

Acknowledgement

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Executive Summary

Adolescents in India, aged 10-19 constitute 250 Mn population, 23% of overall population which is the largest in any country in the world. While the youth shape the present beliefs and scenario of the nation, their own dreams, aspirations and perceptions are rarely studied/ discussed about. When we delve further in to finding link between their education and perceptions on safety, very few documents are available which draw such links. Gujarat as a state, has fared good on economic accounts with GDPs growing steadily for past years, but the performance on education and Human development aspects if looked at closely shows following picture - in the education index, Gujarat has risen only by 43% which was worse than 17 other states, whereas in overall HDI Gujarat has risen by 44% performing worse than six states which has low human development index. This clearly shows that the state needs to put in policies to improve the situation.

If the Data of Kutch is examined more closely, ratio of girls to boys enrolment at primary level is still 0.89, and the girls' subsequent enrolment from Primary to Secondary and Upper secondary falls dismally from 49% to 32%. In Schools where only Upper secondary education is available, the data is still bleak at only 20%. The fact is also evident that in a district which is largest in entire nation, the government schools having Primary to Higher secondary education facilities, fare only at 6. Private schools outnumber this by 64. In this context, it is critical that the chosen few/ privileged adolescents who do manage to get secondary education, are studied to understand their beliefs and perceptions regarding their gendered self and safety.

If the National data on violence against young boys and girls are examined, 2007 report of MWCD suggests that 13%–32% boys and 12%–42% girls have reported unwanted touching, 4%–15% boys and 3% of girls reported forced physical relationship . analysing this further, A recent Unicef report on violence against children contained some chilling statistics: Around 43% of girls in India who had ever been the subject of sexual violence said they first experienced it at or before they turned 19. The data clearly shows that there is a huge prevalence of violence against adolescents which needs to be studied and analysed further.

The study covered 265 young boys and girls from schools and colleges (breakup attached as Annexure 3) to understand their present beliefs. Perceptions on Gendered self still shows higher awareness on their body image, physical strength equated to a particular gender, ability to voice their concerns and confined to gender roles. The exercises clearly showed that boys – 31% preferred that they look 'macho', inherently associated with the

Reference: <http://counterview.org/2014/03/22/gujarat-performance-in-improving-human-development-in-12-years-below-national-average-says-updated-hdi-india-report/>

Source of data: www.dise.in

Source- http://injuryprevention.bmj.com/content/16/Suppl_1/A263.1

Source- logs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2014/09/22/how-to-read-unicefs-violence-against-children-statistics/

masculinity and that Girls should look pretty- 34% boys preferred this. The numbers also suggest that they believe girls who are good looking are prone to be more successful. While the number of students having broken at least one gender norm remained few- 4-6%, showed that set beliefs and traces of patriarchal mindsets still prevail in the adolescents.

While studying adolescents, it has been seen that girls enjoy limited autonomy over their decisions, but during this study it was also important to note that boys also have very limited freedom over issues of their higher studies, age at which they want to marry and choice of faculty that they want to pursue for their careers. For girls, 62% still found it impossible to decide on their higher education, almost all girls studying in 8th standard giving up hope for studying any further (schools situated in slums) and be confined to their homes once their education is accomplished. It was also evident that girls have limited/ no autonomy in having/ operating their own mobile phones or be active on social networking platforms. Fact that they listed this in one of their inabilities being a girl, shows how digital divide has further made them aware about skewed gender discriminatory practices.

It was seen that the youth has moved on from traditional boundaries of gender and most of them agreed that girls should have equal opportunity of studying stream they want to or should be allowed to follow their choice of careers. But, when probed further for known factors of abuse/ sexual harassment to girls, most of the boys agreed that provocative clothes and late night visits of girls lead to their sexual harassment. Also, many of them believed that internet should be governed as it acts as leading factor to boy's sexual desires. Such views were prevalent in boys from entire age group of 14-19. This shows that current beliefs are pretty much shaped in line with present narratives in the region and the youth too draws their analysis from current context and refuse to go beyond. So, for them the factors feeding to insecurity pretty much prevail in the external environment.

When discussed about safe environment, most of them have been harassed/ abused during the course of their life. Majority of the girls feel that the environment is increasingly becoming insecure and their parents refuse to leave them alone/ let them move freely outside neighbourhood. It was also seen that girls living in slums/ interiors of city are rarely allowed to visit their friends or stay at their homes. It was also glaring that many school girls have experienced abuse/ eve teasing around school campus and in open markets near their school. This view was also shared by the parents and teachers subsequently who agreed that present influence of media and changing cultures have made the environment unsafe for young girls.

Mapping of unsafe spaces was both revealing and startling as girls from 2 schools showing toilet area within schools as highly unsafe. Most of the students ranked many places in their school/ college being unsafe and have felt abusive behaviour at least once in those spaces. The result was quite contrary to the beliefs of their teachers who

felt premises as safe. It was also seen that surrounding areas of school/ colleges were seen as cluttered spaces where most of the male/ young boys would gather and make the environment unsafe.

Teenage girls also ranked transport points as being highly unsafe and rarely do they leave school/ college alone in fear of being abused.

Overall, the study brought forth many beliefs on gender, patriarchal roots and body image and self projection of the youth. While some of the grounds have already been trodden by educational institutions and society, it has also thrown up some fresh grounds on which the engagement is required. Study clearly shows continual need of dialogue with the adolescents on issues of their present belief, which can become starting point in shaping their identities. It was also difficult to draw clear links between their present education framework and their perceptions as very few data/ evidence exist on how education provides space for critical dialogue. Study on establishing these links would go a long way in improving the overall meaning of education as aptly defined by Hon. President of India, Sh. Pranab Mukherjee as: ***“The aim of education is not the acquisition of information, although important, or acquisition of technical skills, though essential in modern society, but the development of that bent of mind, that attitude of reason, that spirit of democracy which will make us responsible citizens.”***

Source: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=126655>

Key Programme recommendations

- ▶ The interactions with youth show both their articulation and clarity around gender and gender based violence beliefs. Such regular exercises needs to be continued to add value based nurturing to education years
- ▶ It is critical that an academic exercise on present curriculum and its role in building perceptions is conducted to draw definitive conclusions on psyche of young minds
- ▶ Discussions with parents, teachers and adolescents clearly showed that gender roles and beliefs are changing among youth and they are more at ease with discussing subjects like safety, sexuality, gender based violence, sexual abuse etc. regular forums need to be provided where more such healthy debates takes place
- ▶ The discussions with youth show their compassionate side which is rarely looked in to by their parents. This shows need for continual dialogue spaces at school where they can discuss about present scenarios with parents and teachers.
- ▶ Majority of the teachers were positive and acted as models for the students so programmes around teacher student convergence on subjects like gendered self, projection for youth, their future aspirations is critically needed
- ▶ Young girls, specifically from rural areas need the better access to complete their education which they currently link to aspirations, making their inadequacy for higher education more painful. Counselling with parents and making the SMCs(School Management committee) take on the responsibility can be a step in the right direction
- ▶ Mapping exercises with young boys and girls show many spaces where they feel highly unsafe. Indepth study of these spaces and public dialogue on concerns brought forward and collaborative action can start initiatives due to which incidents of abuse and environment of fear reduce for adolescents making the society as a whole accountable for addressing the issue
- ▶ It could clearly be seen that the girls have never talked about their experiences of abuse to parents/ elders for fear of losing out on education. A dialogue/ counselling centre at school and college premise can provide much needed space for them to discuss about this
- ▶ Majority of young boys and girls showed higher degree of maturity and understanding, far beyond their age which shows huge potential. Investment in terms of time, joint activities with civil society groups and active participation in dialoguing forums can prove to be directional for youth
- ▶ As is being said nationally 'youth are not future of the nation, they are here.. future is here', proves to be so true specifically for a district which is growing at rapid space the youth needs to be engaged and a capacity building/ inputs on maintaining humanitarian values along with growth would go a long way in helping their cause



INTRODUCTION

A recent report on adolescents by Unicef has defined them as 'Age of New hope' as it is the age when they transcend from childhood to adulthood. Many studies have shown that the beliefs shaped during this age continue to stay with each individual through their life. A lot has been recommended and implemented to improve enrolment rates of girl children, their successful transition to secondary and higher secondary schooling, policies on free text books and uniforms under provisions of RTE act have all gone in to improve enrolment and access to education in rural areas. But if we look in to data, In 2011, the overall literacy rate was 72 percent in rural Gujarat, compared to 68 percent nationally in rural areas (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 2013). In Kutch, the female literacy still lags at 61%. It also shows skewed access to education for girls and boys both specially in the rural areas. In the backdrop of relatively slow progress on access and infrastructure, the overall conditions for education attainment is not favourable for adolescents.

A recent study done by Population council and Chetna for rural girls from Suredranagar district found that community engagement/ enablement to girls for their study was

minimal or not known. Similarly, discussion and support from both parents was also lacking. It also cites the reference that The importance of mobilising communities, especially parents, in encouraging girls to transition to and successfully complete secondary education is evident from data suggesting that among several reasons inhibiting the transition of adolescents from primary to secondary school, perhaps the most prominent is parental perceptions about the value and relevance of secondary education for their children, particularly daughters (International Institute for Population Sciences and Population Council, 2010). The space of discussion and nurturing their aspirations at school was also found to be very limited.

If this data is read in the backdrop of existing situation in Kutch, where the rural population is still 34% higher than the Urban population, many of the facts remain similar in the district as well. Recent data published from DISE (District Institute of Secondary Education) shows that 100% of government schools in Kutch have School management committee in place. A village level structure, which is formed to improve overall environment of education is often non functional and committee meetings rarely discuss issues that the adolescents are facing.

It becomes critical that schools as education institutions are looked in to from the dimension on whether they provide a space for overall growth and value building, particularly in providing equal space and respect to both genders whereby reducing occurrence of gender based violence. A recent report published for UNESCO also suggests that children and adolescents when faced with gender based violence; it affects their access to education, retention and overall growth. The report also identifies school, home and the community are all prime sites for the construction of gender identities and gender relations. It is also critical to address these aspects to ensure that the young minds don't remain faculties of formal schooling only. As was evident throughout the study, young children often see their role models in their teachers and perceive school as a space where they can discuss their issues, worries and discriminatory practices that they are subject to.

The study also looks at forms of patriarchy as seen by the adolescents, their parents and their teachers. Basis of the study has been on this triad which proves to mirror societal perceptions and varying forms and level of attitudes based on age, class and gender. The data has been analysed keeping in mind these parameters: Age 13-15 and 18-20 separately; class- both Urban and rural backgrounds; gender-male and female students

Context for the study:

Working on the issues of domestic violence since 1990, KMVS had an extensive experience on developing contextual curriculums which led to change in gendered perceptions. While working on common events like 'One billion rising', the current year celebrations involved youth in a writeshop where they wrote about current state of affairs. In all the essays, it was glaringly evident how gender perceptions were skewed between boys and girls. With this context, KMVS believed that it would be imperative

that a pilot study be conducted with adolescents to understand their current beliefs and perceptions. With this context, the study is conceived.

Objectives :

- Understanding context of gender based violence in the present education system through a sample study
- Bringing multi stakeholder perceptions about the violence and map the current understanding
- Understanding perceptions of gendered self amongst adolescents

Study Setting :

The study was conducted in the Kutch district, Gujarat state. The state has total 60 mn population of which 20% is the adolescent population of the age group 10-19. In Gujarat Kutch is the largest district , comprised of ten administrative regions (talukas) covering 45,612 km², making it the second largest district in the country. It is located in the westernmost corner of India and accounts for about 24% of the total land area of the State of Gujarat. Kutch is predominantly rural as 67% of the population lives in villages. 23.3% of the people in rural areas fall below the official poverty line. The region is now host to more than 300 industries and large areas are being notified as SEZs(special economic zones) impacting the overall economy, market and social fabric of the region.

Access to primary education (Classes 1–8) is more or less universal and most children aged 6–14 years are enrolled in school in Gujarat as elsewhere in India. A 2011 survey reports that only three percent of girls and boys aged 6–14 years were not enrolled in school in rural Gujarat (ASER Centre, 2012). However, a substantial proportion of adolescents, considerably more girls than boys, do not progress to secondary school: 67 percent and 52 percent of adolescent boys and girls, respectively, were enrolled in secondary school (Classes 9–10) in 2009–10 (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2011b). The state has a gender parity index of 0.77 in Classes 9–10, compared to 0.88 nationally.

The study has been conducted in 4 schools – 2 government schools and 2 Semi aided schools and 2 government colleges. The sample size of schools has been 153 (in age group of 13-15) and college students have been 112 (age group of 16-19). The sample size was spread fairly evenly between urban and rural population with 53% students belonging to Urban areas while 47% belonged to rural areas.

Following is the brief details of schools and colleges involved:

Sr. No.	Name of school	No. of students studying	No. of students participating in the study	Caters to students from which geographical area	Socio economic background
1.	Shivani girls'school*	1600 (9 th -12 th)	45 (9 th std)	Mainly students from Bhuj city and slum areas, some students from nearing village in Bhuj block	Majority of the students in school belong to middle income group families
2.	Shivam boys'school*	832 (9 th -12 th)	34 (9 th std)	Mainly students from bhuj city and nearby villages	The students are evenly balanced between rural and urban areas, and majority of them belong to middle and lower middle income groups
3.	K.S.V college*	450 (1 st year students)	38 (Msc.IT dept.)	students from all the blocks of kutch and some from cities like Bhuj, Anjar, Gandhidham, Adipur, Madvi	The students vary across the college and they belong to middle and lower income groups
4.	M.K. College*	500 (1 st semester)	74 (1 st sem.)	This is one of the few technical colleges and hence students from all blocks of Kutch come to the college.	Students economic background varies as the college offers various technical streams. But, majority of the students belong to middle income group families.

Following is the brief details of schools and colleges involved:

Sr. No.	Name of school	No. of students studying	No. of students participating in the study	Caters to students from which geographical area	Socio economic background
5.	School no. 20*	450 (1 st -8 th)	31 (8 th standard)	Students from 3 slum areas- Bakali colony, Sanjot nagar and Pathan faliyu of bhuj access this school.	The community residing in the slums are predominantly wage labours, vegetable vendors, and engaged in unorganised labour. So, the students of the school largely belong to lower income group families, with majority being BPL families.
6.	School no.21*	375 (1 st -8 th standard)	43 (8 th standard)	Students from 2 slum areas access this school.	The community residing in the slums are predominantly wage labours. So, the students of the school largely belong to lower income group families, with majority being BPL families.

*- Name of schools and colleges have been change at their request

Profile of parents:

1. Parents from shivrammandap area:

About the area:

Shivram mandap area comprises of 300 families, all of which belonging to devipoojak community(scheduled caste). Traditionally they have been engaged as sweepers and sewage cleaners in the city area. Currently , majority of the families work as contract labour to the Nagarpalika for waste collection and as sweepers.

All the parents involved in this exercise are engaged in waste collection activity and belong to BPL category. Their houses are semi pucca with no toilet and sewage facilities. All of them are also illiterate but they educate their children till their marriageable age. (girls are usually married at age of 16-17).

2. Parents from Nakhtrana block:

The 20 parents participating in the study, at Nakhtrana block came from 5 different villages of the block. They were mainly engaged in farming, small scale business and few members were agricultural labourers. Only 2 of parents (both male) had studied upto 10th standard. While all the female members were illiterate but they had seen value in educating their children.

Most of the parents belonged to middle and lower middle income groups.

Study Design:

The study was conducted through mode of Action research project as it involved multi stakeholder views in a participatory manner as the subject required larger involvement on critical issues which were rarely discussed in school/ college premises. The methods employed were mainly through participatory group exercises, discussions, perception mapping through various gender imageries, guided discussions, interviews and secondary literature survey. Specific methods employed are as following:

Mapping perceptions-

Method of study with school students :

- Understanding their present perceptions through gender statement analysis (statements attached as Annexure 1)
- Using audio visual tools and images to invoke responses through card sheets depicting statement
- Small mapping exercise to map gender understanding based on their real life experiences
- Participatory safety mapping exercise to understand 'perceived' and experienced' safe spaces for students.
- Guided discussion on prevailing gender norms

Method of study with College students:

- Mapping perception on gender based violence - Small group exercises to understand current understanding
- Story telling -Utilising the technique to understand incidents around safety and security (summary of exercise attached as Annexure 4)
- Understanding gendered beliefs through response on statements
- Group exercises to map 'safe spaces' in and around campus and households

Understanding the current spaces available for discussing Gender based violence:

Method of study with teachers :

Guided discussions were conducted with teachers to understand their views on 'spaces for discussion', 'current practices', overall building of gender understanding.' (Guidelines attached as Annexure 2)

Method of study with parents:

Guided discussions were conducted to understand their perceptions on present gendered understanding of their children, and overall context and scenario for how the environment becomes unsafe for their children.

Chapters in the report

- The report is divided into 5 chapters:
 - Chapter 1** depicts present understanding and perceptions on gender and notions on patriarchal construct. It talks at length about how students have thought gender has played a role in their growth years.
 - Chapter 2** narrates agency on autonomy that the children enjoy mainly regarding their academics and other life choices. It also talks about how parents and teachers view this.
 - Chapter 3** talks briefly on environment in school and college as well as surrounding premises and how students perceive whether the environment is safe or not.
 - Chapter 4** narrows down on present beliefs of factors that have created unsafe spaces, the factors also note down key points listed by teachers and parents.
 - Chapter 5** summarises results from mapping exercise on which are the spaces that are visibly unsafe for them and their reasons for terming it unsafe.
- **Chapter 6** - conclusions

Study Limitations

The study has been done in action research mode and hence is more qualitative in nature. Looking at the short duration of the study, the sample size has been chosen accordingly. Care has been taken to choose representative sample but due to small scale of the study, only 265 adolescents have participated in the study which is less than 1% of total population. So, the analysis and perceptions depicted in the study largely remain representative but deeper study is required to cater to wider population. References have been drawn by and large from similar studies but very few studies exist where links between perceptions of teachers and parents are drawn along with youth, so study refers to data generated through exercises only.

It is also imperative to note that study attempts to measure perceptions based on sets of indicators and draws conclusions based on that. While many more indicators could be included, limited time frame has confined the study to present sets of indicators. Also, no district level studies in Kutch were available for reference hence such inferences could not be made.



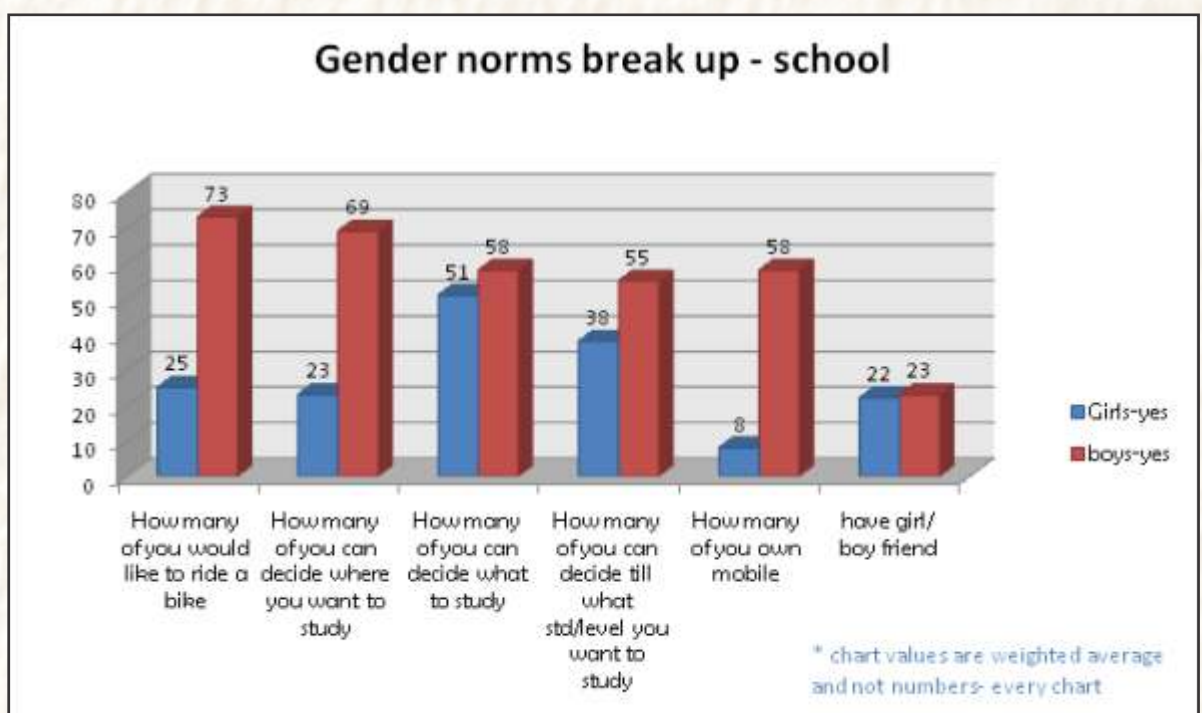
Chapter 1: Perceptions on Gendered self

This chapter narrates current understanding of adolescents and their parents around popular beliefs. The factors of consideration have been: i. Mobility through particular preference ii. Choice of education stream and level 3. Owning a mobile 4. Preference of friends from other sex.

The analysis is derived from set of questions asked to both students from school and colleges.

Gender norms

Chart 1.1: depicting preferences of girls and boys at school



i. **Mobility:** The chart values (weighted average) clearly show that only 25% girls from total sample preferred that they would want to ride a bike. While overwhelmingly 73% boys said they ride/ want to ride bike. Similarly, when the question was asked other way around how many girls wanted to drive scooty almost 89% said they would want to ride the vehicle as only 5% boys preferred riding scooty. The numbers which are clearly definitive shows trend of ascribing a specific vehicle to prevailed sense of gender. Bike is considered to be only choice of boys while very few girls who chose to say that they would/ are already riding a bike, were subject to ridicule during the exercise.

If the same is studied to college students perceptions remain same with only 10% girls wanting to ride a bike while 43% boys saying they wanted to ride bike. Remaining boys said they were already riding a bike so, it was almost 100% boys answering in affirmative.

ii. Choice of education: the choice of education is strangely equal for both boys and girls. 51% girls and 58% boys have said they can decide which stream/ faculty they would pursue their further studies in.

When it comes to choosing level of study, it is again biased in favour of boys in which 55% boys have said they can decide the standard till which they would want to study while only 38% girls said they would be able to do so. Fact that more than half of students couldn't take this decision on their own shows their significant dependence on their parents/ elders on taking important decisions of their life.

The most important parameter again linked to the mobility was: deciding place to go for higher study i.e. in district/ state/ out of Gujarat/ Out of country. Only 23% girls said they would be able to take the decision with consent from their parents while 69% boys said they can positively take decision. The girls who said they couldn't take the decision cited varied reasons which were mainly that they would never be allowed to stay alone and study on their own and second reason being their early marriage. In stark contrast, the boys said they never have to face such conditions for choosing place of study.

The data for college students are biased in favour of girl students with 39% saying they can decide where they would want to study and 43% saying which stream they want to study. The numbers of level of education remained low for both boys and girls. This was also significant as girls belonged to technical and management courses and said they had chosen these subjects post their schooling. The major obstacles cited by them in taking decision was their parents' fear and societal pressure confining them to study till school only. A girl said she had to convince five other girls in her village so they can all study in same college and parents would then allow it.

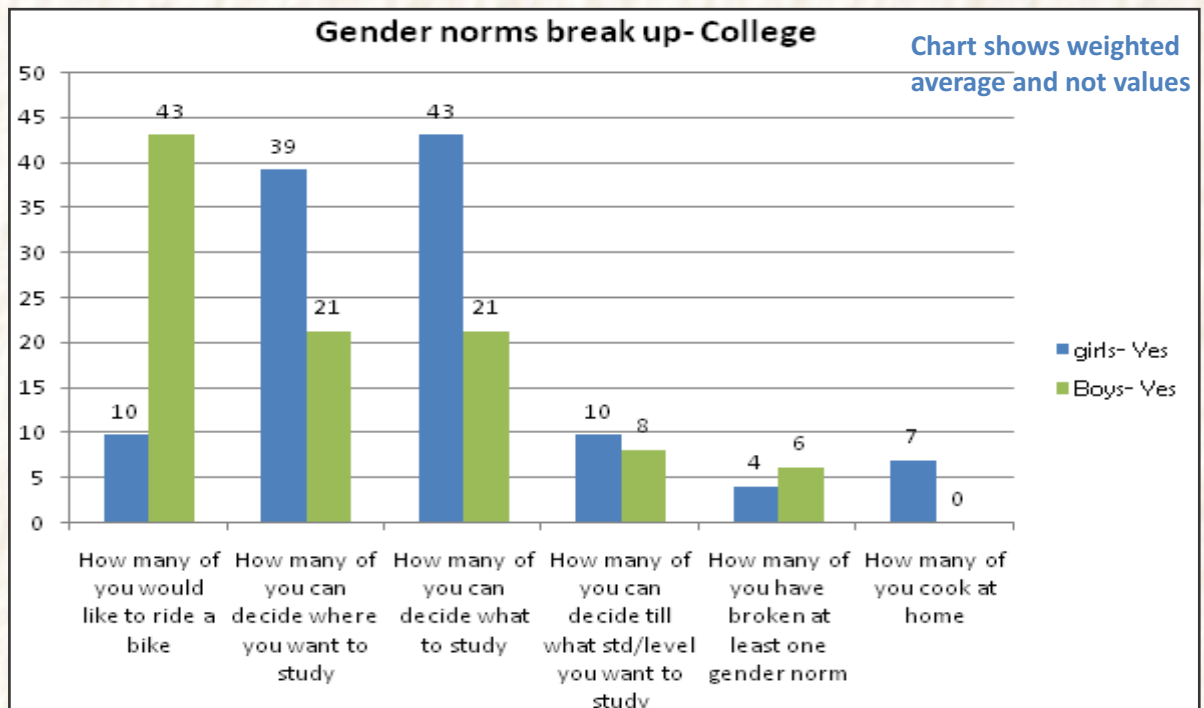
iii. Owning a mobile: it was strange to see that in the age of technology only 8% girls said they have mobile while 55% boys had mobile. It is also the fact that most of the schools have banned mobiles within school premises, the children still use it to connect at their homes. Majority of the girls said that their parents believe girls should not own a mobile as they can misuse it/ be harassed by boys with increased usage. Many girls also cited financial reasons by which their brothers were given preference for using mobile.

iv. Preference of friends: both girls and boys were clear and upfront while answering the question. 22% girls and 23% boys said they have boy/ girl as a friend. Students who chose not to say it were mainly shy of being teased/ ridiculed at. But, clear choice regarding friends showed their natural bonding with other sex.

v. Gender roles: college students in particular were asked whether they cook at their home, to which only 7% girls said yes, while none of the boys have ever cooked. Low percentage in both sexes also has to do with limited time available to girls who commute from far distances to the college, while boys still think it as irrelevant.

When asked with how many of them have broken at least one gender norm, they replied in low numbers with 4% girls and 6% boys saying in affirmative. The norms ranged from choosing further studies to taking a decision for others.

Chart 1.2- gender norms for college students



Beliefs around gender:

This was measured through 4 popular beliefs falling in category of: 1. Bodily image in adolescents 2. Education attainment by gender 3. Perceived safety of girls 4. Inequity in society by education access to girls.

Chart 1.3 analysis of statements from school children

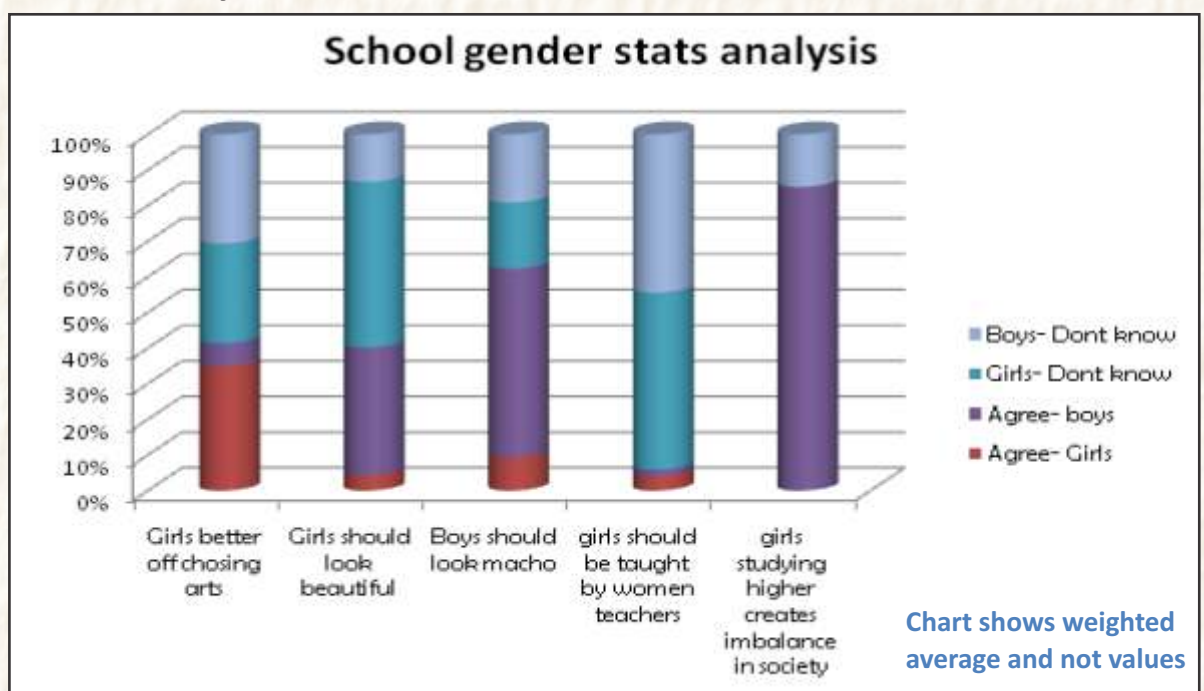
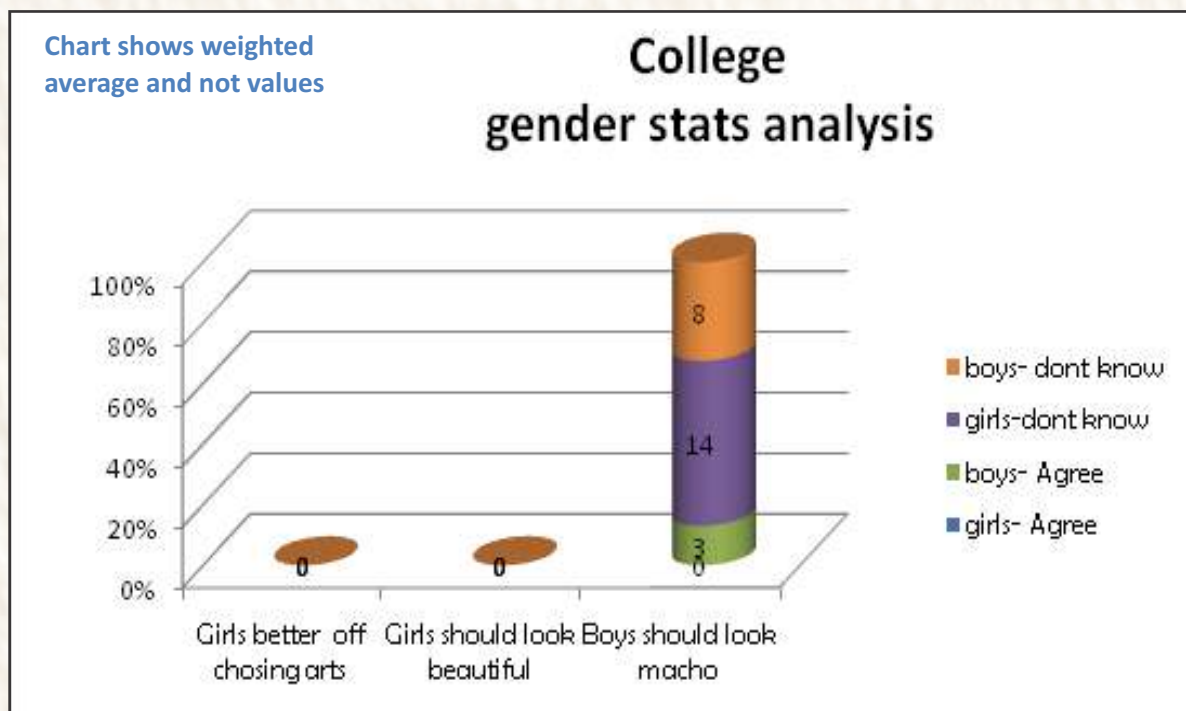


Chart 1.4 analysis of statements by college students



1. **Bodily image:** according to a study conducted in America on teenage students, established the fact that today's media, culture and other influences play a huge part in shaping the bodily image amongst adolescents. This was clearly evident through the study. When school students were asked to categorise the statement: "Girls should look beautiful", around 34% boys agreed that they should look beautiful. Common reasons for agreement ranged that society favours girls who are good looking and it is sole criteria for a girl to get married. While very few girls agreed to the statement, 44% girls said they can't answer this because they have witnessed many incidences where girls who are beautiful, are easily accepted in the community. One of the girl said: "my sister looks better than me, so she gets all the attention from my parents and relatives." Many girls also said that they like to dress up and look beautiful, but that doesn't mean every girl should look beautiful. It clearly emerged from the argument that girls who are average or not striking looking do get discriminated in various spaces. One girl in particular said: "I suffer this regularly at my home as i am dark skinned and my sister is fair so she is preferred much more by my parents", the pain was visible and many girls agreed to the statement.

In a stark difference to this, all the college students- both boys and girls clearly disagreed to the statement. But, the undercurrent and strayed responses suggested that many students thought it is reality but chose to remain non committal. The behaviour was also evident because of their age and exposure to the world which has given them an art to being articulate.

Alternatively, when students were asked : **“boys should look macho”** 31% boys and 5% girls agreed to the statement. The reasons for agreeing remained mainly with the bodily strength. Many male students also stated that their strength is required so they can protect girls. While the girls said they like boys to be strong and masculine.

Again the college students, only 13% boys agreed to the statement. Majority of girls and boys disagreed stating boys who look tough may not be good in nature and opposite is also true. So, discussion clearly showed them equating looks with behaviour. Male Students who agreed also said : “we will not find anyone who doesn't like Hritik roshan which clearly shows all of us want to look like him.” The counter arguments and discussions also showed how they identify themselves with strong personalities.

2. **Education attainment by gender:** the statement: “girls are better off choosing arts and boys engineering” found 34% girls and 27% boys from school agreeing. If we look at statistics from college students, all of them strongly disagreed. The reason for this being most of the girls from college were already pursuing technical courses and said in today's scenario there is no difference between sexes in choosing a course. However, they did cite the struggle they had with elderly in the society for getting in to college. All of them also said that they are subject to constant scrutiny in their village if they get late due to exams/ project submissions and are immediately faced with statements like: ' what type of colleges operate this late? What type of parent allows such kind of behaviour from young daughters?'. One of girl also said: “I am the only one from my village studying engineering, so if get late due to practical classes in college my neighbours immediately say , I am roaming around with boys.”

This also showed that even though the youth is very clear on their future aspirations and career choices, the traditional mindsets still have bearing on their dreams.

3. **Perceived safety by girls:** both boys and girls thought that they are at ease with male/ female teacher. But majority 60% boys and 67% girls said they can't clearly say how the system should be as they have seen some male teachers behave badly with girl students. Many of the students also said that their teachers are their idols and a teacher should always perform his/ her duty to optimum irrespective of their gender.

Equity by girl's education: statement that “if girls study higher, it creates an imbalance in the society” got 36% agreement amongst boys while none of the girls agreed. Boys provided many reasons of such imbalance; prime reason being girls will not be able to find suitable grooms for their marriage. Some of the boys also said that for higher education girls would have to go out of the village, which is

inappropriate for girls. One of the boy from school said: “some of girls in my village studied in college, but now they can't find boys who are educated, so how will they marry? This is not ideal.”

Though limited, the responses showed that even at the tender age the boys have strong boundaries regarding how a girl should behave and how their higher education disturbs the balance in the society.

From angle of adults:

Even though adolescents have said that they have felt discriminated at some point throughout their life, the parents and teachers both felt that today's times have changed and rarely does a parent do discriminatory practice in rearing a child or with their education. The parents did agree that for the fear of safety, girls mobility is reduced compared to earlier times but it is a choice that they are forced to make.

The teachers also said that their teaching methods and curriculum rarely imposes beliefs that strengthen gender gap and they also remain aware that both boys and girls are given equal opportunity during the study. The fact that standard punishment in all the schools (for this study) still remain a boy made to sit between girls or teachers saying a boy: 'you are a boy why do you talk so much like girls? (Shared by a boy through story telling)' shows that deeper assessment of teacher's attitudes and their own beliefs is needed.



Chapter 2 : Agency/ faculty of decision making

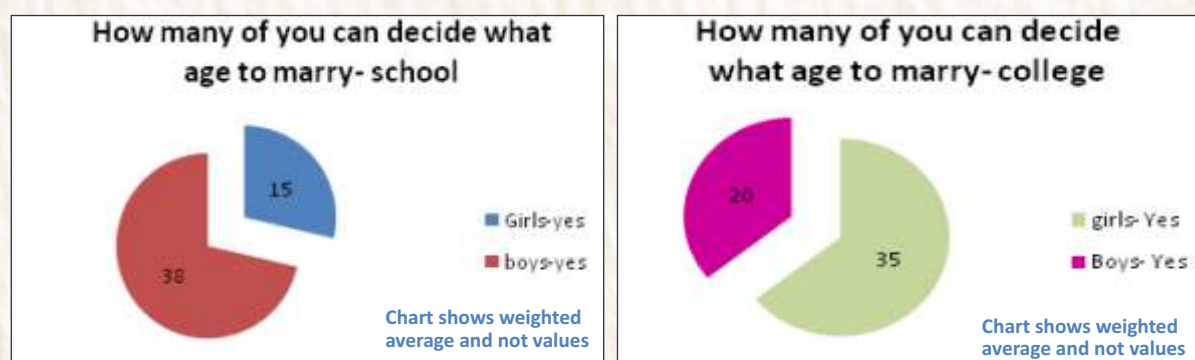
Agency has been defined as the capacity to make choices through the acquisition of a sense of self and a sense of personal competence (NRC and Institute of Medicine 2005). Based on many studies, key elements of agency include young people's decision-making ability, freedom of movement, a sense of self worth and access to resources (Malhotra, Schuler and Carol 2002).

The agency of decision making, autonomy and communicating their aspirations or dreams in boys and girls play a huge role in achieving their dreams and becoming a person they wish to be. The study examined this by 3 factors 1. Ability to decide on educational level and stream 2. Access to technology and information 3. Communicating/ deciding their age of marriage

Communicating to elders their wish of getting married at a certain age:

Charts 2.1 and 2.2 show the response from school and college students respectively. While 38% boys in school said they can take the decision, only 15% girls said they can do so. Figures of college students doesn't vary much with 35% girls agreeing that they can take the decision and only 20% boys allowed to do so.

The figures say that the limitation and autonomy is gender neutral whereby both boys and girls are almost at equal disadvantage. The low number in college students was mainly to the fact that many of them were engaged/ married. Few responses from school students that they are engaged were also intriguing. Fact that they have very limited freedom over one of the most important decision in life shows the hold society has over their future.



Decide on educational level : charts 2.3 and 2.4 shows data for students on their ability to take decision on where i.e. which stream and place they want to carry their further studies. It shows varying results with more number of boys- 69% from school saying they can take the decision against only 21% boys from college saying they can do so. The difference mainly emanates due to age of school and college students. The boys from college saying they can't decide had said because their streams/ graduation subjects had been chosen by parents/ elders.

Again, majority of school girls from slums school almost 80% were certain that they would not be allowed to go to standard 9. While majority of the boys from same locality had already selected schools they would be going to. It was also glaring that many of the girls said their elder brothers have taken this decision for them.

Fact still remains stark on children being able to decide for themselves. During story telling exercise on how they have experienced gender discrimination, at least 25 girls said they are not allowed to get higher education since their parents don't feel need to educate girls. (categorisation of responses annexed as Annex 3) This was also quite visible in both schools situated in slum where no. of girls studying in class 8 were only 35%-39% of total students. Fact that most of the schools have only one class of standard 8, compared to 2-3 classes in lower standards shows steep drop out rate.

Chart 2.3

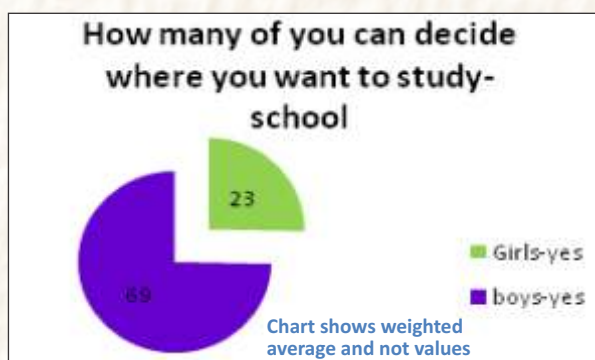
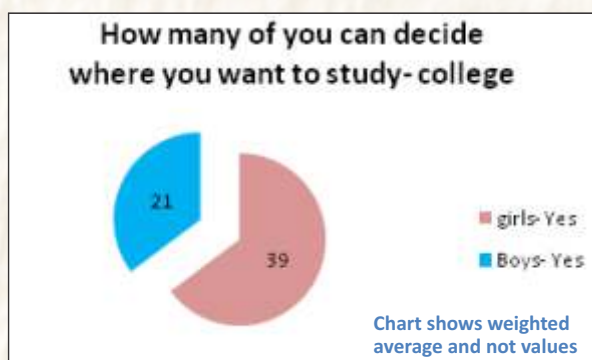


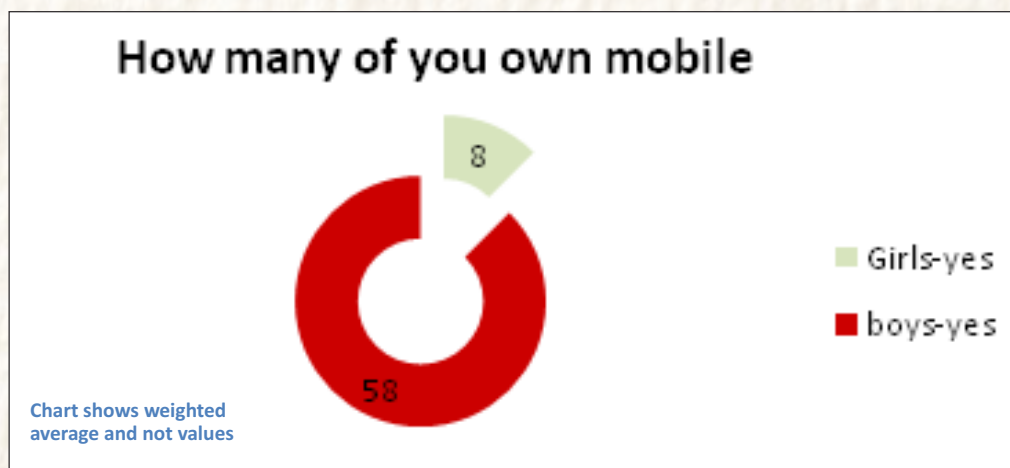
Chart 2.4



Access to technology and information : chart 2.5 shows data from school students which are greatly in favour of boys with 58% boys saying they own a mobile. All of the Male students in college had mobile access, but at least 20% girls in college didn't have mobile. The skewed ratio shows girl students have limited access to mobile technology.

While citing factors that the girls don't have say/ control over, at least 3 girls responded that they are not allowed to use internet and other social networking forums as it is closely monitored by their parents while their brothers are allowed to use it.

This further shows that digital divide which is already huge amongst rural population, is creating further barriers for girls.





Chapter 3: How safe is the environment ? : Present scenario

Some of the key responses from girls during an exercise on 'which are the instances happened to you because of your gender' are as below:

Because I am a girl, I am not allowed to play freely

I cant stay alone at my homes because my parents fear I am prone to abuse

I am not allowed to study outside the district/ village because my parents fear for my safety

staying at my friends place is not allowed for me because my parents feel i may not be safe in her home

I have experienced sexual abuse / jeering when i went to the market

I face continual harassment when I am in bus to go to college

Because of my safety concerns I am not allowed to study further it is as if i have to stop dreaming/ aspiring

The statements coming from both school and college going girls, narrate the same fact that they have felt abused/ threatened because of their gender. Girls who have yet not faced so, feel this fear continually playing in their parents minds. It completely changes the way girls' safety is seen: both in private and public space. Because they have felt unsafe in their locality, outside their homes, in open markets and in transportation they use.

Some of the girls also said that they have faced teasing/ harassment by even the students of their college only. This shows that there is an environment of mistrust within same premises. Many of school going girls have said that the area from which they board auto/ chakda is highly unsafe as elder students stay there to look/ tease them after the school hours finish.

It was also glaring to note that during an exercise some of boys said: 'they prefer buses where more number of girls get on and they sometimes take bus ride just to look at the girls'. Disturbing fact that such statements came from 13-14 year old boys, showed how environment is quickly changing and why it is increasingly difficult for girls to continue their studies.

Chart 3.1 and 3.2 shows the data respectively of boys and girls on statement “when the girls are harassed they should not raise their voice”. The numbers in both charts show strong disagreement amongst boys also with 100% boys in college disagreeing and 31% boys in school disagreeing the statement. The huge difference can be attributed to the age and their exposure. The boys in college clearly said, 'girls should be brave enough to hit back at perpetrators. If they don't do so, abuser will perceive it as consent.' The boys from school who believed differently, said- 'if the girls raise their voice, they are likely to suffer from the society.' While some of the boys also agreeing to this saying most of the boys abuse a girl when she is alone, so she rarely retorts back.

Also, majority of the girls in school and college- 77% and 98% respectively disagreeing to the statement. The girls who agreed admitted that if they report to their parents, their education is most likely to stop.

Chart 3.1

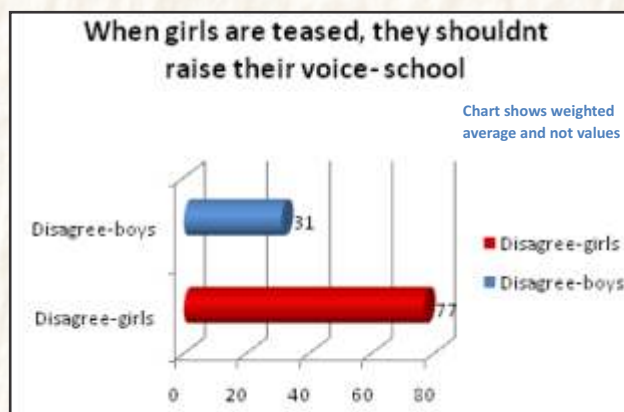
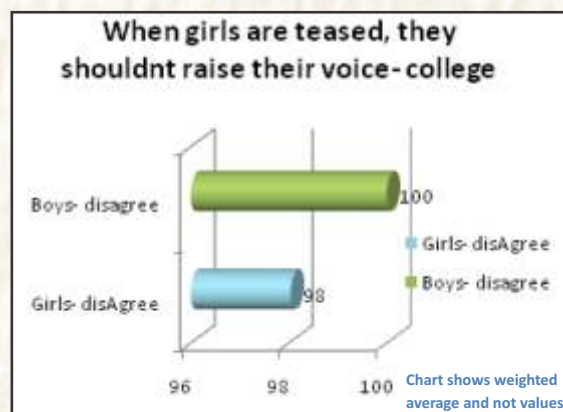


Chart 3.2



The reality further drives home the point that girls are not feeling secure in their surroundings.

Angle of adults:

During one of the FGD (Focused group discussion) with parents in a slum area, they categorised safety of their daughters as 'we don't allow our girls to open doors of home if we are not present'. All 10 mothers who were present in discussion never allow their girls to go to school on their own and make it a point to drop them to school. They went on to say that their girls are not allowed to urinate during day hours and at nights also they are accompanied by the mothers (the area still doesn't have sewage and hence don't have toilets). So, days when mothers are not home due to some reason girls don't urinate for more than 12 hours. Such extreme conditions speak tellingly about unsafe environment.

Parents from rural areas also echoed similar feelings and felt that environment has changed in past decade. While most of them thought media and television play huge role in instilling beliefs in adolescents, they also agreed that technology has completely changed ways of engagement in youth.

Majority of the adults also feel that girls who are constantly protected and live in fear face huge difficulty when they are married and have to take household decisions. It needs to be studied further on how fear plays on psyche of adolescents.

Teachers too, agreed that girls are subject to abuse and harassment in public spaces and sometimes in their neighbourhood as well. It was also found that teachers from government school engage regularly with parents through meetings and school management committee meetings. They are also accountable for maintaining regular presence of students and reducing dropout rate, which is a welcome step in improving retention of students. But, rarely do such issues get discussed between parents and teachers. Such meetings have immense potential to act as a basis where both parents and teachers can share their understanding on psyche of students.



Chapter 4: Perceptions on factors feeding insecurity

The factors were mainly mapped around 3 core indicators: 1. Girl's mobility leading to safety being compromised 2. Girl's attire or physical factors 3. Misuse of internet/technology

Girls' mobility:

Chart 4.1 and 4.2 shows the data on adolescents' (between age of 15-20) perception around popular beliefs. They were asked to provide their agreement to a statement: 'if girls go out at late night, they are abused'. While all college students clearly disagreed by saying that they have seen/ faced abuse even during day time so it can happen anywhere or at any place. So, they thought that being equipped is more important than reducing the mobility at night. This was strangely contrasted by school students, where 31% boys chose to agree with statement while some said they can't tell clearly. Main reasons for agreement were cited as markets and roads have fewer people at night so girls are prone to abuse. The data again shows that the youth tend to defy traditional beliefs and be rational to analyse the situation.

Interestingly, the debate around girls' mobility and harassment was more intense with school children who clearly believing it to be root cause of the abuse. Most of the boys also went on to say that if a girl has to go, she should be accompanied by elder brothers/parent all the time.

Chart 4.1

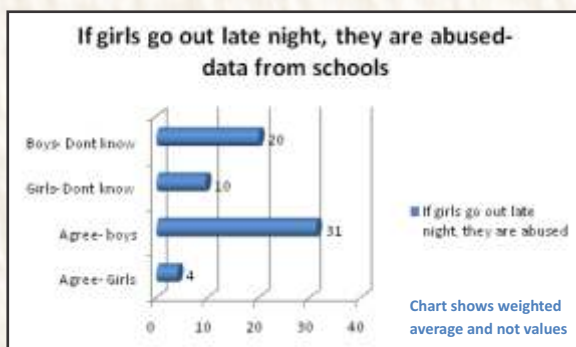


Chart 4.2

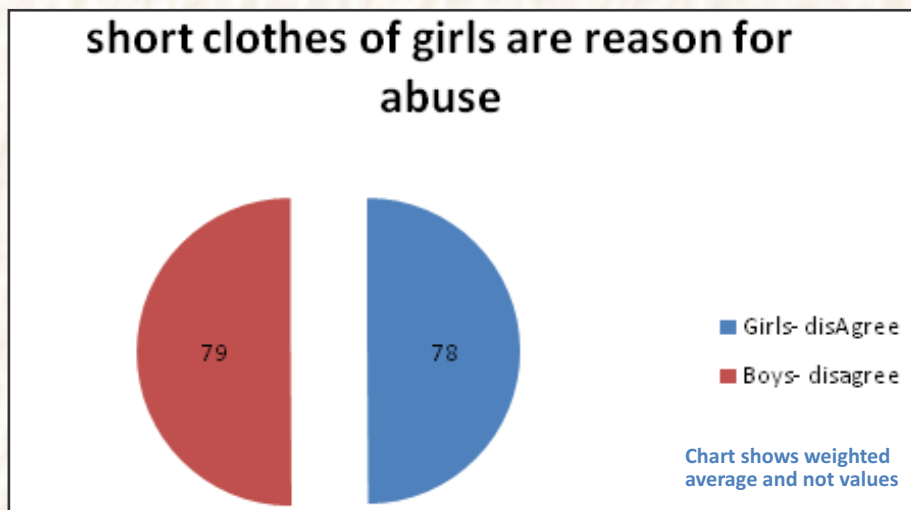


2. Girls' attire:

When college students were asked to give their opinion on “whether girls' clothes lead to their abuse”, majority of boys- 79% and 78% girls disagreed to the statement. They clearly believed that abuse has to do with psyche of perpetrator and incidents of violence and abuse can occur to women who are adequately dressed as well. The 21% boys and 22% girls who agreed to the statement felt that many a times comments/ stares from boys make them feel uncomfortable. Girls are also advised by elders that they shouldn't wear western clothes. If this data is read with some of the stories/ incidents narrated by students during gender analysis exercise, at least 3 girls wrote stories that they want to wear jeans and shorts to college, but it is never allowed in their home. One of The girl also wrote that “it is said that girl wearing western/ short

clothes are said to be bold and can be easily involved in friendship with boys.” The data and debate again showed that youth who think clearly and defy traditional norms are in lesser percentage and rarely finds support amongst peers. Since the questions required youth perception, it was not put across to school children.

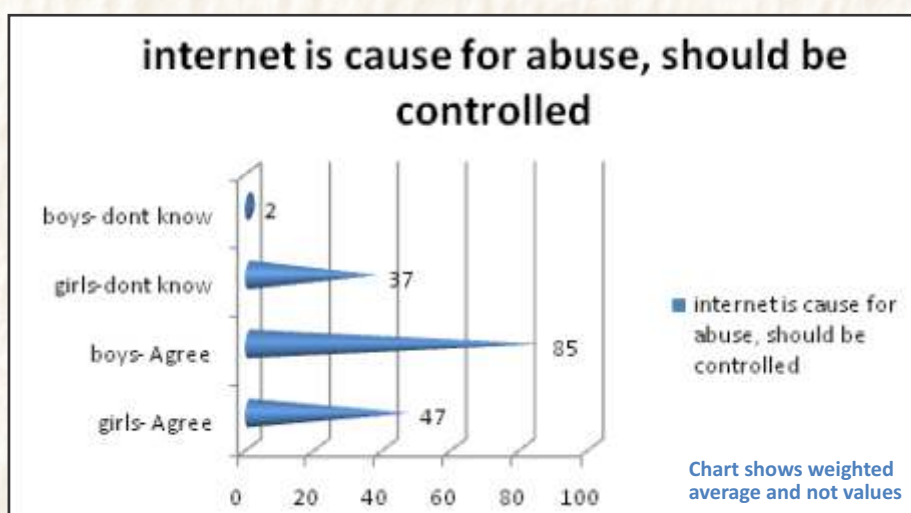
Chart 4.3



3. misuse of internet

Chart 4.4 shows students' perception on internet governance. In the backdrop of national debate on internet governance and control, the youth opined against it. 85% boys and 47% girls agreed that internet usage leads to skewed perception and regular viewing of porn sites/ provocative materials leads to boys being more violent and abusive. It is also interesting to note that this view is vehemently argued by boys rather than girls. The girls remained non committal and said technology can be a boon as well as deterrent which mainly depends on the nature of usage.

Most of the students listed facebook and whatsapp as two of the most abusive platforms that a girl comes across. This again shows how youth thinks of factors that create unsafe spaces for them. Adults also cited these platforms as main reasons where the girls are abused.



Angle of adults:

During a discussion with parents, they listed mobile technology and connectivity as a prime reason for girls being insecure. Majority of parents agreed that they monitor usage of mobile for their children, but it is often difficult to understand how they get so much of information. Mothers felt that today's girls are more unsafe because of encroachment of other communities in their environment. They rarely feel that they can rely on their neighbour. This fear was particularly visible amongst women members from slums that largely stay confined to their allies and don't allow girls to move about.

Teachers felt that today's generation has changed. An interesting example was cited by a teacher who said: 'today's television has taught so much, even 8-9 year olds have boyfriends and girlfriends.' They also felt that today both boys and girls are becoming more violent/ pushy and that creates unsafe spaces for both.



Chapter 5: Mapping the surroundings

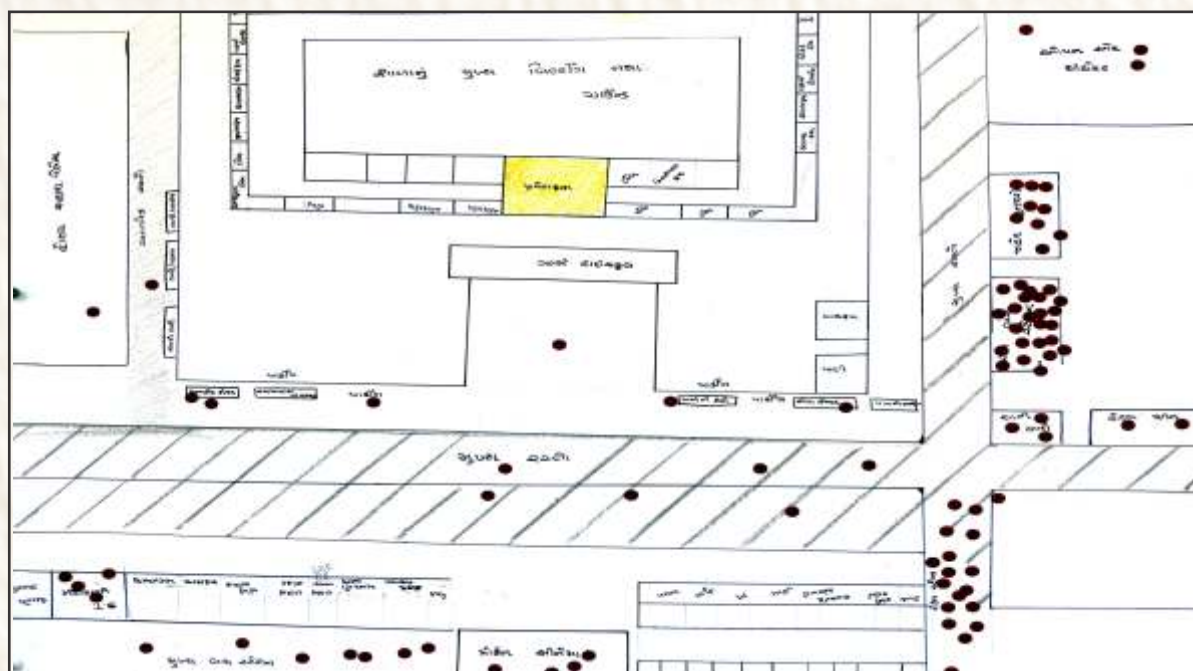
This chapter is largely culmination of safety mapping exercise conducted with students. School students were provided with rough sketches of their surroundings while college students drew the premises and surrounding area. Analysis of 6 such exercises is divided in to three categories based on mapping:

1. **Highly Unsafe:** the areas which are marked unsafe by maximum number of students i.e. with maximum red/green dots is termed as highly unsafe
2. **Unsafe:** areas which are marked unsafe by lesser number of students i.e. with less red/ green dots is termed as unsafe
3. **Relatively unsafe:** areas which are marked by only few students i.e. few scattered dots is termed as relatively unsafe

Since the schools and colleges which participated in the exercise belong to Bhuj city, the areas marked on each of the maps belong to city area of Bhuj.

1.Mapping from shivani* girls' school

Map 5.1



The map lists following spaces as unsafe spaces in the Bhuj city

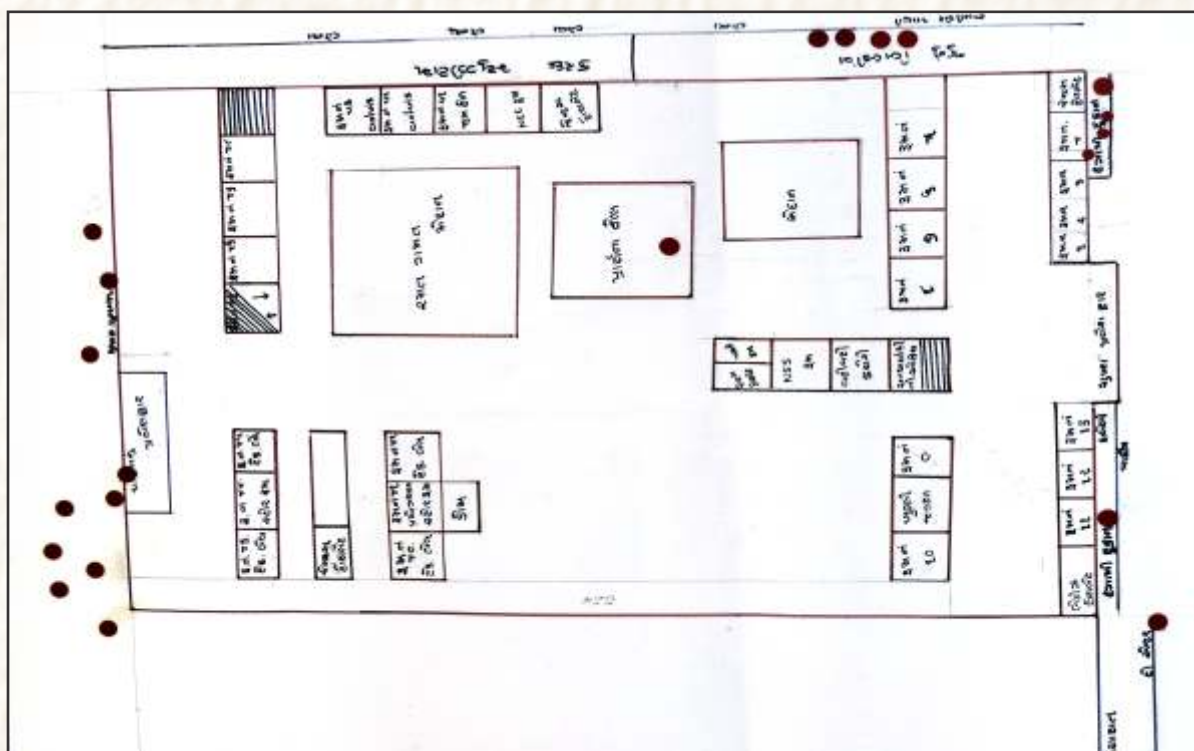
Space	Category (based on no. of people who thought it to be unsafe)
Entrance to the city bus station	Highly unsafe
Rickshaw/ chakda pick up stand	Highly unsafe
Public toilet near school	Highly unsafe
Central bus station and its entrance	Unsafe
Theatre	Unsafe
Tea stall and laris	Unsafe
Internal road adjacent to school	Unsafe
School parking and entrance	Relatively unsafe

The map shows 8 areas surrounding the school as being unsafe spaces. Many girls shared incidents when they were abused/ jeered at, physically harassed and painful experiences they passed through. Fact that this is situated in middle of the city and has large number of adolescent girls studying, most of them are subject to this routine regularly. Many of the girls also said that they are fortunate to have supportive parents but many girls suffer in silence. Parents who are wage labourers and send their girls to the school feeling their daughters are safe atleast for 6-7 hours, are never aware about the unsafe spaces that their daughters pass through.

The map also mirrors adolescents tangible fear who impacts their perception and personalities as a whole.

1. Mapping from shivani* girls' school

Map 5.1



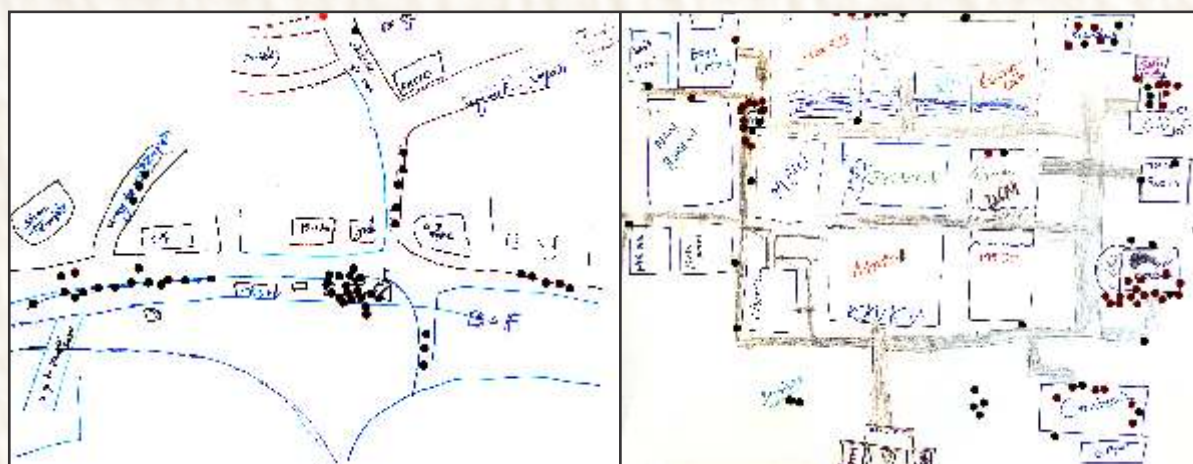
The map lists following spaces as unsafe spaces

Space	Category (based on no. of people who thought it to be unsafe)
Old building adjacent to school	Unsafe
Pan shops	Highly Unsafe
Tea stall and laris	Highly Unsafe
Internal road adjacent to school	Unsafe
Bus station	Relatively unsafe
Area near city lake	Relatively unsafe
Roadside shops	Unsafe
Park near the school	Unsafe

The mapping has been done by boys who mapped unsafe spaces for girls. Some of the spaces have also been listed by girls as unsafe. This too, shows areas within city felt unsafe by young boys and girls.

3. Map from a K.S.K.* college situated on western outskirts of city

Map 5.3



Outskirts

College premises

Name has been changed at request of college

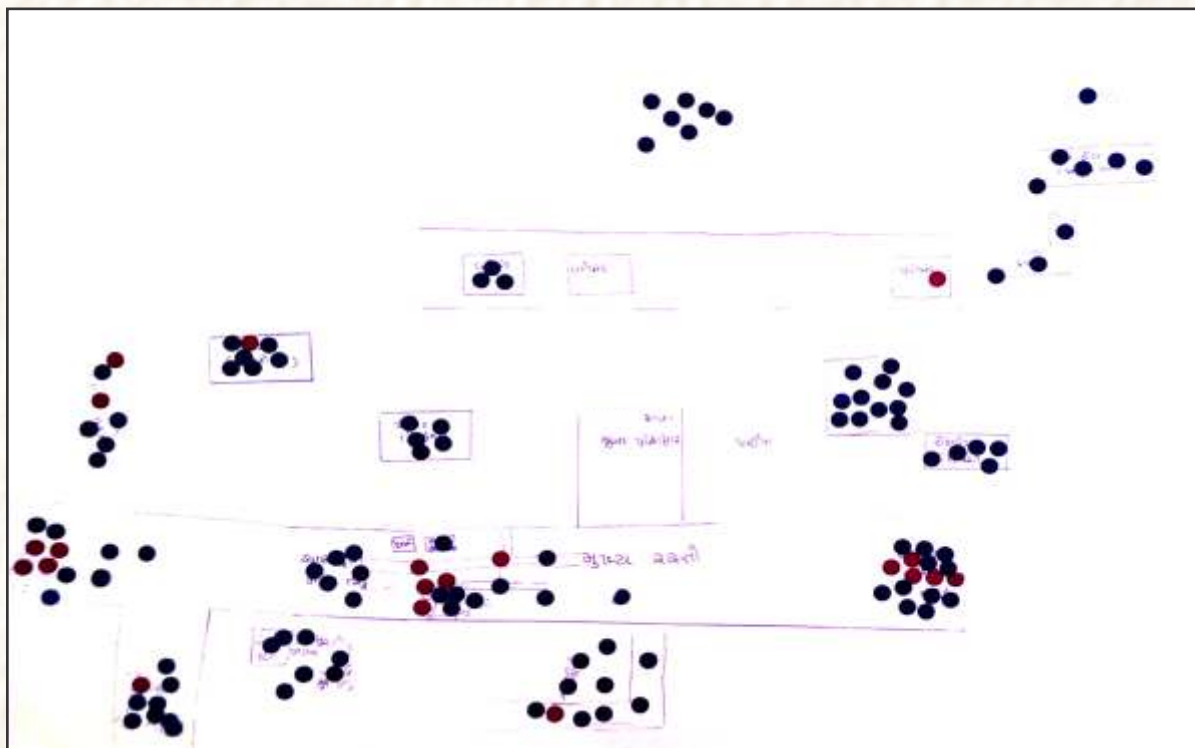
Space	Category (based on no. of people who thought it to be unsafe)
Outskirts of college	
Bus station pick up point	Highly Unsafe
Road leading to city area	Highly Unsafe
Internal roads diverting from college	Unsafe
BSF colony area	Unsafe
Food joints near college	Relatively unsafe
College premises	
Desolated space- "lover's point"	Highly unsafe
Guest house area	Highly unsafe
Drinking water points	Highly unsafe
Canteen	Highly unsafe
Boys' hostel and mess	Unsafe
Girls' hostel and mess	Unsafe
Various departments	Relatively unsafe
Open spaces and area surrounded by bushes	Relatively unsafe

The mapping has been done by both boys and girls. Boys have used green colour bindis to mark the space and girls have used red colour bindis.

The mapping shows highly unsafe environment both within and outside the college premises. This was in huge contrast to teachers who felt that the college is secure and area surrounding college is also congenial. Many of the spaces like desolated spaces, open areas and surrounding roads mapped by students have never been discussed or brought in to a discourse within city. Many girls and boys narrate incidents they witnessed or felt abused. Some of the girls also said they carry weapon in their vehicles so they feel safe.

4. Mapping from a school no. 20* set in slums

Map 5.1



The map lists following spaces as unsafe spaces

Space	Category (based on no. of people who thought it to be unsafe)
Girls'toilet	Highly Unsafe
Road leading to Kodki village (village in Bhuj block)	Highly Unsafe
Baniyan tree area opposite school	Highly Unsafe
Temple road	Highly Unsafe
Petrol pump near school	Unsafe
Residential area besides school	Highly Unsafe
Parks near school	Highly Unsafe
Road leading to city lake	Highly Unsafe
Old palace near school	Highly Unsafe

The mapping done by both girls and boys show various places that they felt unsafe. Students aged just 13 years, have done the mapping showing evolved sense of understanding on their surroundings. They have mapped most of the roads and open spaces besides school.

5. Mapping from M.K. college* set on outskirts of city



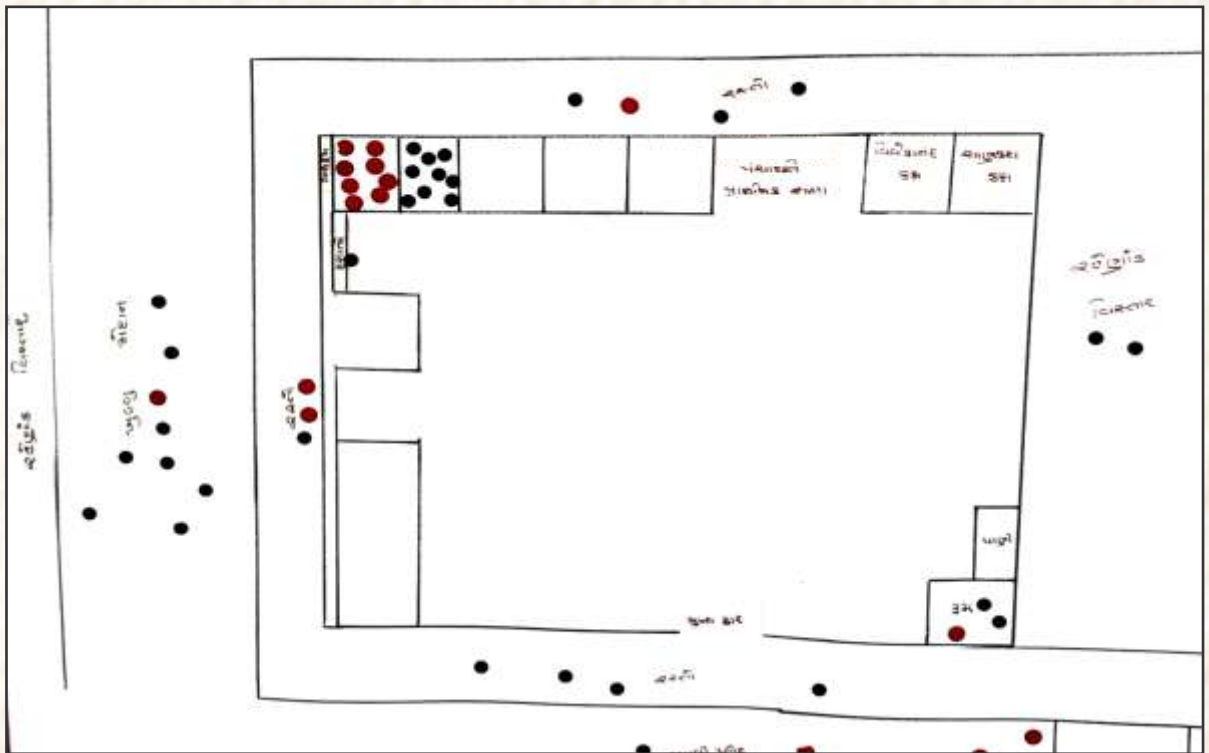
Name changed on request of college

Space	Category (based on no. of people who thought it to be unsafe)
Outskirts of college	
Main road opposite to college	Highly Unsafe
Public garden opposite to college	Highly Unsafe
Supermarket near college	Unsafe
Temple area	Unsafe
Hills area	Unsafe
College premises	
Parking	Relatively unsafe
Hostel	Relatively unsafe
Teacher's quarters	Relatively unsafe

The mapping has been done by both boys and girls in green and red colour bindis respectively. They have listed 7 areas near and within premises as being unsafe. As the college is situated amongst most visited public park and super market, map gives a tangible analysis that adolescents feel unsafe at those public spaces. Some of the areas on map are specifically added by students as unsafe space.

6. Mapping from other school no. 21*¹¹ set in slums

Map 5.1



Space	Category (based on no. of people who thought it to be unsafe)
Girl's toilet	Highly Unsafe
Open road besides school	Highly Unsafe
Open ground opposite school	Highly Unsafe
Open plot area behind school	Unsafe
Empty room beside water tank in school	Unsafe

The mapping done by students show various areas in and around school as unsafe. The roads nearing school and open grounds are termed as unsafe. It is also to be seen that similar to the other school children here also students have marked toilet area as highly unsafe. The prime reason for their fear being situation of the toilet which are situated at the boundaries of the school and hence many children feel unsafe around the same.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The study has been conducted with a students from school and colleges both and the comparative analysis shows great difference between them in terms of : perceptions on gender norms, body image, factors of violence and decision making on education attainment.

However, the autonomy and agency of decision making remains similar for both age groups. Both have shown inadequacy in choosing their marriageable age, place and stream of further study and ability to move freely in their surroundings. Here also, the girls have found themselves at greater disadvantage. The degree of autonomy from school girls to college girls vary from mere choice of playing outside to handling technology.

The mapping exercise on understanding unsafe spaces is also similar for both age groups. Overall, the report shows many areas where the adolescents are fearful and other areas where they aspire to bring in new thinking.

Other important stakeholders in critical dialogue comprising of parents and teachers also showed their beliefs on present environment, understanding on gender inequity and surrounding that have changed for their children/ students.

Concluding this, the study shows urgent need of children to discuss about their beliefs, concerns and issues to their parents and other members in the community. It throws requirement and intervention of educational spaces who can ideally serve to be such platform where the constructive dialogue happens. They can also inculcated value based nurturing to their students.

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શાળા માટે :

૧. છોકરીઓનું ઉચ્ચ શિક્ષણ એ સમાજ માં અસમાનતા ઉભી કરે છે.
૨. છોકરીઓના મોડી રાત્રે ઘરની બહાર નિકળવાના લીધે તેમની સતામણી થાય છે.
૩. છોકરીઓએ સુંદર દેખાવું જોઈએ.
૪. છોકરાઓએ ‘માયો’ દેખાવું જોઈએ.
૫. છોકરીઓ જો સ્ત્રી શિક્ષક પાસેથી ભણે તો વધુ સુરક્ષિત છે.
૬. છોકરાઓએ પુરૂષ શિક્ષક પાસે થી ભણવું જોઈએ.
૭. છોકરીઓ માટે ‘આર્ટ્સ’ વધુ યોગ્ય છે, છોકરાઓ માટે એન્જીનીયરીંગ વધુ યોગ્ય છે.
૮. તમને ક્યારે એવું સાંભળવા મળ્યું “પણ તુ તો છોકરી/છોકરો છું”

કોલેજ માટે :

૧. સફળતા મેળવવા માટે છોકરીઓએ સુંદર દેખાવું જરૂરી છે.
૨. છોકરીઓના ટુંકા/વાંધાજનક કપડા ના કારણે તેમની છેડતી થાય છે.
૩. છેડતીના બનાવો પાછળ મોબાઇલ અને વોટ્સઅપ કારણભૂત છે.
૪. ઇન્ટરનેટ સર્ફિંગ પર નિયમન હોવું જોઈએ.
૫. છોકરીઓની છેડતા થાય તો તેમણે ચુપ રહેવું જોઈએ.

Annex 2 - FGD guidelines for teachers and parents

With Teachers:

1. What according to you is the current role of education in shaping the gender beliefs?
2. Do you see relevance of education in growth of young girls and boys?
3. Do students approach you for issues besides their education? What is your response?
4. According to your experience what kind of security issues current youth are passing through?
5. Are there any discussion spaces available for youth to confide their problems in?
6. Do you see need for such spaces? Why?
7. What according to you is singular reason for growing abuse/ violence cases amongst youth?
8. Do you think counselling centre/ other aid within school premise is required?
9. What forums of discussion amongst teachers exist? Do you see need for this?

With Parents:

1. How do you define gender?
2. How do you view patriarchy at play in adolescents?
3. Do you think present gender image/ perception has increased violence in adolescents?
4. Which solutions do you see to mitigate the situation?
5. Which according to you are unsafe spaces for adolescent girls?
6. What role do you think schools/ education should play to address the issue?
7. What do you think are factors for increased violence?
8. What is impact of insecurity in adolescents? Does it affect your relation with them?
9. As a parent have you witnessed/ been a part of such incident?
10. As a parent how do you want us to associate with you?

Annex 3: Data tables on exercises

Name of School	Girls	Boys	Total	Urban Areas	Rural
Shivani Girls' school*	45	0	45	21	24
Shivam Boys' school*	0	34	34	20	14
K.S.V. college*	25	13	38	25	13
M.K. technical college*	26	48	74	50	24
Slum school No.20*	11	20	31	27	4
slum school No.21*	17	26	43		
No. of teachers- at school FGD			2		
FGD with parents- Shivramandap			10		
No. of university – faculty at FGD			23		
No .of Discussion- Parents, Nakhtrana			20		

*- Name of schools and colleges have been changed at their request

Gender Norms	Yes - School				College			
Statements	Girls	Girls	Boys	Boys	Girls	Girls	Boys	Boys
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
How many of you would like to ride a bike	18	55	73	7	10	41	21	40
How many of you can decide where you want to study	17	56	69	11	39	12	21	40
How many of you can decide what to study	37	36	58	22	43	8	21	40
How many of you can decide till what std/level you want to study	28	45	55	35	10	41	8	53
How many of you can decide what age to marry	11	62	38	42	35	16	20	41
How many of you have broken at least one gender norm					4	47	6	55
How many of you cook at home					7	44	0	51
How many of you own mobile	8	77	58	22				
Have girl/ boy friend	16	57	18	62				

	School						College					
Statement	Agree Girls	Agree boys	Disagree girls	Disagree boys	Girls- Dont know	Boys- Dont know	Girls Agree	Boys Agree	Girls Disagree	Boys Disagree	Girls Don't know	Boys Dont know
Girls better off choosing arts	25	5	0	5	48	70	0	0	26	48	25	13
When girls are teased, they shouldnt raise their voice	0	20	56	25	17	35	1	0	50	61	0	0
If girls go out late night, they are abused	3	25	46	8	24	47	0	0	0	0	51	61
Girls should look beautiful	3	27	21	17	49	36	0	0	0	0	51	61
Boys should look macho	4	25	30	0	39	55	0	2	34	54	17	5
Girls should be taught by women teachers	4	2	4	4	65	74	0	0	0	0	51	61
Girls studying higher creates imbalance in society	0	29	0	0	28	70	0	0	24	47	27	14
Short clothes of girls are reason for abuse							1	0	40	48	10	13
Girls should look beautiful to achieve success							0	1	38	56	13	4
Internet is cause for abuse, should be controlled							24	52	13	9	14	0

Annexure 4 : brief summary of story telling exercise

(Stories from girls & boys when asked 'why do you think such incident happened because of your gender')

Boys College	Girls College
	education non attainment
endowed with choice of studying higher, stream and place of study	choice of marriage age and rights related to it
Girls feel difficult to connect because of perceived masculinity/ male attributes within	friendship with boys is seen as 'taboo
Division of roles - housework and others	allowed to go out of homes/ be out at late nights
	pursuing interest area/ career
	body image and integrity
School, college (13-16)	School, college (13- 16)
identity as boy and difficult to connect with girls	are not allowed to play freely
enjoys freedom and can access their rights easily in terms of mobility, education etc	cant stay alone at their homes because their parents are fearful
allowed to use facebook/ networking sites without control	not allowed to study outside the district/ village
have to earn and be responsible for family/ family they will have in future	not allowed to wear western clothes
can play freely and allowed to go to different places	unable to decide age of marriage
have mobile and can use internet freely	staying at friends place is not allowed
allowed to study in higher education	have experienced sexual abuse / jeering
	face different perception than boys
	face continual harassment while they commute
	not allowed to work post marriage/ have career
	stop dreaming/ aspiring
School - 13 years	School - 13 years
discriminated at school when punishment is decided	not allowed to move freely
	have faced sexual abuse when they go out
	continue their study to higher educations
	ability/ freedom to drive a vehicle
	career choices are not provided
	decision on age of marriage
	staying alone at home is not allowed