Gender differences in juvenile delinquency:
The influence of socialization in families and schools in Bhutan

A Research project Submitted to Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Management of Development

With specialization in Social Inclusion, Gender and Rural Livelihood

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September 2010**

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis is dedicated to my son

LEKZIN YOEZER WANGDI

From whom, I draw my inspiration and the reason for seeking higher knowledge. For enduring my absence and being able to learn, how to speak few sentence properly during the course of my study (who was two years old when I left for my study).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

STC	Save the Children
NCWC	National Commission for Women and Children
GNHC	Gross National Happiness Commission
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
YDRC	Youth Development and Rehabilitation Centre
DIM	Department of Information and Media
YDF	Youth Development Fund
TF	Tarayana Foundation
RENEW	Respect Educate Nurture and Empower Women
RGoB	Royal Government of Bhutan
CEDAW	Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Corporation
CRC	Convention of Right of the Child
NWAB	National Women's Association of Bhutan
MOLHR	Ministry of Labour and Human Resources
LSE	Life Skills Education
CECD	Career Education and Counselling Division
MoE	Ministry of Education
RBP	Royal Bhutan Police
SCED	Scouts and Cultural Education Division
CAPSD	Curriculum and Professional Support Division

MoHCA	Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs
PYP	Police Youth Program
PCF	Parent-Children Forum

Bhutanese Terms

Chankey	Fermented rice alcohol
Khuru	Traditional Dart (game)
Drukpa	Bhutanese
Pha	Parents
Bhu	Child
Goenkha	Inner Sanctum of the temple
Kerab gu	Nine human births
Ley Jumdrey	Good begets good and vice versa
Tha Damtshig	Sacred commitment to one another
Lobey	Teacher
Lobtu	Student
Nyen da drok	Husband and Wife
Poen da yok	Employee/servant and Employer/master
Domba Nga	Five lay Buddhist undertakings
Ngemba Sum Gi Tsawa Chang Een	Causes of three evil is Alcohol
Dzongkha	National Language of Bhutan

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the socialization of boys and girls in Thimphu, Bhutan by parents at home and teachers in school and finds out the differences in socialization between boys and girls and how it might influence their involvement (or non involvement) in delinquency. The study looks at current socialization and that of two decades ago to understand and also the changes taking place in gender stereotyping, values about being boy or girl and future expectations, helping in the home and the like for boys and girls. The study was guided by two main research questions focusing on what needs to be considered to identify the process of socialization of boys and girls and their involvement in the delinquency by looking at their socialization process at home and in school.

To accomplish the study objectives, the researcher carried out a case study with one to one interview with ten parents (5 mothers and 5 fathers) and teachers (2 female and 2 male), a focus group discussion with a mix of parents and teachers (4 female and 3 male) and a children's book review (11 books). This approach enabled the researcher in drawing conclusions about gender differences in socialization in Bhutan and about potential future involvement of boys and girls in delinquency.

The result of the study shows that the most preferred value for both sexes is being responsible and the least important as freedom. However, there are differences in applying those values by the parents as they provide more freedom to the sons and engage daughter more in household work and in looking after younger siblings. Parents are more liberal with their sons drinking alcohol or going out at night with their friends but they are more protective and restrictive towards daughters. Parent, especially mothers know exactly their daughter's friends and this is less the case with those of their sons and they fear the humiliation, if the daughter elopes with a boy or worse if they get pregnant. However, in comparison to two decades ago there has been considerable change in parenting and teachers dealing in schools. The traditional forms of disciplining like slapping or beating is completely done away with and they try to understand and offer advice. Parents and teachers are more liberal with girls dressing or playing games that were not allowed two decades ago. The children's story books that are taught in the primary schools are mostly gendered portraying traditional gender roles and this is reinforced by parents and teachers through involving and assigning gender specific roles.

The current socialization suggests that boys are provided with more freedom and fewer restrictions to engage in delinquency, however, changes in the last two decades indicate increased chances of girls indulging in delinquency in the future.

The author recommends the need to undertake a multi prong approach to build the resilience, skills and knowledge of the children and parents aimed at reducing children coming in conflict with the law. For this, organization like Save the Children needs to strengthen their existing programs by focusing initially on Thimphu Districts targeting children and parents.

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the introduction, problem statement, research questions, and introduction to the study.

1.1. Background

Bhutan is a mountainous country with an area of 38,394 sq. km (Figure 1) populated by 6,34,982 people, with a population density of 16 person per square kilometre and more than 30% live in the urban areas (Office of the Census Commissioner, 2005). The elevation ranging from 100 to 7500 MSL, and there are six agro-ecological zones, from north to south. About 72.5% of the land area is under forest cover and is home of diverse flora and fauna. Only 7.7% is suitable for agriculture and human habitation. Agriculture is the single largest sector providing livelihood to 66% of the population in the country (National Statistical Bureau, 2008). There are 20 Districts in Bhutan; Thimphu is the capital city and the most populated urban centre. The country established democratic constitutional monarchy in 2008, which made Bhutan the newest democratic country in the world. Buddhism is the state religion which a majority of the people follow. The country's per-capita GDP is 2082 USD, placing the country on 17th position among 33 countries in Asia (Global Property Guide, 2010).

Figure 1: Location of Bhutan

Gyalyong Gakyi Pelzom (Gross National Happiness) the development philosophy of Bhutan promulgated by the fourth King of Bhutan His Majesty, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, seeks to put the wellbeing and happiness of the people at the heart of every development initiatives (Royal Government of Bhutan 2005). Recognizing the wide ranges of factors that constitute to human wellbeing and happiness, four major areas are identified as the pillars of Gross National Happiness. These are sustainable and equitable socio-economic development, preservation and promotion of culture, promotion of sustainable use of the environment and good governance. The global recognition can be witnessed as far as the highly developed countries like Netherlands are trying to adopt the concept of GNH philosophy. Bhutan is reported as the 8th happiest countries in the world (Kamenev 2006). The concept heavily influenced by the Buddhist principles and values, effectively captures the traditional Bhutanese approach to life and development, thus adopting the Buddha's Middle Path by balancing material comfort with spiritual wellbeing. Therefore, the Buddhist concept of interdependence, non-violence, non-greed, compassion and other such values are very much emphasised.

At the same time with modernization Bhutan is also faced with the challenge of balancing the adoption of modern ideas for material comfort and to continue providing spiritual wellbeing. The influence arising from the media, economic development, education and others is undermining the traditional values and changes in attitude, value and expectations among others are becoming visible in the Bhutanese society (Wangyal 2001).

Traditionally Bhutanese children have been provided security and protection by their parents due to joint family system where grandparents, parents and other relatives lived together in

one house. However, with modernization and urbanization a host of new risk and responsibilities are also ushered in the country. The joint family system is increasingly becoming nuclear as people move to urban towns in search of better opportunities (Wangyal 2001). Thus the protective layer that was traditionally provided by the family has become weaker. Under the stresses of urban life; separation and divorce are becoming more common creating more difficulties for children (Save the Children 2008).

Bhutanese parents have become increasingly concerned about substance abuse by their children. Primarily this concerns drinking alcohol, sniffing glue or correction fluid, or smoking marijuana, abuse of prescription drugs or injection of heroin. According to police reports of Thimphu, a total of 356 drugs related arrest were made in the city during 1998 out of which 61% were under 20 yrs of age. The record showed about one third of these young offender came from broken families, although, substance abuse was not confined to poor families only (Black and Stalker 2006).

The juvenile delinquency record at the Youth Development and Rehabilitation Centre (YDRC) revealed that 1,457 juveniles were arrested between 1999 and 2010 in Bhutan. From the total arrested only 164 male juveniles were sentenced by the court and were sent to the YDRC for rehabilitation. The centre until now has released 136 male juveniles and currently has 21 male juveniles undergoing rehabilitation in the centre (Seyden 2010). Although this number is minimal in comparison to many countries in the world, it is alarming for a small country with small population.

Organization like Save the Children although implement programs for children, like life skills education for school children, police youth program for the youth and parenting program for the parents they know little about the gender influences in socialization and the relation to juvenile delinquency. The programs are aimed to cover all the schools in the country by training one or two teachers per schools to implement the programs.

1.2.   Problem statement and objective

Bhutan is a Buddhist country where people follow non-violence as one of the principles of life. However, the rising crime in the country says otherwise as evident from the fact that from a negligible figure in the early 1990s to an average of 60 crimes per year by 2003, with urban centres witnessing more crime than in the rural areas. The gender involvement in the crime between 1984 to 2003 shows a total of 27 female convicts against 622 male convicts indicate that although both the sexes are involved, female are offending less than their male counterpart (Dorji 2005a). However, it is not known to what extent this big difference between male and female may be influenced by different socialization of boys and girls, like gender roles, behaviour, expectations and other gender-related messages that young people grow up with in Bhutan. Parents, and teachers, among others potentially play a role in influencing the gender differences in crime and the extent to which it is the case in Bhutan and how it is changing over the past decades is uncertain.

The research objective is to explore gender-related factors in children's socialization influencing male and female juvenile delinquent behaviours in Bhutan and whether we need to prepare for female juvenile delinquents in the future.

1.3. Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated to meet the above mentioned objective.

1. How does socialization of boys and girls in Bhutan contribute to gender differences in juvenile delinquency?

1.1. What are the values and norms about masculinity and femininity in Bhutan?
1.2. How are these values and norms reinforced in families and in schools?
1.3. In what ways do these reinforcements stimulate boys (and girls) to get involved in delinquent behaviour?

2. What gender related changes in the past two decades could influence female involvement in juvenile delinquency?

2.1. What gender-related changes have taken place in Bhutanese society in the past two decades?
2.2. What predictions can be made about future involvement of female delinquency in Bhutan, considering these changes?

1.4. Introduction to the study

A lot of factors influence children to involve in crime. However, since major socialization of the children begins at home, where they spend majority of their time with the parents, the parents was chosen as an important source of information. Then the next area where children spend majority of their time is in school where they interact with the teachers and the socialization at home is further reinforced by them, so teachers were chosen as the second major source for this study (Figure 2). Therefore, this study was designed to interact closely with them to understand their treatment, expectation, views and the like of boys and girls currently by them and by their parents and teachers when they were children themselves two decades ago. This study also carried out an assessment of values for boys and girls assigned by the parents and teachers and a review of the children's book taught in the primary schools in Bhutan.

The studies carried out so far on gender in Bhutan mostly looks at the male and female access, participation and stereotypes but not into the differences in socialization of boys and girls at home and in school. Thus this study purely looks at the socialization of boys and girls at home with parents and in school with teachers and how these differences could influence their involvement and non involvement in the juvenile delinquency. The findings of this research will be of interest and benefit to a wide spectrum of actors; such as the policy makers to help them during formulation of policies, researchers to give them better insights about the current scenarios and future attentions/directions, NGO's to help them plan their projects and activities and other advocates of gender and children in conflict with the law.

The report is divided into eight chapters. In the first chapter, I present the background, problem statement, objective, research questions and introduction. The report is then placed in context with juvenile delinquencies and changing values in Bhutan with the literature review in chapter II. The methodology and the challenges that I have faced doing the research and limitation of the study are discussed in chapter III. Chapter IV presents the findings from the value exercise with parents, teachers and in focus group and the socialization of boys and girls at home and

in school and finally the findings from the children's book review. Then in chapter V presents the gender related changes (or no changes) within the last two decades. Chapter VI presents the conclusion and chapter VII presents the recommendations based on the findings and discussions.

CHAPTER II - LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the literature review on gender in Bhutan, national and international instruments for protection and development of women, changing values due to development, education and travel, increasing crime in the urban centres and socialization.

2.1.   Gender relations and policies in Bhutan

Bhutanese women enjoy equal treatment and are in relatively better position compared to the situation of women in many neighbouring counties in the region. This is possible mainly due to public policies and legislation that does not distinguish between male and female and Buddhist values that are traditionally inherent in the Bhutanese society.

Bhutan recognizing the importance of women as equal development partners, joined the global community by ratifying the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1981; the South Asian Association for Regional Corporation (SAARC) Convention on Preventing and Combating Trafficking of Women and Children for Prostitution in 2003 and the SAARC Code for the Protection of Breastfeeding and Young Child Nutrition and Convention of Right of the Child (CRC) in1990 (Gross National Happiness Commission (GNHC) 2005).

The government's commitment for the empowerment of women is evident from the establishment of institutions purely for the development and promotion of women issues in the country since the early 1980. The establishment of National Women's Association of Bhutan (NWAB) in 1981, with the objectives to improve the living standards and socio-economic status of women, the Youth Development Fund (YDF) in 1999, with a mission to ensure sustained financial support to enable Bhutanese youth to realize their full potential as productive citizens, the Tarayana Foundation in 2003 with the objective of providing income generation opportunities to the disadvantaged and the under privileged groups, the RENEW (Respect Educate Nurture and Empower Women) in 2004 dedicated to the relief and empowerment of disadvantaged women and girls, the National Commission for Women and Children (NCWC) in 2004 which act as the national mechanism for coordinating and monitoring activities related to women and child rights.

Bhutan is guided by the five year development plan initiated in the 1960's. Since then the government has accorded equal importance to both men and women by providing equal opportunities, entitlements and legal status. By the 5th plan (1981-1987) the government recognizing women's contribution in the development has inserted a separate chapter on women in the plan. The 7th Plan (1992 – 1997) had chapter titled 'Women's Involvement in Development' focused on women and girls as the beneficiaries of health and education services and in the current 10th Plan (2008 – 2013) the chapter is placed under the National Commission for Women and Children (NCWC) as Strengthening the Advancement of Women and Children (NCWC 2008, in press, GNHC 2009)

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan provides equal opportunity to both female and male *"all persons are entitled to equal and effective protection of the law and shall not be discriminated against on the grounds of race, sex, language, religion, politics or other status"* (Article 7-Fundamental Rights). It also has a provision to take appropriate measures *"to eliminate all forms of discrimination and exploitation against women including trafficking, prostitution, abuse, violence, harassment and intimidation at work in both public and private spheres"*, therefore, granting every woman the legal support and protection to live without fear

of exploitation (Royal Government of Bhutan 2008)

Important legislation like the Marriage Act (1980), the Inheritance Act (1980), the Land Act (1985), the Penal Code of Bhutan (2004), the Civil and Criminal Procedure Code of Bhutan (2001) and the Labour and Employment Act of Bhutan (2007) were amended more than once to enhance the relatively equal status of women and to prevent any discriminations. In addition the government recognizing the importance of gender representation in promoting good governance and political participation has maintained gender neutrality in the new Election Bill and Local Governance Act (NCWC in press, Planning Commission Secretariat (PCS) 2003).

A survey on the gender stereotypes and women's political participation (women in governance) found that 43% of the respondents (295f and 246m) believed that there are no gender discrimination against women in Bhutan while 38% believed that there is discriminations to some extent, while 70 % of the respondents stated that there are no gender discrimination in government policies, laws and opportunities (NCWC in press).

2.2. Gender and religion

Religions have time immemorial influenced the traditions and culture of any nation which regard men as superior to women, which has led to ill treatment of women around the world. Buddha, however, had no discriminations when it comes to gender and the freedom and rights of women were affirmed by him some 2,500 years ago. Therefore, Buddhism did not have any discrimination against women as it recognizes equally between men and women to follow the religion (NCWC in press). However, there are some common sayings and religious beliefs contrary to Buddha's stand on women and it is not clear how it has originated like the popular (or unpopular) religious saying and belief among the Bhutanese people that men are superior by *"kerab gu"* (nine human births). The explanation to this belief is that women compared to men are more likely to die at infancy; are physically weaker; they undergo menstrual cycles; bear child in womb for nine months; have high risk of dying during the child delivery; they bear the burden of breast feeding and nurturing the child....; and due to all these burdens they cannot practice Buddhism, thus are likely to be borne in the three lower realms, reducing their chances of obtaining precious male human body (Penjor 2009). This belief is seen as the basis of discrimination of women in Bhutan with 75% of the participants indicating in the gender stereotypes study, the same is felt even with majority of women (65%) in the same study who have undergone modern education (94%) indicated the desire to be born as man in their next life. This clearly indicates that life and situation are subtly favourable to men in Bhutan, otherwise why would they want to be born as men in their next life. But interestingly majority (97%) of the respondent from the study didn't find the barring of women from entering the *'goenkha'* (the inner sanctum of the temple) as discriminatory and even if given the chance they would not want to enter (NCWC in press, PCS 2001).

2.3. Gender roles within the society

The study on gender stereotypes found gender expected societal roles, where women are expected to undertake most of the household chores like washing, child care, cooking, cleaning etc and men on the other had are expected to do the work that are mostly outside the domain of the house thus involving him in more interaction and representation of the family (NCWC 2008, in press). This is also evident from the fact that women themselves agree that the works done by men are more laborious and that they would not be able to do them (PCS 2003)

The study on culture diversity and resilience, where they studied the strength and relevance of various aspects of culture (language, sense of identity, core values, customs and the like) in Bhutan found that majority (55.3%) of the respondents believed that women are more suited for domestic work than men indicating that people are giving more importance to custom than on gender issues (Chophel 2009) and this is also supported by the CEDAW report which states that both men and women agreed that men are incapable of doing work that had been done traditionally by women over the ages and even when such work is done by men, women feel that they are not able to do it properly and is below the required standard (PCS 2003). However, the urban families are now more nuclear in structure against joint family system in the rural area with both partners working and economically contributing to the household, the expected division of labour in such urban families are more flexible and decisions taken jointly leading to change in gender roles in Bhutan (NCWC in press).

Gender stereotyping is still existing regardless of the geographical location, but with the educational attainment and increasing exposure, men are also increasingly taking up roles and responsibilities that are traditionally taken by women, like doing household chores and child care and women are also taking up roles that are not considered typical of their sex by coming forward to challenge culturally accepted stereotypes (NCWC 2008).

There is strong cultural beliefs in biological inferiority and vulnerability (sexually) of women in Bhutan and these beliefs makes the families and the society to provide more care and protection to the girl child, limiting her mobility and hence her participation in the outside of the house affairs (NCWC in press, 2008). In addition the socio-cultural influences the perception that women are less capable, confident and stronger than man (NCWC 2008).

Lack of confidence, peer support and women's own perception being less capable than men, less confident and vulnerability was identified as one of causes for low female participation at the local political level (PCS 2003). Bhutan being an agrarian society requires more physical stamina where men were more suited, so men did most of the work outside the house providing him with opportunities to interact and build comprehensive social network while women took care of the work at home thus limiting her mobility and exposure. This is further aggravated by the fact that women's traditional ties to family land where women inherit land and property from the parents binding them to their land and house and the responsibility of taking care of the aged parents (NCWC 2006, in press).

2.4. Gender in education and profession

The only formal education in Bhutan before 1960 was the monastic education which catered exclusively to male children. Only after 1960 a modern education system was introduced opening up avenue for the female to join. However, due to distances to schools and hardship and many inconveniences involved in sending children to school boys were preferred to be sent to school by their families because of traditional viewpoint that daughters are vulnerable and helpless.

'Parents commonly struggled hard to keep their children home; often children had to be almost forcibly taken from the village. To send children to school was looked upon as a kind of taxation that should be evaded if possible. Thus, enrolment for girls was initially very low indeed'.... (PCS 2003).

Considering the recent introduction of modern education, the country has made huge achievement in the area of education with only 400 student in 1961 to 169,313 in 2009 with almost 50% female (83,223) (Policy and Planning Division 2009). Still girls are shy, have less confidence and lacks peer support and this could probably be because of the socio-cultural perception that still holds women as less capable, confident, strong and sexually more vulnerable than man (NCWC in press, 2008)

In Bhutan there are no preferences when it comes to children; parents prefer both son and daughters equally (PCS 2003). The study on gender stereotypes also found that irrespective of geographical locations parents nowadays places equal importance to education for both boys and girls, this is confirmed by the study on the attitude and belief related to gender, where more than 80 % of the respondents disagreed that an education is more important for a boy than a girl (Chophel 2009). However, when presented with situation where priority had to be made for educating one child, majority of the parents (90%) chose son reflecting the perception that male as bread earner of the family (NCWC in press). The same findings were also made in the 'Education and Gender in Bhutan' study where 58% of the respondents prefer to educate son if a choice have to be made between the gender (Buringa and Tshering 1992)

Girls are increasingly getting educated and choosing careers that are traditionally man's domain and this is evident from below (Table 1) showing enrolment of girls in technical and engineering colleges.

Table 1: Enrolment of Girls in Technical Institutes

Name of the institute	Year	Female enrolled
Royal Bhutan Institute of Technology (RBIT) (Offering three-year diploma level courses in civil, electrical and mechanical engineering)	1984	Nil
	2003	15% (45 out of 307)
Royal technical Institute (Offering two year certificate level courses in auto-mechanic, mechanical, electrical, civil construction and computer hardware)	1984	Nil
	2003	37% (157 out of 425)

Source: Planning Commission Secretariat 2003.

The participation of women in various fields of employment over the years shows that women have been increasingly taking up professions equal to men and it has certainly made entry into the areas where men had previously dominated (Table 2).

Table 2: Women's Participation in traditionally male dominated profession

Position	Female representation	Source
Parliament Member	NC – (24%), NA – (8.5%)	*National Counsel of Bhutan 2010, National Assembly of Bhutan 2005.*
Judiciary (lawyers)	14%	*Royal Court of Justice 2009*
Civil service	31%	*Royal Civil Service Commission, 2009.*
Police Force	4.31%	*Gender Focal Point, 2010.*
Trade and Industries (Proprietor)	34.74%	*Ministry of Trade and Industry 2001*

2.5.   Changing values in Bhutanese society

Rokeach (1973) defines value as "a belief either about a "desired end-state of existence" such as striving for freedom, or salvation, or world peace (terminal values) or a belief about a "preferred mode of conduct" such as being honest, or courageous, or loving (instrumental values)" and Schwartz and Bardi (2001) defines values as "Desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives". Therefore, for this research value would mean a preferred mode of conduct that is socially preferable like respectful, responsible, hard working, honesty, well mannered, obedient, self-discipline, helpful, freedom and daring.

Buddhism was introduced in the 7th Century and has a significant influence on the values of the Bhutanese people, thus traditional Bhutanese values are based on Buddhist cultures like individual self-discipline, conduct of interpersonal relationship and responsibilities to all sentient beings. The value for social conduct like *ley jumdrey* and *tha damtshig* are central to Bhutanese values where *ley Jumdrey* means good begets good and vice versa, and *tha damtshig* outlines the sacred commitment to another. Thus, these values are paired for sacred commitment between child and parents (*pha da bhu gi damtshig)* teacher and pupil (*lobey da lobtu gi damtshig)*, husband and wife (*nyen da drok gi damtshig)*, and between employee/servant and employer/master (*poen da yok gi damtshig).* This emphasizes the social responsibility in the society (Wangyal 2001, Chophel 2009, and Kuenga 2001).

Individual self-discipline is considered imperative for harmonious living with others, thus values prescribed by *domba nga* (five lay Buddhist undertakings) like not killing, not stealing, not lying, not consuming intoxicants and avoiding sexual misconduct are mainly for inculcating individual self discipline*.* However, with modernization and urbanization, it has ushered in modern values that is threatening to undermine the age old traditional. This is evident from the study conducted on the transmission of value, which found that with modernization and development people are becoming more and more self-centred and materialistic especially in the urban centres. The study points out that greatest impact is being felt by the urban residents which consists of 20% of the population of Bhutan and that since the urban population is considered as modern and advanced and all have roots in rural areas the flow of ideas and influence to the rural population could lead to rapid changes in values and could prove dangerous to the social harmony of the people and calls for maintaining the traditional values amid these developments. Wangyal cautions the need to ensure that the culture and values are not undermined since it forms the bedrock of Bhutanese national identity (Wangyal 2001).

The study on the impact of media found that the introduction of media has influenced people to accept global cultures and values and this has led to undermining the traditional culture and value. The excessive advertising through the media has led to change in dressing style and to new consumption demands particularly among the youths (Rapten 2001). Respect for the elders in Bhutan is still valued and appreciated but the study on the impact of media found that older people are not happy with how media personnel are interviewing people who are senior officials and higher level persons. They felt that when they do not show respect for people they interview (by being direct and almost rude) especially the elders, it is degrading the culture and social etiquettes of the country (Department of Information and Media (DIM) 2008). People have become more broad-minded because of media and the male and female relationships that were viewed in narrow sense in the past are now accepted as friendship (DIM 2008). However, on the contrary the influence of media and other development related influence had made people dissatisfied with their lives and possessions. At the same time many young

people are resorting to crime, substance abuse and even prostitution thus undermining the traditional Bhutanese values (Wangyal 2001). Although influences from the travel outside the country and foreigners visiting the country as tourist are evident, the influence from mass media is fast influencing and changing the traditional values as people increases their appetite for more consumption and become more materialistic (DIM 2008). At the same time due to shift in value from physical strength to intellectual in urban areas due to education and exposure, women are challenging the traditional gender roles (PCS 2003).

Increasingly people are able to earn income through employment in the urban areas and are becoming more independent than in rural areas where people have to depend on each other for living. Thus, as people become more independent the traditional value of interdependence is being undermined (Wangyal 2001).

With development changes in the lifestyles are becoming visible with people increasingly becoming conservative due to constant rise in the living cost especially in the urban centres. Families now increasingly prefer and are becoming nuclear weakening the family bond that is enjoyed in the joint family system. Similarly the urban life and work pressure is also weakening the bond between parents and children as parents are most of the time are busy with work and children are left with baby sitter or nannies and television as they grow (Wangyal 2001, Save the Children 2008).

People are increasingly migrating to urban centres in search of better opportunities leaving their aging parents at home is undermining traditional value of *pha da bhu gi damtshig* (Wangyal 2001). Figures shows that urban centre like Thimphu received the highest number of migrants in 2005 (34,378) while Trashigang which is a remote district in the eastern Bhutan lost the highest population (19,046) in the same year (National Statistical Bureau 2008). This has put pressure on the employment sector as increasing number of people are seeking jobs leaving rural areas and this is evident with the increase in unemployment rate in the country from 3.7% in 2006 to 4.0% in 2009 with higher unemployment rate in urban (7.5%) than in rural areas (3.0%). Unfortunately the female unemployment rate is higher with 5.3% in comparison to 2.6% for male (Ministry of Labour and Human Resources 2009).

2.6. Juvenile delinquency

The essence of General Strain Theory (GST) according to Agnew (2009) is that individuals are likely to become unhappy and behave unlawfully when they experience strains or stressors. These individuals may get involved in unconventional ways like crime to vent out their unhappiness/frustration or to tackle such stress. For instance, an individual may bully others to make themselves feel better, or drink alcohol to cope with the stress or may steal money or things if one is in desperate need of cash or wants to have something but was not able to afford or achieve.

Strains according to Agnew (2009) come under three major areas. 1) People may lose something they value, for instance, one of their parents may die or parents get divorced. 2) People may be treated unjustly or in negative manner by others (receive something bad). For instance they may be bullied by others either verbally or physically and lastly 3) People may be unable to achieve their goals (fail to get something they want) for instance, an individual may not be able to make friends with the ones they desires or buy a cloths that they want.

Strain refers to the relationships, in which the individual is not treated as he or she wants to be treated or events or conditions that are disliked by individuals (Agnew 1992, 2009). Thus according to Agnew 'strains are conducive to crime when they are high in magnitude, perceived as unjust, associated with low social control, and create some pressure or incentive for criminal coping'

Both male and female shows anger when they experience strain, however, their coping or emotional response to strain between male and female differs (De Coster 2005, Mazerolle 1998). Mazerolle also found difference in female and male in terms of reaction to the same strain when responded with anger and that male are more likely to externalize manifestations (crime etc) of the strain and anger, and female internalizing (depression, eating disorders etc) the manifestation.

Research on the gender differences in the effect of strain on the delinquency of South Korean youth found that the emotional support and supervision of the parents did not have any influence on the negative strain for female and male, which are the conditioning factors (Morash and Moon 2007). However, they found that girls from the families with less financial resources, who are abused by their parents and teachers and who have friends (peers) that are delinquent are more at risk to violent delinquency.

In Bhutan there are concerns about rise in youth crime especially in the urban centres as the country saw an increase in crime. The youth arrest reports in Thimphu alone showed a total of 514 arrests between 1998 and 2003 of which 10% are of students and between 1984 and 2003 showed Thimphu with highest crime rate with 32.4% against 67.6% of crime that took place in the rest of the 19 districts (Dorji 2005a). This shows that urbanization provides avenue for adolescent to commit crime and one possible reason seems to be unemployment as one third were jobless and one third had low paying odd jobs like waiters (Black and Stalker 2006). This notion is also supported by Dorji (2005a) in his study that increasing number of school dropouts and farm youth who are mostly between 15 to 18 years of age are migrating to urban areas for employment or short-term work and by Agnew (2009) who mentions that communities where there are high unemployment rate tends to be more prone to crime because their chances of achieving economic and other goals in their life are limited and they are often unemployed for a long time and often work in low and less paying jobs.

However, Dorji (2005a) in his study mentions that rural youth migrating to Thimphu are not the sole trouble maker or committing crime and children from affluent families are also equally involved in the crime as they were able to afford whatever they need which tend to spoil them and they form gangs, assaulting in bars and discos, abuse narcotic substance, and rough driving, which he calls it as *'creative destruction'*

The study also points out that the social, cultural, and economic situations in urban areas are more apt for loafers to flock together and commit crime under the influence of each other. Majority of the youth (school dropout, educated, illiterate etc) migrate to Thimphu (urban town) seeking various opportunities and when such arrivals increases their possibilities of meeting their dreams and expectations becomes slimmer due to limited opportunities, they get disappointed and many youth either fall victim or commit crime (Dorji 2005a).

According to Agnew (2009) adolescents are more prone to crime than when they were child or adult later in their life because the adolescent is exposed to increased strains as they enter the secondary school in their life. Where the school is larger than their primary school, increased

interaction with more teachers and friends from diverse background, have more study load and responsibilities and need to follow more rules and regulations. Since they are not fully matured like adult where they are able to comprehend what is lawful and not, coupled with decrease in parental supervision they are more prone to crime. This seems true with the similar findings by Dorji (2005a) that crime peaks at 17 year for the juveniles and 23 for young adults.

The study by Dorji, however found that female are committing less crime than male with only 27 (4.2%) female convicted against 622 (95.8%) male convicted between 1984 – 2003. He points out that the reason could be due to less pressure on female on the material success than males and they are less exposed to delinquent peers because of greater social control like helping at home, parents expectations and society less forgiving for female deviant behaviour than male (Dorji 2005a). This finding is in line with what Broidy and Agnew (1997) cited in Morash and Moon (2007) have mentioned in their study that females are less likely than males to respond to strain with delinquent behaviours because they have better coping resources and emotional support, and their socialization is inconsistent with delinquency, and they are not as often exposed to people (e.g., delinquent peers) who model illegal behaviour.

Research has shown that female adolescent are more likely than their male counterpart to experience strains but these strains experienced by female are not conducive to crime like strains such as excessive parental supervision and the burdens associated with the care of others. However, male experiences strains that are conducive to crime, so strains like harsh parental discipline, negative school experiences such as low grades, abusive peer relations, criminal victimization, homelessness, and the inability to achieve such valued goals as autonomy, masculine status and monetary success (Agnew 2009).

In contrast to what Agnew (2009) who says that female adolescent are more likely than male to experience strains, although such strains like excessive parental supervision and burden associated with the care of others are not conducive to crime, Morash & Moon (2007) in their research on the gender difference in delinquency of South Korean Youth found that male experiences more stress from the abuse (emotional and physical) by the teacher than female. This they argue that it could be due to the importance placed on the son in carrying the family linage and in keeping the status of the family, which result in placing more importance in male's academic achievements against female's. However, they found strongest predictor of violence when the abuse by the teacher is combined with delinquent peers for both the sexes. Thus it appears that crime resulting out of strain on male and female is dependent on the socio-cultural context.

A study carried out on substance abuse (alcohol, cannabis smoking, pharmaceutical drugs and sniffing of glue) in one of the Bhutanese school found substance use by the male student higher (4%) compared to female (1%). The study also found that although half of the male drug users (48/91) were arrested by police in connection with alcohol and drug related offences, only one-third were sentenced to jail. However, it is interesting that out of one-third (5/16) of the female arrested for alcohol and drug related offences none were sent to jail (Panda et al 2009).

The minimum criminal age in Bhutan is 10 years, therefore, an offence committed by a child below 10 yrs will not be held liable. Thus, children between 10 - 18 years of age found guilty of an offence the court may sentence them to a minimum of half the sentence prescribed for the offence if committed by an adult (Royal Court of Justice, 2004). Therefore children who have come in conflict with the law and sentenced by the court are sent to the country's only

rehabilitation centre for children, the Youth Development and Rehabilitation Centre (YDRC). As party to the CRC, the YDRC was established in 1999 at Tsimasham, under Chukha District to provide reformative and rehabilitative services for juveniles (children under 18 years of age at the time of committal) who have come into conflict with the law. In the absence any organization or body to undertake such program it was placed under the prison wing of the Royal Bhutan Police through a royal command (Youth Development and Rehabilitation Centre, 2009).

2.7. Socialization

Socialization as defined by Dr. Robertson (2008) is *"The lifelong process of social interaction and learning through which a child learns the intellectual, physical, and social skills needed to function as a member of society".* And Bush and Simmons, (1981) cited in Long and Hadden (1985) defines socialization as *"the ways in which individuals learn skills, knowledge, values, motives, and roles appropriate to their position in a group or a society".* They argue that socialization is a lifelong process and takes place in many social settings like in family, school, mass media, peer group workplace and religion. Similarly, Macionis and Gerber (2008) identifies agents of socialization as, 1) Family - which is considered as the most important in socialization of the child, where initial transmission of culture takes place and parents pays more attentions to their children although it varies with the parenting style. So from early age children learns from the families the existence of social class and its association with different behaviour pattern and values; 2) School - next to family is the school as children are enrolled in the schools, where they interact with other children and people from myriad culture, language, up brining and social backgrounds and learns from each other; 3) Peer Group – the socialization with this group occurs outside the supervision of the adult. The group usually of same age, with similar interest and family background learns and adopts behaviours from each others; 4) Mass Media - the media including television, newspaper, and radio are all impersonal communications directed towards vast audience. For example children spend more time watching television than they spend interacting with parents at home or with teacher in schools, thus media can have impact on the behaviour of the children as messages imparted could contain class, gender stereotyping, racial biases, violence etc.

CHAPTER III - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the conceptual framework and elaborates on the research method and instruments of data collection. Furthermore it describes research site, sampling of respondents, challenges encountered and limitation of the study.

3.1. Conceptual framework

Youth Themselves

- Religious Belief
- Religious Practice
- Ambition
- Use of Leisure time
- Others

Peer Influence

- Stealing
- Smoking
- Drinking alcohol
- Vandalism
- Gang formation
- Others

Family Influence

- Division of work between boy and girl
- Expectations from boy and girl
- Control of boy and girl
- Monitoring of boy and girl
- Punishment/Reward of boy and girl
- Value of Boy and Girl
- Others

Juvenile Delinquency Boys and Girls

Teachers influence (in School)

- Division of work for boys and girls
- Punishment for boys and girls
- Academic importance for boy and girl
- Value of Boy and Girl
- Treatment of boys and girls
- Expectation from boys and girls
- Review of School Books
- Others

Other Influence

- Rural Urban Migration
- Unemployment
- Urban Attractions
- Others ...

Mass Media Influence

- Television
- News paper
- Radio
- Internet

Figure 2: Factors influencing Juvenile Delinquency. The shaded boxes are selected for this research

3.2. Research design

The research used qualitative analysis, so case study with one to one interview and focus group discussion were used for this study. In addition review of children's book in primary school was also carried out to see the extent of gender stereotyping in the school children's books. Desk research was carried out for two weeks to review the previous works done by researchers in the area of gender difference in juvenile delinquency in relation to their socialization to better understand the research context, and prepare for field works. The study on socialization of boys and girls in Bhutan and their relation to juvenile delinquency is not

being studied until now, as an extensive search of the literature reviled only little information mentioned in few of the reports.

3.3. Questionnaire development and pretesting

Secondary literature source were reviewed on issues such as gender and juvenile delinquency. The individual interview checklist and focus group discussion checklist were developed according to research questions that need to be answered. Therefore, checklist were drawn to get data from the primary sources like parents, teachers and through focus group discussion (Table 3).

Table 3: Three different checklists

One-to-one-interview	Focus Group Discussion	One-to-one-interview
Parents	Parents/Teacher	Teachers

The one to one interview with parents and teachers were pre-tested for relevance, duration of the interview and to strengthen the checklist. Therefore, pre-test was carried out with three parents and three teachers prior to the field work.

The pre-test proved beneficial both to me and in enhancing the checklist. The respondents were able to give feedback on the relevance, clarity of the questions and the duration of interview. The respondents felt that the duration of the interview was a little longer as the interview with teacher took a little more than an hour and a half and with parent it took almost two hours. I have also realized that I have underestimated the sensitivity of some of the questions, so it was an important learning from this pre-test, to be careful about asking questions that were sensitive to the respondents, which I thought, was normal to ask. For instance the question of "what would be more embarrassing for you as parent: your daughter getting pregnant or your son impregnating a girl" and similarly on "what would be more embarrassing to you as parent: your daughter eloping with a boy or your son eloping with a girl". I could sense the uneasiness in the respondents in answering these questions and my hunch was proven when one of the respondent said that *"I impart good values to my children and I am there whenever they need me, so such a case will never arise"*. Later, I have realized that, I have overlooked the fact that Bhutanese people being superstitious takes such talks and comments seriously. For instance asking question like the one above would actually be viewed as a bad omen for things to come or things to happen. So issues like this have always been a part of my life as I am born and brought up in Bhutan with these believes and yet I have overlooked such sensitive issues. I have accordingly changed the questions towards seeking their opinion by placing these sensitive issues on the neighbours. Some of the similar questions were omitted based on the feedback and to save time. I had also kept a note to avoided repeating question to which the respondents would have already mentioned with other questions

Three checklists drawn for three categories of pre-defined interviewees guided the case study. The checklists were used to hold informal interviews with the parents and teachers. This

method provided more fundamental information for in-depth analysis of the expectation and treatment of boys and girls by the parents and the teachers. Focus Group Discussion was conducted using the preference ranking tool from the Participatory Rural and Appraisal method to discuss and rank the values for boys and girls. The ranking of values was carried out with three groups of respondents: 1) Teachers (during the individual interviews), 2) Parents (during the individual interviews) and 3) Teacher and Parent (during the focus group discussion). The three values ranked as most important and the last three values that have not given priority are taken into consideration for this study. However, the values assigned by the male and female respondents were not considered separately, but rather taken together as group, as the focus was on getting these three groups to prioritize values according to the importance they feel boys and girls should or should not have and see the similarity and differences.

Since all the respondents were literate and majority of them are working in offices, English was used as the medium for discussions. However, for ease of explaining and probing them for more in-depth to promote richer discussions, Dzongkha (national language of Bhutan) was also used interchangeably during the discussions. During the interviews I found the use of Dzongkha was more apt in giving examples of traditional sayings by the respondents to relate and in putting their point across certain issues under discussion. I met all the stakeholders personally and interviewed them, except during focus group discussion where I employed two assistants one to take notes and the other to take photo of the session and to assist where needed.

A review of children's books was also carried out to see the extent of gender stereotyping reflected in these books that are used to teach the younger children in the schools. A total of 11 books that I was able to get during the time of my field research from Babesa lower Secondary School that were currently used for teaching in pre-primary school children in the country were reviewed.

3.4.   Research site

I have chosen Thimphu the capital city of Bhutan to do my research (Figure 3). Thimphu has the highest population with 1/6 (98,676) of the country's population residing (Office of the Census Commissioner, 2005). Thimphu is also selected because more crimes are committed in this district than in all the other 19 districts and studies have also confirmed change in values in urban areas like Thimphu. As per the record Thimphu saw an increase and higher number of juvenile delinquency in the country, with 87 cases reported in Thimphu out of 140 cases in the whole country in 2007, likewise 182 cases out of 276 in 2008 and within eight months in

Figure 3: Location of research site (Map of Bhutan)

2009 saw a total of 82 cases out of 126 cases reported with the police (Wangmo 2009). Also Thimphu was chosen keeping in mind the time constraints and the timing of the research as it falls during the peak monsoon season (June – August), where Bhutan being a mountainous region is frequented with landslides and road blocks. Just as I arrived at the border town in

Phuntsholing, the main highway (only road) connecting Thimphu and Phuntsholing got blocked for two days and had it not been for the coincidental travel of the fifth King from his tour to the south, it would have taken a week. Therefore travelling at this time of the year is not advisable as one could easily get stranded for days and weeks.

3.5. Sampling technique

To have a variety and representation from different level, I have chosen Yangchenphug Higher Secondary School, Olakha Middle Secondary School and Babesa Lower Secondary School in Thimphu, where I interviewed four teachers (2 male and 2 female). For interview with the parents, I have used the snowball sampling method. I have contacted a parent that I knew and from him I have got another one and so on till I got all five male. Similarly I contacted one female parent I knew and she recommended another one and so till I got five female parents. For the focus group discussion as well, I contacted a friend of mine and he recommended the rest till I got seven participants consisting of parents and teachers with four female and three male. Through this method I was able to get parents who have both son and daughters and who are in their teens. Thus throughout the field work I was able to get gender balanced respondents and it helped me to get a balanced view of on the issues under discussions (Table 4).

Table 4: Number of respondents by gender for case study

One-to-one-interview	Focus Group Discussion	One-to-one-interview
10 Parents	7 Respondents (parents and teachers)	4 Teachers
(5 male & 5 female)	(4 female & 3 male)	2 male & 2 Female)

3.6. Challenges

The field research proved more difficult and complex than I had initially thought as majority of the respondents were working in offices or schools, except for one parent who is a house wife. All the interviews had to be conducted in the evenings and during the weekends. In case of six respondents I had to take the interview in the evening as late as 21:30 hrs in their homes. However, the best part was that they were all cooperative and they understood the significance of their response and the importance of my research for obtaining the masters degree. The challenges that I found during this field work is that although it is convenient to interview literate respondents, they are all busy working in offices or school. After their office hours they have their home life with children and other relatives. Thus, it was very difficult to get their appointment. I realized that had it not been for the snowball sampling method where the first respondent is someone I knew personally and the one he or she recommends were known to each other puts an obligation on the other to honour such request, as Bhutan is still a closely knit society were almost everyone knows the other and depend on each other for variety of reasons. I guess that is the advantage of being in a small population (at least for my research it was an advantage).

Finding parents who have both son and daughter was difficult firstly as most of the people I encountered had either one son or daughter or both sons or both daughters. Secondly, getting

parents whose son and daughter were in teens was difficult as most of the parents either have their children too small (below ten years) or are adult (above twenty years).

Another challenge that I faced was when, I mentioned the word 'interview', potential respondent, became edgy and uncomfortable. It is interesting that even thought these respondents are all educated and living in the capital city they still have phobia towards interviews. Some politely avoided saying that they are either too busy or have urgent datelines to meet and that otherwise they would be more than happy to be the respondent. Few of them, I had to persistently follow up with calls for appointment before they finally agreed. Thus halfway through I changed the nature of my interactions with them as discussions and not as interviews. This has enabled me to get them agree and discuss comfortably.

Towards the mid of interviews, my conscious struck me and I began to feel guilty more as the respondents try to be nice and make time for my interview no matter how late, busy or tired they are. I could not help but think of how I am going to justify their precious time and information or what's in it for them. The only thing that I could tell them was that it is immensely going to help with my research and that possibly the outcome could be used by the government and other agencies to initiate programs for the parents and children to reduce juvenile delinquency in the country.

3.7.   Data Analysis

Data from the case study took a lot of time to analyze, and the study used content analysis. As soon as the interview or discussion was conducted, information was written down on the notebook under each question that was asked. At the end of the day typed in Microsoft Word from the scribbles made on notebook during the interviews. As much as possible the typing of information was carried out on the same day of the interview. However, on three occasions I reached home very late after the interview so I had to do it the next day. Small conclusions were drawn on each question asked, and put together to get a clear picture of subject discussed. Analysis was based on actual findings and the literature review used in the study. Throughout the analysis I tried to be as objective as possible, challenging my own prejudice and mindset. With my awareness of the problems, I can claim a fair success in being unbiased.

3.8.   Limitations

This study has some limitation that should be addressed in the future research. The sample size is small, so future study with larger samples may be better able to examine the socialization of boys and girls by the parents at home and teachers in school. The study is carried out with educated urban residents of Bhutan, therefore, study with illiterate parents and school in rural areas could provide with a richer understanding of the socialization of boys and girls in the rural areas and its influence on them towards delinquency. Finally, this study examined only two factors of socialization that could influence boys and girls involvement in the crime. Therefore, other factors like peer influence, unemployment, youth themselves, societal influence, mass media etc remains to be explored in future studies.

Despite the limitations of this exploratory study, it provides insight on the treatment, expectation and the like of boys and girls by the parents at home and by teachers in the school currently and two decades ago in Bhutan. It sheds light on the likelihood of the gender (boy or

girl) that will get more engaged in juvenile delinquency as a result of such socialization and changes within the two decades period. Such identification is crucial for prevention of long term negative outcomes especially among the children, who are considered important asset of the country. The importance could not be more emphasised than what the fourth king of Bhutan, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck said *"The future of our nation lies in the hands of our children"* (Ministry of Education 2010).

This chapter presents findings from the value exercise carried out with individual parents, teachers and with groups of parent/teachers in a focus group discussion; and from the parents and teachers interview on the treatment, expectations, involvement and the like for boys and girls both at home and in school. The chapter then presents findings from the review carried out on school children's story books.
Finally the chapter also discusses the influence of this socialization on boys and girls in relation to juvenile delinquency due to such socialization at home and school.

4.1. Ranking of Value for Boys and Girls

RESULT

The ranking of values for the boys and girls carried out with three groups of respondents revealed the following results. However, the values assigned are not segregated by the gender of the respondents in this assessment as mentioned in the methodology.

The focus group discussion consisting of four female and three male (Figure 4) revelled that the top three priority value for boys as being responsible, hardworking and daring and for girls being responsible, self-discipline and well-mannered. The last three least priority value for boys was freedom, helpful and obedient and for girls was respectful, freedom and daring.

Figure 4: Parents and Teachers during Focus Group Discussion

The ranking of values by teachers (2 male and 2 female) for boys and girls from the individual interviews (Figure 5) revelled that the top three values ranked by them for boys are being responsible, hardworking and self-discipline and for the girls is being responsible, self-discipline and well-mannered. The least three values for boys were freedom, helpful and being obedient and for the girls were daring, freedom and being helpful.

The same exercise with the parents group (5 male and 5 female) revealed that parents assigned top three priority values for both boys and girls as being responsible, self-discipline and being honest and least three priority values for both the sexes as being helpful, freedom and daring.

All together the values that are of high importance for boys is being responsible ranked by all three respondent groups followed by self-discipline ranked by parents and teachers group and hardworking by teachers and the FGD group. However, honesty is also being ranked by parents while daring was ranked by FGD group as important value for the boys. For the girls the top values that are of high importance are being responsible and self-discipline ranked by all the three groups followed by well mannered ranked by the teachers and FGD group, while honesty was ranked only by the parents group.

Figure 5: Mr. Nawang Gyeltshen a teacher in value ranking exercise

The bottom or the least important values ranked for the boys are helpful and freedom by all the three respondent groups, followed by obedient ranked by teacher and FGD group while daring was ranked only by the parents group. For the girls the least important values ranked were freedom and daring by all the three respondent groups, followed by helpful by the parents and teacher group, while respectful was ranked by the FGD group.

DISCUSSIONS

The same rating of values for boys and girls by the parent group for both top priority value and least priority value is interesting, as there was not a single different value placed for either of sexes. But from the interviews with the parents it is apparent that there are gender differences in actual implementation of the values by parents at home as boys were given more freedom less involved in household chores and girls were more involved in household chores and are monitored more than boys when they go out at night with their friends.

The top values for both boys and girls by all the three groups of respondents shows responsible as the most desired value. Similar findings were also made by Chophel where he found in his study that responsibility was placed second highest life priority or goal in life with 91.8% by the respondents (Chophel 2009). This value placing is very much in line with the Bhutanese value for social conduct *tha damtshig* and *ley jumdrey*. Where *tha damtshig* is the sacred commitment to another and *ley jumdrey* is the interdependence of action and result where good begets good and vice versa (Kinga 2001). Thus *pha (parent) da bhu (child) gi damtshig* or the sacred commitment between parents and child, entails that the parents ensures proper upbringing and care for the child and the child in turn obey and take care of the parents during the old age (Wangyal 2001). Thus the saying *pha geba bhu soo* meaning, knowing that parents will become old the children are raised is a way of instilling responsibility in the children. However, the more I try to understand these values the more I see as a mechanism to ensure that children do not abandon their parents during the old age and are looked after well. Thus in Bhutan bringing up and educating their children is seen as an investment for their old age, because in the absence of social security from the government like in the west, investment in the child is the only social security one can bank on. Thus stems parent's expectation of their children to look after them during the old age. This is also true with the strong Buddhist value and belief that if one does not look after the parents well and keep them happy then their children will also not look after their welfare when they are old. Thus bringing in the action and result or cause and effect angle, thereby ensuring the social mechanism to take care of the old people automatically with these deep seeded beliefs and

maintain social cohesion and harmony. The fear of the parent's curse is a powerful factor that makes the children reluctant to oppose and maintain respect and obedience towards parents (Wikan 1991). This outcome is also strongly reflected during the interviews both with current situation and two decades ago, where parents expect either their eldest children or their daughters to look after them during the old age.

The second most desired value is self-discipline ranked by parents and teachers group for boys and by all three groups for girls. The groups felt that if values like responsible and self-discipline are instilled in the children, then the rest of the values will be easily instilled. This finding is in consistence with the findings from the interviews with the parents where majority (9 out of 10) of them said it is not okay with either or their children to talk back as they have to respect their parents basically referring that children should be disciplined. Self-discipline from the traditional Buddhist value is considered an important component for harmonious living with others and at the same time accumulates good merit (positive karma) and it is in line with Individual self-discipline prescribed by *domba nga* (five lay Buddhist undertakings) (Wangyal 2001).

Freedom was ranked as last value for both boys and girls by all the three respondents as they were of the opinion that if they were given freedom they will easily get influenced in negative activities. This ranking does not agree especially for boy with findings on children and women in Bhutan by UNICEF that boys are left with more freedom to roam and more time for space and exploration, however, for girl it is true as they are expected to be home and have less freedom to roam than boys (UNICEF 1991). The Bhutan National Values Assessments study also found that personal value, freedom was rated as third last value out of ten values that were assessed (Evans, 2009). Similarly a survey carried out on the life priorities or goals showed that people placed freedom at the second last position and independence as the last important qualities for children to learn at home (Chophel 2009). Perhaps, this support the fact that increasing numbers of boys (than girls) getting into drugs (Panda et al). However, this value ranked by the entire group is in contrast to what the parents and teachers said during the interviews that they were okay with girls having boyfriends and boys having girlfriends and similarly, parents were okay with their children having friends from opposite sex and also going out at night.

Daring was ranked least priority value for the girls by all the respondents. The girl child study in Bhutan supports this value placing, as parents as well as girls are very much concerned with their reputation (Wikan 1991) and when daughters reach puberty possibilities of unwanted pregnancy is feared by the parents (Buringa and Tshering 1992). The respondents from this study were also in agreement that girls should be more ladylike, be responsible and set example for her children later once she gets married. They were also concern about the negative gossip that the community will start if girls are daring. Thus daring is something that is not encouraged due to fear of stigma associated with girls and their vulnerability.

4.2. Socialization of boys and girls at home

The parents were asked series of questions based on the checklist that had been prepared to find out their preferences, expectations and treatments of their son and daughter. A total of ten parents (5 fathers and 5 mothers) were interviewed for this purpose.

RESULT

4.2.1. Choosing spouse, opposite sex friends and outing

The response to question on choosing life partner for their children, nine parents (5 mothers and 4 fathers) said that they will not choose a wife for their son or a husband for their daughter because it is their life and the decision should be left up to them. However, four parents (2 mothers and 2 fathers) would advice their son in choosing their partner against all the parents who would advice their daughter on the quality of the person in terms of character, reliability, not alcoholic etc. that she should consider while choosing her husband (Figure 6).
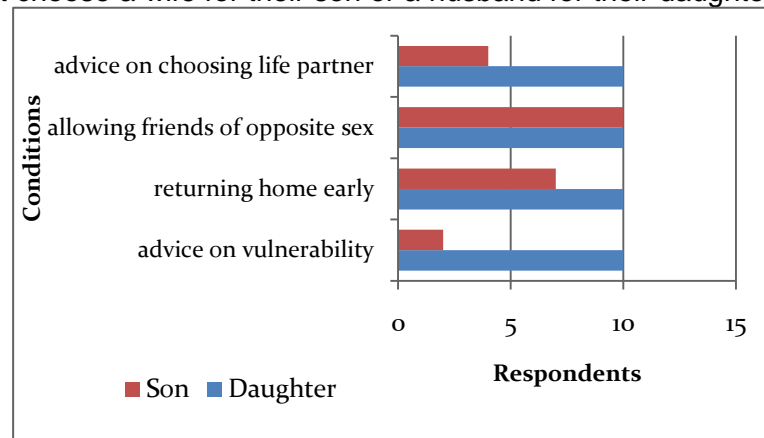
Figure 6: Parents concern for the children (n=10)

In terms of their son and daughter having friends of opposite sex, all the respondents would allow as long as they are in a clean and platonic relationship. However, all the respondents would advice their daughter on the vulnerabilities of being female against two female parents who would advice their son. All the respondents would let them go out with their friends at night, but all would set condition for the daughter to return home early. For son only seven parents (5 mothers and 2 fathers) would set time for their early return, while three fathers would not set any conditions as they felt that son's are not vulnerable like daughters (Figure 6).

4.2.2. Division of household work

Almost all the parents (9 out of 10) involve their daughter in preparing tea and meals and also in serving to the guest (Figure 7). This is done as parents feel that daughter should learn to take responsibilities and do basic household work, so that they are able do once they are married or to stay independent later in life. As for son, only six parents (3 fathers and 3 mothers) involve them in interacting with the guest, while, two mothers and a father involve them in preparing as well as in serving tea to the guest (Figure 7).
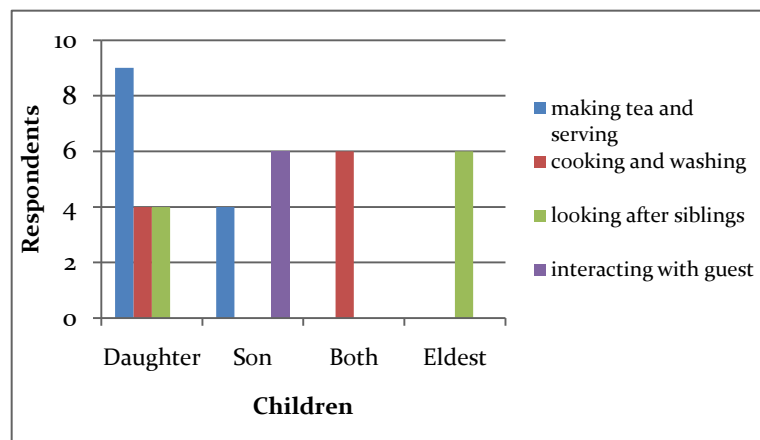
Figure 7: Gender division of work by parents (n=10)

They reasoned that the boys need to learn these basic skills of interacting with the guest and also to stay independent later in their life. In terms of involving children in helping with cooking and washing, six parents (4 fathers and 2 mothers) involve both son and daughter,

while the rest involve only their daughters (Figure 7). They reasoned that these are basic knowledge and skill that they need to learn and to make them responsible in life, while for involving daughters they said that it is the tradition and custom that such work are done by daughters. Similarly six out of ten respondents (3 fathers and 3 mothers) expect the eldest child to look after their younger siblings at home while they are busy or not at home, while the rest (2 mothers and 2 fathers) expect their daughter (Figure 7). They reasoned that the eldest children are more matured and responsible, while the reason for the daughters is that they have motherly instinct in them and also they have to look after their own children after the marriage, so they should learn such skills.

4.2.3. Dealing with children's behaviour

With regard to talking back or arguing with them by their son or daughter, nine out to ten respondents (5 mothers and 4 fathers) mentioned that it is not okay for either of them, because they are parents and they have to show respect. They said that such an act shows they are disobedient and will become a habit later on in life creating more problems for themselves. One respondent was okay with children talking back as long as they have convincing and good reasons. However, interestingly two respondents (2 mothers) would like their son to be more daring and outgoing as they are currently very shy.

With regard to drinking beer or chankey (local fermented alcoholic rice) once in a while, more than half of the respondents (3 fathers and 3 mothers) were okay with their son drinking once in a while because they feel that they need to refresh once in awhile or socialize with their friends and as long as they don't get addicted to drinking. The rest of the respondents, however, said that it is not okay and children should not drink, with one of them mentioning *"Ngemba Sum Gi Tsawa Chang Een"* (the root cause of all three evil is alcohol - referring to a Bhutanese fable on alcohol, sex and violence). For daughter, eight out of ten respondents (4 mothers and 4 fathers) were not okay because they are more vulnerable than boys and they could end up being victim if they start drinking. However, a mother and a father were okay as long as they take it in moderation and not get addicted (Figure 8).
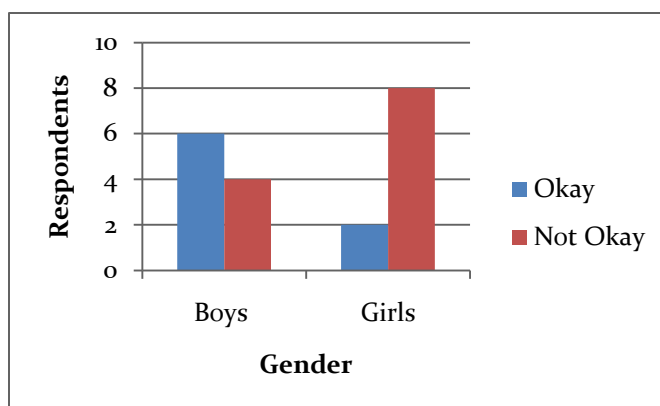
Figure 8: Parents opinion on children drinking alcohol (n=10)

The question of what would be more humiliating, whether daughters eloping with a boy or a boy eloping with a girl. All the respondents said that its more shameful to them as parents, if their daughter elopes with a boy as in the Bhutanese society daughters are expected to be more conservative, exhibit good behaviours and are seen as respectable figure and such an act will be seen as failure on the part of the parent in upbringing their children. In addition four mothers and three fathers mentioned that daughters are more vulnerable like getting pregnant. Similarly all the respondents said that it would be more shameful if their daughter gets

pregnant for the same reason mentioned above and people will gossip and talk about the issue in addition to having the burden of raising the child.

4.2.4. Family control and process

The parents were asked if they knew the friends of their sons and daughters. All the respondents knew either all or some of their daughter's friends. But for son a little more than half of the respondent (3 mothers and 3 fathers) knew their son's friends, while the rest (2 mothers and 2 fathers) didn't know at all. With regard to if they know with whom their son and daughter are with when they go out. Eight out of ten respondents (5 mothers and 3 fathers) knew with whom their daughter is with when she goes out, while only two mothers knew who their son is with when he goes out (Table 5). With regard to respecting the elders all the respondents said that they expect both their son and daughter to be respectful. They mentioned that this is a family value and it is the culture and tradition to respect elders. So it is expected from them and it s good gesture and nice to be respecting elders which shows their manners.

Table 5: Parents awareness of their children's friends

		Father (n=5)	Mother (n=5)
knew few or all friends	**Daughter**	5	5
	Son	3	3
Do not know	**Daughter**	0	0
	Son	2	2
knows who they are out with at night	**Daughter**	3	5
	Son	0	2

4.2.5. Gender involvement in crime

All the respondents agreed that boys are committing more crime, although four respondents (2 mothers and 2 fathers) also said that now girls are "also equally involved in the crime though they are not prominent as boys". Their reasoning for boys committing crime is because boys "are more mischievous and hyper active than the girls, they are more daring, have more free time and are not monitored by the parents".

4.3.   Socialization of boys and girls in school

Teachers were asked series of questions based on the checklist that had been prepared to find out their preferences, expectations and treatments of the boys and girls. A total of four teachers (2 male and 2 female) were interviewed for this purpose.

4.3.1. Division of work

All the respondents (2 male and 2 female) give physical work like pitching tent, digging holes, carrying loads etc to the boys and they reasoned that such work is usually done by them as they are physically stronger. While for girls they assign sweeping, cleaning, cooking and

washing the dishes, this they reasoned that is usually done by female and they are much better at doing such a thing, while they also mentioned that girls are also given work like doing shopping for the event and in keeping cash because they are more calculated, thoughtful and they could trust the girls more with such kind work. During the actual fate day all the respondents said that boys were given task to man the stalls and gates and to look after the electric lighting. For girls they were given task like ushering the guest, serving and keeping the cash. Similarly, all the respondents said that girls were assigned to serve when there are guest visiting the school because they reasoned that in society girls are groomed to do such a thing and boys are clumsy and not good at such work.

4.3.2. Academic importance and achievement

All four respondents were of the opinion that academic achievements is important for both the boys and girls because there are no other avenues for them to excel and be somebody in life except through academic. With regard to their expectation of taking the top position academically in the school either by boys or by girls, all the respondents expect the girls to take the top position academically. This is because currently girls have been taking the top position in the school and they reasoned that they are more responsible than boys, have the spirit of competition, parents have more expectation from them, are hard working, and also girls population is more and are getting more opportunities than before. They also said that girls do submit homework more on time than boys and are more embarrassed if they fail academically.

4.3.3. Dealings with children's behaviour

With regard to stealing books, all the respondents said that they will find out the reason for stealing and will be given warning not to repeat. They will however be asked to return or replace the books and if such act is repeated then they will be announce in front of the whole assembly. They said that that they do not make any gender difference in the treatment for such act. For lying three respondents (2 female and 1 male) would find out the reasons for lying and then deal accordingly by making them realize what they have done for both boys and girls. One male respondent however, would scold them and specially threaten the boys more with dire consequences if repeated as boys compared girls tend not to listen.

Two female and one male respondents mentioned boys as the ones mostly breaking school rules and regulations because they are more daring and parents are more lenient with them. While one male respondent said that girls are also equally breaking school rules and regulations. However, all the respondent agreed that generally it is the boys that are committing crime and that they felt is due to boys forming gangs, are more daring, have more free time as they are not required to help with work at home and are not cared by their parents (less monitoring).

DISCUSSION

Parents these days seem to have become more broadminded and liberal allowing their children to have friends from the opposite sex. But, they are still more concerned and have more reservations when it comes to their daughter. The parents want to ensure that their daughter's relationship with the opposite sex is not serious and purely platonic firstly and secondly all of them would advise them and caution on the vulnerabilities associated with

being female. This view is also supported in the national plan of action for gender where socio-cultural perception holds women more sexually vulnerable than man (NCWC 2008) and the strong cultural beliefs in biological inferiority and vulnerability (sexually) is making the families and society to protect the girl child (NCWC in press). For son they do not have any such reservation as they feel that they are not as vulnerable as daughters especially sexually. So sons are much freer in terms of having friends from the opposite sex. Although parents allow both daughter and son to go out at night with their friends, there is a clear gender difference in monitoring. All the parents would set conditions for their daughter to return early and not so much when it come to their son as only seven parents (5 mothers and 2 fathers) would set conditions for their son to return. Thus sons seem to have more free time with their friends and less restrictions from their parents. The ranking of freedom as last priority value for both boys and girls by the parents supports the girls but not so much the boys. Thus chances of boys interacting with others is more and thereby increasing their chances of come under the influence of deviant peers as parental monitoring becomes poor (Tompsett and Toro 2010). Lack of parental guidance and monitoring has been mentioned as one of the main cause for increase in crime in the capital city according to a report on national newspaper 'Bhutan Today' (Dema 2010a).

Similarly, parents are more vigilant when it comes to daughters, as all of the respondents knew either all or some of their daughter's friends and only a little more than half of them (3 mothers and 3 fathers) knew their son's friends. Likewise when their daughters are out at night with friends, all five mothers and three fathers knew who their daughter is going out with against equal number of respondents (3 mothers and 5 fathers) who didn't know who their son is going out with. Thus parents, especially fathers seem not very much concerned with the boys as they are not as vulnerable as their daughters. This finding supports what parents themselves mentioned the lack of monitoring as cause for more boys involved in crime than girls. The study on girl child in Bhutan also reflects the same findings that there is a bias in terms of taking care and protection favouring towards the girl child as they are considered weaker and more vulnerable, thus needing greater care and protection (Wikan 1991).

There is gender difference in treatment of boys and girls in terms of allocating work at home when guest arrives in the house. Majority of fathers and mothers (5 mothers and 4 fathers) assign daughters in making tea and serving to the guest while equal number of parents (3 each) involve their son in interact with the guest. However, more mothers (3 mothers and 1 father) involve girls in cooking and washing at home. The report on the national plan of action for gender also supports this notion that men are accountable chiefly to public role as head of the family (NCWC 2008). The findings from the study on culture diversity and resilience supports this finding, where majority (55.3%) of the respondents believed that women are more suited for domestic work than men (Chophel 2009). Such division of labour engages the girl child in domestic chores most of the time leaving her with little free time and provides boys more free time (UNICEF 1991). This supports parent's reason that more boys committing crime in general as they have more free time.

Looking after the younger siblings is expected more from the eldest sibling (irrespective of gender) and the daughters but not much from the sons by both mother and father as seen in the result. Thus considering eldest would more or less have equal number of male and female, it can be said that majority (seven out of ten) expect daughters to look after the siblings. This is in line with the parents ranking responsible as highest for the daughters, although the same was ranked high for the son as well it does not seems to apply with what they have said. It is similarly mentioned by Wikan (1991) that the most significant finding from the study

irrespective or social strata and geographic location as the child care, which, is singularly a female task and learns it as a duty and even a compulsion and girls are responsible caretakers than young boys when made to look after younger children (UNICEF 1991). The study on the voices on the Bhutanese youth found that cooking as the main activities at home followed by looking after the siblings (Dorji 2005b). Similarly the national plan of action for gender report states that female are expected to take more responsibilities at home than male and the women's ultimately are responsible for the kitchen and children, which provides male more free time to go out of their house (NCWC 2008). Probably this is also the reason for high number of female hired as babysitter (91.3%) against 8.7% males (Dorji 2005b). This indicates that boys are not much involved in doing household related chores. This is also echoed in the study on the juvenile delinquency as emerging problem in Bhutan that female are more engaged than male in house hold chores like helping at home that they do not get time to get influence or involve in antisocial behaviours (Dorji 2005a, UNICEF 1991).

As evident from the result parents feel more humiliated and embarrassed if their daughter elope or get pregnant than their son eloping with a girl or impregnating a girl. Although the ranking of daring as last priority value for both girls and boys by the parents supports this findings for girls it does not support the boys. This is also reflected in a study on education and gender in Bhutan that one of the parents fear as daughter reaches puberty is unwanted pregnancy supports this finding (Buringa and Tshering 1992). Although sexual freedom is present in Bhutan, the freedom comes at a cost that is not borne by the male. Parents are deeply concerned about the reputation and the gossips that the community will start if their daughter bears a child out of wedlock. Shame befalls on the parents and her name will be tarnished and in some community the girl is expelled from the family as it is believed to bring misfortune on the entire family (Wikan 1991). The study carried out by Dorji supports this notion that female are less exposed to delinquent peers because of greater social control like parental expectations and society's less forgiving nature for female deviant behaviour than men (Dorji 2005a).

From the result we can also see that with respect to drinking alcohol and chankey both mothers and fathers are more liberal with their sons than with their daughters. The danger of drinking alcohol cannot be more precisely articulated than what one male parent said *"Ngemba Sum Gi Tsawa Chang Een"* literally meaning "*the root of all three evil is alcohol*" referring to the famous Bhutanese fable where a monk who was approached by a beautiful girl and forced him that she is going to kill herself unless he agrees to do one of the three things; either sleep with her, drink alcohol or kill her goat. The monk thought that, if he kills the goat or sleeps with her, he would be committing sin; however, if he drinks alcohol he would not commit any sin. So he drinks alcohol and under the influence of alcohol, he kills the goat and sleeps with the women. A recent report also reflected a similar notion where two boys who drank alcohol initially and then started smoking marijuana and later the elder (19yrs) sodomised the younger (15yrs) (Dema 2010a).

Some parents (2 mothers) like their son to be more outgoing and daring and that it would make them secretly happy because, they are shy and introvert at the moment. This notion purely supports with what parents said about more boys committing crime due to their hyper activeness and daring. This is in contrast to what the parents themselves have ranked in value exercises where, freedom and daring was ranked as the last priority value for the boys as well as the girls. Thus their actual reinforcement of value and the ideal value that they perceive are entirely different.

There is gender difference in teachers' expectation when it comes to academic achievements like taking the top position in the class and in school. All the respondents expect the girls to take the top position academically compared to boys because they feel girls are more responsible than boys, have the spirit of competition, parents have more expectation form them, they are hard working and girls have been submitting homework more on time than boys. Such expectation forces girls to study hard and show result and demonstrate good behaviour. This is also reflected in a report in the national newspaper Bhutan Today that parents are involving their children more in studies and giving tuition as they place higher premium on the education and keep a close eye on their children (Wangmo 2010). In addition all the teachers mentioned that more boys are breaking the school rules and regulation than girls, which confirms their less achievement academically in school and their involvement in negative activities. Further, all the teachers also mentioned that boys in general are committing more crime than girls and that they felt is due to boys forming gangs, are more daring, have more free time as they are not required to help with work at home and are not cared as much by their parents.

4.4. Children's story books review.

RESULT

A total of 11 books pictorial books (that I was able to get from Babesa lower Secondary School) that were currently used for teaching children in primary schools were reviewed to see how gendered are these books.

1. The *'I Like...'* pictorial book shows pictures of a boy and girl buying bananas, tomatoes, potatoes, chillies, eggs and rice and the seller were all women, except for one man in the vegetable market (Zangmo et al 2007a).
2. In *'My Fathers Work'* the father is shown ploughing field, milking the cow, cutting log, fetching water, grinding maize into flour, offering water at the altar, looking after the cow, stitching cloths, painting wall, and working in vegetable garden (Wangchuk 2009).
3. The book *'Where is Dechen?'* shows the boy, Dorji looking for his female friend Dechen in the house, at school, in the forest and finally finds her hiding behind a tree. In the picture as Dorji looks for Dechen he comes across her mother who is shown washing and drying cloths and her father working in the field (Curriculum and Professional Support Division (CAPSD), 1991a).
4. In *'I can count'* it shows pictures with the count from one to ten and then to zero with images of nature, shapes in the classroom, vegetable in the shop, animals, girls eating meals, flowers etc. in the pictures a women is shown selling vegetable and another women buying and lastly one women shown serving meals to the girls (CAPSD 1991b).
5. In *'Ap Yankhu Tashi'* the man Yankhu Tashi (his name) is shown as a stupid man exchanging his yak for a horse, then horse with an Ox, the Ox with a sheep, the sheep with a rooster, the rooster with a flute and finally the flute with a song. But, in the end he slips from a cow dung and forgets his song. However, all the people who are shown doing the trade (batter) are all men (CAPSD 1994).
6. In the book *'Mother'* shows a women as mother and her activities as cooking, driving, washing, sweeping and sleeping (Zangmo et al 2007b).
7. In the book *'What is this?'* a small boy is shown asking everyone in the family what is this? Pointing to objects and the male family members are shown preparing khuru (dart), reciting prayer and talking with the boy, while female members are shown doing

the dishes, preparing yarn, looking after the child, washing clothes, and making tea (Nima 2001a).

8. In the book 'Where is it?' the pictures of animals, plants, vegetables, birds, pots and pans, money etc and asked where is it? However, in the picture a sad women (looking down) is shown with her child and is asked where the baby is and it says on the lap of the mother (Nima 2001b).
9. The *'Momo Monkey'* shows monkey climbing the tree, eating banana, monkey's father, mother and sister (CAPSD 1991c).
10. The *'Dog and Cat'* shows the cat at home, in school and in forest, where it says that the dog belongs to Dorji and cat belongs to Dechen. They are shown paying with the dog and cat in the end (CAPSD 1991d).
11. The *'School'* it show the school buildings, library, bathrooms, tables, chairs, blackboards etc. all the equipments and infrastructures that are existing in the schools (Zangmo et al 2007c).

DISCUSSION

From the review of children's book that are used to teach school children in primary schools in Bhutan, it appears that majority of the children's learning books are gendered as evident from the review (5 out of 11) portrays gender stereotyping like in *Where is Dechen?, Ap Yanhku Tashi, What is this?, Mother*, and W*here is it?* Which shows women cooking, washing, sweeping, looking after the baby, making tea, preparing yarn for weaving, and men are shown doing trading (batter business), preparing khuru (dart - men's game), ploughing field and working in the field. However, only one book *My Fathers work* showed men fetching water, doing kitchen gardening, stitching cloths and milking the cow and two books, *I like..., I can count* showed females selling vegetables (doing business). And three books (*the dog and the cat, Momo Monkey, and School*) were on images of school building, furniture, library, and animals like cats, dogs, and monkeys. This highly supports the current involvement of boys and girls in household works, where girls were mostly involved in making tea, serving the guests, washing and cooking by the parents. This is further reinforced in the schools as seen in the result where boys were assigned or involved in the outdoor and physical work and girls are involved in indoor and less physical work. In additions girls were also involved in serving the guests.

This chapter presents the difference in socialization of boys and girls currently and two decades ago by the parents at home and teachers in the school. It discusses the possible influence on girls getting involved in juvenile delinquency due to such changes within the last two decades.

RESULT

5.1. Gender-related changes in the past two decades at Home

The parents were asked series of questions based on the checklist that had been prepared to find out the gender related changes in the last two decades on preferences, expectations and treatments of sons and daughters by the parents. A total of ten parents (5 female and 5 male) were interviewed for this purpose.

5.1.1. Choosing spouse, opposite sex friends and outing

There is change in parents choosing spouse for their children between now and two decades ago. Two decades ago majority (5 mothers and 1 father) of the spouse were chosen by their parents against current parents (4 mothers and 5 fathers) who said that they would not choose for either their son or daughter, because they feel that it is their life and the decision should be left up to them. In terms of allowing children to have friends from opposite sex, majority of the respondent (5 mothers and 2 fathers) were not allowed by their parents to have friends from the opposite sex two decades ago except for three male respondents who were allowed (Figure 9). Currently all the respondents would allow their daughters to have male friends as long as they are in platonic relationship, but for son all of them said that they do not care much as they are not as vulnerable as daughters. Similarly, all the respondents would allow their son and daughter to go out at night with friends with the conditions for their daughters to return home early. While three respondents (all male) would not set any conditions for the son, because they are not as vulnerable as daughters (Figure 10). However, two decades ago their parents didn't allow majority (5 mothers and 2 fathers) of them to go out
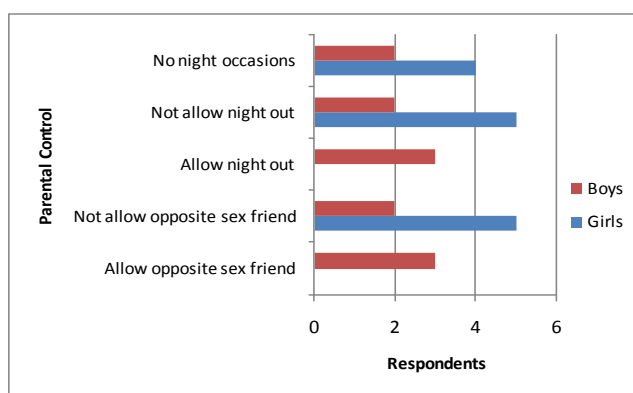

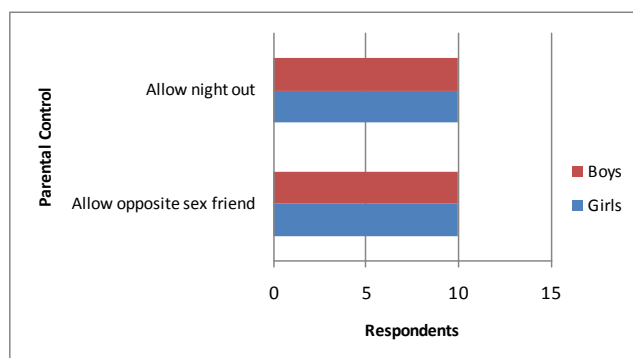**Figure 9: Socialisation of children two decades ago (n=10)**

Figure 10: Socialization of children currently (n=10)

at night and only three (all male) respondents said that they were allowed to go out at night. In addition majority (4 mothers and 2 fathers) of the respondents also said that there were no such outing like discos or birthdays like now (Figure 9).

5.1.2. Looking after parents during old age

In terms of the parents expectations there is no change within the last two decades. Currently half (3 mothers and 2 fathers) of the respondents expect their daughters to look after them, while 2 fathers and a mother have expectation from both their son and daughter. Similarly two decades ago four respondents (1 mother and 3 father) said that their parents had expectations from them being the eldest in the family, while equal number of respondents (2 mothers and 2 fathers) said that the daughter were expected to look after their parents during the old age and the rest said that their parents did not have any expectations from them.

5.1.3. Dealing with children's behaviour

With regard to their son crying and daughters becoming aggressive when upset and angry, the current parents were not okay with their daughter showing temper or being aggressive, but they (4 mothers and 4 fathers) would find out the reason, offer advice and make her see the consequences of her act, while a mother and a father said that they would spank her for her behaviour. However, all the respondents said that their parents two decades ago would scold and beat if daughters show temper or become aggressive. But for son crying when angry or upset, all the current parents said that they are okay and two decades ago eight respondents (4 mothers and 4 fathers) mentioned that their parents don't care, while one mother and one fathers said that they have been teased by their parents.

In case of dealing with their son and daughter talking back or arguing with them. Nine out of ten respondents (5 mothers and 4 fathers) said that although it is not okay for either of their child to talkback or argue with them as they have to be respectful to their parents none of them said about beating or spank them. They would instead try and find out the reasons and make them see the consequences of their action. But two decades ago if they had done similar thing all the respondents said that they will be either slapped or beaten.

For dealing with their children telling lie, all the respondents said they would confront them and find out the reason and then make them understand and see the consequences of lying. However, all the respondents said that two decades ago their parents would slap and whip them. Likewise, if their children steal, majority (5 mothers and 4 fathers) of the respondents said that they will find out the reason. Then explain to them that stealing is not okay and that if they are in need of money they just need to ask. But a male respondent said that he would spank them as the issue is not the amount but the act is. However, all the responds said two decades ago they will be slapped and beaten by their parents when they stole money.

5.1.4. Dress and games

In case of allowing their daughters to wear jeans or skirts, currently nine out of ten respondents (5 mothers and 4 fathers) said that it's okay for their daughter to wear jeans and skirts but two decades ago the same number of respondents (4 female and 5 male) said that their parents would not allow daughter to wear such dresses (Figure 11).

For allowing daughters to play traditional games that are being played by men, majority (7 out of 10) of the respondents (2 mothers and 5 fa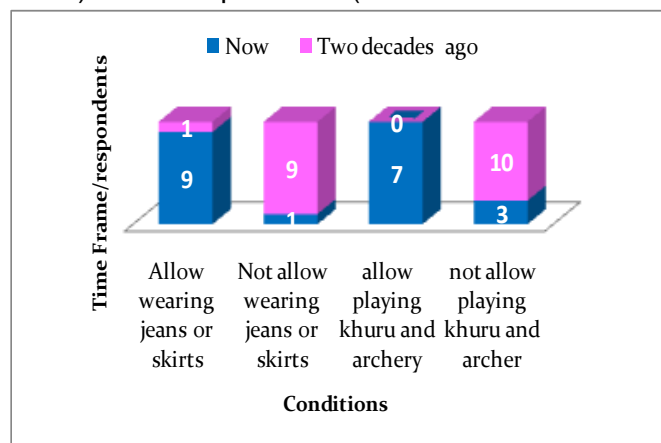thers) are oaky with their daughters playing such games against all of them saying it is not allowed at all by their parents two decades ago (Figure 11). This is also reflected when asked what sort of games they would encourage their son and daughter to play, all the respondents said that they would encourage any games that they are interested in and no distinction would be made between them. However, two decades ago their parents encouraged the boys to play games that are being played by men like archery (4 fathers) while the rest (5 mothers and 1 fathers) said that there were not many games like now so their parents didn't encourage any type of games

Figure 11: Parents control on girl now and two decades ago (n=10)

5.1.5. Family process and control

In case of spending time with their children, currently seven respondents (4 mothers and 3 fathers) spend once a month with their children exclusively, while two spends (2 fathers) four times a month and a mother spends thrice a month. During that time they either go to the park or to town together besides daily interactions at home and helping them with their homework and eating meal together. However, all of them said that their parents two decades ago did not spend time specifically with them besides the daily interactions.

With regard to keeping track of their children's friends, majority of the respondents (5 mothers and 3 fathers) knew with whom their daughter goes out with at night, against only two respondents (2 mothers) who knew with whom their son is out with. But two decades ago only four of the respondent's (1 mother and 3 fathers) parents knew with whom they are going out with while majority of them (4 mothers and 2 fathers) said that there were no such occasions to go out at night.

5.2. Gender-related changes in the past two decades at School

Teachers were asked series of questions based on the checklist that had been prepared to find out gender related changes within the last two decades on the preferences, expectations and treatments of boys and girls by the teachers. A total of four teachers (2 female and 2 male) were interviewed for this purpose.

5.2.1. Traditional and other games

Majority (2 female and 1 male) of the respondents said that it is okay for the girls to play archery and khuru that are traditionally being played by men because it is the national game of Bhutan and they also have potential to play such a game. However, all the respondents said that two decades ago when they were students, it was not okay for girls to play such games as it is men's game. Similarly, current respondents expect both boys and girls to play any games of their interest but two decades ago all of them said that boys were expected to play games that are physical in nature like football, basket ball and girls to play throw ball and indoor games like table tennis that are less physical in nature.

5.2.2. Division of work

In case of division of work between boys and girls during school fete day preparation all the respondents said that boys were assigned work that are physical in nature like pitching tent, digging holes, carrying loads etc and girls are assigned sweeping, cleaning, cooking and washing the dishes. During the actual fate day boys were given task to man the stalls and gates and to look after the electric lighting and girls were given task like ushering the guest, serving and keeping the cash, mentioned by all the respondents. Similarly, all the respondents said that girls were assigned to serve refreshments, when there are visitors to the school both now and two decades ago by their teachers when they were student.

5.2.3. Dealing with children's behaviour

In regard to dealing with girls getting pregnant, currently the girl's parents will be called to discuss the issue and is handed over to them. However, she is allowed to attend the exam and continue her education after the delivery of the baby mentioned by all the respondents. Two decades ago, all respondents said that the girl would be terminated from the school. But, there is no change if a boy impregnates a girl as the boy continues his studies.
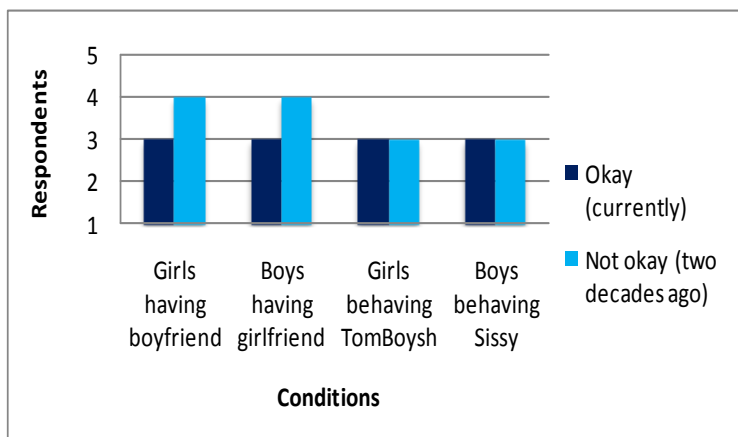
Figure 12: Teachers Perception currently and two decades ago (n=4)

Regarding girls having boyfriends and boys having girlfriends in the school, majority of the respondents (2 female and 1 male) said that it is okay as long as their relationship is platonic and not very serious. However, they said that two decades ago when they were in school it was not allowed for both the sexes and they are even forbidden to write love letter and that they will be canned for such an act. Similarly, Majority (1 female and 2 male) of the respondents said that they are okay with girls acting like a 'tomboy' or behaving like a boy and boy acting like a 'girly' as it is their nature. However, two decades ago most of the respondents (2 female and 1 male) said that when they were students their teacher would not allow such behaviour for both the sexes (Figure 12).

Regarding delinquency between boys and girls, majority of the respondents (2 female and 1 male) mentioned that boys are mostly the ones breaking the rules and regulation but one male respondent mentioned that girls are equally breaking the rules. However, all the respondents agreed that when they were students two decades ago boys were the ones breaking school rules and regulations. In response to dealing with children breaking school rules like smoking and drinking alcohol all the respondents said that two decades ago the students were whipped in front of the whole assembly and are probably terminated from the school. However, currently they are neither whipped nor terminated from the school but parents were involved and the students were given counselling. Depending on the severity they were also given physical punishment like cutting grasses in the school campus or suspending them from class for short period. Similarly for sealing books or lying to the teachers all respondents agreed that two decades ago students irrespective of sex will be whipped and given warning. But now all the respondents said that they try to find out the reasons, make them realize the consequences of their action and are given warning not to repeat.

All the respondents said that they would allow girls to wear jeans pant and skirts during the school social functions like picnic as long as it is not skimpy and revealing dress. However, all the respondents mentioned that their teachers two decades ago would not allow them to wear such dress.

DISCUSSION

Parents are more broadminded and are more liberal with their daughters now than it was two decades ago. Interaction between parents and children seem to have increased as seen in the result that all the respondents spend at least once a month exclusively with their children which was not the case two decades ago. This is probably due to education, exposure and development within this period. This changes were also found in the media impact study, which concluded that people have become more broadminded due to influence from the media and male female relationship which was once viewed in the very narrow sense are now increasingly accepted as friendship (DIM 2008). Two decades ago parents were restricting their children from having friends from opposite sex and it is more restrictive for girls (mentioned by 5 mothers) than boys (mentioned by 2 fathers) and now all the respondents are allowing their daughters to have male friends as long as their friendship is platonic and not serious. In school also, teachers are now more liberal when it comes to relationships. Currently three out of four teachers (2 female and 1 male) are okay with boys having girlfriends and girls having boyfriends. But two decades ago teacher would not allow boys and girls to have such relationship. The danger of such relationship is reflected in a recent report where a woman who is undergoing drug rehabilitation among others mentioned her reason of becoming addict to her breakup with boyfriend (Tendar 2010).

All the respondents would allow their son and daughter to go out with their friends at night in comparison to two decades ago when there were no such occasions as mentioned by more than half of the respondents (4 mothers and 2 fathers). This indicates that now both boys and girls are given more freedom and parents are becoming more liberal with their children. The report from the police identified increased youth gathering during the summer and winter breaks and availability of more time as one of the cause for the increase in crime (Dema 2010b) supports this finding.

Parents are now more open-minded and easy going with their daughters then it was two decades ago. Currently nine out of ten of the respondents (5 mothers and 4 fathers) were okay

for their daughter to wear jeans and skirts against their parents two decades ago with almost all (4 female and 5 male) of the respondents mentioning that their parents didn't allow daughters to wear such dress. The study on the impact of media found that the introduction of media has influenced people to accept global culture and value which has undermine the traditional culture and value and the excessive advertising through media has led to change in dressing style particularly among the youths (Rapten 2001). Similar findings were also made, where travel outside the country and tourist visiting the country has influenced people's appetite for consumption and has become more materialistic (Department of Information and Media 2008). The influence of media and other development related influence have made people dissatisfied with their lives and possessions and have resulted in young people resorting to crime, substance abuse and even prostitution (Wangyal 2001). It was also covered in the recent national newspaper *Kuensel* that women are increasingly teased and one reason was the way these women were dressed that draws the attention of the men (Rinzin 2010). Similar changes in perception of the teachers are also evident with all the respondents saying that they are okay with girls wearing jeans or skits. But two decades ago the teachers would not allow them to wear such dress at all (as mentioned by all of the respondents). However, the Ministry of Education has come up with a strategy which says otherwise. They have drafted a management guide to discipline, which is soon to be enforced in the schools all over Bhutan. The guide classifies offences into three category and dressing up inappropriately, cheating, bullying, teasing etc are in the first category (Education Monitoring and Support Service Division 2010).

Parents are now more supportive and would allow their daughter to engage in games that are traditionally played by men (archery and khuru). Majority (7 out of 10) of the respondents were okay with their daughter playing such games although fathers seem more liberal (mentioned by 5 fathers) than the mothers (mentioned by 2 mothers). However, two decades ago such games are not allowed for daughters to play by their parents. This supports that fact that all the parents encourage their son and daughter to play any games that they are interested, against two decades ago where their parents encouraged the boys to play games that are played by men like archery (4 fathers) while the rest said that there were not many games like now, so their parents didn't encourage any type

Figure 13: Women playing khuru in Bhutan

of games. Likewise, there is huge change in the attitude and less restriction on the girls by the teachers now than two decades ago when it comes to paying these traditional games as seen in the result. The first ever girls tournament ever held in eastern Bhutan where 77 girls from the institute of electrical engineering participated recently (Figure 13) supports this findings (Kuensel 2010).

There is no difference in the parental expectation from the children to look after them during the old age between now and two decades ago. However, the trend is still that daughters are expected more by the parents to look after them, with half of the current respondents (3 mothers and 2 fathers) expecting daughters and four of the respondents (1 mother and 3 father) expecting both son and daughter. But two decades ago almost half of the respondents (1 mother and 3 fathers) said that their parents expected eldest to look after them and another four (2 mothers and 2 fathers) saying that daughters were expected. Probably the rural urban

migration that is undermining the traditional value of *pha da bhu gi damtshig* may not be true for the daughters as mentioned by Wangyal, since daughters are more expected by their parents to fulfil their sacred commitment (look after during old age) than their son's (Wangyal 2001). Similar findings were also made by Wikan (1991) in her study of the girl child in Bhutan that Drukpa (Bhutanese) prefer their daughters to look after them during the old age and they can always count on them to provide help. Thus parents have more expectations from the daughters. This is strongly reflected when all the parents said that they would be more humiliated if their daughter elopes with or boy or gets pregnant than their son eloping with a girl or impregnating a girl and unfortunately the stigma and embarrassment has not changed within this last two decades. Thus the parental fear of pregnancy is greater for daughters than for boys impregnating girls (Buringa and Tshering 1992).

Daughters' being aggressive is something that all the parents don't want both currently and two decades ago, with all the respondents mentioning that they do not approve their daughter to be aggressive when upset and angry. This was also found in the women and children in Bhutan study where girls are expected to be more sedentary, composed, act demurely and attend to others in a more considerate way (UNICEF 1991). However, as seen in the discussion, administering of physical punishment is not carried out by the current parents as it was two decades ago when the children argue with the parents or when they lie or steal from them. Similarly, the teachers do not punish the students physically like they were treated two decades ago by their teachers when they lie or seal books from the class or library. Instead now, they try to find the reasons for doing and refer them for counselling in the schools.

There is change in perception within the last two decades with regard to girls acting like a 'tomboy' or behaving like a boy. Teachers these days are more forgiving with three out of four respondents (1 female and 2 male) okaying with such behaviours in contrast to same number of respondents mentioning that their teacher did not allow such behaviour in the school. The danger of allowing such behaviour is reflected in an article in national newspaper regarding the female gang members in the capital city Thimphu and how they can be identified with their peculiar characteristics; *"they wear baggy pants, keep short hair with tattoos on their body and behave like tomboys and they abuse other girls and uses foul languages"* (Dema 2010c).

Although, the degree of girls involved in breaking school rules and regulation seems less with three out of four respondents (2 female and 1 male) mentioned boys as mostly breaking the rules and regulation, however, one male respondent mentioned that girls are also equally involved, which is not the case two decades ago indicate that girls are also becoming deviant now and as evident from above, teachers are also becoming more liberal, broadminded and giving more freedom to the girls than it was two decades ago. In the case of girls getting pregnant there is huge change in dealing between now and two decades ago. Currently the girl is not expelled from the school like before but allowed to continue her studies after the delivery. The girls child in Bhutan study supports this findings where in 90's it was found that girls are expelled from the school if they are pregnant and are not allowed to return after delivering the child and even if the girl is not pregnant but married is expelled from the school (Wikan 1991).

This chapter presents the conclusion of the report. Due to the nature of socialization of boys and girls by parents at home and teachers in school, boys are provided with more liberty and less restrictions that could engage them in delinquency more than female. However, changes over two decades indicate possible female engagement in delinquency in the future.

The most preferred value for boys and girls is being responsible and this reflects the Bhutanese value for social conduct *tha damtshing* and *ley jumdery* where it emphasises on the sacred commitment and interdependence of action and result (being responsible for one's action). Thus Bhutanese belief of *pha (parent) da bhu (child) gi damtshig* is still believed and valued. The second most desired value is self-discipline for both sexes also reflects the traditional Buddhist value *domba nga* which inculcates self-discipline in an individual and is considered an important component for harmonious living with others. Parents are implementing this value at home as they do not allow children talking back or being aggressive so that children are able to foster personal development and build rapport with others in the society for a successful living.

The ranking of freedom as last value for both boys and girls indicates their fear of children getting spoilt when given freedom. However, actual implementation of the value says otherwise as they provide freedom to both boys (more) and girls (Though girls are monitored more). Ranking of Daring as least value for girls is a bit mixed in implementation because parents and teachers would allow girls to venture into areas where female have not in the past, like playing tradition games, dressing and the like but they try to understand and advice their children even if they steal, lie or behave aggressive with them. Also they monitor their movement which confirms parental humiliation and worry if they elope or get pregnant. Therefore parents and teachers are encouraging positive daring.

As it can be seen from chapter four, parents have interestingly rated same values for boys and girls for both top priority and least priority value. This may be due to education and awareness of the parents that they now foresee and feel the need to give equal value. However, they are either not aware of the subtle gender discrimination in their parenting or the society is still biased that they continue providing more space and freedom to the boys and protect girls. Thus it is more valued for the boys to be more bold and daring and less valued to be obedient and helpful and for girls it is more valued to be responsible, helpful and self-disciplined and less valued to be daring and bold.

The result from chapter four and five shows that there is change in the attitude, thinking and perception of parents and teachers and their treatment of boys and girls in the two decades period. Development, education and exposure have played a role in shaping the mindset of the people in Bhutan. Parents and teachers have now become more broadminded, understanding, and more matured in dealing with the children. Parents let their children choose their own life partner; allowing them to have friends of the opposite sex; allowing their daughters to wear jeans and skirts or play archery and khuru that were traditionally being played by men. These are all quite sensitive issues and areas two decades ago and parents at that time would not understand or allow their children to have such freedom. Thus girls are now encouraged by parents and teachers and are able to participate and do what they were not able to do two decades ago and the shift in mindset although still gradual has provided much freedom and opportunities especially for the girls. There is increased night life now than it was two decades ago and parent let their children go out at night with friends, thus it provides increase activities and avenues for more interactions of boys and girls at night when crimes are normally

conducive. Teachers does not mind if students have boyfriends or girlfriends but, such freedom provide possible avenues where girls could involve in cutting classes in the school, lying or stealing from parents and others to maintain or honour such relationships or do drugs to cope with the breakup of such relationship (Chapter five). They also do not mind if girls are acting like 'tomboys' but as evident from discussion in chapter five, this could provide encouragement to the girls to become more like boys, aggressive, rough and abuse other girls by forming gangs. Now if a girl gets pregnant she can continue her education after the delivery of the child whereas, two decades ago the school authority would have expelled the girl from the school. Although it is a good forward step towards girls it could also encourage other girls at the same time.

As seen from chapter five that there is big change within this two decades period that maintaining strict discipline and administering of physical punishment like slapping, hitting or canning is not practiced anymore. Parents are not in favour of using any physical force or punishment like in the past, even if their children talks back, shows temper or become aggressive when they are upset or angry. They would instead increase communication to rectify and understand their children. Even serious issues like telling lies and stealing, the parents are not administering any physical punishment like before, but make them realize the consequences of such an action. Similarly, in school if students steal or lie they are not beaten or canned in front of the whole assembly of students like before but were confronted and asked the reasons and are counselled to rectify their behaviour. This is a good change and could reduce delinquency as children will be able to communicate and understand the consequences of their action.

Parents seem to spend less time with their children as evident from the current study where parents spend an average of once a month with their children. With families becoming more nuclear the conditioning factor provided by the grandparents and relatives are becoming absent and parents under the daily stress of urban life are not able to give time and attention to their children (chapter two) thus, increasing the children's chances of getting into delinquent behaviour. However, some things have remained constant despite the much talked about development, exposure or education within this past two decades as seen from the result in chapter five. Perhaps it is true that the famous saying *"old habits die hard"* is evident here as well. The gender stereotyping especially in the area of division of labour and social stigma is highly gendered as it was before. Parents still involve the daughter in making tea and serving the guest and in household work (cooking and washing) that has traditionally been carried out by female. In addition, parents still expect their daughter to look after the younger sibling at home and also to take care of them during the old age. Similarly, gender stereotyping is existing in schools, the teaching materials (books) used for teaching primary school children are mostly gendered, showing traditional male and female gender roles and this is further reinforced in higher schools by the teachers and by parents at home by involving girls in traditional female roles like cooking, serving and boys in work that requires more physical strength and the like. Hence, children learn gender appropriate behaviours and activities that they are expected to take or behave right from the primary school. Thus daughters are involved in the household work and have more responsibilities than son's thus leaving them with less freedom. This provides more space and free time for the boys and their chances of interacting with the deviant peers or getting involved in delinquency is very much enhanced. Parents still fear social stigma, loss of face and humiliation, if their daughter should get pregnant or elope with a boy. Thus, pressure on daughters to behave properly is much more than for the sons because of these societal expectations and parental fears. Interestingly few parents (two mothers) want their son to be out going and daring because they feel they are shy at the moment. The number although very less indicates that they would support their son

even if they know they are involved with negative peers. So, if more parents have the same feelings like them, then boys will definitely be getting more active and chances of involving in delinquency is very high.

Parents still have subtle biases in treating their children; they would allow sons to drink alcohol, while restricting the daughters and they would set conditions for returning when the daughter goes out at night with their friends but not so much for their son. Parents know most or all of their daughter's friends better than they know their son's friends. Thus parents monitor their daughter and interact more than with their son giving sons less restrictions, thereby encouraging them to be bold and daring.

Parents monitor their son's social and relational life less than their daughters as evident from discussions in chapter four and are involved less in household work than daughters. We can see the mechanisms contributing to more potential delinquent behaviour for boys. Thus the current socialization of boys and girls at homes and in schools indicates that boys will be dominating the juvenile delinquency rate. However, considering the changes between now and two decades ago with regard to socialization of the children as seen in chapter five, parents are becoming more broadminded and liberal towards daughters as well. Therefore, there are also aspects of socialization indicating that girls may also get gradually more involved in delinquency. The findings also support the fact that fewer numbers of female are involved in the crimes so far in the country.

Therefore, there is need to build the knowledge and skills of the parents so that they are able to understand the need of boys and girls, spend more time with their children, treat boys and girls equally and become more gender sensitive. When parents increase their knowledge through proper information, they can correct misinformation, become gender sensitive, challenge gender biases and clarify their own values. Without guidance from parents, children can make decisions about their social and sexual life with little or inaccurate information without considering deeply held family values. Many of the behavioural problems, such as use of drugs, alcohol, stealing, gang fights and peer pressure can be avoided by good parental guidance and monitoring. At the same time there is a need to build the knowledge and skills of the boys and girls themselves, so that they are able to cope with daily stress, avoid behavioural problems and use their freedom responsibly avoiding deviant peers or getting into delinquency and become more responsible. Thus the parents preferred value of being responsible for both the sexes can be achieved as well.

CHAPTER VII - RECOMMENDATIONS AND STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter provides the recommendations for program interventions for parents and children to reduce and prevent juvenile delinquency through a multi prong approach. *It calls for Save the Children (STC) to collaborate with the relevant Government and Non-Government Organizations to implement programs for parents and children of Thimphu. The recommendations are supported with implementation strategies.*

To educate the parents on the need to socialize boys and girls equally, enhance the bond between parents and children and to build the skills and resilience of the children to enable them to make well informed and responsible decisions and avoid getting influenced by the deviant peers or commit crime, the programs carried out by Save the Children for parents and children seems very much appropriate. Furthermore STC already has these programs on ground implementing. Thus the process of negotiating with the government and other potential partners which usually takes very long (sometimes years) in approving and initiating especially new interventions can be avoided. In addition, the cost of initiating the process will be less as it would require only additional discussion on developing strategy and focusing more on the urban centres. Thus, the findings from this study can be addressed earlier through incorporation with the existing programs using the existing implementation mechanisms (implementation partners, network linkages etc).

7.1. Building skills and knowledge of the Boys and Girls

With the increase in freedom and changes in parenting over the last two decades as seen in chapter four and five, the crucial things that need to be addressed at this point is to build the resilience, knowledge and skills of the boys and girls so that they are able to know their potential, make well informed and responsible decision, avoid involvement in antisocial behaviour or falling prey to negative peer pressure. The Life Skills Education (LSE) program initiated by STC in collaboration with Scout and Cultural Education Division (SCED) in the schools covering ten core basic skills (decision making, communication, problem solving, coping with emotion and stress, self-awareness, interpersonal skills, empathy, creative thinking and critical thinking) seems a suitable intervention to equip these juveniles with such knowledge and skills. Therefore, it seems the program would be more effective by focusing on the urban centres where majority of the children come in conflict with the law, rather than making a nationwide coverage.

7.1.1. Implementation strategy

It is recommended that STC should consider collaborating with the SCED and Ministry of Education (MoE) and develop a three year strategy plan to implement the LSE program in Thimphu District and provide funding for implementation (Figure 14). The three year period is not based on any standard but on my personal experience working in such similar programs. Thus, I feel that a minimum of three year would require for the children to learn, internalize and practice these skills.

Thimphu should be targeted firstly as majority of the crime is committed by the juveniles in this district than in other nineteen districts. The program should firstly start with higher secondary

schools and then move downwards because majority of the students in these grads are in their late teens and more vulnerable to crime.

The strategy could include, 1) Implementation – this should have detail plan to cover all the schools in a phased manner within the three years period. 2) Capacity Building – this should have plan to build the capacity of the implementing partners and form training of trainers among the teachers, so that they are able to train other teachers at the end of three year and continue the program. 3) Evaluation – this should detail out plan to conduct an evaluation of the program to see the effectiveness and to improve the programs for replication to other districts. And lastly 4) Exit Plan – it should detail out how the program will be incorporated and initiated regularly at the end of the three year period when the funding stops.

7.2. Value Education

The decline in traditional values in Bhutan is becoming evident increasingly with the modernization and changes in life style of the people. With families increasingly choosing to become nuclear due to rising cost of living and people are getting the notion of independence as increasingly they work in offices, thereby not keeping in touch with their relatives and leaving old parents in the villages, they are increasingly becoming more self-centred and materialistic in the urban centres. The children's story books taught in the primary schools as discussed in chapter four are mostly gendered portraying traditional gender roles and responsibilities. Thus one way of transmitting important cultural and social values, knowledge and behaviour, indigenous knowledge system of families and communities and avoid children learning gender stereotyping is by teaching the younger generation, so that they grow up with these values.

The current value classes initiated in the schools for classes Pre-primary till VIII seems very relevant to inculcate the younger generation with the values and prevent children learning gender stereotyping. It is worth considering making the value education manual relevant to Bhutanese context, with Bhutanese folk tales where female and male role models are portrayed instead of western role models like George Washington, so that children can easily be familiar with, learn values and avoid gender stereotyping.

7.2.1. Implementation Strategy

STC should consider working with the Curriculum and Professional Support Division (CAPSD) and MoE and develop the module based on Bhutanese figures, characters and folk tales (Figure 14). For this, two workshops could be conducted. Firstly, a writers workshop inviting relevant writers to develop the materials relevant to Bhutanese context. Then the outcome of the workshop needs to be sent to different schools across the country for feedback and comments. Secondly, conduct another workshop with the same group of writers to incorporate the feedback, comments and make necessary changes. Then finally print and distribute to all the schools for implementation.

7.3. Parenting Program

Parents although are becoming more educated and aware of their children, there are still considerable gender differences in their parenting. They still need to be sensitized and educated on the need to understand, treat, monitor and involve male and female child equally in household works, be gender sensitive and build their parenting skills accordingly.

For this the parenting education and awareness program for the parents and guardians implemented in collaboration with the Career Education and Counselling Division (CECD) of the Ministry of Education in the schools, where teacher parent task group is formed and the task group motivates other parents to join the program, conduct orientation of the program to the new group and forms parent groups and so on. They learn about parenting and share child rearing experiences and learn from each other seems very apt and should consider strengthening this parenting program by focusing on Thimphu initially instead of covering the entire districts in the country.

7.3.1. Implementation Strategy

It is recommended to develop in the existing parenting program another module on gender and add on the existing general modules to address the gender issues like being gender sensitive, monitoring boys and girls, knowing their friends, involving them equally in domestic work, treating them equally etc. The current modules are on understanding adolescent where physical changes and secondary sexual growth is covered, basic information on parenting – covering issues on communication, and substance abuse – covering types of drugs, how to recognize if their children are on drugs and to prevent them from abusing and finally adolescents reproductive health.

It is advisable that STC collaborate with the CECD and MoE to develop a three year strategy to implement the parenting program in Thimphu (Figure 14). It is advisable that the program start with parents who have children in higher secondary schools and then move downwards because majority of the students in these grads are in their late teens and more vulnerable.

The strategy could include four components, 1) Implementation – this should have detail plan to cover all the parents in a phased manner within the three years period. 2) Capacity Building – this should have plan to build the capacity of the implementing partners and form a training of trainers among the teachers so that they are able to train other teachers and continue the program. 3) Evaluation – this should detail out plan to do an evaluation of the program to see the effectiveness and to improve the programs for replication to other districts. And lastly 4) Exit Plan – it should detail out how the program will be continued once the funding stops.

7.4. Parent Youth Interaction programs

To bridge the gap between parents and children, enhance bonding and understanding of the boys and girls by the parents and parents by the children, a platform where children and parents can come together for discussion on a neutral ground can be created. I would call this platform as "Parent-Children Forum" (PCF). The main issue for discussion could be focused on the issues that are being faced by the children, specific to boys and girls which, the parents

don't understand and similarly the challenges that are faced by the parents that are not understood by the boys and girls. Such forums will enhance the communication and understanding between the parents and children and enhance their bonding. At the same time parents will understand the different need of boys and girls and become gender sensitive. The program should be initiated in Thimphu initially rather than in the rest of the districts with school children and their parents. The program can be initiated for a period of two years from which it should be taken up by the implementing partners. The two year period is based on my personal experiences with similar programs which were able to sustain at the end of such period.

7.4.1. Implementing Strategy

STC should consider partnering with the local NGO's like Youth Development Fund (YDF), Tarayana Foundation (TF) and Respect Educate Nurture and Empower Women (RENEW) together with the school authorities and commit fund for the program (Figure 14). The program should be conducted at least quarterly or as and when need arises.

It is recommended that a program strategy for two years be developed with the above mentioned partners. The strategy should have 1) Roles and responsibilities – It should contain what roles and responsibilities each of the partners can play. 2) Capacity Building – A plan to build the capacity of the implementing partners in communication, facilitation and gender, so that, they could continue at the end of the program when the fund ceases. 3) Evaluation – An assessment plan to see the effectiveness of the program and for further replication in other district. And 4) Exit Plan – A plan detailing how the program will be incorporated and initiated regularly at the end of program when the funding stops.

7.5. Police Youth Program

Parents being liberal and giving more freedom to boys and also to girls reduces the social control. The social, cultural, and economic situations in urban areas are more apt for loafers to flock together and commit crime under the influence of each other. Crimes are also mostly committed by the youth out of curiosity and ignorance of the law, crime, punishment and their rights.

The Police Youth Program (PYP) that STC had initiated since 2008 seems very relevant where both children from school and out of school participate in the program for a month. During that period they learn about the law and order, crime and punishment and their rights and also actually participating with police in maintaining law and order as community police. Thus, they get a comprehensive understanding of the consequences of participating in anti-social activities and these acts as deterrents for them. Therefore, STC should continue the program especially in Thimphu.

7.5.1. Implementation Strategy

It is recommended that STC develop a three year strategy in collaboration with the Royal Bhutan Police (RBP), Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs (MoHCA) and MoE and commit funds to execute the program (Figure 14). The strategy should include five components: 1) Manual – Develop a manual covering education on law, gender, crime and punishment, rights and responsibilities and their participation in the implementation of the law as community police among others. 2) Implementation – This should have detail plan to cover all the school children in Thimphu in a phased manner, within the three years period. 3) Capacity Building – It should have plan to build the capacity of the implementing partners and form a training of trainers group among the police personnel, so that they are able to train other and continue the program. 4) Evaluation – A detail plan to conduct an evaluation of the program to assess the effectiveness and to improve the programs for replication to other districts. And lastly, 5) Exit Plan – A plan detailing out how the program will be initiated regularly at the end of the three year period.

7.6. Further Study

It is highly recommended that a future study with larger sample size including parents from different socio-economic background, rural parents and teachers would provide a better picture of the extent of socialization of boys and girls in Bhutan. Further, others factors like mass media, peer influence, unemployment, youth themselves, societal influence etc should be explored in the future study, so that a balanced conclusion could be drawn on the extent of socialization of boys and girls and how it stimulates the boys (girls) to involve in juvenile delinquency in Bhutan and recommend appropriate interventions.

LEGEND

←—— Collaboration ——→   ——— Support ——→   ←—— Collaboration and support —→

Technical and fund support for LSE program

Parent Youth Forum

Ultimate Target Beneficiaries

Save the Children Bhutan Country Office

2year strategy for PYF & Technical and Fund Support For PYF

NGO's

SCED — LSE Program

SCHOOLS

Program for children — CHILDREN

Technical and fund support for Parenting program

CECD — Parenting Program

3 years strategy for LSE, Parenting, Value Education Material development

MOE

Technical and Fund Support for Development of Value Education Material

CAPSD — Value Program

3yr strategy for PYP

MoHCA

Program for Parents — PARENTS

RBP — Police Youth Program
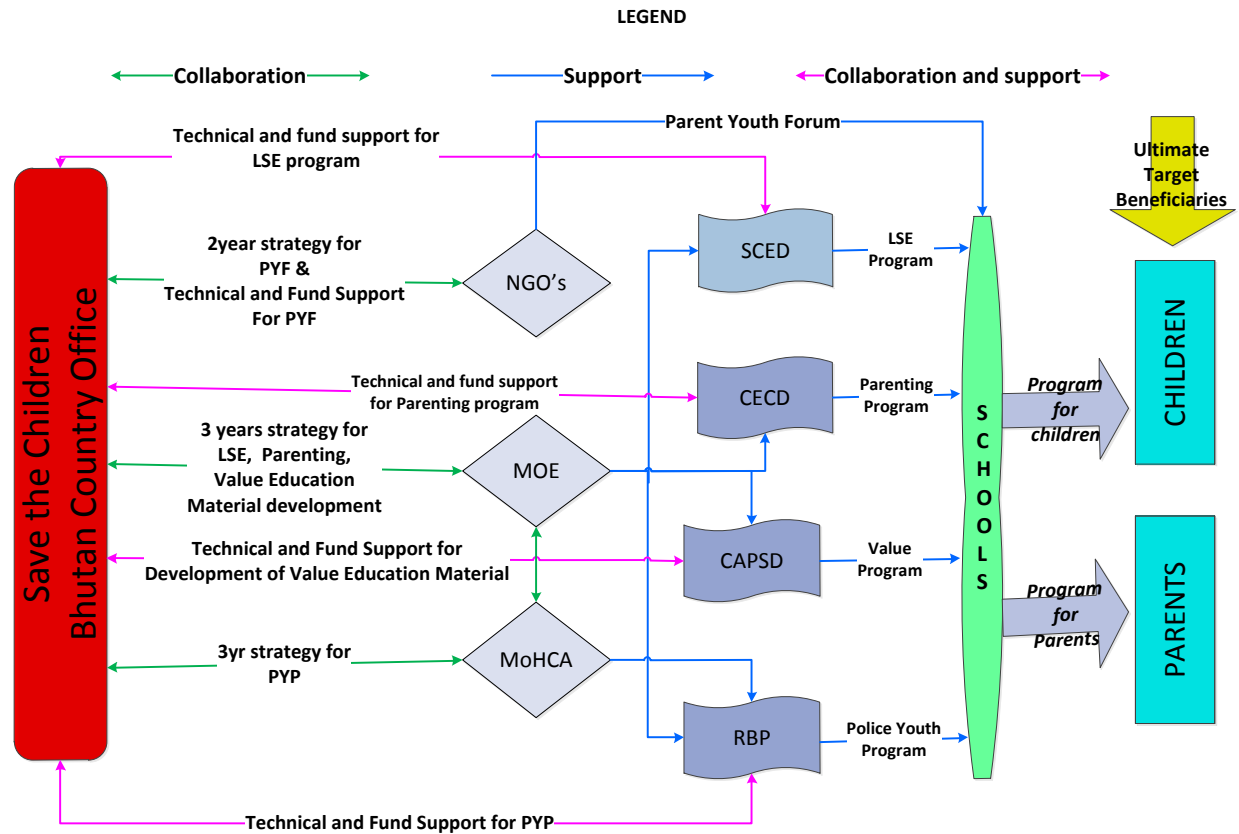
Technical and Fund Support for PYP

Figure 14: Collaboration and Support for the implementation of Recommendations

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