 2011). Studies in the Indian context have demonstrated strong associations between inequitable gender attitudes and perpetration of violence against women (Achyut et al., 2011; Verma et al., 2006), but have not examined the presence of such attitudes among younger adolescent males in relationship to family and community violence exposures more broadly. Dalal et al. (2012) found in their examination of predictors of attitudes justifying wife-beating among South Asian adolescent males that respondents with no history of parental violence were 50% less likely to have attitudes justifying wife-beating.

This study examined the relationship among adolescent males’ gender inequitable attitudes, including condoning of violence against girls, the prevalence of exposure to family and community violence, and the prevalence of violence perpetration against male peers and girls to explore the extent to which gender inequitable attitudes are associated with adolescent male violence perpetration and whether more gender equitable attitudes may be associated with less violence perpetration among boys exposed to any family and community violence. The study involves a socio-economically diverse group of young male adolescents all participating in urban cricket teams, a highly popular and distinctly masculine sport in India. The current study extends the existing literature on gender attitudes and violence perpetration in two ways: first, by assessing the relationship between exposure to family and community violence and attitudes towards females (including attitudes condoning violence against girls); and second, by examining the relationship between such gender attitudes and actual self-reported perpetration of violence against peers and females. Gender inequitable attitudes may be a modifiable risk factor and a potential target for prevention of violence perpetration, especially among young men exposed to family and community violence.

Methods

Participants

As part of a larger intervention study of a violence prevention programme involving cricket coaches and their athletes, the current cross-sectional survey was conducted among 1040 boys aged 10–16 years from urban neighbourhoods of Mumbai between September and November 2009, all of whom were participating in either school or community-based cricket teams.

Ethical considerations

The study protocol, including the written informed consent process, was reviewed and approved by the ICRW Institutional Review Board. Consent forms for parents and assent
forms for athletes were translated into Hindi and Marathi and were distributed prior to the survey. Coaches were asked to distribute parent informational letters and consent forms to the athletes. Only youth returning completed parent consent forms were eligible to take the self-administered, paper survey.

**Measures**

The survey included demographic characteristics: age (current age in years), number of siblings (having female siblings), family size, mother’s work status (as an indicator for women’s empowerment), and type of house (as proxy for socio-economic status – ‘pucca’ refers to higher-income residences, ‘kuchha’ to lower-income residences). The family size (number of children) specifically in low-income families has an impact on the distribution of resources and is thus an important factor reflecting the developmental context for children in India.

To understand respondents’ attitudes towards gender norms and gender-based violence, respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed with 31 statements on a five-point Likert-like scale (from ‘Agree’ to ‘Disagree’). Twenty-one items focused on gender norms, including attitudes condoning controlling behaviours towards girls, and ten items focused on gender-based violence (whether it is okay to hit a girl if she behaves in a certain way). The gender norms statements were introduced as: ‘We have listed a few statements around how men/boys and women/girls behave or think. We would like to know your opinion – whether you agree or disagree with these statements.’ These items were modified from the Gender- Equitable Men (GEM) Scale (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2007) with adaptations for early adolescent males based on formative research by the investigative team (Figure 1). For the ten items related to condoning violence against girls, boys were asked to gauge the extent to which beating girls was perceived to be an acceptable behaviour in particular circumstances, such as if a girl talks to some other boy, plays outside, does not help in household chores, does not do her school work, replies back when harassed by boys, or has an affair with a boy (Figure 2). For each of the categories (i.e. gender norms and condoning violence against girls), summary scores were calculated separately. For gender norms, the total score ranged from zero to 84 and scores were divided into tertiles as 0–28 (less gender equitable), 29–56 (moderately equitable) and 57–84 (more equitable) (Cronbach alpha = 0.70). Similarly, for the condoning violence against girls category, possible scores ranged from zero to 40 and were equally divided as 0–13, 14–26 and 27–40, with higher scores indicating less agreement with condoning violence against girls (Cronbach alpha = 0.83).

For the regression analyses, the condoning violence against women scale was divided into two groups: the highest tertile was coded as ‘not condoning violence against girls’, and the lower two tertiles were coded together as ‘condoning violence against girls’.

Participants were also asked to assess their own experiences with violence. Each respondent reported whether they witnessed violence at home, especially violence against women, including toward their mother and other female family members, including: ‘Have you ever seen your father shouting at, threatening, or hitting your mother?’ and ‘Have you ever seen other male members in your family shouting at, threatening, or hitting other females in the household?’ Self-reported victimisation and perpetration of violence was measured by asking whether in the last three months the respondent had experienced any kind of violence in school as well as in the community, who the perpetrator was, what the respondent did in response, and whether in the last three months the respondent had perpetrated any kind of violence against anyone in school or community. The types of
violence included examples of verbal abuse, stalking, beating, slapping, kicking, hitting with an object, and threatening with a weapon. Sexual violence, in specific, was defined as any abusive behaviour towards a girl including verbally harassing a girl (called ‘Eve teasing’ in India), making her look at pornographic images against her choice, pushing, grabbing or shoving a woman or a girl, making sexual jokes about a girl, assaulting a girl sexually, getting angry or yelling at a girl, and spreading sexual rumours about a girl.

- when she talks to a boy
- when she goes out to play
- when she stays out late
- when she doesn't help in 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 replies back when harassed by boys

Figure 2. Attitudes condoning violence against girls (‘In what situations do girls deserve to be beaten?’).
Reports of witnessing peers engaging in violence against women in the last three months included witnessing verbal abuse such as ‘Eve teasing’ of girls, showing pornographic images without their consent, pushing or grabbing girls, making sexual jokes, yelling at girls, and spreading sexual rumours about girls. Any positive response to the items related to witnessing violence, violence victimisation, and violence perpetration was coded as having experienced ‘any’ witnessing of violence, victimisation, or perpetration, respectively.

Data analyses
Demographics, violence exposure, gender attitudes, and attitudes condoning violence against girls were evaluated using contingency table analysis. Chi-square tests were conducted to test for statistically significant differences of association. Crude and adjusted logistic regression models were used to examine attitudes condoning violence against girls in relation to gender attitudes, to witnessing violence at home (inter-parental violence), and to violence victimisation at home, community, or school. All demographic variables were evaluated for association with any violence perpetration via bivariate analyses; those significant at $p < 0.05$ were included in all adjusted regression analyses. Finally, logistic regression models were used to assess the relation of gender attitudes to violence perpetration, controlling for demographics as well as the effects of other relevant study variables: first, for all boys in the sample; second, only among boys who reported having ever witnessed violence; and, finally, only among boys who reported both having ever witnessed violence and having been victimised. Findings from logistic regression models are presented as odds ratios with associated 95% confidence intervals. All analyses were conducted using SPSS version 18 (PASW SPSS Statistics 18, 2009; IBM SPSS Inc., Armonk, NY, USA).

Results
Sample characteristics
The mean age of the boys was 13 years, with about one-half aged 13 and 14 (Table 1). The mean number of children in a household was 3.1, with 54% of the boys reporting more than two siblings (brothers or sisters). Most of the boys reported having at least one female sibling (62%). Sixty-nine per cent of the boys stated that their mother was not working outside the home. Fifty-five per cent of the boys identified themselves belonging to a lower socio-economic group (i.e. living in a lower-income type of residence).

Prevalence of exposure to violence
Witnessing violence against women and girls was prevalent in this sample, with almost one-third (32%) reporting witnessing violence by their peers against girlfriends or female friends. Exposure to violence against women and girls in the community or neighbourhood was 64%. One-third of boys reported witnessing their father beating or abusing their mother at home.

More than eight out of 10 boys reported that they have been the victims of violence, which ranged from verbal to physical abuse and also in some instances sexual violence at home, community, or in school. The boys who are younger in the cohort (less than 12 years old) reported experiencing more violence against them than older youth. The reports of violence victimisation did not differ significantly by socio-economic status.

Regarding gender norms, while most of the boys had moderately equitable attitudes (71%), one in eight boys (13%) reported significantly inequitable gender attitudes (meaning they scored in the lowest tertile on the gender attitudes scale).
Less than one-quarter (22%) of the boys reported that they generally do not agree with violence against girls (i.e. scored in the highest tertile on the condoning violence against girls scale), while the vast majority (78%) condoned at least some forms of violence against girls (Table 2).

The gender attitude scale was highly associated with attitudes related to condoning violence against girls. One-third (35%) of the boys with the most equitable gender attitudes (i.e. in the highest tertile of gender equitable attitudes) were least likely to condone violence against girls.

A high percentage of older boys aged 15–16 years reported perpetration of violence (89% in home, community or schools, and 19% against girls), with boys living in kuchha houses (reflecting lower socio-economic status) reporting more violence perpetration against girls (Table 3).
Witnessing peer violence was associated with all forms of self-reported violence perpetration, both in community and school settings as well as against girls. Similarly, witnessing violence against women in the neighbourhood and witnessing parental violence were related to perpetration of violence in the community, in school, and violence perpetration against girls. Having been a victim of violence at home, in community, and in school was also associated with any violence perpetration.

**Associations of gender attitudes and violence exposure with attitudes condoning violence against girls**

In logistic regression models adjusted for demographics and witnessing of peer violence and violence against girls, boys who reported more gender equitable attitudes were less likely to condone violence against girls. Boys who reported witnessing inter-parental violence were 1.4 times more likely to condone violence against girls, while boys who were victims of violence at home or in community were more than twice as likely to condone violence against girls (Table 4).
Assessments of gender attitudes and violence exposure with violence perpetration

Boys with more equitable gender attitudes were significantly less likely to report having perpetrated any type of violence, regardless of whether they had witnessed violence or been victims of violence (Table 5). For perpetration of sexual violence against girls, even moderately equitable gender attitudes were associated with significantly less likelihood of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Perpetration of violence against peers and girls and relation to demographics and violence exposure.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrated any violence at home, community, or school (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13–14 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15–16 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother as earning member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pucca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuchha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessing peer violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessing violence against women in neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witnessed parental violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim of violence at home/community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim of violence in the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender equitable scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low equitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate equitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High equitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p = 0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
perpetrating any sexually abusive behaviours against girls, and this association persisted even among boys reporting histories of witnessing violence and violence victimisation themselves.

Table 5. Adjusted models of associations of gender attitudes and violence exposure with violence perpetration.

Table 4. Adjusted models of associations of gender attitudes and violence exposure with attitudes condoning violence against girls.

Note: bolded values indicate statistically significant associations

Note: Adjusted for age, family size, mother’s work status, type of house, witness peer violence, witness violence against women.
Discussion

The current study draws attention to the prevalence of inequitable gender attitudes and attitudes condoning violence against girls and the association of such attitudes with histories of exposure to violence in homes and communities as well as with self-reported violence perpetration. A critical finding is that one in five boys aged 10–12 reported high levels of condoning violence against girls. Gender inequitable attitudes overall were highly correlated with attitudes condoning violence against girls. These findings are consistent with the growing literature on the role of gender inequitable attitudes in the perpetration of violence against women (Anderson et al., 2004; Dalal et al., 2012; Heise, 1998; Reed et al., 2011; Santana et al., 2006; Verma et al., 2006). Socially accepted attitudes about gender roles and responsibilities, whether held by females or males, are associated with greater acceptance of violence against women, while more equitable attitudes are associated with less acceptance of violence. In the present study, consistent with this research among older adolescents and adults, younger boys with inequitable gender attitudes and attitudes condoning violence against girls were also more likely to report having perpetrated violence (both against male peers as well as toward girls) more often than their counterparts who expressed more equitable attitudes and who did not approve of violence against girls. A central finding of this study is the extent to which having more equitable gender attitudes is associated with significantly less likelihood of sexual violence perpetration, suggesting that gender attitudes may have an important protective effect especially among boys who have been exposed to violence.

Perpetration of any violence was high in this sample of adolescent males in Mumbai, with about three-quarters of boys reporting any perpetration of violence at home, in their community, or at school. Sexual violence perpetration (including sexual harassment and abuse) was also not uncommon among this cohort of younger adolescent males. Although most investigations regarding sexual violence among adolescents target college-age populations, there is growing evidence that sexual violence in dating and acquaintance relationships may occur among much younger populations (Coker et al., 2000; Hill & Kearl, 2011; Swahn et al., 2008; Taylor et al., 2011; Wolf & Foshee, 2003). The reporting of sexual violence perpetration is around 14% in our sample of young male athletes, somewhat higher than is expected from this age group in the Indian context. The Youth in India study reported a 6% prevalence of perpetration of sexual violence (forced sex with wife) by young men within marriage, and 21% and 0.4% of unmarried men (15–24 years of age) reported perpetration of deliberate touching or brushing past a girl and forced sex, respectively (International Institute for Population Sciences & Population Council, 2010). The difference in prevalence in this present study may be related to the inclusion of verbal abuse in the measure for sexual violence.

The size of the family and economic status were significant predictors of perpetration of sexual violence among this cohort of young boys, in addition to witnessing violence among parents, witnessing any violence against women, as well as one’s own experiences of violence victimisation. These findings point to the critical importance of targeting elementary and middle school age youth for violence prevention efforts, including creating opportunities for youth to question and challenge inequitable gender and sexual norms.

These findings should be interpreted in light of several limitations. As a convenience sample of young male athletes engaged in cricket in Mumbai, the generalisability of these findings to non-athletes and to youth living in more rural settings is limited. The
scarcity of studies on sexual violence and younger adolescent boys in India, related to challenges getting approval from parents to work with younger adolescents, also raises concerns about how the boys interpreted the questions related to violence exposure and perpetration. While the survey questions were piloted with youth in Delhi as well as in Mumbai for readability and comprehensibility, the items have not been subjected to more detailed psychometric evaluation. As a cross-sectional study, we are also unable to draw any causal inferences about the associations found between gender attitudes and violence perpetration. Finally, the findings are all self-reported. While the surveys were conducted as confidentially as possible and youth were encouraged to be honest in answering the questions, concerns about recall and social desirability biases remain, although this bias would be expected to result in under-reporting rather than over-reporting.

These limitations notwithstanding, the high prevalence of violence perpetration against girls that was closely associated with inequitable gender attitudes and attitudes condoning violence against girls underscores the critical need to enhance violence prevention efforts among younger adolescents. Given the prevalence of witnessing peer and community violence, programmes that focus on preventing multiple forms of violence at a younger age may also be a promising approach. These findings highlight the potential protective effects of gender equitable attitudes in reducing likelihood of perpetration of violence against girls, attitudes that may be a modifiable factor and key focus for intervention with this younger population. Programmes that focus on promoting gender equity among younger adolescent males are likely to be an important strategy for reducing violence against women and girls, and should be evaluated in longitudinal studies.

Notes on contributors

Madhumita Das is a senior technical specialist with the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) with more than 12 years of experience in academic research and communicating results to policy makers. Dr Das holds a doctorate degree in Demography from the International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai, India, and has been working in the development sector since 1999. Her expertise includes providing technical support in processing and management of large scale data as well as qualitative research, focusing on the reproductive health of women, gender studies with a special focus on involving men and boys, gender based violence and HIV/AIDS. Before joining ICRW, she worked for the Constella Futures as a senior program specialist in New Delhi, where she worked on program management, operations research and communications for a project to provide reproductive and child health services in India. Dr Das has also worked at the Population Council and as a consultant with Population Reference Bureau and Bloomber School of Public Health at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, USA.

Sancheeta Ghosh is a research associate with the International Center for Research on Women. She has more than 5 years of experience in academic and programmatic research. Sancheeta has submitted her PhD dissertation thesis in development studies under ICSSR Fellowship from Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) Bangalore and holds a Master’s in population sciences from International Institute for Population Sciences. Her area of expertise includes quantitative and qualitative research in reproductive health, maternal health, gender and development, and programme management.

Ravi Verma, regional director of ICRW Asia Regional Office has over 25 years of programmatic research experience in the area of reproductive health, gender mainstreaming and HIV/AIDS in India and other countries in Asia. He has a PhD in social sciences from the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai, India and Master of Arts, psychology, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India. Dr Verma has worked extensively on promoting gender equity, working with men and boys. The tools developed in this programme were taken up by the Indian National AIDS prevention programs and
public school systems in three major Indian states. He has been instrumental in creating programmes promoting gender equity, including a programme called ‘GEMS’ which is with young school children, ‘IMAGES’ where men in the age group 18-59 years are involved, and ‘Parivartan’ (an adaptation of Coaching Boys into Men) where coaches and young males engaged in sports are involved in the fight against violence against women by spreading awareness about gender equity.

Brian O’Connor holds a Master’s from Columbia University and is a member of the National Association of Black Journalists. He is the director of Public Education Campaigns and Programs for Futures Without Violence. In this role, Brian crafts national and international violence prevention public awareness and action campaigns for the organisation, most of which focus on reaching men, parents, coaches, teachers, military families, and teens. To date, his efforts have enabled local adaptations of these programmes in countless communities around the world. In particular, his work engaging men and boys to help end violence against women was instrumental in the development of the international Coaching Boys into Men initiative in partnership with UNICEF in 2006 and continues today.

Sara Fewer is a graduate student at the Goldman School of Public Policy and the School of Public Health at the University of California, Berkeley. While Public Communications Program Manager at Futures Without Violence, she developed public education initiatives and media campaigns to prevent relationship violence, particularly among teens. Ms Fewer designed the programme strategy, communications, and curricula for Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM). A skilled organiser, Ms Fewer also worked at EMILY’s List, where she engaged women in politics. Ms Fewer studied at Mount Holyoke College and currently serves on the steering committee for the Goldman School’s Students of Color in Public Policy. She is dedicated to promoting women’s health and empowerment globally.

Maria Catrina Virata completed her Master’s in public health at University of California Davis. Currently, she is clinical research coordinator of Adolescent Medicine at Children’s Hospital of Pittsburgh, the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. She has been the project manager of the Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) research study in the U.S. and worked closely with athletes and coaches in sixteen public high schools in Sacramento, CA. She is involved in development of CBIM for middle schools and the CBIM national program evaluation. As a liaison to the Community PARTners Core of the Clinical Translational Science Institute at the University of Pittsburgh, she also works to increase involvement of community members in community-academic research partnerships.

Elizabeth Miller is chief of adolescent medicine and associate professor of pediatrics at Children’s Hospital of Pittsburgh, the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. Trained in medical anthropology as well as internal medicine and pediatrics, Dr Miller’s research has included examination of sex trafficking among adolescents in Asia, teen dating abuse, and reproductive health, with a focus on underserved youth populations including pregnant and parenting teens, foster, homeless, and gang-affiliated youth. Her research focuses on the impact of gender-based violence on young women’s health. She conducts research on brief clinical interventions to reduce partner violence and unintended pregnancy, funded by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and the National Institute of Justice. In addition, she has been leading a randomized controlled trial of a sexual violence prevention programme entitled “Coaching Boys into Men” which involves training coaches to talk to their young male athletes about stopping violence against women, funded by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. She is involved in projects to reduce gender-based violence and improve adolescent and young adult women’s health in India and Japan.

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