

**Utilizing Participatory Data  
Collection Methods to Evaluate  
Programs for Very Young  
Adolescents:  
An Evaluation of Save the Children's  
Choices Curriculum in Siraha, Nepal**

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## Acronyms

<b>CEDPA</b>	Centre for Development and Population Activities
<b>CEMOPLAF</b>	Centro Médico de Orientación y Planificación Familiar
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>IRB</b>	Institutional Review Board
<b>IRH</b>	Institute for Reproductive Health
<b>MOHP</b>	Ministry of Health and Population
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>PI</b>	Principal Investigator
<b>PNGO</b>	Private Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>SRH</b>	Sexual and Reproductive Health
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children’s Fund
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>VDC</b>	Village Development Committee
<b>VYA</b>	Very Young Adolescent

# **REPORT TITLE: USING PARTICIPATORY DATA COLLECTION METHODS TO EVALUATE PROGRAMS FOR VERY YOUNG ADOLESCENTS: EVALUATION OF SAVE THE CHILDREN'S CHOICES CURRICULUM IN SIRAHA, NEPAL**

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

### **Background**

In order to improve gender equity among very young adolescents in Nepal, Save the Children developed the Choices curriculum, designed around eight participatory age and developmentally appropriate activities. The curriculum was piloted in Siraha district, in the Terai region of Nepal, which is known to have a high prevalence of practices that perpetuate gender inequity, such as early marriage, early motherhood and dowry. Further, formative research conducted during the development of Choices showed persistent gaps between boys and girls in the division of household chores, access to education, freedom to play and overall autonomy. Choices was designed with a gender reflective and transformative approach in mind, engaging boys and stimulating discussion and reflection between girls and boys. Choices explored the themes of gender inequity and power, identifying small actions that can promote gender equity and respect, and empower girls. Because of the Institute for Reproductive Health (IRH) at Georgetown University's experience conducting formative research and evaluation of VYA programs using innovative, participatory methods, Save the Children invited IRH to provide technical assistance with pilot testing the Choices curriculum. Save the Children requested assistance from the IRH to monitor and evaluate implementation of Choices, in order to provide information on its effectiveness and scalability. The intervention was implemented for a three-month period in 12 existing child clubs in Bhawanipur and Pokharvinda Village Development Committees (VDC); 12 child clubs in Chandraudhayapur and Devipur VDCs served as a control group. Both the intervention and control areas include members of the Dalit caste, disadvantaged Janjati caste and disadvantaged non-Dalit Tarai castes. The child club sessions were facilitated by child club graduates from the community, one male and one female per club.

### **Evaluation Design and Methods**

IRH worked closely with Save the Children to clarify the objectives of the curriculum, develop measurable indicators of gender equity and develop the research design, methods, and tools. IRH also supervised the Nepali consultant hired to conduct the evaluation, participated in the data analysis and wrote the report. In addition, IRH worked with Save the Children to develop monitoring tools and guide Save the Children in their use and analysis of results. A pre-post, quasi-experimental evaluation design was utilized to assess the effectiveness of Choices in shifting the attitudes, behaviors and practices of boys and girls related to gender. The independent variable in this study was participation in Choices. Participation in the intervention was measured by club facilitators using an attendance form. The dependent variables were gender attitudes and behaviors. A total of 603 youth participated in the evaluation, 309 in the experimental area (48% female, 52% male) and 294 from the control

area (46% female, 54% male). The evaluation utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods, and included innovative methodologies developed for very young adolescents.

Structured interviews were conducted with all participants at baseline and endline. In order to make the interviews age-appropriate, information was gathered through four participatory activities which included pile sorts to measure gender attitudes and roles, discussion of an advice column and time-task distribution (with paired siblings) to measure gender inequality.

Qualitative information was collected at endline only among a sub-sample of participants; 36 children from the control and experimental groups participated in in-depth interviews and 24 boys and girls from the control and experimental groups participated in photovoice. Equal numbers of males and females were included. The in-depth interview consisted of a projective technique using photos to explore the boys' and girls' hopes and dreams, a two-part photo elicitation activity to measure gender roles and attitudes, projective drawing to assess individual change, and questions eliciting participants' opinions of the Choices curriculum for the experimental group. Photovoice methodology, which provides participants with cameras to photograph life through their eyes, was used to measure participants' awareness of gender inequality. In addition, six focus group discussions (FGD) were held with 54 parents (28 control, 26 experimental) to determine whether the children discussed gender topics at home or had incorporated any changes into their routines since participating in Choices.

## **Results**

The results clearly show that Choices was effective in contributing to more gender equitable attitudes and behaviors among boys and girls. The evidence is especially convincing because the data was collected using diverse methods (both qualitative and quantitative) and shows a consistent picture. Statistically significant differences ( $\alpha \leq .01$ ) between the results at baseline and endline among the experimental group were seen in scales measuring discrimination, social image, control and dominance, violence and girls' education, gender roles, acceptance of traditional gender norms. The smaller sample of paired siblings, while too small to show statistically significant results, showed a clear trend among the boys in the experimental group to adopt more gender-equitable behaviors after participating in Choices.

In general, qualitative results reinforce those findings, showing that most children recognize gender inequity and feel that it is unfair and should be changed. They recognize gender inequity as normal in their society and feel that Choices, or similar programs, can help to promote more gender equitable norms. Children value education, the ability to gain employment and earn a salary, and hope to have a happy family. More boys in the experimental group than the control group recognized gender inequity and said they were making small changes in their own behavior (helping their sisters and mothers with household chores, advocating for their sisters' education and against early marriage) and that they were engaging in discussions with family members, friends and neighbors to do the same. More girls in the experimental area stated that their brothers and other boys in their communities were making small changes toward gender equality. In discussions, girls in the experimental group were

more comfortable expressing their opinions than girls in the control group. Photovoice results show young people in the experimental group tended to take more images of gender equitable actions and behaviors, while more traditional gender roles were photographed by the control group. In FGDs, parents in the experimental area reported that their sons had started to help their daughters with schoolwork and chores, and their households were more peaceful and harmonious as a result. Parents from the experimental group specifically mentioned Choices by name and suggested expanding the program.

### **Conclusion**

The results of this evaluation show that the Choices curriculum is effective in creating a shift towards more gender-equitable norms in terms of household and school roles and responsibilities among young girls and boys. Building on the success of the Choices curriculum, Save the Children is now developing complementary approaches for engaging parents, teachers and community leaders. While fostering more gender equitable attitudes and behaviors among VYAs is critical to promoting more equitable gender norms, sustained behavior change will not occur without engaging parents and community to create a supportive environment for gender-equitable norms.



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

Every girl deserves equal opportunities in life; the opportunity to continue her education, live free from violence and choose when to have her first child. Save the Children's Choices curriculum was created, using an emotion-based approach, to lay the foundation on which very young adolescents can build a life based on respect and equality. The Choices curriculum stimulates reflective discussions between boys and girls, using a relational perspective, on developmentally appropriate topics such as hopes and dreams, actions that are fair and unfair, communication and respect. The emotion-based approach seeks to address children's emotional "hot buttons" leading to gender equitable behaviors which result in a feeling of status, respect, security and achievement. This report details the results of an evaluation of the Choices curriculum for very young adolescents in Nepal led by the Institute for Reproductive Health (IRH) at Georgetown University. All evaluation activities were submitted to, and approved by the Internal Review Board (IRB) at Georgetown University.

Gender norms—social expectations of appropriate roles and behaviors for men (and boys) and women (and girls), as well as the social reproduction of these norms in institutions and cultural practices—are directly related to health-related behaviors (Barker 2007, Aronson 2003). Inequitable gender norms influence the ways men interact with their partners, families and children on a wide range of issues, including preventing HIV and sexually transmitted infections, contraceptive use, physical violence, parenting and health-seeking behavior (Marsiglio 1988). A recent global systematic review of factors shaping young people's sexual behavior confirmed that gender stereotypes and differential expectations about appropriate sexual behavior for boys compared with girls were key factors influencing their sexual behavior (Marston and King 2006).

The people of Nepal have strong beliefs and customs based primarily on Hindu traditions. Women and girls in Nepal face discrimination on multiple levels by virtue of their sex, caste, and ethnicity. Throughout their lives, many women are required to practice restrictions that perpetuate gender discrimination and inhibit their full participation in school, family life and economic activities. The unequal value attributed to men and women in traditional Nepali society can be seen in the denial of education, health, mobility, property, and other rights and exposure to various forms of psychological and physical violence. Evidence exists of a persistent gender gap in education in Nepal, which constrains the lives of female children and women (Population Reference Bureau, 2011). Data also suggests an unequal distribution of food in households, with boys getting more food and more nutrients, with the result that girls in Nepal grow up to be malnourished and physically smaller than their male counterparts. They have frequent episodes of illness that are often undetected or untreated (Sohoni, 1994). Early marriage and childbirth are widely recognized to contribute to the women's poor health outcomes in Nepal; in 2006 Nepal's Ministry of Health and Population (MOHP) initiated

campaigns to address early marriage and promote girls' empowerment (MoHP, 2006). Nepal was one of the few countries where men had a longer life expectancy than women until 2004, which reflects these long-standing gender disparities (National Planning Commission Secretariat and UNICEF-Nepal, 1996, WHO, 2006, PRB, 2011).

Families have decision-making power over their children's discipline, recreation, health care, and education (Singh, 1990). Although adolescents in Nepal value and respect their parents, they often strive for independence and may engage in behaviors that put their health at risk (Bhadra et al; 1998). A challenge to these social practices is also a challenge to patriarchal power. Thus the process of change is complex and will best succeed with initiatives to constructively engage men and empower women. These initiatives must adopt a gender transformative approach that recognizes the importance of engaging men and boys to think about and challenge harmful gender norms.

Around the world, adolescence is a period of transition during which behaviors develop that can have a profound effect on individual lives and entire communities. Considerable commitment and perseverance at all levels are required to promote greater gender equity through education, employment, health care and the legal system (CEDPA 2010). Adolescence is frequently viewed as a "window of opportunity" to formulate positive attitudes and behaviors, before most youth become sexually active, and before gender roles and norms with negative sexual and reproductive health (SRH) consequences. Developing gender equitable norms during adolescence reduces the need to invest in the difficult task of changing behavior later in life (IRH, 2010).

Changes in gender-related social norms, values and practices can ultimately change the way society values girls and improve women's status in Nepalese society. Over time, this should result in improved health and increased overall well-being for men and women. Attempts to influence deep-rooted and established gender related attitudes and behaviors must be sensitive to local culture.

Results from a literature and program review conducted by IRH identified the need to highlight the differences among very young adolescents (VYA) and older adolescents, and to demonstrate the benefits of investing in the VYA age group through research and programs. Evidence is needed to support a focus on this age group, including evidence about the importance of this age and developmental stage for later adolescence and adulthood (IRH, 2010). Curriculum-based activities have been identified as a potential component of comprehensive programs that take an ecological approach and address individual and environmental factors. Evidence exists that comprehensive girls' sexual education empowers girls, yet this type of programming is mostly public health-focused, often overlooking potential opportunities to impact equitable gender norms (IRH, 2010). IRH organized a technical consult to advance programs, research and evaluation for the VYA age group. This meeting identified existing gaps, and highlighted the need to engage boys in gender work so as to prevent empowering girls at the expense of boys.

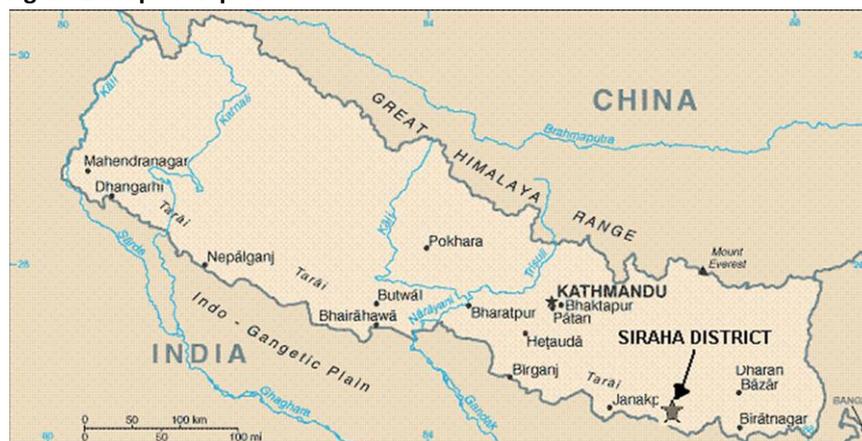
To address this situation, Save the Children developed the Choices curriculum which contains eight age and developmentally transformative activities for VYA boys and girls (10-14 years old) to help them discover alternative views to traditional gender roles and behaviors. IRH worked closely with Save the Children to clarify the objectives of the curriculum, develop measurable indicators of gender equity and develop the research design, methods, and tools. In addition, IRH worked with Save the Children to develop monitoring tools and guide Save the Children in their use and analysis of results.

Choices is one of the first interventions targeting VYAs for attitude and behavior change related to gender norms. This intervention also focuses on some of the gaps identified at IRH's technical consultation meeting, namely, addressing the perspectives of both girls and boys, encouraging boys to engage in more gender-equitable behavior and practices and moving outside the health and education sector (IRH, 2010).

Research shows that it is possible to challenge dominant roles of masculinity and femininity by modeling alternative forms of gender roles within a society, and when gender norms become less rigid, the outcome is improved reproductive health, educational attainment and decreased interpersonal violence (Barker 2007, Posner, 2009). Young adolescence is the time where youth acquire knowledge, attitudes and skills that determine behavior in future relationships, and develop self-care practices and behaviors to prevent unwanted sexual relationships, unintended pregnancy, and disease (IRH, 2010). The Choices curriculum encourages children to explore expressions of positive gender roles – at a time in their lives when they are moving towards adulthood and forming the basis of their identities, roles, and responsibilities as individuals among their peers – within their households, and within their communities.

The Choices curriculum was piloted in Siraha district, which is in the Terai region of Nepal, a sub-tropical plain bordering India (Figure 1). There are more orthodox Hindus in the Terai than the rest of the country, and although a political border runs through the Terai region dividing it between Nepal and India, people on either side share very similar cultural, social and ethnic identities. Specifically, the Choices curriculum was piloted in two Village Development Committees (VDC), which serve as lower level administrative units in Nepal: Bhawanipur and Pokharvinda. The comparison group for the evaluation was from Chandraudhayapur and Devipur VDCs. The intervention and control areas include members of the Dalit caste, disadvantaged Janjati caste and disadvantaged non-Dalit Tarai castes. The purpose of this study was to assess whether any changes occurred in

Figure 1-Map of Nepal



attitudes and behaviors related to gender norms among girls and boys who participated in Choices.

Save the Children has been working in Nepal since 1976 and is one of the largest child-focused organizations in the country, working with over 90 partners in 56 of the country's 75 districts. Save the Children works to expand education, child protection, health, youth development and economic opportunities, HIV/AIDS education and prevention and emergency and disaster management. Siraha is a priority district for Save the Children based on poor health, literacy, and economic indicators. Save the Children supports over 140 active child clubs in Siraha district in collaboration with local partner NGOs. These community-based child clubs served as the platform for the implementation and evaluation of the Choices curriculum. Save the Children requested assistance from IRH to monitor and evaluate implementation of Choices, in order to provide information on its effectiveness and scalability.

IRH has conducted formative research to identify the appropriate channels, messages, and strategies for working with VYAs and their parents. This research has resulted in the My Changing Body manual, that provides accurate information about puberty in objective and reassuring terms for girls and boys aged 10-14, as well as a companion guide to assist parents (My Changing Body, 2011). Additionally, IRH collaborated with an organization in Ecuador to develop a life-skills curriculum for teachers, parents and health professionals who work with adolescents (CEMOPLAF, 1997). IRH also conducted a review of current literature and programs as well as a technical consult to identify challenges to conducting research with VYAs and gaps in current research and evaluation practices (IRH, 2010). Research findings have important implications for the development of evidence-based, feasible and replicable strategies focused on this age group that has traditionally been neglected by sexual and reproductive health programming. IRH's research with VYAs has included previous research has included studies in the United States, Rwanda, Guatemala and Peru.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

In many developing countries, the birth of a son is a source of joy. A son is an investment, a source of future security; he will inherit his father's property and his future employment will contribute to the family's well-being. A daughter, however, is often viewed as a burden or an expense. A Nepali proverb states: "Educating a girl is like putting water into the sand." Girls are not expected to contribute to their family's welfare, and are often considered property to be married off and given away.

While the body of research surrounding gender equality and gender disparity is growing, there is a dearth of information about young adolescents. The World Health Organization (WHO) and other organizations acknowledge the need for a deeper understanding of the vulnerabilities, challenges, and opportunities faced by 10-14 year olds to ensure that programs effectively address the specific needs of this age group. The emerging interest in addressing the specific needs of very young adolescents, the limited information available on this age group, and the

need for an evidence base to guide programming demonstrate the demand for research focused on VYAs (IRH, 2010).

This study focuses on the Siraha district in Terai region of Nepal where the traditional population entrenched orthodox religious beliefs (Bista, 2008) have resulted in a higher prevalence of practices such as early marriage, early motherhood, and *dahej* (dowry) than in other regions of the country. A review of literature and program findings also shows the problem related to gender inequity in Siraha district.

### 1.3 The Intervention

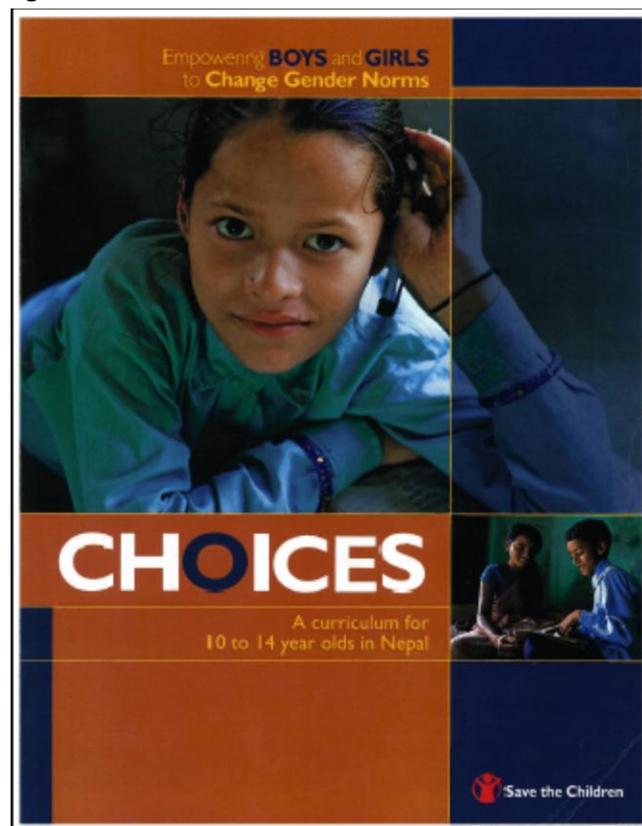
A recent WHO report shows that the programs most successful in engaging men and boys are those designed with a gender transformative approach. The Choices curriculum was designed to be a gender transformative initiative, seeking to encourage such critical reflection of gender norms, recognition of gender disparities and actionable activities to reduce the gender gap. Changing well-established gender related attitudes and behaviors is a challenging endeavor, particularly in settings which have traditionally restricted women and girls, such as Nepal.

#### 1.3.1 The Choices Curriculum

Formative research conducted when developing the Choices curriculum showed a persistent gender gap among children regarding the division of household work, access to education and their freedom to play and overall autonomy to make decisions. The Choices curriculum includes eight age and developmentally appropriate participatory activities designed to stimulate discussion and reflection between girls and boys and explore the following gender themes:

- An understanding of gender inequity and power;
- How gender equity begins with small actions (i.e. behavior change) that can earn you respect;
- How boys can be respected even if they treat girls as equals;
- How social norms restrict boys from treating girls as equals;
- How boys and girls can express emotions and realize hopes and dreams;
- Understanding the roles of boys in empowering girls to achieve their dreams.

Figure 2-The "Choices" Curriculum



**Table 1-Activities in the Choices curriculum**

	<b>Activity Name</b>	<b>What happens?</b>	<b>Objective</b>
<b>1</b>	Blue versus Green	Participants are arbitrarily assigned a color and told one is better than the other. Discuss feelings.	Understand gender inequity
<b>2</b>	Journey of Respect	Participants discuss how one gains respect and different characteristics of men and women they respect more.	Learn that gender equity begins with small actions that can earn you respect. Boys can be respected even if they treat girls as equals.
<b>3</b>	Invisible Wall	Participants are read 4 scenarios in which social norms prevent boys from helping girls achieve their hopes and dreams.	Understand how social norms restrict boys from treating girls as equals.
<b>4</b>	Showing you care.... loudly!	Participants discover how to better understand the emotions of each other and when they are being appreciated for their positive behaviors through guided visioning.	Recognize the importance of expressing emotions and make others feel good.
<b>5</b>	Fuel of Dreams	Participant discover the role they each play in encouraging each other to not give up on their dreams through guided discussions.	Recognize that everyone deserves to achieve their hopes and dreams. Boys can help girls achieve these dreams.
<b>6</b>	The Color of Hope	Participant discover the role they each play in inspiring hope in others through guided discussions, first with girls and boys separately, then together as a group.	Understand how boys can inspire hope in girls
<b>7</b>	Asking for Advice	Participants read hypothetical letters from peers related to the challenges they face because of restrictive gender roles and have to offer advice.	Empower children to share their voices and opinion, share opinions, explore values
<b>8</b>	A Single Step	Participants celebrate and state changes they have already made in their lives and homes to create gender equality.	Inspire and empower children to make changes in behavior
<b>Optional</b>	The Bond of Protection	Participant pledge a bond of protection for each other and express appreciation for the protection they are provided by siblings.	Understand how the <i>Rakchhya Bandhan festival</i> can be used as a platform to inspire gender equity

As described in the table above, the activities in the Choices curriculum were designed to stimulate discussions that explore feelings and enable participants to discuss their experiences with gender discrimination. Based within child clubs, this platform provided a safe place for participants to express their opinions and feelings, but also for boys to hear the voices of girls and learn about the inequality they experience. It also provided a platform for girls to hear about the challenges boys face stepping out of their expected gender roles.

The Choices curriculum was implemented in 12 child clubs in the Bhawanipur and Pokharvinda VDCs in the Siraha district of Nepal. This curriculum was designed to be implemented through local partner NGOs (PNGO) in child clubs with youth facilitators. The curriculum was implemented in two-hour sessions every Saturday over a three-month period by a team of one male and one female facilitator. These activities occurred during the regular child club meeting times. A total of 309 children (148 girls and 161 boys) between the ages of 10-14 years old completed the curriculum. The sessions were facilitated by young adults who had recently graduated from the child clubs and who were members of the community.

### **1.3.2 Recruitment and Training of Facilitators**

Facilitators were chosen from former child club members (18 to 24 years old) who had graduated from the clubs. The 24 facilitators, 1 male and 1 female per club, were selected from

the communities in which the clubs were located, not only to make the children more comfortable with familiar community members, but also to contribute to the sustainability of the program.

Initially, PNGO staff, the program coordinator and the facilitators participated in a two-day training to better understand the role gender plays in the health and well-being of children. A five-day capacity-building and training workshop followed for youth facilitators, including two days of mentored practice with colleagues and one day of practice in the community. Save the Children held training and sensitization sessions for parents prior to implementing the curriculum. The facilitators were remunerated with a small per diem to support their time and effort for facilitating the sessions.

### **1.3.3 Monitoring and Supervision of Implementation**

Implementation of the Choices curriculum was monitored by a team of field supervisors, PNGO staff, a program coordinator from Save the Children, and the Principal Investigator (PI). IRH developed a monitoring plan and tools to monitor the implementation of the intervention as well as tools to evaluate and provide supportive feedback to the facilitators. Appendix 3 includes the monitoring tools. Monitoring forms were developed to assess the fidelity of the intervention across the 12 child clubs and to assess the comprehension and emotional responses to each session by the participating youth. The two main monitoring forms consisted of:

- 1) A self-evaluation assessment completed by the facilitators after each session; and
- 2) An observation form completed by PNGO staff observing the implementation of the Choices sessions by the facilitators.

The facilitator self-assessment showed a medium level of understanding of the themes discussed among the youth. Facilitators reported that the activities that generated an emotional response among participants included: “Green versus Blue,” “Invisible Wall” and “Fuel of Dream.” Girls shared feelings of discrimination for being born a daughter. The “Invisible Wall” invoked an emotional response from boys who said that social norms prevented them from intervening and protecting their mothers from being beaten by their fathers.

Some of the key messages that the children understood included expressing affection, gender inequity, and actions they could take to reduce gender inequality. Children understood that brothers who helped their sisters showed that they loved their sisters ‘loudly’, whereas not being caring or supportive is ‘silent’ love. Boys also said sometimes they want to help their sisters in their household chores but they are afraid of what others may think or say, identified as an example of the “Invisible Wall.” In “Blue versus Green,” the children said boys enjoy more free time and opportunities (blue) while girls are confined to household work, have limited freedom and lack opportunities (green). Children participating in the curriculum understood that they could incorporate more equitable gender behavior into their lives after participating in the sessions. Most children said they had not realized how they could improve the quality of

life by helping each other until participating in Choices. They also said brothers and sisters could help each other to fulfill their dreams. At the end of the intervention, most of the boys reported that they would begin helping their sisters with their household chores and school assignments in addition to doing their own work. While both boys and girls participated in the class, boys generally spoke more during the discussions, whereas girls tended to be more shy and uncomfortable.

Monitoring by the PNGO staff showed that the facilitators were knowledgeable on the subject matter and had a positive demeanor while facilitating the sessions. Facilitators utilized different examples and the local language in order to ensure that the participants understood the activities. According to the assessment of the PNGO staff, there was an average amount of discussion among the participants and some discussion and connection between facilitator and participants. The observers felt that the facilitators could have fostered a more communicative environment and improved their facilitation and interpersonal communication skills by increasing eye contact with the participants, encouraging open discussion alongside question and answer sessions, offering encouragement for girls to share their views and ensuring equal opportunity for both boys and girls to participate as well as listening carefully to the children's experiences.

The facilitators stated that they enjoyed the Choices curriculum because of the interesting subjects and participatory nature of the activities. Most of the activities in the curriculum were based on discussion and sharing, requiring substantial time. Most of the facilitators stated that they enjoyed the "Invisible Wall" and "Fuel of Dreams" activities. When asked for feedback to improve the Choices curriculum facilitators recommended additional supporting materials such as facilitator guides, supplies and stationary.

## **2. STUDY METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1 Study objective and design**

Save the Children designed the Choices curriculum to have a positive impact on gender norms and health determinants in Nepal. The purpose of this evaluation was to measure changes in attitudes and behaviors among very young adolescents who participated in Choices. Specifically, the evaluation addressed whether participation in Choices results in statistically significant changes in attitudes and behaviors related to gender norms.

A pre-post, quasi-experimental evaluation design was utilized to assess the effectiveness of Choices in shifting the attitudes, behaviors and practices of boys and girls related to gender. IRH designed the data collection tools to use complementary qualitative and quantitative data to measure changes in attitudes and behaviors. The independent variable in this study was participation in Choices. Participation in the intervention was measured by club facilitators using an attendance form. The dependent variables were gender attitudes and behaviors, presented in Table 2.

**Table 2: Dependent Variables Measured in the Evaluation**

Attitudes	Behaviors
Girls and boys can imagine a life in which men and women have equal opportunities.	Girls and boys talk about their feelings and dreams with each other.
Girls and boys accept non-traditional gender roles.	Girls and boys promote gender equity in their lives.
Girls and boys value relationships based on equality, respect, and intimacy.	Boys take action to improve the lives of their sisters.
Girls and boys value the role of men caring for their family as well as providing financial support.	Girls and boys don't tease their peers for behaving in ways which are not consistent with traditional gender norms.
Girls and boys expect to make decisions jointly with their spouses.	

Save the Children works with a total of 140 child clubs in Siraha district. Twenty-four of these clubs were selected for this study using convenience sampling; twelve each were assigned to the control and experimental groups. Child clubs which were accessible by road were selected for this pilot project due to time and cost constraints. Control and experimental groups were matched on indicators such as access to roads, schools and socio-economic characteristics by VDC, which serve as lower administrative blocks in Nepal. The two VDCs where Choices was piloted (Bhawanipur and Pokharvinda) comprised the experimental group; two other VDCs (Chadraudhayapur and Devipur) were assigned to the control group. In order to minimize contamination between the two groups, the experimental and control areas were sufficiently far apart to ensure that the corresponding schools were different, the club facilitators were different and only the facilitators in the experimental group were trained to implement the Choices curriculum.

The evaluation included a total 607 children from the four VDCs. The majority of participants in the control VDCs were of the disadvantaged non-Dalit caste (53%). The experimental area was composed of more disadvantaged Janjati. Both areas had some Dalits in the sample; neither had a sizable fraction of upper caste Nepalis (Table 3). Appendix 2 provides information about castes and ethnicities in the region.

Pre and post measurements were conducted in both control and experimental groups; the intervention program was implemented only in the experimental area. Baseline measures were taken prior to beginning the intervention, and the endline measures were taken one month after completion of the final session. Measurements collected prior to the intervention showed that the two groups were comparable, and thus, changes in behavior or attitudes could reasonably be attributed to the intervention.

**Table 3- Caste/Ethnicity of Evaluation Participants**

Caste/Ethnicity	Control (n=294)	Experimental (n=309)
<b>Dalit</b>	18%	10%
Tarai Dalit	91%	78%
Hill Dalit	9%	22%
<b>Disadvantaged Janjati</b>	24%	47%
Tarai Janjati	89%	100%
Hill Janjati	11%	0%
<b>Disadvantaged non-Dalit Caste</b>	53%	42%
<b>Upper Caste</b>	4%	1%

## 2.3 Study Participants

All children enrolled in the study participated in the quantitative interview, which was conducted at baseline and endline. As shown in Table 4, the total sample size for this study was 607 children before the first session, and 603 at the end of the course. The same girls and boys were interviewed at baseline and endline. Informed consent was obtained from both the children and their parents. Table 5 shows details the gender breakdown of participants who completed the intervention.

No significant differences were observed between the control and experimental groups with regards to age or sex at baseline or endline. More 12-14 year old boys than girls participated in child clubs in both the experimental and control areas, however, no significant differences were found in the results and the responses in this report are not separated by age or sex.

**Table 4-Number of Participants**

Groups	Pre	Intervention	Post
<b>Experimental Child Clubs (12)</b>	309	“Choices”	309
<b>Control Child Clubs (12)</b>	298	None	294
<b>Total</b>	607		603

**Table 5-Gender of Participants who Completed Study**

Groups	Girls	Boys	Total
<b>Experimental Group</b>	148 (48%)	161 (52%)	309
<b>Control Group</b>	135 (46%)	159 (54%)	294
<b>Total</b>	283 (47%)	320 (53%)	603

**Table 6- Sample Size for Qualitative Methods**

Qualitative Method	Number of Participants		
	Control group	Experimental group	Total Participants
<b>In-depth Interview</b>	36	36	72
<b>Photo Voice</b>	24	24	48
<b>Parent Focus Group Discussion</b>	28	26	52

At the end of the intervention, participants were chosen for the qualitative component using simple random sampling, without replacement, with class attendance sheets as a sampling frame. Table 6 presents the number of individuals who participated in each component of the evaluation.

Parents were selected from both the control and experimental areas for focus group discussions (FGD). The parents were randomly selected, but participation was based on their availability and willingness to participate. A total of six FGDs were conducted, one with fathers, one with mothers, and one with both mothers and fathers together in each of the control and experimental areas.

## 2.4 Tools and Methods

VYAs do not readily respond to traditional research methods, such as interviewer-led quantitative surveys and focus groups/discussions. With these methods youth often have difficulty articulating their responses clearly and honestly and may seek to please the interviewer. When conducting research with adolescents, innovative methods that shift the power in favor of the adolescent are needed, such as use of photos and drawings which facilitate the ability of children to express their ideas and opinions. Projective techniques that

use objects or stimuli onto which adolescents can project their feelings may increase emotional authenticity since there are no right or wrong answers (Catterall, 2000).

**Table 7-Tools and Techniques to Collect Information**

Method	Variables Measured	Tools and Techniques	Description
<b>Quantitative</b>			
<b>Structured Interviews with children</b>	Gender attitudes	Card game/pile sort	Sort statements on cards into agree/disagree piles
	Gender roles	Photo pile sort	Pictures of chores and behaviors sorted into piles for male, female, or both
	Gender inequality	1. Arun's Dilemma 2. Time/task distribution between siblings	1. Read a story written from the perspective of an adolescent and ask respondent to offer advice to a problem 2. A weekly calendar developed to compare frequency of chores between boys and girls
<b>Qualitative</b>			
<b>In-Depth Interviews: Children</b>	Hopes and dreams	Projective photo elicitation	A picture deck of local doors were used to aid a visualization exercise to elicit hopes and dreams
	Gender roles and attitudes	Photo elicitation (two parts)	A picture deck of boys and girls doing different chores was used to explore what chores could be shared between sexes.
	Assessment of individual change	Journey of Change projective drawings	Projective drawings in which respondent draws pictures of life before and after the intervention, highlighting values and lifestyle changes
	Choices evaluation	Open ended questions	Explored what they liked and dislike about the intervention, specifically which of the 8 sessions resonated with them the most and why.
<b>Photovoice with Children</b>	Gender inequality	Photovoice	Respondent were provided with disposable camera and asked photograph "What is life like for boys and girls in your community?" These photographs were printed and used for individual storytelling
<b>Parent Focus Group Discussion</b>	Hopes and Dreams	Projective photo elicitation	Visualization to elicit the hopes and dreams parents have for their children using a picture deck of local doors
	Changing gender norms	Photo elicitation	A picture deck of boys and girls doing different chores was used to explore how gender norms have changed over the generations and potential for more equitable distribution of chores among sons and daughters
	Maturation/Changes in children	Open ended questions	To explore if parents noticed any changes in their children as a result of Choices and their feelings towards these changes.

Children and adolescents typically report little information when asked open-ended or recall questions; photographs, drawings or other tangible objects aid in interviewing children by providing a focus other than the interview, enabling a combination of visual and verbal language, assist with discussing abstract concepts, and enabling retrieval and reporting of information. Photo elicitation, which involves the use of photographs to provoke a response, has been shown to be of particular value when working with children and young people. Use of photographs taken by program participants themselves is called "reflexive photographs" or "photovoice," where facilitators provide participants disposable cameras to capture issues of importance to them. This has been shown to be a flexible qualitative data collection technique,

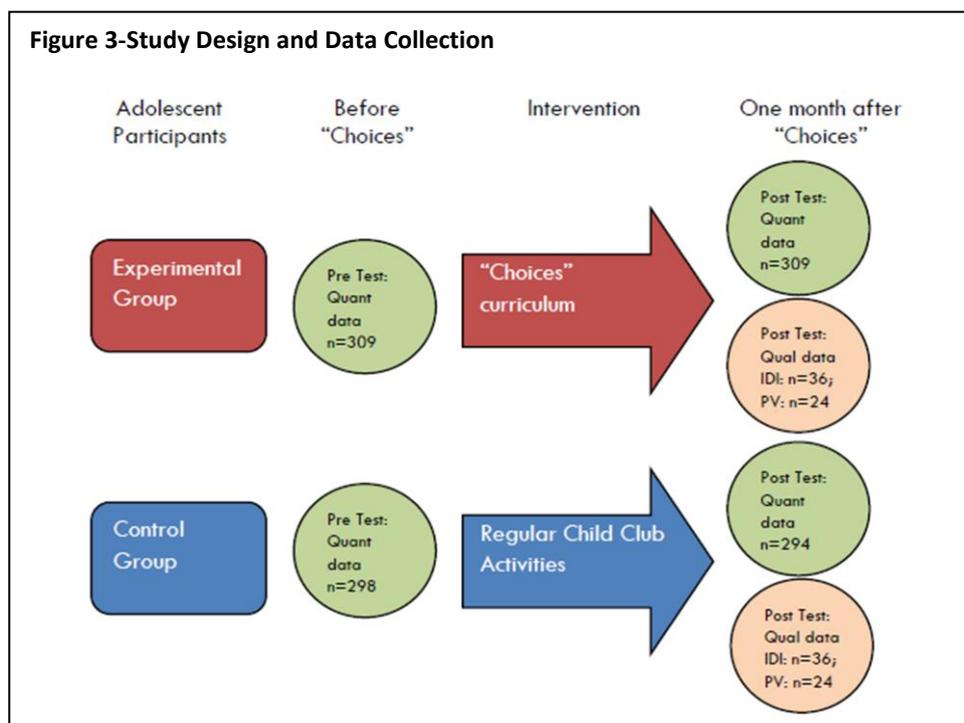
particularly suited for participatory methods for engaging communities and promoting a dialogue and knowledge of community issues through the photos (Ornelas, 2009, Hergenrather, 2009). IRH has had success using these methods in previous research employed to test and evaluate the My Changing Body curriculum (IRH 2011).

A variety of these principles were applied to the development of activities conducted during structured interviews with children, and qualitative in-depth interviews, as well as the photovoice methodology. Many of the same methods were utilized for the FGDs with parents. A mixture of techniques, including projective photo elicitation, projective drawing, story-telling and photovoice, were used to measure attitudes towards gender roles, awareness of gender inequity, intention to promote gender equity through their own actions and self-efficacy to fulfill their own aspirations and that of their siblings.

IRH worked closely with the consultant to rigorously pre-test data collection methods and tools with 10-14 year old adolescents in communities with similar characteristics to those in the study area. Pre-testing the tools ensured that children were able to understand the questions and terms, the time requirement for each activity was suitable for young adolescents, and the activities maintained their interest. Pre-testing also established the reliability and validity of the instrument. The final research tools are described in Table 7, and can be found in the appendices. They are also more fully described in the results section.

## 2.5 Data collection

Interviews to collect quantitative data were conducted before the curriculum was implemented and one month after its conclusion in both experimental and control groups. Qualitative data collection, including individual in-depth interviews and photovoice activities, were conducted at endline only and results compared between control and experimental groups (Figure 3). Focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted with parents after the completion of the intervention.



A team of 20 field researchers who spoke Maithili, the local language, were recruited for the data collection. Though not all of the field researchers had experience in data collection, they possessed sound knowledge and experience in working with children in schools or child clubs. The local language was used throughout the research.

Field researchers participated in a three-day training prior to baseline data collection and a two-day refresher training prior to endline data collection. Similarly, a three-day training was conducted for ten interviewers and ten note takers for the endline qualitative data collection. Experienced interviewers were recruited to collect qualitative data and note takers were oriented to the method of recording data in a note taking matrix. The training included ethical standards, with an emphasis on how to protect the rights, privacy and confidentiality of study participants, especially in terms of obtaining informed consent/assent. It also focused on developing skills in building rapport and interview techniques. Data collection was supervised by an experienced field supervisor, who ensured research protocols and ethical guidelines were strictly followed and that reliable and valid data was collected.

The team faced a number of challenges during data collection. Girls were initially hesitant to discuss personal feelings and

private topics with the field researchers; however, partnering with child club facilitators, with whom the children had rapport and trust, reduced this barrier. Another difficulty was that data collection took place during harvest season, thus, many parents were busy in the field, which made it difficult to obtain parental consent for children to participate in the study. Further, in order to not interfere with children's school schedules, interviews could only be conducted prior to or after school hours. All challenges were managed successfully.

## 2.6 Data management and analysis

All completed questionnaires were entered into a database immediately after they had been manually edited. No identifying information was included in the data. Data entry validity checks were performed for all the questionnaires. After cleaning, data was entered into an Excel spread sheet and analyzed in SPSS. Data entry was supervised by the principle investigator.

SPSS software was used to analyze the results. Scales were developed to analyze some of the quantitative data. To develop the scales, bivariate variables were grouped according to themes, the desired answer was coded as "1," the variables were summed and divided by the number of variables included in the scale to create a measurement. This resulted in scales with scores ranging 0-1, where values closer to 1 represent more gender equitable outcomes than scores closer to 0. The specific variables included in each scale are discussed in the results section. Independent t-tests were conducted to test for statistically significant differences in the means of the scales.

Figure 4-Field Researcher Training Session



The reliability, or the internal consistency of the psychometric test score, was measured using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. A reliability coefficient of 0.60 or higher is considered "desirable." Independent sample T-tests were carried out to assess the any statistical difference in means between the control and experimental groups at baseline and endline. Pearson's chi-square analysis was used to measure a difference in the experimental group. The textual data collected from in-depth interviews and group discussions were analyzed manually by theme.

## **2.7 Ethical Considerations**

This study was designed and conducted with careful consideration of the ethical challenges of conducting research with VYAs. As noted earlier, the study was approved by both the Nepal Health Research Council and Georgetown University's Institutional Review Board (IRB). Ethical standards were maintained throughout the study. Researchers respected the privacy and confidentiality of all participants. Researchers described the evaluation and what would be required of participants to both children and their parents when obtaining consent/assent. Ethical concerns, including the voluntary nature of research, were discussed in great depth during the field researcher training.

## **2.8 Study Limitations**

There were some limitations to the study. Due to financial and time constraints, the activities were limited to a single district, covering only a limited number of child clubs, which may not be nationally representative of the socio-cultural gender context. Low literacy levels of some participants required that the field researcher explain some activities and record answers for them.

The evaluation was conducted one month after the intervention ended. With such a short time after the intervention, the details of gender inequality and the participant's efforts to engage in more gender equitable behaviors may have been more pronounced and may have faded over time without adequate reinforcement. On the other hand, there may not have been sufficient time to observe some change in behavior.

Despite rigorous pre-testing, some participants found some of the study activities uninteresting or difficult, specifically the advice column, probing questions in the in-depth interviews and completing the weekly chore allocation chart. While other methods yielded rich data, these three methods were less successful. Regarding the advice column activity, in which participants had to respond to a letter from a young person requesting advice, both literacy and maturity limited the ability of the children to respond. Field researchers had to read the letter to some participants, and many of the younger children were not able to mention any advice. Some children found the probing questions in the in-depth interview boring. Finally, children had difficulty recalling and describing the frequency and amount of time they spent performing household and school tasks.

### 3. RESULTS

Both quantitative and qualitative data measuring gender attitudes, gender roles and gender inequality were collected through methods described in the previous section (Table 7). To assess whether the intervention made an impact on participants' gender attitudes and behaviors, perception of gender roles and acceptance of non-traditional gender roles, baseline and endline measures were compared, and the experimental results were compared to the control group. The results presented here are not reported by age or sex because no significant differences were found in the results by either variable, suggesting that Choices is equally effective among boys and girls and younger and older youth. Focus group discussions were held with parents in both the experimental and control areas. The following section presents the results of the quantitative data collected at baseline and endline, followed by the qualitative data collected at endline only.

#### 3.1 Quantitative Results

Quantitative data was collected during baseline interviews and endline interviews from both the experimental and control groups. As described previously, data collection activities included: 1) a card game/pile sort measuring gender attitudes; 2) a photo pile sort measuring perceptions of gender roles; 3) "Arun's Dilemma," which assessed acceptance of traditional and non-traditional gender roles; and 4) photo interviewing to assess changes in gender equitable behavior and practices. As described in the

methodology section, scales were developed using the data generated by each of these activities to measure gender attitudes, norms and behaviors (Table 8). The scales measuring discrimination, gender roles and gender equitable behavior and practice each show a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of greater than 0.60, which signifies good internal consistency or reliability of the variables used to measure the different themes. Baseline scale measures were compared to the endline for both the control and experimental groups. Detailed results are presented in the following section arranged by methodology used to evaluate this intervention.

**Table 8-Scales Measuring Gender Roles and Attitudes**

Scale	Variables (n)	Cronbach's Alpha*
<b>Activity I: Card game/pile sort (scales measure gender attitudes)</b>	18	
<b>Discrimination Scale</b>	7	.62
<b>Social Image Scale</b>	3	.47
<b>Violence Scale</b>	2	.28
<b>Control/Dominance Scale</b>	3	.22
<b>Girls' Education Scale</b>	4	.49
<b>Activity II: Photo pile sort (scale measures perception of gender roles)</b>	11	
<b>Gender Roles Scale</b>	11	0.83
<b>Activity III: Arun's Dilemma (scale measures acceptance of traditional** and non-traditional gender roles***)</b>	2	
<b>Acceptance of Traditional Gender Norms</b>	2	.32
<b>Acceptance of non-Traditional Gender Norms</b>	2	.27
<b>Activity IV: Photo interviewing (scale measures gender equitable behavior and practices)**</b>		
<b>Gender equitable behavior and practice</b>	7	0.82
<p><b>*High alpha coefficients (<math>\geq 0.60</math>) suggest relatively high internal consistency</b>  **Activity for brother and sisters only  ***Traditional gender roles refer to the set of social and behavioral norms widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex in the context of a specific culture in Siraha district.  ****Non-traditional gender roles refer to the execution of tasks not socially considered appropriate for an individual of a specific sex in the context of a specific culture.</p>		

### 3.1.1 Results from Activity I: Gender Attitudes Card Game/Pile Sort

To explore gender attitudes, a deck of color coded cards was printed with gender value statements printed on the back. VYA participants were asked to read the statement on each card (or it was read to low-literate participants) and place them into a container marked agree, disagree or strongly disagree. For the evaluation, each of the statements was grouped into one of five scales: discrimination, social image, violence, control/dominance and girls' education (Table 9).

**Table 9-Gender Attitudes Scales from Activity I; Card Game/Pile Sort Activity**

Scale Name and Description	Items Included in Scale
<b>Discrimination scale</b> <i>Discrimination based on sex</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daughters should be sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home.</li> <li>• A woman should not expect to inherit her father's property.</li> <li>• It's more important for boys to get an education than it is for girls.</li> <li>• Daughters should have just the same chance to work outside the home as sons.</li> <li>• Boys should have more free time than girls.</li> <li>• If a family can only afford for one child to go to school it should be the boy.</li> <li>• At home boys should always eat first.</li> </ul>
<b>Social image scale</b> <i>Perception of social image and expectations from men/women in society</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The more successful the boy is in his profession the more he deserves to get dowry.</li> <li>• Boys who help with chores are considered weak by their friends.</li> <li>• A boy who expresses his affection for his sister is weak.</li> </ul>
<b>Violence scale</b> <i>Attitudes toward gender-based violence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she disagrees with him.</li> <li>• A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together.</li> </ul>
<b>Control/dominance scale</b> <i>Social norms toward control and dominance over women within the family</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A girl who disagrees with her brother in public is impolite.</li> <li>• A good woman never questions her husband's opinions, even if she is not sure she agrees with them.</li> <li>• When I get married, I would rather my spouse be obedient than educated.</li> </ul>
<b>Girl's education scale</b> <i>The importance for girls' education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daughters should be sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home.</li> <li>• Giving dowry to a daughter is more/as important than investing in her education.</li> <li>• It's more important for boys to get an education than it is for girls.</li> <li>• If a family can only afford for one child to go to school it should be the boy.</li> </ul>

Baseline measures for each of the scales in the card sort were very similar between control and experimental groups. Significant differences were observed in the attitudes of the youth before and after participating in Choices as measured by each of the scales, while only slight changes or no changes were observed in the control group. Table 10 presents the means and standard deviations for each of the scales, and figures comparing the results at baseline and endline for each scale are provided in Appendix 1.

**Table 10-Changes in Gender Attitudes and Behavior (Activity I)**

Scale		Baseline		End line	
		Control n=297	Exp n=308	Control n=294	Exp n=308
<b>Discrimination scale</b>	Mean	0.388	0.421	0.475	<b>0.823**</b>
	S.D.	0.199	0.252	0.209	0.189
<b>Social image scale</b>	Mean	0.401	0.426	0.419	<b>0.786**</b>
	S.D.	0.209	0.358	0.299	0.261
<b>Control and dominance scale</b>	Mean	0.372	0.364	0.419	<b>0.629**</b>
	S.D.	0.287	0.296	0.273	0.309
<b>Violence scale</b>	Mean	0.457	0.457	0.440	<b>0.812**</b>
	S.D.	0.369	0.344	0.364	0.275
<b>Girls education scale</b>	Mean	0.322	0.385	0.434	<b>0.778**</b>
	S.D.	0.267	0.295	0.268	0.221

\*Significant at p < 0.05  
\*\*Significant at p < 0.01

### 3.1.2 Results from Activity II: Gender Roles Photo Pile Sort

As part of the structured interview, children in both the control and experimental groups were asked to review a deck of cards with photos of common household duties or roles that had traditionally been categorized as either male or female roles. The participants sorted the cards into envelopes indicating whether they felt that this task could be performed by a male, female or someone of either gender. The scale assigned a positive value for higher gender equality; for example, a response indicating that cooking was a female duty would score low on the gender role scale, while a response indicating that either a male or female could cook would represent more gender equality. The variables included in the scale are shown in Table 11.

Again, baseline measures for this scale were similar in the control and experimental groups, with a significant change in the experimental group at endline, while the control group did not change (Figure 5). Table 12 presents the means and standard deviations for the gender roles scale. Participation in Choices appears to have influenced the children's perception of gender roles, broadening the duties they felt could be successfully conducted by a female.

Table 11- Gender Roles Scale from Activity II: Photo Pile Sort Activity

Scale Name and Description	Items Included in Scale
<b>Gender roles</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chair the child club</li> <li>Take care of the children</li> <li>Clean house</li> <li>Cook</li> </ul>
<i>Gender roles as set by the society for man and woman</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participate in community meetings</li> <li>Shop for household goods</li> <li>Make decision on children's welfare</li> <li>Take children to the doctor</li> <li>Decide on financial matter in home</li> <li>Work outside the home</li> <li>Earn money</li> </ul>

Figure 5-Change in Acceptance of Gender Roles, before and after Choices

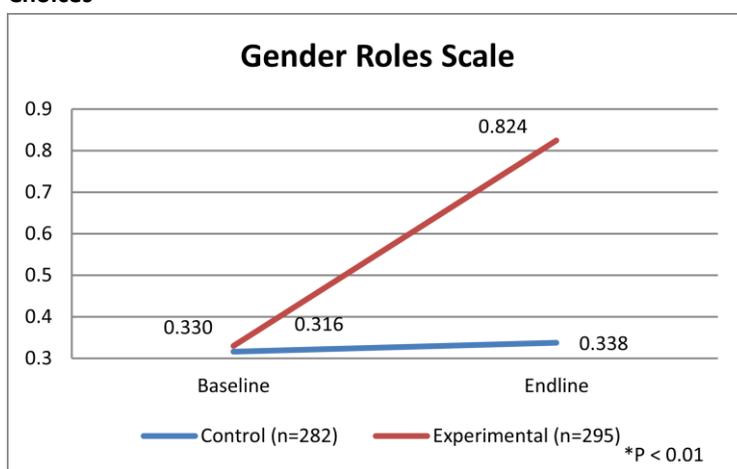


Table 12-Changes in Perceived Gender Roles (Activity II)

Scale		Baseline		End line	
		Control n=282	Exp n=295	Control n=287	Exp n=303
<b>Gender Roles</b>	Mean	0.316	0.330	0.338	<b>0.824**</b>
	S.D.	0.239	0.225	0.260	0.237

\* Significant at  $p < 0.05$   
 \*\*Significant at  $p < 0.01$

### 3.1.3 Results from Activity III: Gender Inequality Measures from Arun's Dilemma

The projective technique of storytelling was used to assess adolescents' attitudes about gender roles by eliciting their opinions in response to the story of a fictional character. The participants were presented with a story about "Arun" who wanted to help his sister with her chores, a traditionally female activity, but was afraid of what his parents and friends might say. After hearing the story, participants were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with gender role statements related to the story during both baseline and endline interviews. These

responses were compiled into two scales, with a higher score showing more gender equitable behavior. The items included in the scales are shown in Table 13, and the results are shown in Table 14. Although the groups were similar at baseline, significant differences were observed between study groups at endline.

The majority of respondents agreed with the traditional gender norms when interviewed at baseline, in both the control and experimental groups; but after Choices, the experimental group rejected the idea of such rigid, stereotypical gender norms.

Children also had the opportunity to offer advice to Arun and his sister about Arun's dilemma. Pearson's chi-square tests were conducted to compare the frequencies of data obtained from the responses received from the participants in the experimental and control groups at baseline and endline, as shown in Table 15. Prior to the Choices curriculum most children felt that Arun

should listen to his parents and not be more helpful to his sister (exhibiting traditional norms), with no statistically significant difference between the control and experimental groups. However, after the intervention the majority of the experimental group advised Arun to help his sister; these findings were statistically significant. These results indicate that Choices provided children with the ability to recognize when gender norms were unfair, and can help to make gender equitable behavior more normative.

**Table 13-Gender Norm Scale from Activity III: Arun's Dilemma**

Scale Name and Description	Items Included in Scale
<b>Traditional Gender Norms</b> <i>Roles and responsibilities set by the community or society on the basis of sex (for man and woman)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Arun's parents think that he should act like a boy and not be kind or helpful to his sister</li> <li>Boys who help with household chores are considered weak by their friends</li> </ul>
<b>Non-traditional Gender Norms</b> <i>Doing things against stereotypical social norms and values</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>My parents admire boys who help their sisters with household chores</li> <li>It is more important for boys to help at home than to spend time hanging out with friends</li> </ul>

**Table 14-Changes in Acceptance of Gender Norms (Activity III)**

Scale		Baseline		End line	
		Control n=292	Exp n=305	Control n=292	Exp n=307
<b>Accept Traditional Gender Norm</b>	Mean	0.456	0.493	0.491	0.858**
	S.D.	0.370	0.392	0.346	0.253
<b>Reject non-trad Gender Norm</b>	Mean	0.497	0.610	0.543	0.762**
	S.D.	0.398	0.363	0.350	0.311

\* Significant at p < 0.05  
\*\*Significant at p < 0.01

**Table 15-Frequency of Type of Advice Given to Arun (Activity III)**

Scale	Baseline		Pearson's Chi-Square Test (5% CI)	Endline		Pearson's Chi-Square Test (5% CI)
	Control n=292	Experimental n=305		Control n=292	Experimental n=307	
<b>Should help sister (n)</b>	231	222	0.083	131	195	0.000**
(%)	75%	68%		45%	63%	
<b>Should not help sister (n)</b>	124	113	0.125	72	23	0.010*
(%)	42%	37%		24%	7%	

\* Significant at p < 0.05  
\*\*Significant at p < 0.01

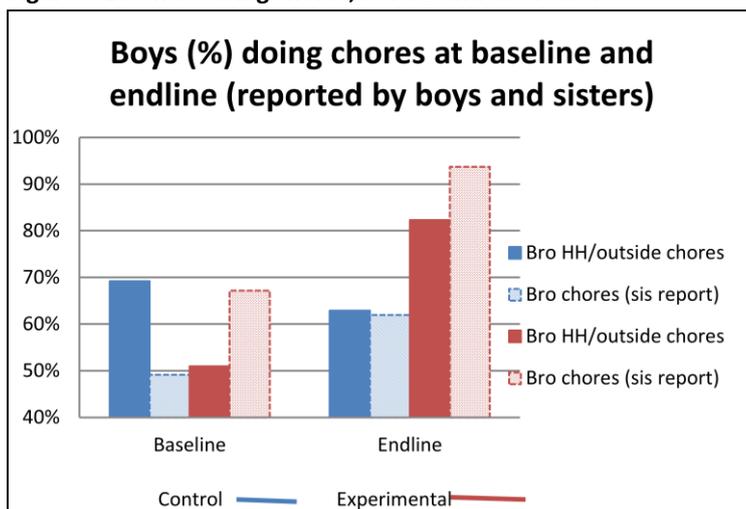
### 3.1.4 Results from Gender Equitable Behavior as Measured by Activity IV: Brother/Sister Time and Task Distribution

This activity was limited to sets of brothers and sisters who were both participating in the child clubs and measured gender inequality. A total of 31 sibling pairs participated in this activity in the experimental area; in the control group, 31 pairs participated at baseline and 33 at endline. Brothers and sisters were asked to indicate on a pie chart the frequency with which they performed household chores, assisted siblings with schoolwork and expressed affection for their brother or sister in the past week, as well as how frequently their sibling had performed that same activity. The answers were converted into percentages and compiled into a scale. The results were compared between baseline and endline, and also compared to examine how the self-reported proportion of time spent on activities related to the proportion of time their sibling reported to have spent doing these activities in the past week. Tables showing these measurements, as well as all associated graphs, are provided in the appendix.

**Table 16-Gender Equality Scales as Measured by Activity IV: Brother/Sister Task Distribution**

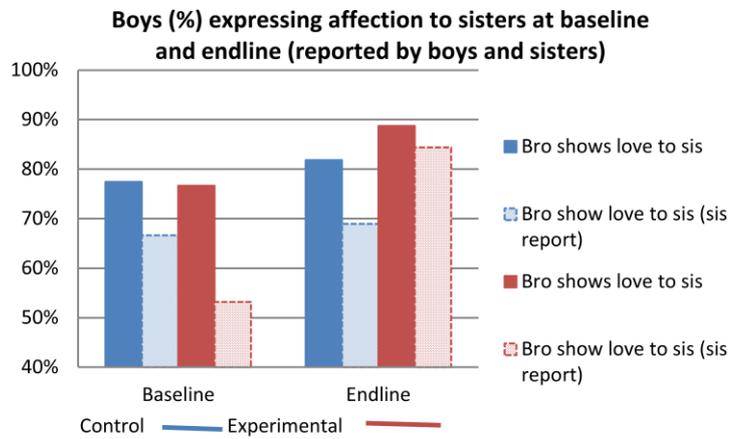
Scale Name and Description	Items Included in Scale
<b>Household and outside house chores</b> <i>Household and outside house chores performed during previous week</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wash own dish</li> <li>Carrying wood and water</li> <li>Make own bed</li> <li>Accompany mom in community work</li> </ul>
<b>Helping in Assignment</b> <i>Helped sister/brother with school assignment during previous week</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Helped sister/brother with her/his school assignment</li> </ul>
<b>Expression of love and affection</b> <i>Expressed love and affection during previous week</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pray for the wellbeing or success of sister/brother</li> <li>Expressed appreciation to sister/brother</li> </ul>

**Figure 6-Brothers doing chores, before and after Choices**

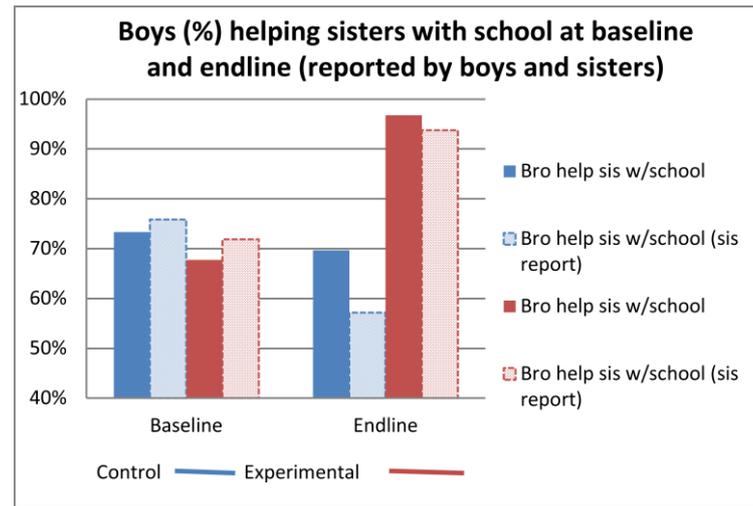


While the number of participants in this activity is too small to test the statistical significance of associations, it is apparent that there has been a shift toward more gender equitable behavior among boys who participated in Choices. Self-reported increases in gender-equitable behavior (e.g. boys helping girls with their schoolwork) were corroborated by their siblings. The results indicate that boys who participated in Choices did help their sisters and mothers with household chores more frequently than before the program (Figure 6). There has been a slight reduction in the number of sisters performing household chores in the experimental groups, suggesting that more brothers help their sisters with such chores.

**Figure 7-Brothers expressing affection to sisters, before and after Choices**



**Figure 8-Brothers helping sisters with schoolwork, before and after Choices**



Boys in the experimental group reported helping their sisters with schoolwork more frequently after Choices, and this was corroborated by their sisters (Figure 7). It was also noteworthy that the girls in the experimental area also reported helping their brothers more frequently after completing the Choices program (Figure 8).

These findings do not show much change in how sisters express affection to their brothers. This could be because it is a cultural norm for sisters to care for their brothers. However, it is not a current cultural norm in Nepal for boys to express affection for their sisters. Choices seems to have improved the way boys perceive the expression of love for their sisters.

#### 4.2 Qualitative Results

The evaluation design also included qualitative methods to provide in-depth information in the words of children and their parents on gender roles and attitudes. There were three main components to the qualitative evaluation: 1) a four-part in-depth

interview, 2) photovoice, and 3) focus group discussions with parents. Two different sub-samples of children were randomly selected, without replacement, from both the experimental and control groups, at endline only, for the qualitative evaluation. A total of 76 children participated in this activity, 36 participants each from the control and experimental group for the in-depth interview and 48 participated in photovoice, 24 from the control and 24 from the experimental group. Equal numbers of boys and girls were selected. Three focus groups were conducted with parents in both the control and experimental groups using similar activities to those employed in the in-depth interviews with young people.

### 4.2.1 In-Depth Interview Findings

The in-depth interview utilized techniques known as photo elicitation and projective drawing to spark discussion with the participants. The photo elicitation activities included “Hopes and Dreams,” “What I Want in a Spouse” and “Gender Roles.” The projective drawing session was entitled “Journey of Change” (Table 17). A total of 76 children participated in this activity, 36 participants each from the control and experimental group (18 females, 18 males).

**Table 17-In-depth Interview Activities**

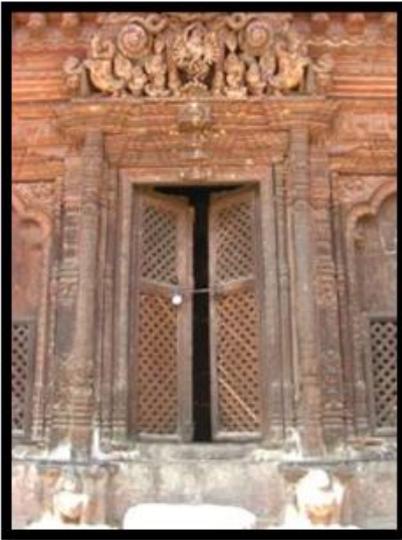
Activity Name (n=36)	Description
<b>Photo Elicitation: Hopes and Dreams</b>	A picture deck of different doors, and were visually guided through the door to describe what they hoped for in their future
<b>Photo Elicitation: What I want in a Spouse</b>	Discuss photos of men and women performing various non-traditional/traditional tasks and rank according to how the child values the activity
<b>Photo Elicitation: Gender Roles</b>	Discuss photos of boys and girls cooperating in non-traditional ways or behaving in traditional ways
<b>Projective Drawing: Journey of Change</b>	Experimental group: draw child before and after Choices and describe the changes Control group: draw child in the child club with some items that they value near them

#### **Photo Elicitation: Hopes and Dreams**

This activity utilized photos of a wide variety of doors to enable the children to visualize their hopes and dreams for the future. Some doors were open, closed, locked, simple, ornate, new, old and broken. Children were asked to choose a photo that represented their hopes and dreams, then visually guided through the door where all their hopes and dream would come true. Then they were asked to describe their hopes and dreams. Boys and girls alike, from both the control and experimental areas dreamed of becoming doctors and teachers. All VYAs wanted to earn respect and money and be able to support their family. The majority of participants also mentioned that they desired a happy family and wanted to have the opportunity to educate their children.

VYAs who had participated in the Choices curriculum were much more optimistic about their futures; all, except one boy, said they thought their dreams would come true, with hard work, discipline, attentive study and support from their families. Members of the control group were less confident, and more fatalistic. Seven members of the control group reported that their dreams would not come true, and five more were unsure. Girls from both areas expressed the desire to continue studying. Several boys from the experimental area stated that they were working toward equality in their village and that they were advocating to their parents for their sisters’ education. Figure 9 shows selected quotes from this activity.

Figure 9-Quotes from Hopes and Dreams Photo Elicitation

<p>"After I learn to read and write I will be able to educate my family. I will also teach my sister and help her in her work."</p>		<p>"Fate must be with me" -Boy, Control Group</p>
<p>"I feel it won't come true as I am not so good in my studies. On top of that my parents are not that rich."</p>		<p>"I will share my dream to become a doctor with my parents and ask them to invest in my education." -Girl, Control Group</p>
<p>"With help of my neighbors, work towards changing the perspective and giving importance to girl's education."</p>		<p>"No. My dreams will not be fulfilled because my parents have the perspective that a girl should get married early. I must make them understand and tell them that I really want to study and <i>not</i> get married now." -Girl, Control Group</p>
<p>"We have to study well and speak for ourselves without being scared."</p>		<p>"Education is very important; my mother's dreams are not fulfilled because she had to leave school." -Girl, Control Group</p>
<p>-Boy, Experimental Group</p>		<p>-Boy, Experimental Group</p>

**Photo Elicitation: "What I Want in a Spouse"**

In this activity children were shown photographs created for this activity depicting Nepali men and women performing different activities and interacting with members of the same or opposite sex. Participants were asked to examine the photos and envision what type of life they wanted to lead when they were married. Some of the photographs utilized are shown in figures 10-12; the complete set can be found in the Appendix. Specifically, the children were asked to identify photos that illustrated traits or behaviors they found desirable for their future spouse, and those that they found unacceptable. The interview facilitator asked each child probing questions to explain their selections. Through this activity, the evaluation team was able to measure the children's attitudes towards gender, and their ideas of masculinity and femininity. Additionally, as adolescents value and respect the opinions of their parents, facilitators questioned the children to determine which traits they thought their parents would value.

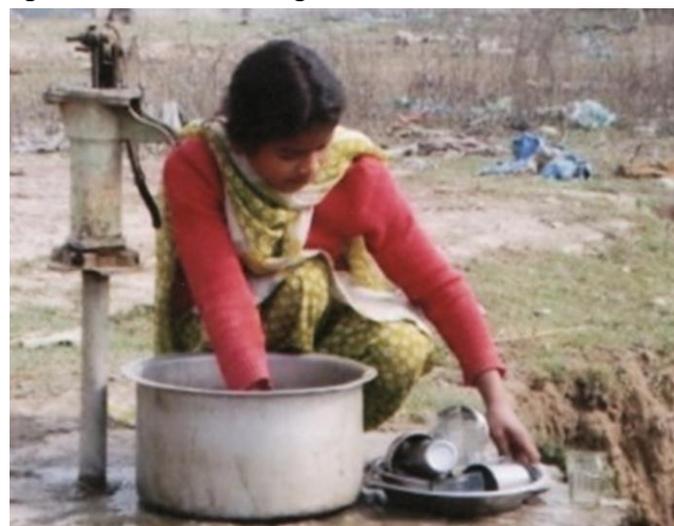
**Figure 10-Woman Leaving Husband and Children for Work**



**Figure11-Man Leaving Wife and Child for Work**



**Figure 12-Woman Washing Dishes**



exemplified by this quote, “In order to improve the children’s lives, both should get education.”

All children valued education, the most frequently discussed trait among all groups. In general, girls considered financial stability important and valued caring and the ability of a man to express affection, to both his spouse and children, as exemplified by a girl in the experimental group who said, “We have seen a mother usually playing with children, but to see a father play with his children is really important for me.” Girls in the experimental group appeared to be more talkative and comfortable expressing their opinions, and had more extensive explanations for their choices, several involving greater equality between men and women. However, many of the traits described as desirable were consistent between both groups of girls. Table 18 highlights the themes that emerged from the discussions. When girls were questioned regarding any attractive qualities that they thought were missing from the photos several girls mentioned the ability to express affection to wife.

On the other hand, there was greater variation between the boys in the control and experimental groups. Many more of the boys in the control group desired a future wife who conforms to traditional gender roles, such as cooking, household cleaning and childcare, than boys in the experimental group. Boys from the experimental group also valued the ability to care for children and maintain a household, but also were more likely to mention the value of a woman contributing to household financially, “Because she is a teacher and gives knowledge to others, and is earning money.” Many of the discussions in the experimental group centered on equality and cooperation,

As shown in Table 19, girls consistently cited both alcohol use and violence as unacceptable or undesirable; a majority of the girls interviewed stated drinking was “unacceptable.” One girl in the experimental group stated “I don’t like people who drink and are carefree and they beat their children and wives.” Girls highlighted domestic violence, fighting, being “quarrelsome,” irresponsible and lazy to be traits that they disliked. In the control group, some mentioned that they found a men acting in non-traditional roles undesirable, one girl stated that the “husband has to carry children because wife makes him do it.” “Eve-teasing” (sexual harassment) was stated as undesirable by several girls in the experimental group, but none in the control group.

Again, some differences were observed in what was deemed undesirable among the control and experimental boys. Boys from both groups stated that a girl roaming independently, and/or roaming freely was not desirable. Boys in the control group were more uncomfortable with women performing non-traditional roles than the boys in the experimental group. Boys in the control group stated that women working outside the home and leaving men with domestic duties was objectionable: “woman should take care of the children and work with husband.” Boys in the control group mentioned education unfavorably. One boy stated “If a girl wants to study, this isn’t nice.”

Many of the responses from youth in the control and experimental areas were similar, as would be expected since both groups live in the same region and society. However, some interesting trends were observed, although it is not possible to ascertain whether these differences were caused by participating in Choices.

Children hold their parents’ opinions and values in high regard, and were also questioned as to what they felt their parents would want for their future spouse. All girls stated that their

**Table 19- Summary of Traits Children Identified as Desirable in Spouses**

	<b>Control</b>	<b>Experimental</b>
<b>Girls want husbands who are/do ...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Care for children</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Express affection</li> <li>-Financially stable/employed</li> <li>-Fit/athletic</li> <li>-Supportive of women working</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Care for children</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Express affection</li> <li>-Financially stable/employed</li> <li>-Supportive of women working</li> <li><b>-Value equality</b></li> </ul>
<b>Boys want wives who are/do ...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Care for children</li> <li>-Cooking</li> <li>-Contribute to household income</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Household chores</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Cooking</li> <li>-Cooperative - Contribute to household income</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Household chores</li> <li><b>-Value equality</b></li> </ul>

**Table 18-Summary of Traits Children found Undesirable in Spouses**

	<b>Control</b>	<b>Experimental</b>
<b>Girls do not want husbands who are/do ...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Drink</li> <li>-Fight</li> <li>-Irresponsible</li> <li>-Lazy</li> <li>-Perform “girl” tasks in household</li> <li>-Quarrelsome</li> <li>-Unemployed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Domestic violence</li> <li>-Drink</li> <li>-“Eve-tease” (sexual harassment)</li> <li>-Fight</li> <li>-Irresponsible</li> <li>-Lazy</li> <li>-Smoke/use tobacco</li> <li>-Spend frivolously</li> <li>-Unfaithful</li> <li>-Unemployed</li> </ul>
<b>Boys do not want wives who are/do ...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Beat children</li> <li>-Disrespectful</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Go with/talk to other boys</li> <li>-Household chores</li> <li>-Quarrelsome</li> <li>-Roam freely</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Beat children</li> <li>-Criticize</li> <li>-Disrespectful</li> <li>-Drink</li> <li>-Go with/talk to other boys</li> <li>-Household chores</li> <li>-Quarrelsome</li> <li>-Roam freely</li> <li>-Smoke</li> </ul>

parents want them to have a husband who is employed and educated, thereby able to provide for their daughters. Girls in the experimental group mentioned that their parents would want her to have a husband who helps with the housework much more frequently than the control group. Boys from the control group cited traditional norms more frequently than boys from those who participated in the Choices curriculum. All boys mentioned that their parents valued education, the ability to adjust to in-law's household and being competent to care for children. Table 20 highlights qualities that children felt their parents would value.

**Table 20-Summary of Traits Identified as Important to Parents**

	<b>Control</b>	<b>Experimental</b>
<b>Girls think their parents want their husband to be/do ...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adjust well to family/society</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Financially stable/employed</li> <li>-Good character</li> <li>-Help in household chores</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Financially stable/employed</li> <li>-Help in household chores</li> <li>-Loving</li> <li>-Loyal</li> <li>-Respected</li> <li>-Respectful</li> <li>-Social</li> </ul>
<b>Boys think their parents want their wife to be/do ...</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adjust well to family/society</li> <li>-Attractive</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Employed</li> <li>-Care for children</li> <li>-Cook</li> <li>-Household chores</li> <li>-Serves family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Adjust well to family/society</li> <li>-Care for children</li> <li>-Educated</li> <li>-Serves family</li> <li>-Social</li> <li>-Value equality (for children)</li> </ul>

While girls' responses in both the control and experimental groups were similarly progressive, this is not reflected in what they think their parents will find important. Boys from the experimental group consistently emphasized themes that were discussed in Choices when discussing their future spouses, returning to themes of equality, equal opportunities for education, shared household chores. However, when discussing what qualities they thought their parents would find desirable, traditional gender norms and expectations were expressed much more frequently than in expressing their own desires. This is an opportunity for further interventions to create an inter-generational dialogue to encourage more equitable gender attitudes and behaviors among parents and to communicate equitable gender attitudes and behaviors to children.

**Photo Elicitation: Gender Roles**

During the photo elicitation activity, children were shown photographs of boys and girls in traditional or non-traditional gender roles. The children discussed their opinions regarding the situation shown in the photos and what they felt for each of the participants. This activity was designed to measure the children's attitudes towards gender roles and empathy toward girls and awareness of gender equity.

Based on a comparison of the responses, it appears that the children who had participated in the Choices curriculum were much more likely to express acceptance of non-traditional gender roles and value the role of men nurturing their family and providing emotional as well as financial support than those who did not participate in Choices. Experimental group participants were also much more confident discussing their feelings and promoting gender equality in their lives, and the boys in the experimental group consistently discussed taking

action to improve the lives of their sisters, most notably assisting them with their work and advocating with their parents for her to continue her education. Boys also appeared to be much less likely to tease their peers when they engaged in activities that had been traditionally considered female tasks, such as housework.

In the first photo (figure 13), a brother is helping his sister wash dishes while others watch them work. Girls reflected positively upon the photo, stating that the boy is helpful, loving and a good brother. More girls from the control group expressed surprise to see boys and girls cooperating to complete housework, and also expressed longing that their own brothers and neighbors would act in the same fashion. While most girls generally viewed the boy's actions in a positive light, there were a few girls among the control group who stated that this would be viewed negatively in their community. Girls in the experimental group spontaneously reported that their brothers had been helping them with their chores.



There were greater differences in the responses of the boys in the control and experimental group. Boys in the experimental group very frequently described the photo and their feelings about the photo in the context of a loving relationship between siblings. The boy was described as helpful to his sister more frequently by boys in the experimental group than the control. Studying at the child clubs was mentioned by boys in both groups, more frequently so in the experimental group, indicating that the child clubs in general have a positive effect on gender norms. Some of the boys in the control group appeared to be open to helping their sisters with housework, but not to the same extent as the boys in the experimental group. The children in the experimental group stated that brothers were beginning to help their sisters with greater frequency in their communities, and stated that this helped to increase harmony in the household. Girls in the control group generally expressed a desire for their brothers to help them, and a few reported that their brothers did help them a little. A fraction of boys in the control group appeared to be open to helping their sisters, but many expressed discomfort with the idea of participating in non-traditional gender roles.

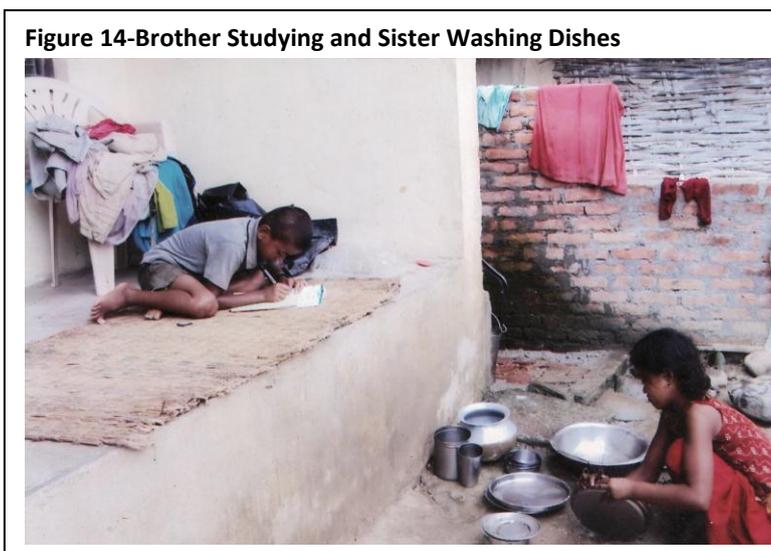
**Table 21-Selected Quotes about Brothers Helping Sisters**

Statements from Children		
	Control	Experimental
<b>Girls</b>	<p><i>It doesn't happen in my village the work is divided by gender.</i></p> <p><i>I wish my brother helped me, now I will ask him for help."</i></p>	<p><i>Such action is said to be unmanly, that is not true.</i></p> <p><i>If everyone's brother was like this, life would be better.</i></p> <p><i>Helping sisters happens for children going to the child clubs.</i></p> <p><i>Such action should be implemented in their house.</i></p>
<b>Boys</b>	<p><i>If a boy works like that he would be unmanly, and boys would get laughed at, role is clear for girls to do housework.</i></p> <p><i>[He's] not a good boy, shouldn't do girls work.</i></p> <p><i>Boy should be studying and girl should be working.</i></p> <p><i>A picture like this makes a man feel unmanly.</i></p>	<p><i>There is love between the brother and sister.</i></p> <p><i>Everyone should live in harmony.</i></p>

The majority of children in the control group were reticent to discuss what could be done to bring about change; however, participants in the experimental group offered a number of suggestions. Equal access to and opportunities for education, cooperation, child clubs, parental support for education and parental support for equal household chores were themes that emerged from their suggestions. Table 21 shows selected quotes from this activity.

The second photo depicted a brother studying while his sister is washing dishes was then discussed (Figure 14). Girls were quick to recognize inequality in the photo.

Girls from the control group acknowledged that this was a common occurrence in their lives or in their community, while girls in the



experimental group didn't accept the behavior as readily. One girl stated, "Before, brothers never helped. Now after education, the habit is slowly emerging." All girls expressed sorrow, sadness and empathy for the girl in the photo, and thought that she deserved equal rights to education as her brother. Girls do not need the Choices curriculum to understand that their lives are difficult, but the girls from the experimental group recognize that their brothers should help them, stating, "The girl must feel hurt and wish she had time to study."

Boys stated that unequal treatment was still common in their communities. Most of the boys from the control group felt that the boy was preparing for future success, while the girl was sad

to be forced to work. Boys from the experimental group readily pointed out the disparity and suggested that the boy should assist his sister and give her time/opportunity to study. One boy stated “[The boy] doesn’t know about gender equality and relationships.” Boys expressed empathy for the girl in the photo and were not happy to view and discuss this stereotypical gender role. One of the boy from the experimental group said he would advocate to his parents for his sister’s education as well. It is interesting to note that boys from the control group generally felt uncomfortable with the idea of performing what was traditionally considered “girls’ work” but also felt empathy and discomfort when viewing the juxtaposition of a boy receiving preferential treatment while a girl is relegated to household chores.

All the children interviewed had similar ideas about how to bring about change in their community, highlighting equal opportunities for education, encouraging equal distribution of household chores and cooperation. One girl stated that she wanted, “to be educated first, then educate the village for change.” Another said, “Change can occur. I used to only work, but now I work and study after school. My mother helps me.” One boy from the experimental group said, “The country will develop with girls’ independence and change the living standard.” Another boy stated, “[a] girl can be doctor, teacher, prime minister.” Table 22 shows selected quotes from this activity.

**Table 22-Selected quotes about the gender inequality of a boy studying and girl working**

Statements from Children		
	Control	Experimental
<b>Girls</b>	<i>I feel bad, feel that the girl is sad.</i>	<i>The girl is being discriminated, while the boy is getting the opportunity to study.</i>  <i>Before, brothers never helped. Now after education, the habit is slowly emerging,</i>
<b>Boys</b>	<i>I don't feel good about my culture and the roles assigned.</i>	<i>He should talk to his parents about sister's education.</i>  <i>[The boy] doesn't know about gender equality and relationships.</i>  <i>The country will develop with girls' independence and change the living standard.</i>

### **Projective Drawing: Journey of Change**

To collect information on children’s perceptions of their changes in behavior and practices after completing the Choices curriculum the facilitators conducted a projective drawing activity entitled “Journey of Change.” The 18 children who had participated in the intervention were instructed to fold a piece of paper in half and draw a boy or a girl who had not participated in the Choices curriculum holding something that they value. They were asked to write something the child might say and then to draw that same child after completing the Choices curriculum. This projective technique quickly identified the opinions of youth about the effect of participating in Choices as children project the changes they have made onto the drawing. Children in the control group were asked to draw a picture of a child from their community, holding something in their hands that is important to them, and to write a phrase that the child might say.

Sketches from the control group included girls cooking food, cutting grass, sweeping the house, returning from the school and washing the dishes, and boys going to school, playing games, studying and working in the house (Figure 15). Few girls drew photos of girls studying, and only one drew a girl playing a game. Almost all of the children have written “they want to go to school” as the phrase they would typically say, and in the background they sketched their home, farm, tube well or dish washing.

Most girls who had completed the Choices curriculum sketched sickles to cut grass, brooms, washing dishes in the before sketch and books and pens in the after (Figure 16). Boys drew farming, plowing, smoking cigarettes, teasing girls, hanging out, herding animals and grass cutting before and going to school after the Choices curriculum.

Children who participated in the Choices curriculum wrote phrases encouraging school attendance, and sibling cooperation with both household chores and schoolwork in their pictures. The pictures drawn before Choices included activities such as cutting grass, washing dishes, and sweeping for girls and working in the field or herding animals for the boys.

Most of the experimental group sketched working in the field or house before Choices, followed by included studying or schools. When discussing the sketches, girls stated that they were too focused on household chores prior to the Choices curriculum and now give priority to their education. Boys stated that they now realize how important it is to help their sisters with their household chores and schoolwork to improve their quality of life. The girls also said the Choices curriculum encouraged them to help each other, express their love and thanks to their brothers and to continue their education. Children did say that they felt different after Choices. Girls are more confident discussing continuing their education and preventing early marriage, and they value their brothers’ support. Brothers said they have started helping their sisters and advise their friends and neighbors to do the same.

Figure 15-Sketch from Control Group Boy



Figure 16-Sketch from Experimental Group Girl, before doing chores, after going to school



### 4.2.2 Photovoice

Photovoice, a participatory activity described earlier, was carried out among a sub-sample of 48 children from both the control and experimental groups, 12 girls and 12 boys from each group. Each participant was given a disposable camera and instructed to take photos with the guiding question: “What is life like for boys and girls in your community?” The children were taught how to use the cameras and given pointers on how to take good pictures, but the guiding question was not qualified.

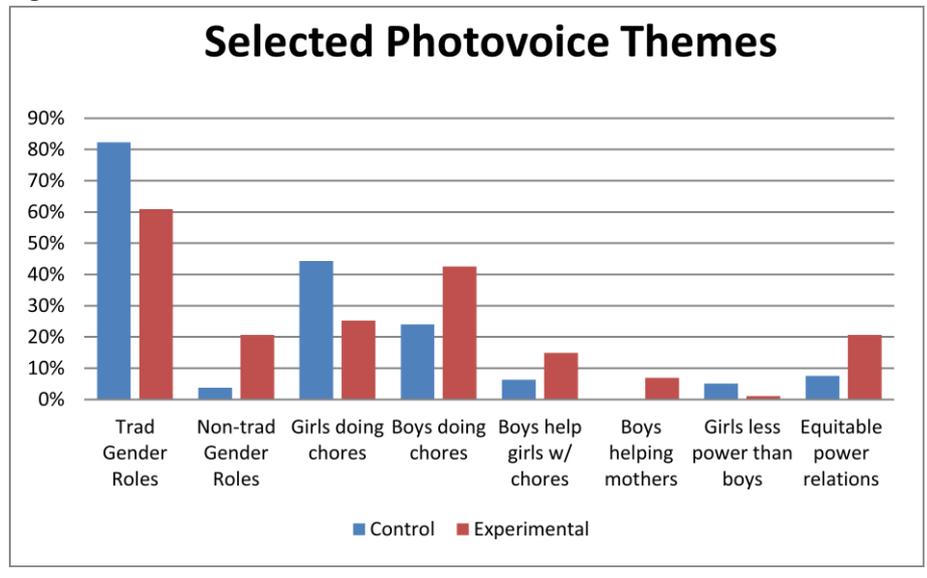
The cameras were returned to the study team, and photos were developed and discussed in two groups of six boys and six girls in both the control and experimental areas. The facilitator guided the discussion, but the children selected the photos to discuss in the group, thereby directing the course of the conversation. Using this method, the themes that the children found important were naturally elicited and discussed. VYAs discussed their opinions of the photos and explained the situations shown in their photos (Figure 17). The photos taken by boys and girls enrolled in Choices differ markedly from those from the control group in the context of gender attitude and behavior. The photos were sorted into different themes, as agreed upon by a panel and counted. The more prevalent themes are highlighted in Figure 17 and Table 23; full details, as well as thumbnails of the photos, can be found in the appendices.

Children who participated in Choices photographed members of their community acting in non-traditional gender roles such as males cooking, washing dishes, or helping females with household chores. Most photos from the control group reflect difference-based gender stereotypes, with only a few photos depicting gender equality.

Figure 17-Male Photovoice Discussion Group



Figure 18-Distribution of Themes from Photovoice



**Table 23-Themes Expressed in Photos**

	Control				Experimental			
	Boys	Girls	Total	Total%	Boys	Girls	Total	Total%
<b>Traditional Gender Roles<sup>1</sup></b>	50	15	65	82.3%	20	33	53	60.9%
<b>Non-traditional Gender Roles<sup>2</sup></b>	3	0	3	3.8%	10	8	18	20.7%
<b>Girls doing chores</b>	28	7	35	44.3%	5	17	22	25.3%
<b>Boys doing chores</b>	18	1	19	24.1%	23	14	37	42.5%
<b>Boys helping girls w/ chores</b>	5	0	5	6.3%	9	4	13	14.9%
<b>Boys helping mothers</b>	0	0	0	0%	2	4	6	6.9%
<b>Photos reflect inequitable relations (girls less power)</b>	3	1	4	5.1%	0	1	1	1.2%
<b>Photos that reflect equitable<sup>3</sup> relations in same photo</b>	4	2	6	7.6%	10	8	18	20.7%
<b>Total Number of Photos</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>79</b>		<b>40</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>87</b>	

**Text Box 1**



“Life for boys and girls is not equal in our community. Most of the boys go to school while girls have to look after household chores. Men have more freedom; they don’t have to work at home. Girls are married and sent to her husband’s home. However, we have learnt from the child club that life for boys and girls is equal. We have to work together and help each other”.

-Boy after participating in Choices

Previous research has shown that in order to change gender norms, it is necessary to show that alternative gender norms exist in the community. The use of photovoice enabled VYAs to recognize and capture images of more gender equitable behavior. The youth who participated in Choices could have been more sensitive to noticing gender equality when it occurs in their community or they could have been making an effort to take action and encourage greater gender equality. More photos taken by children from the experimental group reflect gender equality. Some boys from the experimental group took pictures of boys helping their mothers with household work, which may also be a result of Choices as this is not typical behavior in the community. Text boxes 1 and 2 are examples of some photos of gender equitable behavior taken by youth in the experimental group, along with quotes that emerged from the photo discussion groups.

<sup>1</sup> Traditional gender roles refer to the set of social and behavioral norms that are widely considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex in the context of a specific culture in Siraha district.

<sup>2</sup> Non-traditional gender roles refer to the execution of task which is not socially considered appropriate for an individual of a specific sex in the context of a specific culture.

<sup>3</sup> Gender equality between men and women exists when both sexes are able to share equally in the distribution of power and influence; have equal opportunities for financial independence through work; enjoy equal access to education and the opportunity to develop personal ambitions, interests and talents; share responsibility for the home and children and are completely free from coercion, intimidation and gender-based violence both at work and at home.

Almost all of boys from both the groups recognized that life for boys and girls is not equal in their community. They discussed educational disparities, explaining that boys are sent to

**Text Box 2**



“People laugh at a man who cooks food in their home. But from the day we have taken “Choices” classes, our brothers have started helping us and we help them too. We will teach the same to our friends in our village as well.”

- Girl after the Choices curriculum

higher quality private schools while girls are sent to the less-desirable government schools and then only if they can manage school in addition to their household chores. Boys stated that men enjoy freedom and they can hang around or play cards in their leisure time but girls are restricted and remain within the home. Some boys from the experimental group stated that girls are expected to move to their in-law’s home after marriage, while boys are expected to remain at their parents and care for them as they age. Boys in the experimental group had an understanding that they should help their sisters with household work and support their studies. Some boys from the control group stated that work should be assigned based on gender norms.

**Text Box 3**



“Boys have freedom, they can go anywhere they want, but our parents do not allow our sisters to go outside home. Boys can play games, while girls have to look after household chores. Boys should do boyish work not girlish work. If people in our community see boys doing girl’s work they laugh at them, they are believed to be inferior.”

-Boy from the Control Group

Girls from the control group said there is discrimination between girls and boys in terms of the division of work, education and freedom to go outside of the home. Girls who had participated in Choices said that women are capable of doing all things; women can earn money, work in the field and cut wood. They further stated that when men wash clothes or prepare meals at home, they are ridiculed; but after participating in Choices, their brothers started helping them and they encourage their friends to do the same. Text Boxes 3 and 4 show examples of photos taken by the control group and the associated comments.

The majority of VYAs who participated in Choices stated that girls in their community were unhappy and would be happier if they had more opportunities and freedom like their brothers. Girls from the control group expressed complacence; most of the boys from the control group felt it was beneficial for a girl’s future to be groomed to be a

good housewife in her youth, but a handful said that girls may have the desire to study, and might not be happy with the life they are living.

Nearly all the youth in the evaluation stated that there was a need to work toward gender equality. Both boys and girls from the experimental group said there should be no discrimination between sons and daughters; seeking equal opportunities for boys and girls for education and employment. Boys recognized their role as advocates for their sisters. Interestingly, participants from the control group also had similar feelings, stating that parents should treat both children equally; girls also sought cooperation from their brothers.

### 3.2.3 Focus Group Discussions with Parents

Parents were randomly selected, based on their availability and willingness to participate, from both the control and experimental areas for FGDs. Three FGDs were carried out in each of the control and experimental areas; one with fathers alone, one with mothers alone and one with both mothers and fathers together (Table 24, Figure 19). None of the parents, neither in the control area, nor experimental area, participated in Choices. Parents of children in the intervention area were aware that their children were attending special courses in the child clubs entitled Choices, and had attended an orientation about the curriculum. Parents in the control area were aware that their children attended child clubs in the community. The FGD utilized a similar methodology as the in-depth interviews for children, utilizing photo elicitation methods.

**Text Box 4**



“Parents should treat both son and daughter equally and brothers’ should also be helpful to their sisters.”  
-Girl from the Control Group

**Table 24-Parent Focus Group Participants**

Numbers of Focus Group Discussions and Participants				
	Mothers and Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Total
<b>Control Area</b>	1 (10)	1 (9)	1 (9)	3 (28)
<b>Experimental Area</b>	1 (9)	1 (10)	1 (7)	3 (26)
<b>Total</b>	2 (19)	2 (19)	2 (16)	6 (54)

**Figure 19-FGD with Mothers**

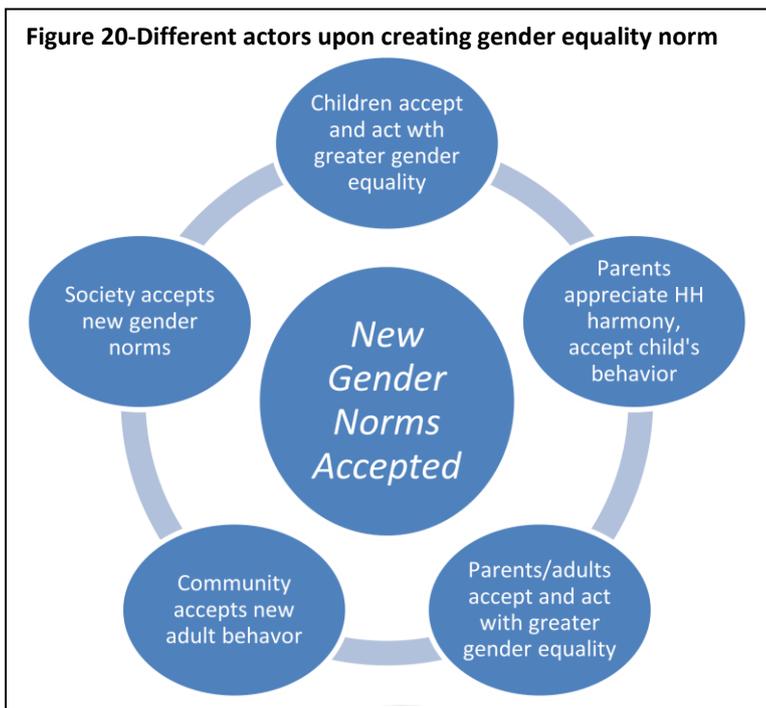


As there was no intervention with the parents, no changes were anticipated. However, a shift in a society’s gender norms does not occur when an intervention is implemented with youth alone (figure 20), and it is important to determine whether the parents noticed any changes in

their children’s attitudes and/or behavior toward gender and gender roles, and if they had, how they reacted to those changes or what the impact of those changes were.

**Photo Elicitation: Hopes and Dreams**

The “Hopes and Dreams” visualization technique was also used in the FGDs with parents in order to determine whether participation in Choices had resulted in more equitable aspirations and a sense that these aspirations were achievable.



**Table 25-Parents' Hopes and Dreams for Children**

Hopes and Dreams for Children				
	Daughters will become ...		Sons will become ...	
	<i>Experimental</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Experimental</i>	<i>Control</i>
<b>Mothers</b>	Doctor engineer social worker artist	married (many already married) educated (primary level)	engineer overseer teacher scientist	doctor teacher educated
<b>Fathers</b>	Teacher nurse service holder capable educated (secondary or beyond) skills training vocational training/social work	vocational training (sewing) educated	doctor teacher accountant Prime Minister lawyer overseer	Teacher employed employed abroad
<b>Mothers and Fathers together</b>	Doctor nurse teacher married to good family	nurse an engineer educated	doctor engineer teacher	educated (master's degree) enrolled in boarding school
	educated skilled gain equality between sons and daughters	teacher employed in office complete education prior to marriage have a happy family and a smaller family	doctor overseer educated (master's degree)	science teacher service holder

As illustrated in Table 25, parents stated that their children’s hopes and dreams were primarily employment oriented. More parents in the experimental group stated that their daughters’ hopes and dreams were employment, education or skills oriented, whereas parents from the control group perceived that their daughters’ aspirations were focused on successfully performing domestic duties and having a family. In fact, many daughters in the control group

were already married. In the control focus groups, the fathers appeared to be more focused on education than the mothers, but many mentioned education as a means to improve marriage prospects as opposed to education as a means to employment and independence (although some fathers did mention specific vocations: teacher, office and tailor/seamstress). In the focus group with mothers' education beyond the primary level was not addressed. Parents in the experimental group had more concrete and positive ideas of how their daughter's lives might change if she achieved her goals than did control group parents. In one experimental focus group, parents had a lively discussion including how their daughters' outlook, hygiene and sanitation, living conditions, eating habits, and style of dress would improve if she achieved her dreams. The fathers in the experimental focus group mentioned daughters gaining more equality, leading to a status more in line with that traditionally given to a son, and their daughters earning respect, as well as better marriage prospects. Parents in the control group mentioned improvements such as improved marriage prospects, happy family life, not being taken advantage of, writing ability, wage-earning ability and setting an example for others, as well as bringing financial stability and respect to the family.

Parents' hopes and dreams for their sons were similar across all groups. Parents typically had more concrete and ambitious hopes and dreams for their sons than for their daughters. Accountants and overseers (similar to engineers) were mentioned for the sons and attaining a master's degree was also mentioned for sons and not for daughters. No mention of a successful family life or marriage was made for sons. Results of the son achieving his hopes and dreams were generally related to higher earning capacity, respect for the family, and assurances of financial security for the family. Responses from the experimental areas showed far greater similarity with regards to the results of their sons and daughters achieving their hopes and dreams than those of the control group.

Parents in both areas stated that they would garner respect and dignity, ease financial burdens, and would feel secure knowing that they would be supported as they age if their daughters achieved their goals. All the parents stated that their sons would help to support them when their sons achieved their goals. Parents also mentioned happiness, dignity, respect and pride in inspiring other people to educate their sons (to emulate their success).

All parents stated that determination, hard work, diligent study and parental support (financial and emotional) were necessary for their children to fulfill their dreams. Parents in the experimental group appeared more positive, more action-oriented and less fatalistic than parents in the control group when discussing their daughters, and parents were generally more confident that their sons would be successful than their daughters. The focus group of fathers in the control area mentioned that while their daughters' dreams may come true, she must still get married; other discussions among the control group concerned the fate of their daughters, as opposed to self-determination. Parents in the experimental group also mentioned that their sons must refrain from bad habits, like drugs, in order to achieve his dreams. One mother mentioned the impact of Choices as an inspiration.

**Table 26- Barriers to Achieving Hopes and Dreams**

<b>Barriers to Achieving Hopes and Dreams</b>				
	<b>Daughters may encounter ...</b>		<b>Sons may encounter ...</b>	
	<i>Experimental</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Experimental</i>	<i>Control</i>
<b>Mothers</b>	economic condition traditional values and norms family problems	marriage in-laws don't permit eve-teasing (sexual harassment) run away with a boy while studying	economic condition poor study habits skipping school drugs	economic condition marriage lives abroad (expensive) girls
<b>Fathers</b>	economic condition time limitation excessive chores societal pressure for early marriage family issues bias toward sons	economic condition early marriage household chores traditional perspectives in society	economic condition more attention to sports family problems	economic condition health problems poor studies
<b>Mothers and Fathers together</b>	negative perception of working women in society	economic condition expensive	economic condition societal values and beliefs	economic condition
	societal norms and values	Cost	economic condition bad influences	economic condition

Economic conditions were consistently cited as a barrier to sons achieving their dreams, as shown in Table 26. When discussing obstacles to daughters achieving their dreams, parents in all three focus groups in the experimental area mentioned the role of societal norms as barriers. Other constraints mentioned by parents were economic conditions, family problems, housework, early marriage, family issues, time limitations and inequality between sons and daughters. The mothers in the control focus group discussed the obstacles posed by marriage, reduced freedom imposed by in-laws, fear that a daughter may run away with a boy while studying and eve-teasing (sexual harassment by boys). Parents in all the focus groups said they would be happy if their daughter achieved her dreams; fathers in both the experimental and control areas mentioned that they would gain respect in the society if their daughters achieved their dreams.

Parents recognized differences in their aspirations for their sons and daughters. Inequality and early marriage impact this disparity, which parents recognize. Parents explained the source of the bias toward boys by stating that the societal expectation was that a son would be educated, gain a job and take on the responsibility to care for his parents as they age, and were a source of security; whereas daughters would be given away in marriage and would be expected to care for their in-laws. Some parents stated that parents are in a hurry to get their daughters married, due to pressure from society, so they are educated only at a primary school level, while sons are encouraged to continue to study. A girl's reputation is also a crucial factor in settling her marriage, and thus parents restrict their daughters' movement, whereas boys are free to go where they like and there is no hurry for them to marry. Mothers in the control area explained that removing their daughters from school after the primary level was seen as a protective measure, to prevent young girls from being teased or sexually harassed by boys. All

parents stated the bias toward sons was unfair, and equal opportunities should be given to both daughters and sons, and equal treatment of sons and daughters might lead to broader changes in society. It was recognized that it would take time to achieve equality, but that such changes were underway. Parents from the experimental area identified female education as a path that would improve gender equality and eventually lead to greater respect for the parents of the educated girls.

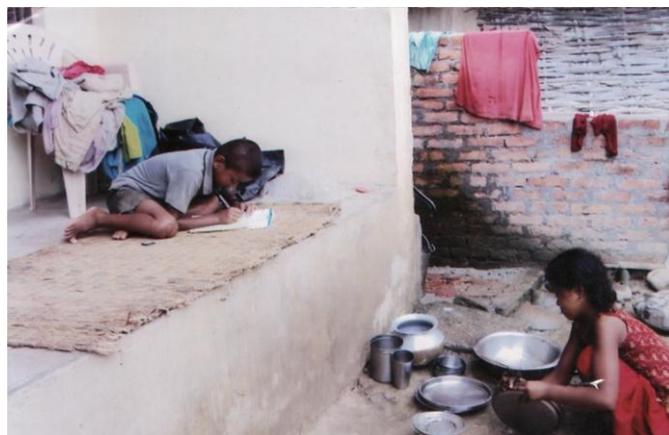
These focus groups highlight some positive findings for interventions with parents. Parents in the experimental areas, who did not participate in the intervention and were only made aware of Choices through discussions with their children, were much more communicative and open to discussing gender equality. However, the most important result is that parents are aware and concerned about the effect of gender inequities on their children. This suggests that they may be interested in participating in an intervention to address gender inequality.

### **Photo Elicitation: Gender Roles**

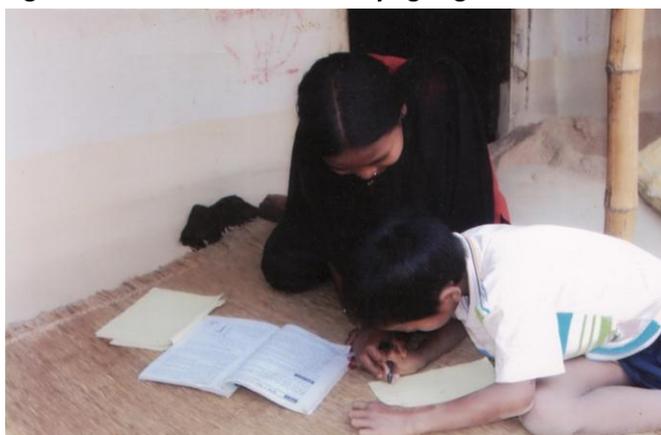
Parents were aware of the inequality displayed in the photo of the boy studying and girl doing chores (Figure 21). They disagreed with the divisions of gender roles, felt empathy for the girl who was not able to study (but likely desired the ability to do so) and stated that the boy probably would like it if his sister was able to attend school also. Mothers mentioned that they were grateful for the daughter's help, and that the daughter must keep up with her household work even if she does have a job.

While discussing the photos depicting brothers and sisters cooperating (shown in figures 22 and 23), parents from the experimental area stated that while it was unusual to see brothers helping sisters, in the past three months (the duration of the Choices curriculum) it had been happening in their households, suggesting that participation in Choices did impact behavior.

**Figure 21-Photo Illustrating Unequal Gender Roles**



**Figure 22-Brother and Sister Studying Together**



**Figure 23-Brother and Sister Washing Dishes Together**



Some parents from the experimental area speculated that the parents felt that their sons and daughters both had to get an education, but that the daughter had to finish her household chores in addition to schoolwork. All parents said they would be happy to see their children helping each other.

**Figure 24-Family Communication Patterns**



**Figure 25-Family Communication Patterns**



“My children do not find it difficult to express as they are very close to me. My daughter usually talks to me about studies, work, marriage and family matters. My sons usually talk about studies and work, about basic needs and he says that even his sisters must be equally treated. My son talks about his female siblings because he is very influenced by his studies [at the youth club]. He has become very close to his sisters and he helps in her studies. My daughters also talk about their feelings, and about studies.”

– Mother, experimental area

“In these photos the boy is talking to the father and the girl is talking to her mother because the son feels more comfortable talking to father and vice versa. The girl is always scared to talk with her father whereas the son likes telling everything to his father.”

-Father, control area

Parents from the control area were also complimentary of the cooperative behavior depicted in the photo, stating that it was, “amazing to see the sister teaching the brother” and it was an, “unusual sight” to see the brother help the sister. Mothers in the control area commented that their sons did not help their sisters like this and they do not see this type of harmony in their community. Parents who stated that their children did cooperate did mention that the increased “harmony” in their households, and were very positive about the overall impact on the household. Focus group participants stated that the parents of the children in the photos must be happy; mothers remarked that they would be happy if their children showed such cooperative behavior.

The participants were shown a series of photos of parents and children communicating and discussed communication patterns (figures 24 and 25). The majority of parents stated that daughters prefer speaking to their mothers, and sons to fathers. The topics parents reported discussing with children were generally the same: studies, work, family matters; but no mention of marriage was discussed with sons, whereas it was with daughters. Only participants from the experimental focus groups reported that their sons talked to their parents about their sisters. Fathers reported that their sons spoke to them about their sisters’ education and their sisters’ chores; and mothers stated that their sons spoke of equality for their sisters.

### 4.3 Opinions about the Choices Curriculum

Both children and parents from the experimental group were able to provide feedback about the Choices curriculum.

#### 4.3.1 Feedback from Children

According to children who participated in Choices, the activities helped them to understand gender inequality and barriers to change. They equated the “Invisible wall” activity to the barriers that exist in society that prevent boys who want to help their sisters from doing so due to fear of what society will call or label him. “Blue and green” pointed out the unequal treatment of boys and girls. Children reported that the activities conducted in Choices were very interesting and with such classes in their village, they can surely reduce gender discrimination. They recommended Choices for other children in their village as well. They reported that the intervention activities were fun, useful and practical. Children who participated in Choices reported discussing gender inequality and barriers to change with friends, both inside and outside child clubs. They reported understanding the key messages of respect, love and equality between brothers and sisters.

Figure 26-Children participating in Choices



Participants also had the opportunity to complete a self-assessment questionnaire after Choices had concluded. According to the boys, before the intervention they did not realize that they could help their sisters so they spent much time having fun outside home and did not help their mothers or sisters. However, after the intervention, they began helping their mothers and sisters in household chores and advised other boys in their village to do the same. Girls reported that they would not have received support from their brothers if they had not had the opportunity to

enroll in Choices. They also said that their brothers have started showing respect to them by supporting them in their studies and household work. In return, they report expressing appreciation to their brothers.

#### 4.3.2 Feedback from Parents

Parents in the experimental area noticed changes in their children who participated in Choices. The specific changes they mentioned included improved study habits, brothers and sisters helping each other study, better time management with school work, elder siblings helping younger ones study, sons helping mothers with household chores and brothers and sisters cooperating with household chores.

According to parents from the experimental group, their child's participation in the child clubs and Choices was the reason for the changes they described. Parents mentioned both the child clubs and Choices by name. Parents, particularly mothers, were pleased with the cooperation their children exhibited as a result of their activities with the child clubs, and highlighted the increased "harmony" in their households since the intervention. They reported that older siblings were assisting younger siblings with their studies and other housework. Brothers helped sisters with studies and housework, for example by bringing water to the home, bringing wood (for fuel) to the home, washing dishes and feeding younger siblings. Parents remarked that these behaviors began only after participating in Choices, although they noted that there had been some backsliding, since completion of the courses. This indicates that there may be some need for ongoing reinforcement of the ideas covered in Choices.

All parents provided positive feedback regarding the intervention, stating that the program was necessary for societal change, and requested an increase in both the frequency and duration of the program. Some suggestions included expanding Choices, or a similar program, to parents, to include older children, and expanding the program on a national scale. According to parents, introducing the program to other children would minimize the amount of time children have available to spend engaging in troublesome or bad activities, and would bring about societal change. Parents felt expanding the program would result in changes in children's attitudes and behavior and increase the level of cooperation in family and the society. Parents were keen to see the same changes that they had observed in their own children among other children in their communities. Participants in one focus group suggested that participation in the Choices curriculum would reduce teasing in the community. Interestingly, fathers participating in the focus group stated that expanding the program to other children would increase the knowledge that sons and daughters were equal.

When asked what could be done to improve the lives of their children, participants stated that expanding youth clubs with a curriculum similar to Choices was necessary, as well as bringing about changes in behavior and attitudes, and creating child-friendly environments and proper and "timely" supervision. Fostering a supportive and inclusive relationship among siblings, and the importance of parents making a sincere effort to support their children's development were also themes that emerged.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the evaluation described in this report suggest that implementation of the Choices curriculum at a greater scale, along with complementary activities for parents, could make a significant contribution to efforts to achieve more equitable gender norms. Over time, Choices could improve girls' education and other outcomes related to gender equity, such as equal opportunities, respect for girls, self-decision making including reproductive health. Comparison of measures of gender attitudes and behaviors among boys and girls before and after participating in Choices shows statistically significant differences between control and experimental groups. Qualitative data supports this finding -- children and their parents reported that they felt and behaved differently after participating in Choices; parents and siblings agreed. Girls felt empowered to talk to their parents about continuing their studies and avoiding early marriage, and in fact, some did talk with their parents. Girls who participated in Choices reported that their brothers advocated with their parents for their sisters' education and delayed marriage. Boys also started discussing these topics among their friends and neighbors. The impact on parents was indirect because they did not participate in the sessions; it resulted from talking with their children and observing changes in their behavior. A consistent theme which emerged from discussions with parents whose children participated in Choices was appreciation for increased harmony in their home and gratitude that brothers and sisters were more cooperative in helping each other with household chores and studies.

The results of this evaluation also contribute to better understanding of gender disparities at the community and family level in Nepalese society, particularly in the Terai region. Specifically, the study provides valuable insights into gender dimensions of traditional roles and responsibilities of children, gender equality, and barriers to girls' full participation in school. The study also examined parents willingness to address and reduce existing barriers and discrimination. Understanding gender disparities and their underlying factors is essential to developing effective and sustainable strategies to address the particular needs of boys and girls in Nepali rural communities.

### 4.1 Lessons Learned

Each phase of this project yielded important lessons from the development of the Choices curriculum, through its implementation and evaluation. Lessons learned are presented below organized by their relevance to programs and evaluation.

#### **Programming**

- The Choices curriculum is a three-month program, with eight 2-hour sessions, administered by graduated child club facilitators with basic training and did not address parents or other socio-cultural or structural factors which influence children. The successful findings of this evaluation suggest that even short-term interventions for very young adolescents, if well planned, can make a difference, although whether or not that difference is sustained is not known.
- Older facilitators, 18 – 20 years of age, who were child club graduates, were selected so that young people could relate better to them. Their sense of volunteerism and a desire to give

back to the same child clubs from which they recently graduated could be unique to this particular setting. The cost of mobilizing NGO facilitators, teachers or other trained resources could make eventual scale-up of this intervention more challenging. The costs of the honoraria provided to the facilitators, although minimal, must be taken into consideration when considering program expansion. An additional benefit of this approach is that the honoraria provided to the youth facilitators help them to continue their education.

- At the request of the facilitators, a facilitator's handbook was developed to support the facilitators, reinforce the delivery of key concepts during each session and improve delivery of the sessions.
- The images and metaphors used during the Choices sessions proved to be age-appropriate and not too abstract for the participants. Nevertheless, young facilitators should be provided with on-the-spot feedback to improve their ability to engage learners in group discussions so they do not resort to the more common lecturing style currently utilized in Nepal's education system.
- Local staff overseeing the implementation of Choices will need to be engaged in a gender mainstreaming workshop to increase awareness of gender inequity and its impact on children. In this experience, a two-day training was provided to NGO staff before the facilitator training was initiated.
- The results reported in this evaluation were obtained soon after participants completed Choices. It is likely that ongoing support and motivation would be required to maintain behavior change. Although the results of this evaluation show positive trends, it is probable that a longer-term intervention would have had greater impact.

## **Evaluation**

- The study was conducted within a short timeframe in a single district with a relatively small number of child clubs. The results suggest that this intervention has the potential to address gender inequities among children; however it will have minimal impact unless it is implemented on a larger scale. Furthermore, the feasibility and effectiveness of implementing Choices would need to be monitored under scale-up conditions.
- Although all of the instruments were designed for 10-14 year-olds and went through rigorous pre-testing, it was still found that some of the younger participants had some trouble with the tools because they were unable to read or write. Thus, it is important to consider not only the age and grade level of children, but also their actual ability to read and write.
- There were several limitations to the evaluation design. First, the short time period of the evaluation made it difficult to observe behavior change. In addition, it is quite challenging to measure gender-related attitudes and behaviors, especially among children. Nevertheless, this quasi-experimental multi-method evaluation design proved feasible and provided convincing evidence of the acceptance and effect of the intervention, in part due to the triangulation of data from various sources.

- The tools developed for the evaluation were successful in eliciting discussion among very young adolescents of abstract concepts such as gender and discrimination. The innovative methods used to quantify the discussion which resulted from the use of projective techniques proved a feasible and effective evaluation methodology.
- The study tool for brother and sister pairs was effective in assessing different perceptions of gender-based responsibilities and attitudes among brothers and sisters. It also provided useful data to corroborate self-reported changes with information from siblings.
- These age-appropriate methods should be refined and replicated in future studies with very young adolescents.

#### **4.2 Recommendation for future actions**

The results of this pilot project suggest that Choices is an effective means of encouraging young people to reflect on gender disparities and to encourage more equitable behaviors and attitudes related to gender. Children participating in Choices reported that the activities were easy, interesting and fun. The study results show significant changes in attitudes, behaviors and practices of adolescents. The following recommendations are based on these results.

- Scale-up Choices in order to bring about wide-spread changes in gender attitudes, behaviors, roles and norms. Rolling out Choices through existing community-based child clubs in Nepal is an obvious approach, but the program could also be scaled up through schools.
- Challenging existing gender disparities and norms through reflection and action should not be restricted to older adolescents and adults. Early adolescence is an ideal development stage to lay the foundation for gender equity. The results of this evaluation showed that Choices was most effective with 12-14 year olds.
- The behaviors that 10-14 year olds develop during the transformational period between childhood and adulthood will have a profound effect on their own future and that of their community. Choices effectively employed participatory and reflective approaches to engage very young adolescents; taking advantage of the transitional nature of adolescence to help them develop gender equitable attitudes, behaviors and practices.
- Choices should be just one of many approaches used at the community level to create equitable gender norms. In order to achieve wide-spread, long-lasting change, it is important to engage parents through complementary programming, since they are primarily responsible for the socialization of their children. The potential synergy of comprehensive approaches has greater likelihood of achieving sustainable change.

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## APPENDICIES