



Transforming the lives of girls and young women

Case study: Ethiopia

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Abbreviations

AAMP	Area-based Agricultural Modernisation Programme
AfDB	African Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EPDRF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EQCG	Education Quality Control Group
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FSS	Forum for Social Studies
HAPCO	HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office
HEI	Higher Educational Institution
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
IDI	In-depth Interview
KII	Key Informant Interview
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoWYCA	Ministry of Women, Youth and Children's Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PADET	Professional Alliance for Development in Ethiopia
PLHIV	People Living with HIV
PMCT	Prevention of Mother-to-child Transmission
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
SIGI	Social institutions and Gender Index
TT	Tetanus-toxoid
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNFPA	UN Population Fund
US	United States
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organization
WMS	Welfare Monitoring Survey
WYCA	Women, Children and Youth Affairs

1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyse the pivotal role discriminatory social institutions play in depriving girls and young women of the opportunity to achieve their full potential. There has been remarkable progress for women and girls over the past two decades in some areas of human development and wellbeing, particularly in education. However, despite this, and in spite of calls for greater achievements in gender equity, progress in other areas, such as on early marriage and pregnancy, maternal mortality and gender-based violence, has been slow, with relatively limited meaningful change.

This suggests the need for a better understanding of the factors that are hindering change, and how these affect adolescent girls throughout the course of their lives, from childhood to adulthood. In particular, the study of which this paper is part of contests that the frameworks typically used to analyse gender do not reflect the realities of girls' lives, which in many contexts are shaped by social institutions and their values more than is usually recognised. As such, insufficient information limits our abilities to design policies and programmes which address the realities of girls' lives and in particular the social and cultural values and processes which limit girls' view of themselves, their equal access to opportunities, assets and services. Thus, in order to make robust and sustainable transformations for girls and young women, it is critical that broader poverty reduction and development frameworks do not simply include girls as part of a predetermined approach, and instead embrace a more nuanced understanding of gender-discriminatory social institutions and how these affect different aspects of adolescent girls' lives – individually, within their households and communities - impacting on their development and wellbeing.

For the purpose of this study, social institutions are defined as the collection of formal and informal laws, norms and practices that have an effect on human capabilities by either limiting or enabling individual and collective agency. These institutions often have an influence far greater in terms of shaping development outcomes than is generally appreciated.

As the conceptual framework (Section 2) explains, the analytical entry point for this analysis integrates capabilities – which can be understood as 'freedoms' that improve human lives by expanding the range of things a person can effectively be and do, such as being healthy and well nourished, being knowledgeable and participating in community life – with both entitlements, which we define as guarantees of access to benefits or services, such as social protection, based on established legislation, and rights, which are legal, social, or ethical principles of freedom or entitlement. The aim of this approach is to help guide research and policy action regarding the various dimensions of social institutions that either foster or inhibit the development of girls' evolving capacities and potential. Our premise is that discriminatory social institutions play a far more important role in limiting girls' potential than is generally understood.

This case study from Ethiopia is of relevance as it explores the role of discriminatory social institutions in depriving girls and young women of opportunities to achieve their capabilities, influencing the many constraints most girls still face. Ethiopia is the second most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa with an estimated population of 74 million people. Eighty-four percent of the population resides in rural areas. Ethiopian women, adolescents, and youth are particularly disadvantaged, with the country experiencing extremely poor economic, social, and health indicators for females in all age groups. For example, Ethiopia is ranked 129th out of 136 countries on the gender-related development index (GDI) (Population Council and UNFPA, 2010). Within this adverse context, adolescent girls are at a particular disadvantage. While they represent significant share of the population – girls aged 10-19 make up 24% of the Ethiopia population (CSA, 2012a) – many of their rights and entitlements are still unmet. The country has one of the highest adolescent fertility rates in sub-Saharan Africa, with 72.4 births in 1,000 women aged 15-19 years (UNDP, 2011). The 2011 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) indicates that the average age at marriage in Ethiopia is 16.5 years (CSA, 2012a) and that 'women who marry early have on average a longer period of exposure to the risk of pregnancy and give birth to a greater number of children over their lifetimes'. Although fertility among Ethiopian adolescents is declining, this situation is still likely to have implications for maternal mortality in a country where trained health personnel attend only 10% of births (MoH, 2011). Nine out of ten girls need permission before leaving their house (Population Council and UNFPA, 2010). Adolescent girls fall through the cracks of development programming – with funding for gender work typically reaching

older women, and youth work being targeted at boys. Yet, adolescent girls have significant potential if well informed and designed policy and planning, and adequate resources are invested in their wellbeing and development.

This analytical work will help governments, donors, multilaterals and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Ethiopia and elsewhere to understand why social institutions matter and the potential policy implications for targeted assistance.

The first component of this three-year, multi-component programme of research was a comprehensive desk-based analysis to underpin the conceptual framework. Multi-year case studies from four countries – Ethiopia, Nepal, Uganda and Vietnam – provide evidence to enable an understanding of how social institutions in different contexts influence the lives of girls and young women. The findings will be supported with a systematic review of the evidence.

This case study from Ethiopia is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the conceptual framework that underpins the study and that served as the basis for the research instruments developed. Section 3 provides an overview of the methodology utilised for the field research, including the rationale for site selection. Section 4 gives a summary of the literature on Ethiopia, exploring the legal and policy framework supporting the achievement of gender justice, rights and development of women and girls. This is followed by a desk-based analysis of the situation in the country across the six capability domains defined in the conceptual framework. Section 5 presents the preliminary findings from the fieldwork in two localities in Ethiopia, focusing the analysis in this initial draft on three capability domains: psycho-emotional; the capacity to manage and negotiate intra-household relations; and physical. The results provide an initial understanding of the relevance of discriminatory social institutions in girls' lives and aspirations. Lastly, Section 6 offers preliminary findings and recommendations.

2 Conceptual framework

2.1 Overview¹

Mainstream development actors are increasingly recognising the value of investment in girls and young women. However, it is critical that broader poverty reduction and development frameworks do not simply ‘add girls and stir’ to existing approaches, but rather integrate a more nuanced understanding of gender-discriminatory social institutions and related change pathways.

The initial flagship work plan conceptualised ‘discriminatory social institutions’ based on an adaptation of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI). SIGI was developed in 2009 jointly by the University of Göttingen and the OECD Development Centre to help fill an observed gap in information and analysis on discrimination against women. It has many strengths, in particular that it draws much-needed attention to the effects of discriminatory social norms. However, not constrained by the SIGI function as an index, we sought to broaden and modify the framework to include girls as well as women, to capture a wider range of benefits and outcomes beyond economic empowerment, and to encompass a wider range of norms and practices. Our conceptual framework also illustrates and explores lifecycle and intergenerational issues; links between gender inequalities and access to critical goods and services; and the interplay of gendered norms between micro and macro levels.

Our conceptual framework is based on scoping papers and a framing workshop, and is underpinned by thinking about the intimate linkages between discriminatory norms, practices and group perceptions of social identity, which are themselves driven by collectively agreed-on understandings and belief systems surrounding group membership and power relations.

2.2 Institutions and norms

Social institutions (Branisa et al., 2009a) are defined as a collection of formal and informal laws, norms and practices that have an effect on human capabilities by either limiting or enabling individual and collective agency. These social institutions have far greater influence in terms of shaping developmental outcomes than is generally appreciated. Our initial focus on childhood, adolescence and early adulthood was based on the fact that this life stage is critical in determining life-course potential. Physical and neurological development and social, educational and work skills attainment are all decisive development and learning acquisitions. Yet this key period remains for many girls and young women one of deprivation, danger and vulnerability, resulting in a significant lack of agency and critical development deficits, often with consequences for their life course and when they become mothers, the next generation.

In identifying discriminatory social institutions and the laws, norms and practices that deny girls the ability to reach their full potential, we are seeking to understand how this potential is both constructed and limited. Social institutions are not inherently good or bad. Rather, they provide the parameters or social framework within which individuals and groups are able to develop their human capabilities. When they result in processes that lead to inequality, discrimination and exclusion, they become detrimental to development. They can and should enhance human capabilities; when they cause harm, action should be taken to reform and reshape them. Culture is not an untouchable and permanent fixture; it is always in flux and contested, constantly shaped by human interaction. Indeed, this malleability is a vital aspect of the transformative social change required to enable equitable development and social justice. Such change has been seen in many societies and is central to inclusive policies and action. It is, however, critical to emphasise that cultural norms and practices can endure across time and space by adapting to new contexts, including demographic, socioeconomic and technological changes. For example, traditional practices of female infanticide in some societies are increasingly being replaced by female foeticide, facilitated by the availability of new reproductive technologies.

¹ A longer and fully referenced conceptual framework is available from the project.

The definition of ‘institution’ is highly contested, and this can lead to conceptual confusion both in ordinary language and in the application of a ‘social institutions’ approach to social analysis. Phenomena that have been labelled institutions include patterned behaviours and practices; social relations and interactions; cultural beliefs, norms and expectations; rules and procedures; ideology; social policies; organisations; legal systems and statuses; constraints; and hierarchies and power, to name but a few. Generating a single term to capture the social arrangements with which we are engaging here, one that is commonly understood, is therefore challenging. Each individual inevitably brings multiple associations to their understanding of the term. While we continue to use the term ‘social institution’ to describe a collection of norms, we also recognise the distinct term ‘social norm’ and its underpinning by various understandings, including of the differences between social norms, legal norms and moral norms and also of individual and group beliefs and attitudes.

2.3 Capabilities and entitlements

Our programme of work is focused on adolescent girls with the intention of deepening our understanding of the gendered nature of adolescence and its implications in our research sites. We suggest two key analytical threads and policy perspectives to enhance our understanding of adolescent girls’ discrimination: the concepts of capabilities and entitlements.

The ‘**capabilities approach**’ to human development has arisen over the past decade or so as a leading alternative to standard economic frameworks for thinking about human development, poverty, inequality and social justice. This approach posits development as a process of expanding ‘freedoms’ or ‘capabilities’ that improves human lives by increasing the range of things a person can effectively be and do, such as being healthy and well nourished, being knowledgeable and participating in community life. From this perspective, development is about facilitating the acquisition and use of such capabilities as well as removing obstacles to what a person can do in life (obstacles such as illiteracy, ill-health, lack of access to resources or lack of civil and political freedom). Through the work of feminist thinkers such as Martha Nussbaum, the capabilities approach has been used as a potent tool for the construction of a normative concept of social justice, and in particular the promotion of ‘gender justice’.

An ‘**entitlements approach**’ is informed by a rights perspective and considers the range of key economic, sociocultural and political entitlements fundamental to a transformative approach to development and the achievement of social justice. The evolving notion of ‘gender justice’ may be one way of combining the capabilities and rights-based approaches for adolescent girls around issues of their social, economic, political and individual ‘entitlements’ and the measures needed to ensure such entitlements are claimed.

Integrating capabilities with both entitlements and rights, as Table 1 shows, provides a useful analytical entry point and contributes to the development of a conceptual framework linked to gender justice that helps guide research into and policy action regarding the various dimensions of social institutions, including organisational forms, values and practices that either foster or inhibit the development of girls’ evolving capacities and potential.

Table 1: Adolescent girls’ capabilities and entitlements framework

Capability domains	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
Political	E.g. limit on public/private roles Limited authority in family	E.g. non-provision of information and justice services	Voice/representation, group membership, association and mobility
Vulnerabilities to overcome: limitations on political and civil liberties, agency, gender justice and citizenship			
Educational	E.g. gender- and identity-based school exclusion based on son bias	E.g. non-provision of education/reproductive health services	Education, health care, leisure time and decent work
Vulnerabilities to overcome: restricted opportunities for capability development through education			
Economic/	E.g. unequal inheritance	E.g. non-enforcement of	E.g. income-generating

Capability domains	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
productive	and property rights, limited access to assets	labour law and gender discrimination	opportunities, skills, training
Vulnerabilities to overcome: limited access to economic opportunities, productive resources and assets			
Sociocultural	E.g. restricted mobility, segregation, limit on public/private roles	E.g. limited information	Inclusion in group/ community identity, respect, status
Vulnerabilities to overcome: gender inequalities in family relations and household roles and responsibilities			
Physical/bodily	E.g. gender-based violence, harmful traditional practices	E.g. limited safe spaces, protective services and access to justice	Bodily integrity, care and protection
Vulnerabilities to overcome: lack of physical security, bodily integrity and investment in health			
Reproductive	E.g. limited control over fertility and sexuality, early marriage	E.g. non-provision of reproductive health services and child care	E.g. decision-making power in household
Vulnerabilities to overcome: sociocultural stereotypes, negative attitudes, poor mental health			

Note: The full version of this table can be found in Appendix 1.

In identifying policy and practice actions around girls' social exclusion and barriers to the realisation of their full human capabilities and entitlements, it will be important to:

- Analyse distinct types of exclusions;
- Take into consideration the forces of change, both internal and external;
- Study the links between exclusions in different spheres of life; and
- Investigate other intersecting types of deprivation.

3 Country context

This section provides a brief overview of Ethiopia's progress in terms of economic and human development, and the evolution of gender indicators. It also provides an outline of the legislation and policies that underpin the girls' and women's gender justice framework in Ethiopia, which has improved significantly at the regulatory level but more slowly in terms of its realisation.

3.1 Ethiopia's economic and human development context

4.1.1 Economic context

In its 2010 Report on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) highlighted the country's key economic achievements. Ethiopia registered an average economic growth rate of 11% from 2004 to 2010, although growth has slowed since. In 2008 and 2009, it faced twin macroeconomic challenges of high inflation and a difficult balance of payments. The problem was exacerbated by the high fuel and food prices in the global market, which contributed to domestic food price inflation. For example, annual end-of-period inflation stood at 36% by February 2012 (World Bank, 2012). In an effort to control inflation and the rising cost of living, the government imposed tight cash controls on its expenditure, temporarily introducing price caps (which were subsequently lifted) on selected goods and increasing the salary of civil servants by 35-39%. Ethiopia's economy is expected to continue to grow steadily, but its macro situation is to remain under stress in the foreseeable future.

As in the past, agriculture has been the major driver of growth, although services have grown more quickly, at an average of 13%, compared with agriculture and industry, which have grown by 10%. Rapid economic growth has resulted in an overall decline in the proportion of people living under the poverty line, from 38% in 2004/05 to 29.2% in 2010.

However, the 2011 Welfare Monitoring Survey (WMS) shows that food security is still a major challenge, particularly for the rural population that depends on subsistence farming (CSA, 2012b). Households face food shortages for three to nine months of the year, and only 2% of rural households produce enough food to feed them for more than 12 months.

Ethiopia's economic growth has been accompanied by rising inequality, particularly in urban areas, leading to a rise in urban poverty (MoFED, 2010): the country is still one of the poorest in the world. According to the World Bank (2012), Ethiopia's annual per capita income is \$370, much lower than the Sub-Saharan African average of \$1,176.

4.1.2 Population

Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Sub-Saharan Africa. Population growth has been high in the past 20 years, almost doubling, from 39.9 million to 73.9 million, between 1984 and 2007, although the annual population growth rate declined by 0.2% between 1994 and 2007 (CSA, 2007). As in previous censuses (1984, 1994), close to half the population is below age 15, but the proportion is declining slowly, from 49.8% in 1994 to 45% in 2007 (CSA, 2007). Adolescents in particular (10-19 years) constitute 26% of the total population, and, of this group, 87% reside in rural areas. A total of 47% of adolescents living in rural areas are girls. Understanding the distribution of the adolescent population is very important to discern the extent of potential deprivation among a significant share of adolescent boys and girls, especially given the possible bias of service provision and resource allocation towards the relatively smaller population of girls and boys who live in urban areas (MoE, 2010).

4.1.3 Human development

The 2012 Human Development Report ranks Ethiopia 173rd (out of a total of 186 countries), up from 157 out of 169 in 2010. Similarly, Ethiopia improved its performance on the 2011 Global Gender Gap Index, and is now ranked 116th of 135 countries.² Despite recently introduced policies and legislative

² According to Hausmann et al. (2011), the Global Gender Gap Index is a framework for capturing the magnitude and scope of gender-based disparities and tracking their progress. It benchmarks national gender gaps on economic, political and education- and health-based criteria, and provides country rankings that allow for effective comparisons across regions and income groups over time

commitments designed to serve women's interests and a Constitution that guarantees women the same rights and protections as men, gender gaps remain in education, economic empowerment and political participation. Poverty has a grave effect on the vast majority of Ethiopian women, particularly in rural areas. According to Robert Zoellick (2012), Ethiopian women earn 66% less than their male counterparts.

3.2 Overview of the gender justice legal and policy framework in Ethiopia

The Ethiopian Constitution, recognising the importance of gender equality for the attainment of overall development, devotes a separate provision dealing with the rights of women. Article 35 provides for rights and protections equal to those of men and also goes into more specific rights, including those to equality in marriage; to maternity leave with full pay; to full consultation in national development policies; to acquire, administer, control, use and transfer property, with an emphasis on land and inheritance issues; and to equal employment, pay and promotion.

Further, the government of Ethiopia, taking into consideration the magnitude of violence against women, revised the Family Code in 2000 and the Penal Code in 2005. The revised laws address age at marriage, and marriage and divorce procedures, to reflect equality. The revised Federal Family Code sets the minimum age at marriage at 18 years for both sexes (Article 7) and has done away with betrothal. It also covers other issues, including divorce and custody, and limits the powers of family arbitrators and restricts their activities to conciliation (Articles 80 and 82).

The Penal Code revision makes female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) illegal and addresses domestic violence to some degree. Abortion is illegal, but the grounds for legally sanctioned abortion are enlarged. Rape, sexual abuse and abduction merit tougher and graver penalties. Other offences, such as intentional transmission of contagious diseases, trafficking for prostitution and forced labour, are criminalised. All categories of sexual abuse carry grave penalties.

In line with this, a positive trend can be observed when comparing data from the 2005 DHS with those in the 2011 DHS on issues such as age at first marriage, attitudes towards violence against women and polygamy.

However, some loopholes remain. For example, although recent amendments give young girls more protection from rape, there is still a gap related to rape that exists within marriage, as rape is legally defined to occur outside of wedlock (Original et al., 2004). Another provision in the Penal Code provides for punishment in the case of bodily injury to another or the impairing of health. In principle, this protects women from acts of beating by husbands, boyfriends or any other person. However, the law does not specifically recognise wife battery, and there is no appropriate penalty in place for such acts in the domestic sphere.

Further constraints relate to the recognition by the Ethiopian Constitution of customary and religious laws relating to personal relations, which acknowledges the rights of such laws to define, regulate and pass judgement on personal relations (marriage, divorce, property ownership, child custody, inheritance and adoption), which are 'the very domains of women's culturally defined existence' (Biseswar, 2011). This creates a loophole for the regions too, as they can issue their own family codes. In all the policies designed to achieve equality between men and women, a common identified gap is the persisting conceptualisation of women's affairs as being exclusive to women. Most of the policies lack recognition of the role men could play in making the gender equality a reality (Dom, 2009).

In addition to these loopholes in legislation, there are significant constraints on access to justice. Progress towards this end still requires measures designed to address factors acting as barriers to meaningful utilisation of rights, which include lack of legal identity, ignorance of legal rights, unavailability of legal services and unjust and unaccountable legal institutions (Getnet, 2012). These barriers are still particularly strong for women in general, and more so for the most marginalised.

Several policies, programmes and strategies have been put in place, as well as a gender machinery to implement and coordinate activities, starting with the National Policy on Ethiopian Women. This is a big step towards ensuring the sustainable development of the country in general and women's equality in particular. However, reviews of the National Policy (Hareg Consult, 2005) identify gaps in terms of overall content, analysis and interpretation. Issues of budgeting and monitoring and evaluation are left out, and the institutional framework must be revised to facilitate implementation.

The National Action Plan for Gender Equality, aimed at supporting the implementation of the policy, has not been very successful either (e.g. FSS, 2009), and there is a dearth of targets and baseline data against which changes could be measured. Many gendered vulnerabilities remain that affect girls and young women in particular, acting as major constraints to their development. More recently, in October 2012, MoWYCA launched the National Strategy on Harmful Traditional Practices. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) is supporting MoWYCA in its rollout to the local level, and the strategy will be helpful to focus the support of a number of organisations working to eliminate such practices — including, for example, the Population Council and Save the Children — and align their work with government efforts from the national to the *kebele* levels.

3.3 Key vulnerabilities of girls and young women in Ethiopia: findings from the literature

4.3.1 Education domain

Girls' educational status in Ethiopia

Data from the 2011 WMS show that the literacy rate is 53% for males and 38% for females (CSA, 2012b) – with the overall rate of 47% showing remarkable progress since 2000, when it was a mere 29%. The rate remains low for both males and females, but women are far less literate than men, with differences between rural and urban areas as well as among regional states. This implies that women have limited opportunities to develop or maintain literacy skills, restricting their options in life and compromising the advantages they may have later on.

School completion is low for both boys and girls, although it has improved in the past 10 years. Approximately 22% of the population (18% of males and 24% of females) have completed only four years of education, and only 35% have completed primary education. A mere 8% have completed secondary education, with rates for women completing higher levels of education falling below the level of men from this level forward.

Gender differences in the net enrolment ratio at primary and secondary levels have narrowed remarkably, particularly at primary and first cycle secondary levels. In 2011, both gross enrolment and net enrolment were high in first primary (Grades 1-4), with a gender parity index in favour of girls (CSA, 2012a). However, the proportion of males and females attending first cycle secondary schools drops remarkably, partly as a result of the low primary completion rate. Available data thus indicate that a large proportion of students do not successfully transition to secondary school. Whereas at country level net primary enrolment is at more than 60%, net secondary enrolment is at a mere 11% (*ibid.*). In addition, urban–rural disparities worsen at secondary level, and girls' enrolment and progression rates fall significantly behind those of boys. This is related to a number of factors, including the lower availability of secondary schools in rural areas, which limits access; the need for adolescents to move to other localities to attend secondary school, making it expensive; other related costs; the need for them to work to generate income; and gendered issues such as early marriage (Guday, 2005), as discussed below.

Parental underinvestment in daughters

In Ethiopia, the high direct cost of education to parents is one of the reasons poor children do not enter school or drop out early. This is confirmed by the 2011 WMS, which shows that 23,469 students have dropped out of school because they cannot afford to pay school fees and buy school materials (CSA, 2012b). School fees, formal and informal, continue to be a barrier, with many parents continuing to cite inability to afford education as a reason their children, particularly girls and children with disabilities, do not attend school. Wealth is an important factor in enrolment, flow and completion: gross enrolment in primary education (Grades 1-8) among the richest wealth quintile is 95.8% compared with 59.4% among the poorest; in secondary school enrolment it is 53.7% among the richest quintile compared with 18.9% among the poorest (World Bank, 2005). This indicates important income inequalities in education.

Free primary education has become a constitutional right, setting the basis for the elimination of school fees, which is now government policy. Nevertheless, there are considerable opportunity costs for poor parents in sending their children to school, particularly related to the loss of labour, especially in rural areas. Moreover, schools continue to levy informal fees in the form of contributions to teachers' salaries (Oumer, 2009). Parents also need to pay school-related costs, such as those for uniforms, school supplies and transport.

Chaudhury et al. (2006) found a strong bias against investments in female education in rural Ethiopia. Controlling for key supply- and demand-side factors such as household income, parental education, distance to schools and quality of education, girls who reside in rural areas are almost 12% less likely than boys to be enrolled in primary schools. Furthermore, while an adverse weather-induced crop shock has no discernible impact on the schooling of boys, the same adverse shock has a deleterious impact on both probability of enrolment and completion of schooling for girls. Girls are likely to be engaged in coping strategies such as the collection of firewood and employment as maids.

The labour market provides little incentive for greater levels of female education (Rose and Al-Samarrai, 2001). Household aspirations for girls are constructed differently from those for boys, as a result of differential prospects shaped by norms operating in society and the economy that establish appropriate behaviours and opportunities for women and men. With boys considered responsible for parental wellbeing, investment in them is seen as a rational decision, and cultural practices that reinforce the marrying-off of girls are also likely to serve as a disincentive for educating daughters.

Adolescent pregnancy and early marriage as a cause of school dropout

Early marriage not only is a violation of girls' human rights through its restriction of their education, but also has a negative impact on communities and on the wellbeing of future generations. It also stands in direct conflict to the objectives of the MDGs, such as the promotion of basic education. Early marriage (below the age of 18 years) is against the law in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, it continues to occur across the country. Some girls may be married before they have a chance to attend school or when they have just reached Grade 4 (and are still unable to read in many cases).

Early marriage denies girls educational opportunities, representing as it does a violation of their rights to freedom and opportunities for personal development. Girls who marry young tend to drop out of school and are more likely to bear children during adolescence, thus effectively ensuring they will not return to school or develop other work skills (UNICEF, 2001). Married girls receive little or no schooling, and their domestic labour burden, which keeps them out of the productive economy, increases dramatically when they have their first child. In the 2005 DHS, 73% of married women had received no education, compared with 45% of never-married women (CSA, 2006). In Amhara Regional State – which has the highest early marriage rate in the country – 48% of young women were married before the age of 15 years (Pathfinder, 2006). The mean age at marriage is 14 years. These are primary school-age adolescents, and thus these figures show the intense vulnerability of young girls in Amhara. Pathfinder's 2006 representative survey of 2,072 women in Amhara showed that 27% had dropped out of school to get married. In 2011, a total of 28,380 girls dropped out of Grades 1-6 because of marriage, with more than 95.5% of these being from rural parts of the country (CSA, 2012b). A total of 7,864 students from junior and senior secondary school dropped out because of marriage, 74% of them rural (ibid.). Similarly, according to a study by Erulkar and colleagues (2004), in Amhara, 30% of girls who were not in school said the primary reason was marriage. After marriage, young girls' access to formal and even non-formal education is severely limited because of their domestic burden, childbearing and social norms that view marriage and schooling as incompatible (ICRW, 2006).

Thus, pregnancy is an important reason for girls dropping out of school after reaching puberty (CSA, 2012b). According to the 2011 WMS, 240 students in early primary (Grades 1-4), 2,459 students in late primary (Grades 5-8) and 1,498 students in secondary school (Grades 9-12) have dropped out of school as a result of marriage or pregnancy. There is no government policy on the readmission of pregnant schoolgirls, even if they wanted to return to school, since this is considered to imply encouragement of pregnancy among young girls.

Bayisenge (2012) suggests that 'early marriage is due to various factors including among others, the search for economic survival, protection of young girls, peer group and family pressure, controlling female behaviour and sexuality, wars and civil conflicts and socio-cultural and religious values'. As such, early marriage does not reflect just the wish of the parents. It also shows the extent of vulnerabilities young girls face and the lack of protection from the state, communities and parents. In some cases, as parents try to protect their children from perceived dangers, they tend to violate the daughters' rights through stricter impositions. Ethiopian societal attitudes towards pregnancy and marriage also contribute to girls not completing school. In some areas, girls are 'kidnapped' for marriage on their way to school, or even from within the school compound itself, by the parents of boys (Rose, 2003). This situation serves as an excuse for parents to refuse to send their daughters to school.

The interaction between the number of years of a girl's schooling and the postponement of marriage is firmly established by demographic and fertility studies (UNFPA, 2010). On average, women with seven or more years of education marry four years later and have 2.2 fewer children than those with no education.

Gender biases in the learning environment and curriculum

Violence against girls in schools is prevalent and takes different forms and occurs in different places: within the school compound, outside the school, on the way to and back from school and even in the classroom (MoWCYA and Save the Children Denmark, 2008). The most common assault is verbal assault by teachers, parents and male students, but physical assault is not uncommon. Violence against girls is discussed in greater detail below, but in the context of school it contributes to girls' abandonment of education.

Gender stereotypes constrain and blur girls' and boys' vision of who they are and what they can become, including through gender-biased curricula or interactions with school staff. For example, girls in Ethiopia are reported to spend more time undertaking tasks for teachers, such as cleaning classrooms and fetching water, than on educational activities (Colclough et al., 2000). Blumberg (2007) analysed the content of textbooks since 1970 and found that gender bias was pervasive. This has an important effect on both girls and boys through stereotyping from a young age. A more recent study carried out in Amhara found that gender stereotyping existed in textbooks (Tebeje, 2004).

Vocational training for women and adolescent girls

With regard to technical and vocational education and training (TVET), female students outnumber men. However, these areas of training are mainly those typically considered to belong to women (catering and secretarial courses). Even when women try to break away from traditional areas in vocational training, they are hindered by the inability to find employment because of employers' preference for men. Obtaining apprenticeships is another problem (Hareg Consult, 2005).

4.3.2 Economic domain

The economic capability of women is strongly linked to their right to own property and to engage in paid work (Bojer, 2003). Although there are various ways of acquiring commodities, such as transfers and food support, the means of earning an income and using the income to buy commodities entails power. But women in Ethiopia, as in many other countries, struggle for economic emancipation from their husbands, fathers and brothers, not just to obtain more consumer goods but also for economic capability, that is, to be able to earn their own living.

Asset ownership

The Federal Rural Land Administration Law states that the land administration law of a region shall confirm the equal rights of women in relation to the use, administration and control of land as well as with respect to transferring and bequeathing holding rights (ECA, 2009). Even though Ethiopian laws give equal property rights to women – including female children, who are allowed to inherit their parents' land rights – tradition and women's low social and economic status limit their ownership of assets. According to the 2011 DHS, men are more likely than women to own a house or land, alone or jointly (26-27% versus 12-13%) (CSA, 2012a).

A national study covering the 11 major ethnic groups of Ethiopia found that the majority of women did not have ownership of land; 58% of men reported being owners of land and joint ownership (both men and women) was at 34%, whereas only 4.1% of women owned land (Habtamu et al., 2004). A similar pattern was observed regarding house and cattle ownership: 50% joint ownership. Although it would seem that ownership of assets would automatically confer access to them, studies show that women's use and control rights – even when they are owners or joint owners – are severely constrained by traditional norms and patriarchal ideologies (Almaz, 2007; Shambel, 2012).

Legal provisions for women's land and property rights, which focus exclusively on ownership, are therefore insufficient to ensure women can access and benefit from their own assets. However, changes in legislation are taking place in the context of increased pressure on land holdings due to population growth and climate change.

Ethiopian women's limited access to resources and low decision-making power ultimately hinder their contribution to the national economy, and, while they are the main actors in the production of food supply and the protection of the environment, they remain among the poorest of the poor.

Gender dynamics in the labour market

Ethiopian women's contribution to the country's economy is significant, but they are disadvantaged in employment. In the 2011 DHS, the proportion of women employed ranges from 27% among women aged 15-19 years to 44% among women aged 25-29 years, and declines slightly for the older age groups (CSA, 2012a). Further, labour segregation remains an important constraining factor for women: men and women are prone to work in different sectors, with women typically in lower paid sectors.

Women who are divorced, separated or widowed are most likely to be currently employed (51%) (CSA, 2012a). This is probably because women who do not have the economic support of a man are more prone to work. Significant variations are observed in employment by place of residence. Women in urban areas are more likely to be currently employed than women in rural areas (50% compared with 34%).

Women's access to credit

Statistical reports compiled by the Central Statistical Agency (CSA, 2005) show that urban women run about two-thirds of micro-enterprises and more than a quarter of small-scale manufacturing schemes. Participation in medium- and large-scale manufacturing enterprises is minimal, however, as managing such firms requires huge capital and intensive training, which most women lack.

In one study, women responded positively towards the availability of microcredit in most urban centres (AfDB, 2004). This is mainly in community-based revolving credit and savings groups, which are much more convenient in terms of distance and ease of access. However, the sums involved are too small to purchase agricultural inputs and are used mainly to satisfy household needs.

Rural women often face problems qualifying for loans. Agricultural credit requires guarantee of repayment; since women do not have ownership of land, equipment or produce, it is difficult for them to qualify. Credit schemes such as solidarity groups and associations are limited to petty trading and informal sector activities, or provide enough only to meet personal social obligations (AfDB, 2004).

Unpaid household labour and time poverty

According to a study conducted among the 11 major ethnic groups of Ethiopia, women in rural areas are involved in rearing children, managing family affairs, weeding, harvesting crops, building family huts/houses, grinding grain, fetching water, collecting firewood, looking after cattle, building grain storage facilities, preparing fields, threshing crops, participating in traditional ceremonies, attending political meetings and others (Habtamu et al., 2004). The study found that women worked on average more than 14 hours a day; in Somali and Afar Regional States this rises to more than 16 hours a day. Women in urban areas are engaged in both household management and remunerative activities; in both rural and urban areas, women were found to be working more hours on average than men.

Women's role as producers is generally unfavourable to their wellbeing as well as that of their children (Haregewoin and Emeber, 2002). Women spend up to 10 hours a day in the field during peak agricultural seasons. The heaviest workload for women, during the pre-harvest and harvest seasons, generally coincides with the period of lowest household food availability, increasing the strain they suffer. This situation is aggravated for pregnant or lactating women. The 2011 WMS shows that more than 72% of the population still collect firewood for cooking and about 5% of households use dung/manure, both of which have implications for household labour distribution, given that these activities are seen as women's responsibilities (CSA, 2012b). UN Women Watch (2009) observes that girls and young women spend so much time fetching fuel wood that they have less time to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, earn money, engage in politics or other public activities, learn to read or acquire other skills or simply rest. It also means women have less time for other livelihood activities, which may result in lower household income.

4.3.3 Physical domain

This section analyses adolescent girls' capabilities to enjoy physical security, bodily integrity and access to good health care, including access to reproductive as well as mental health services.

Adolescent girls and sexual and reproductive health in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, knowledge about contraceptives is widespread (CSA, 2012a). However, only three in ten married women (29%) are using a method of contraception, of which 27% are modern methods. Nevertheless, the use of modern contraceptives grew from 3% in 2000 to 27% in 2011. As we have seen, the Ethiopian fertility rate is high, and rural women have about twice as many children as urban

women. Childbearing begins early: more than one-third of women aged 20-49 years have given birth by age 18 years, and more than half (54%) by age 20 years.

Antenatal services are provided in all government health care facilities, including at health posts. However, utilisation of such services is still low. According to the 2011 DHS (CSA, 2012a), 34% of women who had given birth in the five years preceding the survey had received antenatal care from a skilled provider (doctor, nurse, midwife). Yet this is a considerable improvement from 28% in 2005. Adolescent mothers in particular suffer from a disproportionate share of reproductive health problems, but are underserved when it comes to services.

Using country-representative data (994 women who had recently given birth) from the 2005 DHS, Alemayehu et al. (2010) investigated utilisation of antenatal services by pregnant teenagers. They found that 90% of the pregnant teenagers were rural, 87% had no education and 87% were in a marital union. Only 27.3% had made at least one antenatal visit to a health care facility, and less than 20% of these had delivered in such a facility. The rest delivered at home. Findings from the 2011 DHS survey indicate that the most important barriers to health service access that women mention are lack of transportation to a facility (71%), followed by lack of money (68%) and distance to a health facility (66%) (CSA, 2012a). Another reason women do not deliver in a health care facility is they think it is unnecessary and contravenes customs.

Maternal deaths account for 30% of all deaths among women aged 15-49 years. The maternal mortality ratio was 676 per 100,000 live births for the seven-year period preceding the 2011 DHS. This is not significantly different from the rates reported in the 2005 DHS and the 2000 DHS. The major causes of maternal death are related to emergency obstetric complications as well as complications of unsafe abortion (54%) (MoH, 2003). Illegal abortion is widespread and generally performed by untrained persons. The socioeconomic factors that contribute to maternal death are low socioeconomic status, excessive workload coupled with poor nutrition and poverty, distance to facilities and lack of transport (MoH, 2011). Health services factors related to the maternal mortality ratio include an inadequate number of skilled health personnel.

Intensified vulnerability to HIV and AIDS

The HIV and AIDS epidemic disproportionately affects young women and girls. For instance, according to estimates, there are 1.1 million people living with HIV and AIDS in Ethiopia, of whom 62% are female (HAPCO, 2009). Numerous obstacles contribute to this vulnerability, including cultural and religious factors, which can decrease respect for women's legal rights and access to key services. Ethiopian values, norms and beliefs on sex and sexuality (which include values related to extramarital sexual relations of men, abduction, rape, multiple marriage or polygamy, sharing of wives and widow inheritance) expose community members, particularly women, to HIV infection. Further, there is an undersupply of HIV test kits and combined prophylaxis; professional health workers trained in prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMCT) services; and provision of PMCT services. The number of young women and girls accessing voluntary counselling and testing (VCT) is also hindered by a distinct lack of awareness (especially among out-of-school girls). Accessibility is also constrained by stigma and discrimination and men's negative attitudes towards allowing women to admit their positive status. These factors are particularly prominent in rural areas.

Moreover, women disproportionately bear the burden of poverty, given low control over resources. Extreme poverty leads some young women to engage in transactional sex with older men; women may be forced to support their family by selling sex, putting them at greater risk of HIV infection (HAPCO, 2011).

Gender-based violence

As in the rest of the world, violence against women is an underreported crime. Most victims or survivors of violence fail to report the incident because they are ashamed or afraid, feel reporting it is pointless as it will make the abuse and violence worse or do not know it can be reported (Erulkar et al., 2010; Hareg Consult, 2005; Original et al., 2004). The Ethiopian policy environment for combating violence committed against women is relatively favourable. However, acts of crimes committed against women are still prevalent, and violence is still condoned and accepted. This is illustrated in the 2011 DHS, which gathered information on attitudes towards wife beating and found that two women of every three justified wife beating (CSA, 2012a).

Marital rape is not considered and recognised as rape by most communities, or in laws and regulations. This is an under-researched area. Tsedey (2011) investigated how women experienced,

understood and managed marital rape and the measures they took to deal with it. Using a qualitative research design, the study found early marriage, economic dependency, men's sense of entitlement to sex and substance abuse to be the causes of marital rape among participants. None of the women surveyed labelled their experience as rape, nor did they report it to the relevant authorities or disclose their experience to others, because the culture would not allow it and they feared it would push their husbands to go to other women. They nevertheless felt helpless, angry, worthless and disrespected.

A study conducted by Gage (2009) in Amhara Regional State shows that sexual violence is more common among adolescents than in the general population. Half of adolescent girls who had experienced sexual violence told no one about the incident; one out of four victims sought help from friends. Around 75% of adolescents felt the law could prevent or stop sexual violence against women and children.

In the school environment, girls are physically attacked for non-punishment purposes, which includes harassment, degrading treatment and attempts to force sexual relations. The perpetrators of this are mainly older boys both in and out of school, and it takes place on the way to and from school. In a 2008 study (MoWCYA and Save the Children Denmark, 2008), a total of 24% of students, 53% of teachers and 35% of parents reported that most sexual harassment occurred in school settings. Students, parents and teachers agreed that verbal insults and beating were the most common types of violence against girls on the way to and from school.

A recent study conducted in Ethiopia suggests that many women tend to accept violence as a norm (Deyessa et al., 2010). According to the authors, prevalence differs between rural and urban areas and between literate and illiterate couples: violence is more common in rural than in urban areas, and illiterate women are more likely to accept domestic violence than literate women. In the study's sample of 1,994 women, 32% had experienced physical violence during the previous 12 months, with younger rural women in the 25-34 age group, literate women and women living with literate spouses less likely to experience physical violence. Women living in extreme poverty were more likely to experience physical violence by an intimate partner.

Abduction

Abduction of women, although a criminal offence, is still considered a legitimate way of procuring a bride (especially in southern Ethiopia). Ergogie (2008) assesses the prevalence of abduction from a gender perspective and shows that marriage by abduction is still practised in Misha *woreda* of Hadiyya zone, in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. It occurs on the way to school and the market, and is justified in the name of culture and tradition, although it undermines girls' rights and wishes. This points to inadequate efforts by public authorities to enforce existing laws.

4.3.4 Household roles, decision-making power and the status of women

The ability of women to make decisions regarding the circumstances of their lives is an essential aspect of their empowerment. Women in Ethiopia are mothers, wives and breadwinners, and having these multiple roles means many of them have little exposure to public life, leadership and decision-making positions. They traditionally have very little independent power on most individual and family issues.

In order to assess women's decision-making autonomy, CSA (2012a) collected information on women's participation in three types of household decisions: respondent's own health care; making major household purchases; and visits to family or relatives. The strength of their participation varied with each type: 13% of currently married women made their own decisions on their own health care, while one woman of every four said her husband mainly made such decisions. Decisions on large household purchases were most likely to be made jointly by wife and husband (60%); for 33% the husband alone mainly made these decisions. Only 6% of women made these decisions by themselves. A total of 61% of women said decisions to visit family or relatives were made jointly with their husbands.

Decision making increases with education, wealth and employment (CSA, 2012a; Tebekaw, 2011). In addition, women with low decision-making autonomy have been found to be more likely to be undernourished (Tebekaw, 2011). In spite of the positive legal framework, gender inequalities continue to exist in public services; as already noted, there are very low numbers of women in professional positions and at top decision-making levels (AfDB, 2004).

Habtamu et al. (2004) looked at the status of women by asking respondents how women were regarded in their community. A significant proportion (21.7%) of respondents considered the social status of women to be low, and a large number of respondents (25%) stated that women had equal status with men in their community.

4.3.5 Political/civic domain

Public and private ideologies and restricted mobility and agency for girls

Alsop and Heinsohn (2005) define 'agency' as the capacity to make meaningful choices and suggest it can be measured using asset endowments as indicators. These assets can be psychological, informational, organisational, material, social, financial or human.

Bevan and Pankhurst (2007) looked at how local power structures affect the personal agency and degree of power of rural people of different genders, ages, household wealth, ethnicity and religion, using data from four rural and two urban communities in Ethiopia. They found that male household heads possessed unequal power over females and younger males in the household, which may involve elements of exploitation, exclusion, domination and violation. The authors further indicate that men who are powerful in community governance structures are likely to belong to the dominant status group. Criteria for elite status include wealth and occupation of key community roles. Women, younger uneducated men and poor men have little say in community affairs, but female relatives of powerful men may have informal influence and there are official positions for women in *kebele* structures.

Social capital

Having friends and the number of friendships can reflect the extent of social engagement and participation young people have. In contrast, having no friends could reflect social isolation and limited participation. In one survey, boys reported having an average of 2.5 friends, whereas girls reported an average of 1.9 friends (Erulkar et al., 2010). Among young people aged 12-24 years, 9% of boys and 21% of girls reported having no friends. Respondents who were out of school and married were more likely to report having no friends. Girls in particular were less likely to report having friends, especially urban girls (26% reported no friends), married girls (28%) and out-of-school girls (28%). Another survey (Hallman et al., 2007) reveals that poor girls in particular tend to feel threatened and insecure: they are often socially isolated, lack friends and networks of support and do not engage in any social or recreational activities.

Erulkar et al. (2010) further show the extent of social support and regulation reported by male and female young people, by residence. Compared with their urban counterparts, young people in rural areas tend to have more social support, as reflected in having a person from whom to borrow money, an alternative place to stay and support in case of a medical problem. In urban Ethiopia, for example, girl migrants working as domestic servants lack family, friends and supportive mechanisms to protect them, while experiencing increased risk of sexual abuse by their employers, given their dependence on them for shelter and food, their isolation within the domestic sphere and their invisibility (ibid.).

4 Methodology

Qualitative data for this study were collected in two localities in Amhara Regional State in Ethiopia.

4.1 Site selection

In order to select the regional state for the research sites, we used available measures of poverty and gender-based violence and other social development indicators. As a second step, we used information about cultural practices by geographic location and religion. Amhara Regional State has some of the worst indicators in education, reproductive health, labour and employment in Ethiopia.

We then chose two *woredas* (districts): Kelala in South Wollo and Kobo in North Wollo. They were selected on the basis of their high rates of early marriage and school dropout, and the prevalence of child work. Both are predominantly rural localities and share some common characteristics, but they also have specific geographic and cultural features. The main livelihood of households in both sites is agriculture. In Kobo, households grow their own food and sell some of it to obtain cash for basic consumption including clothing, health care, school expenses, manufactured goods etc. However, the more food they sell to obtain cash, the less they have left to cover their food consumption for the months ahead. In Kelala, some households combine agricultural activities with trade. This makes them more food secure than households in Kobo.

While Kelala is an isolated, underserved *woreda*, Kobo has been accessible by road for some time: the main Addis Ababa–Asmara road passes through the *woreda* town, so the population has more exposure and is more open to external influences. Save the Children is active in both areas, and is the main NGO providing support to these localities. In Kelala, Save the Children is working in reproductive health; in Kobo it works on education, early warning and food security. Given that Kobo is within closer reach of transport links and other localities, there are additional NGOs working there, and there is a wider range of government-led activities. Kobo is a predominantly Orthodox Christian locality, whereas Islam is the dominant religion in Kelala³.

Among the distinguishing characteristics of these two sites is their geographic location. Kelala borders Oromiya Regional State, whereas Kobo borders Tigray (one of the most developed) and Afar Regional States. As such, the populations in these two *woredas* have rich cultures, traditions, norms and practices that have received influences from other states and their people for many years.

In both *woredas*, the district sector offices – health; education; and women, children and youth affairs – identified their priority *kebeles* (villages). Tirtira *kebele*, with a population of 6,258, was selected in Kelala and Ayub *kebele*, with a population of 9,112, in Kobo.

4.2 Research instruments and data collection

The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) developed common research instruments for research in all four countries, with each country team then adapting them to the local context. Six sets of qualitative instruments were used: focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews (IDIs), key informant interviews (KIIs), intra-household case studies, life histories and generational pairings. The FGDs and IDIs were tailored to collect data from two age groups: girls 11-14 years and those 15-19 years. KIIs were conducted with a number of interviewees at the local level, including officials in local departments of health, education, justice and women's affairs; teachers; community leaders; youth association leaders; women association leaders; community elders; and religious leaders. In addition to the various research instruments, different participatory tools, such as body mapping and community mapping, were utilised to help administer the instruments, particularly to the younger cohorts.

In addition to the interviews at the local level, a number of KIIs were conducted at the national level, including with the Ministry of Women, Youth and Children's Affairs (MoWYCA), the Ministry of Health (MoH), the Ministry of Education (MoE), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the Population Council, Save the Children International, Pathfinder and the Professional Alliance for Development in Ethiopia (PADET), among others.

³ A large number of religions are traditionally practiced in Ethiopia, According to the 2007 national census, over 32 million people or 43.5% were reported to be Ethiopian Orthodox Christians, over 25 million or 33.9% were reported to be Muslim, just under 14 million, or 18.6%, were Protestant, and just under two million or 2.6% adhered to traditional beliefs

The fieldwork was conducted between the second half of October and early November 2012. Recorded consent was obtained for every respondent, including key government officials and community leaders. Table 2 presents information about the types and numbers of interviews conducted in the field.

Table 2: Fieldwork plan

In each locality, the following data were collected

Research instrument	Purpose	Who?
FGDs (20)	To explore general community-level definitions, views and experiences of gendered adolescence; to identify areas of consensus and debate	2 with younger adolescent girls (11-14) in school 1 with dropout girls 1 with girls who have never been enrolled 2 with older adolescents (14-19)
		2 with boys currently in school 1 with dropout boys 2 with mixed boys and girls in school (11-14) 1 with dropout girls
		6 groups of adults – 3 with women and 3 with men (25-36)
		1 with government officials/service providers: health, education, justice, women, children and youth affairs, NGO service providers at district levels, commune and village levels, community 1 small group discussion among key actors at each level to capture inter-sectoral dynamics
KIIs (10)	To find out about adolescent girls' status, opportunities, challenges, changes over time	Local officials Community and religious leaders NGOs National officials
IDIs (12) 2 main entry points for adolescent girls: - Educated/uneducated (split) - Marital status – married/with children and single	To understand individual girls' experiences of adolescence and its gendered dimensions	6 with older adolescent girls (15-19)
		2 with younger adolescent girls (11-14)
		2 with younger adolescent boys (2 older/2 younger – brothers of the IDI girls)
		2 with adult women
Intra-household case studies (2)	To explore intra-household dynamics <i>vis-à-vis</i> adolescent girls by triangulating views of adults and children; and by gender	2 households with adolescent girls; 1 with boys as well, 1 with no boys. Both nuclear and extended household arrangements
Life histories and generational pairings (4)	To explore key moments in girls' lives present and past	Older adolescent girls, cases of positive stories to understand resilience and transformation
Generational pairings (2)	To explore generational differences in adolescent experiences	Older women and older adolescent girls

5 Key findings from the fieldwork

For official purposes we may say that girls and boys are equal but we know they are not (KII, community leader, Kelala).

This section presents some of the main findings from the qualitative data collected in Kobo and Kelala districts, Amhara Regional State, Ethiopia. As discussed in Section 3, the methodology comprised six qualitative tools in order to gain different types and levels of information, triangulate information from different respondents and derive a more in-depth understanding of the issues concerning the role discriminatory social norms and institutions play in depriving girls and young women of the opportunity to achieve their full potential across different capability domains. Our premise is that discriminatory social institutions play a far more important role in limiting girls potential than is generally understood, and our findings in these two districts uncover some interesting evidence to support this premise.

Findings are analysed across the capability domains according to the conceptual framework, recognising that issues do not happen in siloes but rather span capabilities. The analysis in each capability domain therefore tries to connect issues across domains to provide a clearer picture of the reality girls face. Throughout the analysis, we draw comparisons between findings in the two localities: Kobo and Kelala. Although they are similar rural localities in the same regional state, there are distinct characteristics in terms of religion, urbanisation, influence of environmental factors and economic situation/economic opportunities. These factors have some influence on the way social norms play out in the lives of girls in each case.

5.1 Economic capability

The section discusses how norms and practices influence adolescent girls' and boys' access to assets, and some of the resulting vulnerabilities adolescent girls may face in terms of developing their economic capability.

5.1.1 Access to assets

Interviews and FGDs held with adolescent girls and boys and various key informants in both sites indicated that, in general, as children and young adolescents grow up to adulthood, both girls and boys rarely acquire any assets on their own, but rather help their parents build the family assets. They have, however, the potential to inherit or receive some of these assets as wedding gifts.

I am now a student. I may have assets when I complete my education and get a job. Until then I depend on my parents' asset (young adolescent boy, Kelala).

Family wealth status influences the ways adolescents can build their assets. For example, some parents may give a calf or ewe to their daughters and sons by cause of their hard work as cattle herders. Some lucky adolescents may see their animals growing in number as they continue to breed. However, parents are likely to sell these animals if there is economic need, with a promise to give them others at a later time. According to one young adolescent girl, though, parents break their promises and take back the animals they have given to their children as gifts.

I was hired in a better-off household as a cattle herder. I bought some goats from the wage I received but my brother sold one of them and my mother sold the rest (adolescent boy living in female headed household, Kobo).

My brother got a she-goat as a gift. She multiplied and he had many goats. Then he sold them and bought two calves. The two calves grew up to be cows. He sold one of the cows and went to Jeddah. He still has his other cow with us (younger adolescent girl participating in FGD, Kobo).

Some boys may have more assets than girls because they are better able to negotiate with parents to ensure the animals given them as gifts are not taken away from them if the family needs to sell them as a coping mechanism.

My son demanded that I sell my only ox and give him the money to cover travel expenses to Jeddah. I refused. But then his mother sided with him and pleaded with me to comply with our son's demand. What is more he physically attacked me. Finally I sold the ox and gave him the money. He did not go anywhere. He spent the money on alcohol (KII, religious leader, head of the local church, Kobo).

There is a potential for girls and boys to earn money through day labour and thus buy assets. However, although adolescent boys and girls earn money through day labour, this may not culminate in asset building. Instead, they may use the money to meet their needs – needs that their parents have been unable to meet.

I engage in daily labour. I started paid work in weeding and in harvest time carrying sorghum heads from the farm to the threshing area. I earn 30 birr per day. Sometimes the rate rises to 40 birr per day. My mother allows me to spend the money as I want. I buy my own clothes, soap, lotions, exercise books and pens (adolescent girl, Kobo).

Adolescent girls and boys inherit land and other property from a deceased parent(s) or other relatives, including grandparents or uncles/aunts. However, adolescent girls who have assets are likely to face tremendous social pressure to marry early, as it is felt they will not be able to manage their land and assets on their own and need a husband to manage and work the inherited property. A story of a girl who inherited land told in an FGD with young adolescents illustrates this point. The girl inherited land, rented it out for share cropping and continued with her education. As land is scarce, young men were in a queue to marry her for her land. This pressure from young men was coupled with pressure from family and relatives to get married. Finally she gave in, dropping out of school to get married.

Wedding gifts are also sources of assets for adolescent girls and boys. Common wedding gifts in rural areas include animals: a pair of oxen or one ox, a cow or some shoats. They may even get a piece of land. Other gifts come in the form of cash, household equipment etc. What is different for girls is that the asset they receive as gifts from their parents come under the control and management of the husband. However, other adolescents may not be as lucky. They may have none of these assets, even at marriage. As one young woman said, they receive only the blessings of their parents. Further, owing to inheritance and fragmentation of land from generation to generation, many boys and girls either inherit such a small parcel of land that it is not sufficient to make a viable source of livelihood or inherit no land at all.

5.1.2 Income

In rural Ethiopia, agriculture is the main source of employment, and thus of income, for young people. But availability of paid labour in the agriculture sector is seasonal and limited in terms of livelihood sustainability. Moreover, girls have fewer opportunities for jobs in rural areas because there are certain activities they do not perform or not trained for.

While there is a feeling that farmers are underemployed, the seasonal nature of harvesting creates urgency during weeding and cutting times, which pushes up the demand for labour, as well as its cost. It is at these times that young people are hired. Some of them organise themselves in groups (*wonfels*) and work together for pay. It is particularly important for girls to join *wonfels* because rates of payment are bargained as a group. Girls negotiating individually may be given lower rates than boys because there is a belief that girls will not work as much as boys. According to KIIs in Kelala, the day rate is equal for boys and girls when they work together. However, participation of girls and boys in these job opportunities differs: boys can engage in both weeding and cutting, whereas girls participate only in weeding because cutting is not considered girls' or women's work. More girls and young women participate in *wonfels* than older married women.

For adolescents, weeding time comes during the school holidays, an appropriate time to engage in paid work. For adolescent girls and boys, this a crucial time engage in daily labour because they need the money to buy their school materials, including uniforms and regular clothes and shoes. On the other hand, if they engage in cutting (mainly boys' work), they have to miss classes, which may result in them dropping out of school. Availability of jobs (weeding and cutting) depends on the capacity of farmers to hire labour and on whether the year has been a good one (a good year is when there is sufficient rain, less pest infestation, less hail). According to the experiences of adolescents and community leaders, crops fail every other year, sometimes every three years. Traditionally, when crops fail and there is food shortage, the young (mostly boys) go away in search of jobs. Women,

children and older adults stay and suffer the impact of food shortages. Women stay behind to look after the children and older people.

Some adolescent boys and girls engage in daily labour at construction sites, such as on rural roads and buildings. However, only a few girls participate in these types of activities, because they are considered inappropriate for girls. According to key informants at the *woreda* level, girls do not travel to these construction sites because it would mean spending the night there. The lack of safety for adolescent girls and young women at work places restrict their mobility and participation in paid work.

The study shows that adolescents as young as 11 years engage in paid labour. However, there has been strong follow-up by the government recently to ensure children go to school instead of engaging in paid work. Nevertheless, child labour has not been completely eradicated and still continues, even though it is declining fast. Adolescents start paid work to augment family income and to buy clothes and school materials.

5.1.3 Job opportunities

The government's plan to create jobs for young people is the same in both sites. Adolescents, especially boys who are 'educated' – those who have spent some time in school – may have priority for economic opportunities. One of the reasons mentioned was that they demand jobs. Government key informants admitted that dropouts from all levels of the education system wanted 'permanent office work' with a dependable salary. According to KIIs, those who have never been to school may quietly marry and go on with their lives and not bother the authorities to give them jobs, although they may ask for some land for agriculture.

Respondents mentioned that priority was given to some groups of adolescents at the cost of others of equal need. In this case, the distinction between prioritisation and discrimination could be narrow, and could be a cause of discontent among those who miss the opportunity to be included. It appears that government officials try to find jobs for young jobless 'educated' youth, mainly those who have dropped out of school at elementary or higher levels or those who have taken college/vocational training but have not been able to get jobs. There are also young people who stay with their parents and share what the family has but do not have any other source of income. It happens that priority is given to the 'students' at the cost of the 'not educated', who are also dependent on their parents.

I used to be a member of the public works programme. We used to do terracing and get 250 birr for six months of work – we worked 5 days per month 30 days in six months. I stopped it when they [the authorities] brought students and replaced us (Desta, 19 years old, illiterate, lives with parents, married at 13 and divorced at 15, Kobo).

The public works programme does not differentiate in the rate of payment or the quantity of work carried out. However, engagement requires that girls or even boys come from a household registered as a Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) beneficiary.

In some extreme cases, young women in both sites may engage in commercial sex as a livelihood. According to FGD participants and key informants in both research sites, young women may use commercial sex as a last resort to earn a living.

5.1.4 Labour migration

Young people girls and boys have developed a strong belief that they will not be able to change their lives and that of their parents unless they migrate to work. Although this study did not choose migration as a major component of investigation, it nevertheless came out as one, with an impact on the capabilities of a number of adolescent girls.

In both study areas, adolescent boys and girls practise internal as well as external migration. Internal routes of migration include different districts within the same zone, different areas (e.g. Humera) within the same region and other regions, such as Afar, as the major route to migrating to Saudi Arabia (Jeddah). The majority of boys migrate to Humera and Afar, whereas the majority of girls migrate to Jeddah on a contractual agreement to work as housemaids, although some migrate without a pre-established contract, taking great risks to arrive without the certainty of finding a job. According to district key informants (NGO and WCYA representatives) in Kobo, adolescent girls from very poor rural households first migrate to the *woreda* town (Kobo) to work as housemaids. After they have developed their skills there, they migrate to bigger towns such as Alamata and Woldia to work in hotels and individual houses. Boys from poor rural households are employed in better-off households

in rural areas to tend livestock (cattle, goats). Here, it should be noted that family poverty is the driving force for young boys and girls taking internal migration as an option to economically support themselves and their families.

According to respondents in an adult mixed FGD in Kelala, there is a severe economic problem in their community driving youth out-migration:

The economic problem is common for boys and girls. They do not have any alternative options here for them. There is no promising future even after 'completing' their education. Therefore, we let them go freely. The potential negative outcome does not bother them much or hinder them from migrating. They prefer to face the challenges.

Young adolescent girl group discussants in Kobo cited at least one person from their families (a sister, brother, aunt or uncle) who had migrated to Saudi Arabia, and most of them had had to dropout from school to migrate. The following statements illustrate why young girls and women in both Kobo and Kelala have plans to go to Saudi Arabia/Jeddah:

Some of my friends have migrated to Jeddah by dropping out from school. The girls went there because there is no other place they can go to. If girls run away from home and move to another place inside the country, the family would find you and bring you back to your parents' home (15-year-old girl, Grade 9, Kobo).

I have a plan to go to Jeddah on a contract basis if I do not get a better job. My husband also agrees on this plan. So, I will leave my one-year-old daughter with my husband if I manage to go there. I believe that life would be changed by going to an Arab country more easily than by doing business here through 'borrowed money'. I have a plan to operate a cafeteria once I get back from Jeddah with money, like my friend who has been working in Arab country and as a result owns a house and operates a café here. If the government was able to create job opportunities, expand vocational training institutes, and if there were jobs with a good payment, no one would go to Arab countries. I know that to go and work in an Arab country has a lot of risks, including loss of one's life. However, whether I am there or here, death occurs as long as it is the will of Allah (19-year-old married girl with one-year-old daughter, Grade 10 complete, Kelala).

In terms of economic capability, we found that some adolescent girls had worked hard to save money to cover travel costs to migrate to the Middle East in search of jobs. In other cases, parents or siblings or husbands covered travel costs for girls and young women, going to the extent that they had sold their land or borrowed money at 100% interest.

Many parents have given up, seeing no other prospects of improving their lives and the lives of their families. As such, they want to take their chances with their children. They would do anything or pay any amount to send their children to Jeddah. However, many households are led to greater poverty rather than moving on to a better life.

My mother has not begun sending money to the family. She is at the moment paying back the 7,000 birr loan she took to cover her travel expenses. She has so far paid back the 7,000 birr and has yet to pay the interest (13-year-old girl).

I have a friend who once migrated to Jeddah. Her father gave her a choice whether to marry or to go to the Arab country. She chose to go. But when she went there, her employers were not good people. She came back quickly and she is not doing anything now (17-year-old girl, high school student, Kelala).

Successful migrants have been able to send money to their parents to pay debts in the first instance and then to improve the housing conditions of their parents. They buy land and build houses in the local town.

Furthermore, parents in the rural communities of Kobo and Kelala used to have very high expectations when they sent their children to school. They hoped their children would be able to obtain gainful employment in the civil service, which would enable them to support themselves and their families. Currently, however, parents have lost hope in formal education when they see formally unemployed youth in their locality who have completed Grades 10 and 12. This lack of hope in the

returns of formal education is one of the drivers of migration of adolescent girls and boys in the study communities. The following cases reveal the issue under discussion.

There are so many young people in my area who couldn't find jobs upon completing high school. If I cannot find a better job, I have a plan to go to Jeddah on a contract. If I go, I will leave my daughter with her father. I believe that my life would change more easily there than it would if I had stayed and worked here (19-year-old girl, completed high school, Kelala).

I am thinking about going to Jeddah since the return from formal education is not as immediate as going to Jeddah since I have school friends who have migrated to Jeddah and used to send money to their families. In our community, parents have a high desire to send both girls and boys to school. But currently, there are some illusions/doubts about the returns of education. Students who did not pass Grades 10 and 12 examinations return home and stay with their parents. This condition disappoints parents whose children who have completed Grades 10 and 12. As a result, the community lacks hope in formal education (15-year-old girl, Grade 6 dropout, Kobo).

5.2 Socio-cultural capability domain

This section explores the sociocultural capability domain exploring the extent to which girls are able to sustain and benefit from nurturing relationships and equal care and provisions from adults within family structures, and their ability to develop a secure sense of personal identity and fulfilling and supportive relationships. This domain is related to girls' support structures in the household and the community and their ability to have a voice to negotiate their interests within the household, particularly on issues that pertain to their emotional wellbeing and development, mobility and the establishment of relationships.

In particular, this section explores how certain social practices, such as the stereotyping of female roles, restricted mobility for girls and women, insufficient legal protection and the lack of a supportive and nurturing domestic and social life compromise their capacity for development and inclusion. In many cases, these constraints push them to seek coping strategies that might have negative developmental consequences in the medium and long run. This section also explores some cases in which, through positive support mechanisms, adolescent girls have found positive pathways to achieve these capabilities.

5.2.1 Gender inequalities in family relations and household roles and responsibilities

The division of roles and responsibilities in Ethiopia is made along gender lines. This limits girls mainly to domestic activities, while boys follow in their fathers' footsteps, working on income-generating activities outside the household with which girls are not familiar. According to responses from FGDs and IDIs with girls and boys, this division of roles and responsibilities is seen as normal – it is accepted as the natural order of things. While young boys and girls begin by doing similar activities at an early age – such as helping their mother at home as well as undertaking activities outside the house such as looking after the cattle, collecting firewood and fetching water – they begin to specialise as they grow older. Girls specialise in domestic activities and boys in farming activities. As one adolescent respondent explained, *'Boys do not bake injera as girls do not plough.'*

This division of labour is not necessarily negative, as it can be an efficient use of time and resources in the household. The problem arises when it becomes overwhelming for girls, leaving them little or no time for school, play and interaction with their peers and thus limiting the development of their capabilities. Since work outside the household tends to be more time-bound, while domestic chores are burdensome and last throughout the day, girls generally find themselves with much less time for other activities than boys. Further, girls often do not have a say in how they allocate their time, following parental orders before marriage and orders from their husbands or parents-in-law after marriage.

Most adolescent girls participating in the study complained about the challenges of managing their workload and the reduced ability to invest time in their education (which most girls aspired to). This often resulted in their having to drop out of school or not being allowed to advance owing to poor performance.

It is my mom who raised me. She didn't have adequate wealth. She fell ill with a kidney disease. As a result she is now in Addis. But I am here holding two children. As a

consequence, I am not attending my schooling properly. I am in Grade 7. I am busy doing cooking food, feeding these children and doing other tasks in the house. So this by itself is a big influence. Bearing such a responsibility at this age is a big problem (14-year-old girl, FGD with young adolescents, Kelala).

When adolescent girls do not learn a trade or income-generation skill and are unable to inherit or manage land owing to traditional social norms, they inevitably become dependent on parents, husbands or other male relatives, which reduces their capacity for intra-household negotiations. Social norms and practices still push children and adolescents to comply with parental wishes and social pressure, including undertaking activities against their will, such as early marriage and, in some cases, migration.

Girls look after their grandparents, young siblings or any sick person in the family from a young age. They mostly do this within their own family or household, although there are occasions when they are sent out to help an uncle or a grandparent. This shapes them into caregivers, often at the cost of developing other roles that could be more fulfilling for them in the medium and long term.

My uncle, my mother's brother died. I went to help his family. I spent two weeks and came back. Our female teacher refused to allow me to go back to class. That was how I stopped going to school (IDI, adolescent girl, Kobo).

In the localities visited – which, in terms of household composition, are similar to other localities in Ethiopia – the head of the household is typically the father, although the mother is seen to play an important role as well. Generally, adolescent respondents ascribed management of the home to their mother and management of resources (income) and farm activities to their father. Although fathers have traditionally been the main income earners and decision makers, as family structures and economic opportunities have changed the most important person in the household, including the one with the most influence on the life of an adolescent, may not necessarily be the father or the mother. An older brother or sister who is economically better-off and able to contribute to the family budget could influence decisions on an adolescent sibling. This is important, as it can represent a shifting paradigm for adolescent girls (for better or worse). For example, an older sister who had made money through migration to the Middle East was able to protect her younger sister from parents wanting to marry her off. This illustrates how important it can be for a girl to build her economic capability, as it can allow her to change her capacity to manage decisions within her household. This key finding was corroborated by a number of interviews and discussions, which saw girls' and young women's roles as having started shifting since they had earned more resources as a result of international migration.

I was in Grade 5 at the time. My father and mother decided to marry me off. My sister objected to the idea of marriage and took me with her. I stayed with my sister until I completed my elementary education (IDI, adolescent girl, life history, Kobo).

Still, male authority in Ethiopian households is central and, as such, the presence of the father plays an important role in the development of adolescents. Interviews with adolescent girls indicated that the death of a father or a family break-up leading to the absence of a father had tremendous effects on their psycho-emotional wellbeing. For example, according to an FGD with young adolescents in Kelala, the presence of a father gives a sense of security to his daughter; a girl who has no father is not as well respected as a girl who has a father, making her more vulnerable to marriage at an early age (to minimise reputational risks) or having to forego her education to help her mother or grandmother at home. In the absence of a father, older children, and in some cases uncles, can influence decision-making processes within these households. Orphaned girls are among the most vulnerable. Respondents spoke about orphan girls who had been sent to live with extended families only to be treated as 'servants', further compromising their psycho-emotional capabilities.

However, not all girls face the same constraints. Approximately half of the girls interviewed attend school, including some who have continued on to secondary school in a nearby locality. They have their parents' support to marry at a later age. These girls, living on their own in urban areas, often face other challenges, such as harassment by young men, but they also have new opportunities and are more able to achieve their capabilities. International migration in particular is seen as an important way for adolescent girls to achieve economic progress and, eventually, to better manage household relationships.

Community leaders suggest adolescents use different pressure groups to affect their parents' decisions. These include influential people outside the household such as teachers and community leaders. For example, as a result of greater awareness about the law banning child marriage, adolescents are now more likely to report their parents' plans to marry them off to a teacher or a child protection advocate in a children's club in the hopes of getting the influential person to convince the parents to cancel the marriage.

5.2.2 Voice and mobility

In the localities researched, as in much of rural Ethiopia, decision-making opportunities and the likelihood of being heard differ between girls and boys. Both boys and girls interviewed agreed that boys had a better chance of being heard than girls. Some adolescent girls, however, said they were able to influence their mothers, if not their fathers. But gender is not the only variable that influences adolescents' voice in the household. Several respondents spoke of favouritism, and, while boys tend to be favoured, this is not always the case. Favourite adolescents – including girls – were said to have greater influence over their father's decisions than other children.

Restricted mobility is a common illustration of girls' inability to manage intra-household relationships as a result of discriminatory norms. Whereas adolescent boys and young men are quite mobile, girls need to ask permission to visit a relative or play with a friend. This permission is often denied or granted under the condition of being supervised, out of fear that girls left alone will end up with a boy (by choice or by force). Boys do not have to ask permission for similar things as long as they do not have work to do. Mobility for girls is particularly restricted when they are unmarried, so a few female adolescent respondents saw marriage at a young age, followed by a divorce, as a way to be 'liberated'.

I need my grandmother's permission even when I want to go out of my home to borrow books from friends and whenever I need to play outside of my home (IDI participant, Kobo).

The only place adolescent girls do not have to ask permission to go is school, on regular schooldays. However, if they have to go to school on weekends for extracurricular activities or to attend tutorial classes, they have to ask permission, which may be granted or denied. Mobility is further limited by the fact that parents require their boys and girls to work on weekends to compensate for 'lost' days when they go to school. This can limit their capacity to do homework and therefore to learn and develop further.

I won't allow my daughter come from school and sit with her book. I will tell her, 'You spent the whole day in school and come home. You should now start work' (female key informant, secretary of Kebele Women Association, Kelala).

Related to limits on the girls' own mobility are restrictions on clothing. Local social norms dictate acceptable and unacceptable dress. If some girls become 'bold' enough to wear tight clothes or even dresses that show body shapes, they will be exposed to name calling and teasing in public. In Kelala, which is a predominantly Muslim community, young adolescent girls reported that they had to wear to headscarves from the age of 12, even if they did not wish to. Similarly, appearing in public places with male friends who are not relatives creates suspicion and is a cause for gossip. In some cases, members of the community use the insult *shermuta* ('whore'). These social pressures are unbearable for some girls, who prefer to leave the community, seeing migration as a way to free themselves from such burdens.

In Kobo, community events organised for adolescent girls with the support of NGOs and child protection activists have started to develop as safe spaces where girls can vent some of these frustrations and share their experiences with other girls. With these exceptions, existing associations in both localities represent the interests of 'women' and 'youth', but do not necessarily address or represent issues of adolescent girls

5.2.3 Early marriage

As noted in Section 4, early marriage is against the law in Ethiopia. In addition to top-line regulations, there are a number of local, government and NGO initiatives in place to stop the practice. Authorities interviewed for this study spoke about efforts to change parental attitudes towards child marriage, give protection to girls who are forced into marriages and even facilitate divorces for young women. One of the most common preventative practices is for schools to monitor girls' attendance. When a girl stops going to school, the head teacher visits the family to inquire about the situation. In some

cases, such monitoring has kept parents from forcing girls into marriage. This has resulted in an improvement in the situation of early marriage, as reported by some older adolescents and young women who had managed to avoid the practice.

However, the practice is still common, more so in Kelala than in Kobo, according to responses from girls, boys and adults interviewed. As a result of legal constraints against early marriage, many of these marriages are now more 'clandestine', done through religious rites and agreements between families, which can sometimes leave girls even more unprotected. Early marriage is an ingrained social and cultural practice, which, as discussed in Section 4, not only violates girls' rights but also diminishes their capabilities – from the psycho-emotional domain, through pressure to act against their will; to the educational domain, as girls generally drop out of school when they get married; to the physical domain, through risks from early sexual relationships and early pregnancies. These consequences for girls' capabilities are explored below. In fact, when asked about the definition of adolescence, many girls, particularly in Kelala, linked it directly to the age of marriage for girls, seen by many interviewees to be between 10 and 15 years. In addition to the toll early marriage and pregnancy — usually at around 15 years of age — exact on girls' capabilities, the girls also mentioned the negative impact of having to live with parents-in-law for the first year or two of marriage. There, they are exploited, with no voice and a heavy work burden. This is seen as a 'rite of passage'; girls acquire more status and have more voice once they manage their own home (they start controlling their kitchen and managing some assets, such as livestock).

Early marriage occurs in these localities for a number of reasons. One of the most commonly cited reasons was that early marriage was a 'coping mechanism' for families; that is, girls are married off to diminish the cost burden on the family and sometimes (though not always) to obtain a dowry. Some girls themselves spoke about marriage to a man with land or a better economic situation as a way of coping with poverty. As such, with the recent increase in migration as a livelihood alternative for girls and their families, some have opted to migrate rather than get married, despite the risks associated with living in cities within Ethiopia or abroad. Nevertheless, migration itself has a cost, so it is not girls in the poorest households who are able to migrate, and many girls marry before they migrate to limit reputational costs once they are away.

Any dowry a female receives would go straight to her parents. She gets nothing for herself. Presently a dowry is worth 4,000 birr. The dowry amount is higher for a girl that is considered to be good to go to Arab countries (17-year-old girl, FGD with older adolescents, Kelala).

There are other reasons why parents still see early marriage as the best option for their daughters. According to respondents in both localities, one of these is linked to another deeply ingrained social norm: avoiding premarital sex and pregnancy. Parents fear that, as they enter puberty, girls might engage in sexual relationships – either 'consensually' or through rape – that will have important reputational costs for the girl and the family, particularly if a pregnancy ensues. When an early marriage is undertaken to avoid consensual sexual relationships, it implies important limitations to girls' capacities to make decisions in the private sphere of their life, thus limiting their capability to negotiate their choices.

When early marriage is a consequence of preoccupation with the risk of rape, it has important implications for girls' physical capabilities. In either case, it means that, although informational and protective resources exist – through education in schools, community ceremonies or legislation – they are not sufficiently accessible to ensure girls can make informed choices about their sexuality or avoid sexual abuse. In the absence of these mechanisms, parents see early marriage as a way to 'protect' their girls – but, more importantly, to protect their reputation or family honour. In a sense, in these two localities girls' social status is still based on their marriage status, rather than on their role as individuals.

I did not experience sexual abuse before marriage because I married early (IDI, adolescent girl, Kobo).

Before I married there were some boys who used to insult and throw stones at me. Now nobody does that to me after I got married (IDI, adolescent girl, Kelala).

Accustomed to this practice, many young women who married early said that they had not experienced harassment or intimidation after they got married or because they married early. This indicates that even girls and young women see early marriage as a solution, and they are not

preoccupied with the issues that trigger it, such as misconceptions around sexuality, family planning and sexual abuse. Transformations at the level of these norms and practices need to occur so that actions to reduce child marriage can be more successful.

Though early marriage is still common, as noted from the number of adolescents interviewed who were married (and sometimes divorced) before age 18 (approximately 40% of respondents), there is a growing number of girls who are avoiding marriage at an early age. Some of them have done it through parental support to continue in school, despite social norms and pressures from the community and other boys.

The only time Yeshiworke has time to read/study is in the evenings. She studies using kerosene lighting. Yeshiworke happens to be one of the best students. She is first in her class and she is the pride of her director. For Yeshiworke, her parents are the most important persons. They fulfil her needs and support her with her education. Every member of the household has some role in the process of food production, meal preparation and the management of the home affairs externally and internally. Roles are divided along age, gender, power, knowledge and experience [...] Her parents support her to study. They also provide all materials her needs for her school (Case study with 14-year-old girl, Kobo).

In Kobo, which is closer to an urban centre than Kelala, adolescents and their families are more exposed to information (including through radio and television), NGO activities and government officials. Interest in education for girls seems greater there, and cases of early marriage seem to be reducing more rapidly. Migration has also become an alternative to early marriage.

Participants in this research perceive that the practice of early marriage is being reduced through the joint efforts of the local government and non-governmental actors. Local governments have tried to enact the legislation against early marriage and local NGOs are creating awareness about the reproductive health risks of marrying girls at a young age through local school clubs.

Another recent phenomenon is the rise in cases of divorce. Girls cannot abandon men as they would lose social support, but when there is a strong reason why they want to divorce – such as domestic violence, if they are willing to denounce their husband, or if the husband becomes an alcoholic – they can seek the support of the community elders to carry out the divorce through mediation. Some of these cases go to the civil court if elders cannot help resolve the situation. In some cases, girls interviewed spoke about divorce as a mechanism for freedom: girls fulfil their social role to marry early to follow their parents' desires, and then feel better able to migrate. Many of them then divorce once they come back with money and are not dependent on their husband, achieving what they see as 'freedom'. This illustrates the complexities that still exist for girls to be able to negotiate their intra-household relationships.

5.2.4 Understanding of child rights

Responses from key informants, adults and focus groups of older adolescents suggested that adolescents' growing awareness about laws and rights, particularly the Convention of the Rights of the Child and the Ethiopian Constitution, has emboldened some of them to make their own decisions, despite parental opposition. Since this breaks with the tradition of following orders, and there has not been much evolution in terms of communication between parents and adolescents, this is seen as a challenge to parental authority. In fact, many community members interviewed said parents resented these changes and complained schools were teaching their children their rights but not their obligations. While this was more commonly reported among boys, it was also said to occur among girls, including in cases of girls who had decided to migrate without parental consent. Discussions with adults suggested they blamed NGOs and school authorities for these changes, but there was little introspection about how parents could better open channels of communication with children to hear what adolescents want and arrive at decisions that are mutually agreed on rather than acts of rebellion. Notwithstanding this, key informants and even some adolescents also said that lack of income-generating options for youth, and a growing frustration with the lack of opportunities, was causing some adolescents – particularly boys – to become more aggressive and rebellious, refusing to accept paternal supervision and advice, and even coping through risky behaviours such as substance abuse. Some stories told by respondents referred to adolescent boys and girls (mostly returnees from Jeddah) involved in burglary and theft.

With a dearth of opportunities, adolescents continue to be dependent on their family. Many girls who separate or divorce from their husbands go back to their family home, as do those who fail their

secondary exams (who were living away because of the secondary school's location) or those who fail to find a job. This causes tensions in relationships, and more frustration for youth, although two of the divorced girls interviewed said that once they had returned to their parents' home they had more freedom than before. Thus, as explained above, 'freedom' is partially achieved through economic security and changing social status (from single to 'married' or 'divorced').

An interesting finding was that in both localities girls as young as 13 and 14 were relatively comfortable talking about sex and their reproductive health with the research team. This is perhaps a result of increasing familiarity with the issues through local health workers and NGOs that promote 'community conversations', often linked to coffee ceremonies, where girls are able to talk about these issues. Although this knowledge is important for being in a better position to make decisions about their bodies, older members of the community do not like this openness and call the young adolescents 'shameless'. This suggests that, despite progress in terms of developing personal identities and self-assertiveness, existing family and community structures have not changed sufficiently to provide adolescents – girls in particular – a supportive context for using the new information to achieve greater psycho-emotional wellbeing.

5.3 Education capability

This section attempts to discuss and analyse major findings on gender differences in access to education and factors constraining girls' success in education.

5.3.1 Gender differences in access to education

According to key informants from Kobo Woreda Education Office, there is increasing interest among parents in sending their children to the first cycle primary school (Grades 1-4) because of the increase in the number of primary schools in the rural areas of the *woreda*. For instance, in 2012, the first cycle primary school intake was 26,947 (88.9% of the population of that age): 13,253 boys and 13,694 girls. For the second cycle primary schools (Grades 5-8), entry was somewhat lower: 12,351 (70.7%): 6,078 boys and 6,273 girls), whereas the planned number with no dropouts would be 8,642 boys and 8,838 girls. In other words, 29.3% of children expected to be registered in primary school in 2012 are still out of school. This suggests that the improvement in primary school enrolment in Kobo *woreda* is partial. These informants further noted that, in the lowland areas of the *woreda*, more girls get the opportunity to enrol in first cycle primary schools than boys, since boys in rural agricultural communities are engaging in tending animals and agricultural activities. The following direct quotes from IDI participants explain the situation:

I live with my father, mother, one sister and two brothers. I am the eldest child for my parents. I am attending school, but my immediate younger brother is not going to school since he is looking after animals (14-year-old girl, Grade 6, Kobo).

However, school-attending young adolescent girls who participated in an FGD held at a rural primary school in Kobo also pointed out that the number of girls in their classrooms decreases in higher primary grades (7-8) owing to early marriage and migration to Saudi Arabia.

With regard to the issue of gender differences in accessing rural primary schools in Kobo and Kelala *woredas*, adult mixed FGDs in rural communities forwarded the following views: i) some families do not send their children to school owing to family poverty and demand for child labour; ii) some families are currently sending their daughters to school rather than their sons since the local 'government' forces parents to send their female children to locally available schools. As a result, these parents send their daughters to school and keep sons at home to tend cattle and help their fathers in farm activities; and iii) some families manage to send both male and female children to rural schools operating in a shift system, since both girls and boys can assist their parents in household chores and farm activities during their out-of-school time. Finally, these discussants pointed out that most parents in their localities were not willing to send their daughters to secondary schools in the two *woreda* towns (Kobo and Kelala) owing to fear of violence and lack of safety and security for their adolescent daughters.

5.3.2 Family poverty and under-investment of parents on daughters' education

In both Kobo and Kelala, some poor families with children of school age had never sent them to school owing to lack of economic resources to pay for stationery, registration fees and other school expenses. Even relatively better-off households in the communities

prefer to invest in sons' education since daughters are expected to get married and move to their husband's home. Thus, both family poverty and parental underinvestment in daughters' education is constraining adolescent girls from attending school.

According to an FGD with younger adolescent girls in Kelala, adolescent girls and boys from poor households do not have access to education. In this group, the three young married adolescent girls who had never been in school regretted not having been educated since their parents had given priority to their brothers' education. FGD participants also argued that it was parents' limited economic opportunities to send their children, especially girls, to school that forced most adolescent girls to migrate to towns and Jeddah after getting divorced from early arranged marriages. Similarly, according to older adolescent girls in another FGD, in Kobo, the priority for education is given to males while the focus for females is marriage or migration to Saudi Arabia.

In our community, the better off-households send their children, especially sons, to school and support them through secondary, preparatory and university education. For instance, a farmer who owns 10 camels, farmland and cattle has managed to educate two sons, one medical doctor and one teacher (School-attending older adolescent mixed FGD, Kobo).

I live with my maternal grandmother. I am currently attending Grade 6, but my grandmother is not encouraging me to continue with my education. I am still going to school because of my educated uncle's pressure. My mother did not have the chance to go to school since she had responsibilities at home. Furthermore, at that time the community was not aware of the importance of sending girls to school. My maternal grandparents used to send only sons to formal school (13-year-old girl, Grade 6, Kobo).

Several responses from both girls and boys indicated the influence of parental socioeconomic conditions on children's participation in formal education:

I live with my mother, father, half elder brother, one elder sister and two younger sisters. My father is a farmer. He also writes applications letters for those who have court cases since he attended school up to Grade 8 [...] Because of this job, he is known in the district [Kelala] [...] My elder sister is attending her first degree in information and technology at Arbaminch University. My younger sisters are attending primary school while living with our parents. I am attending Grade 10 at Kelala Secondary School away from my parents' home. My parents cover all our educational expenses including our [her and her elder sister's] transportation costs. My parents encourage me and my sisters equally. My parents clearly know the importance of education. This is due to the fact that my father has attended school up to Grade 8 (17-year-old, Grade 10, Kelala).

I have paid 100 birr registration fees. I bought exercise books, textbooks and pens and pencils. I also rented a house in Kobo town for 100 birr per month, where I am attending my secondary education [...] In addition, the school has asked students to contribute money to buy a plasma television to receive lessons that are broadcast to all secondary schools. I also used to take foodstuff from my parental home. I cook my own food from Mondays to Fridays. I used to go to my parents' home on weekends when I get money [10 birr for a round trip] for transportation. Last year, I worked for the safety net public works programme before I went to Kobo town to attend my secondary education. This year, the untimely rain has destroyed the crops. So I am afraid that this may not be a good year for me to continue with my secondary education because my parents may force me to stop my education due to economic problems (15-year-old girl, Grade 9, Kobo).

Now, I am attending Grade 9 at Kobo Secondary School, 11km from my parents' village. It was the nearest school available in our locality. I am also aware of the availability of a vocational training institute although I do not see many students going to this type of training since it charges high fees. Students from poor families could not afford to go to the vocational training institute. It is difficult to send children to secondary school because it is expensive. If there is an interruption in paying house rent or subsistence, then there will be an effect on performance or even the risk of dropout from school. I know that some of my friends did not join secondary school or drop out from secondary school for this reason. The only option these students have is to be engaged in daily labour for one year and earn money so that they can go to secondary school the next year (18-year-old boy, Grade 9, Kobo).

In the study's rural communities of Tirtira and Ayub, Kobo and Kelala *woredas*, there are no secondary schools. As a result, most children from poor households are forced to terminate their education because it is unaffordable for them to continue on to secondary after they have finished at the locally available schools. Further, particularly in the case of girls, parents' fear premarital sex and unwanted pregnancy.

5.3.3 Work burden/time poverty

The need for labour for domestic and farm tasks is restricting children, especially girls, from attending school. Girls and young women in the study rural communities of Kobo and Kelala perform multiple tasks such as reproductive and care duties, routine domestic tasks and agricultural work on family farms, which negatively affect their ability to attend or to succeed in formal education.

In our community, there are both male and female children who are not going to school since their parents require them to assist their families in household chores and outdoor activities such as tending animals and agricultural activities. Adolescent girls participate in both domestic activities (fetching water, preparing meals, cleaning the house and the barn, looking after younger siblings and taking care of elderly people usually grandparents) and outdoor activities such as collecting firewood and look after small animals. They also take part in seasonal agricultural activities such as weeding and gathering crops as men do the cutting and threshing. Some girls from poor households also work for development projects in our community (School-attending younger adolescent girls' FGD, Kobo).

In our community, most of the family work burden falls on girls, though some school-attending 'good' boys are willing to share their school-attending sisters' work burden at home. When girls are getting the chance to attend school, their academic performance is lower than that of boys since girls do not have sufficient time to do school-related activities or to study at home like their brothers because when a female student returns home from class, a lot of work is awaiting for her (School-attending younger adolescent girls' FGD, Kelala).

My main duties include cleaning the house, looking after younger sister, taking care of aged grandparents and sick uncle, fetching water, collecting firewood and cow dung for fuel, weeding and gathering sorghum heads, taking lunch for my father when he works on the farm. I also support my elder brother in running his teashop. I usually spend all of my time doing some activities. I dropped out from Grade 6 because of the work burden at my parents' home. Now, I plan to go back to school if my parents allow me to do so (15-year old Grade 6 dropout girl, Kobo).

The last quote, from an IDI participant from a rural community in Kobo, reveals that the young girl has been taking on the lion's share of family work at the expense of her schooling since she dropped out from Grade 6 owing to work burden/time poverty.

However, some secondary school-attending boys in both Kobo and Kelala *woredas* argued that there had been some changes in gender roles in their families.

There are no more burdens on females. When the females cook injera, the males cook wot. We help each other. I do not see more burdens on females than males. We all share the household activities (17-year-old boy, Grade 10, Kelala).

Still, in general, school-attending girls and boys in both study sites are supporting their families in various economic activities during out-of-school time. Boys participate in various agricultural activities and in looking after household livestock; girls are commonly engaged in day-to-day household chores such as preparing meals for the family, fetching water and firewood and looking after their younger siblings and older/sick family members – so roles are clearly divided along gender lines. Girls are involved both in household chores and in farm activities, whereas boys are not commonly engaged in domestic chores. Thus, the gender-based household division of labour in the study areas seems unbalanced, with more work burden on girls than on boys, which constrains girls from accessing education or from being successful in education.

5.3.4 Early marriage

As discussed in the previous section, early marriage of girls is a common feature of family life in Amhara in general and in Kobo and Kelala *woredas* in particular. While community elders and leaders in Kobo consider early marriage to be the major cause of local girls not attending school, according to

the representative of the Department of Women, Children and Youth Affairs (WCYA) as well as experts working at the local NGO, early marriage is not a common practice in Kobo since most local girls migrate to Jeddah at an early age. By contrast, a key informant in Kelala's Department for WCYA, pointed out that the migration of most local girls to Saudi Arabia reinforces early marriage.

As such, the study found that early marriage was and still is the leading cause of dropout of girls from rural schools in Kelala, where early marriage has become a prerequisite for the migration of adolescent girls to Arab country.

Among the rural communities of Kobo and Kelala, elder daughters more commonly tend to be subject to early arranged marriage, while their elder brothers and younger sisters have the chance to attend school. The following two cases explain the situation.

I got married at the age of 13 and gave birth to a baby son at the age of 15. I have never been in school and cannot read and write. Now, I live with my husband and my four-year-old son [...] In my parental home, I have two elder brothers and one younger sister who attend school with full parental support. But I was not able to attend school like my elder brothers and younger sister due to early-arranged marriage [...] I regret being married from an early age when I see my friends improving their own and their families' lives by migrating to Jeddah. Even my father is regretting having married me at such an early age (19-year old married girl, Kobo).

In both Kobo and Kelala, some schoolgirls are also forced to drop out from school and marry at an early age owing to parental (particularly father's) death, which results in the loss of male labour force in the family. Girls are pushed to get married to get the son-in-law's labour support.

I married at the age of 13 after my father's death, while I was in Grade 6. When I returned to school after my wedding, students were gossiping about me. They were wondering why I returned to school after marriage. I wanted to stay in school longer, but it was ugly to continue in that situation. Besides, my husband (a farmer) refused to send me to school anymore. Thus, I dropped out from Grade 6 because of early forced marriage owing to my father's death five years ago and my widowed mother's demand for son-in-law's labour for agricultural activities (15-year old married girl, Grade 6 dropout owing to early marriage, Kobo).

In the study communities, for many girls problems are compounded, with negative consequences for most of their capabilities: early marriage contributes to illiteracy, early widowhood and poverty, which ultimately affect girls' future life, as illustrated by the following case.

I got married at the age of 14 and gave birth to a baby girl at the age of 16. My marriage was arranged by my father without my consent. My husband was in Jeddah and came back eight months ago as he was seriously sick, and died five months later. Now, I live with my one-year old daughter and my livelihood is based on petty trading. I believe that if I had not married and had a child, I would have had a different life. I would have migrated like all my friends. I was not sent to school as I had to keep the goats. I blamed my father for not sending me to school and he told me that he was not aware of its importance at that time. I think that, had I attended school, it could have been helpful for me to calculate my income and expense for my petty trade. After my husband's death, my brothers-in-law threatened me to leave the place where I live when I planted eucalyptus. If you do not have anyone to rely on during your troubles, when your in-laws turn against you, where do you go to share your worries? (17-year-old widowed girl with one-year old daughter, Kelala).

5.3.5 Migration

Many adolescent girls and young women in the study communities migrate to Arab country and abandon school when they leave (if they had not already done so before) for various reasons, such as being unsuccessful in their education or disappointed in the education system when they see unemployed youth who completed Grades 10 and 12; absence of girl/woman-friendly job opportunities; being unhappy with arranged early marriages; and being pressurised by their parents or husbands for economic reasons.

If I could not succeed in education, I will migrate to Jeddah because my classmates have already migrated to Jeddah (15-year old girl, Grade 7, Kobo).

Traditionally, girls would stay with their parents until they got married, but now things are different. More girls have begun saying no to marriage and do not want to be idle either. Still, they feel

responsibility for their parents and want to improve their parents' lives. There are also external pressures. Early pregnancy and childbirth outside marriage is a major cause of shame for a girl and negatively impacts on her parents' reputation. Girls in this situation spoke about wanting to escape the criticism from peers and adults who spoke negatively about their situation. Bad marriage is another driver of migration. Girls who have married and find their marriage not working well for them get divorced and migrate.

5.3.6 Violence and lack of safety and security

In the rural communities of the study areas, adolescent girls are exposed to different types of violence, which deter them from accessing school or continuing their education. This is particularly the case for girls attending secondary school far from their family home, serving as an additional deterrent keeping them out of school.

On our way to school and going back home and when we go to fetch water, boys intimidate us. To protect ourselves from violence perpetrated by boys, we in our village used to travel in group when we go to fetch water and collect firewood. My mother advised me not to go anywhere with boys who are not my relatives (15-year-old girl, Grade 7, Kobo).

Boys tease me and sometimes beat me on my way to and from school, sometimes even in the school compound (12-year-old girl, Grade 6, Kobo).

My relationship with boys and girls is peaceful. But there is a big problem. Boys stand by the roadside and harass you and call your names. They are ugly. Had it been a big city you would expect this kind of people. They do not have shame to do this in this small town where everyone knows everyone. They look for girls who smile for them or show them interest. One has to be serious and careful with them. They study you first and then attack you (17-year-old girl, Grade 10, Kelala).

Some girls have dropped out of school owing to the long distance from home to school and the violence they encounter on the way from school to their parents' home in their rural community of Kelala. The following case explains the problem.

I was attending primary school in a small town far from my parents' village. I was the only student from my parents' village in the class. It takes one hour to walk to school. On the way back home, I walk with other students going to the different villages. On the way from school to home, the small town boys used to beat me. There is no one whom I tell my problem out of the school. Once I told the school teachers that boys beat me. But they chased me away and did not take action. As I have no friend from my village who could help me, other children beat me. Then I dropped out of school. But my school teachers did not come and ask my father when I dropped out of school (14-year-old girl, primary school dropout, Kelala).

Local community key informants (community elders) in Kelala *woreda* explained this issue as follows:

Parents do not let their daughters move from place to place alone for fear of gender-based violence such as rape, though such type of violence is currently reducing by creating awareness about girls' and women's rights at the community level. Besides, the local administrative organ takes severe legal action against perpetrators of violations against girls, though there is still gender-based-violence against girls. As a result, the girl child does not have the liberty to move from place to place even after she is married.

In general, to improve girls' access to and success in formal education, community leaders in both rural communities of Kobo and Kelala suggested the need for i) more tailored vocational training; ii) safe spaces for girls; iii) guidance and counselling for schoolgirls; and iv) employment options and opportunities for local youth.

5.4 Physical capability domain

Adolescent girls have the right to enjoy physical security, bodily integrity and access to good health care, including access to reproductive and mental health services. These factors are critical for their positive development during adolescence. Among the most important vulnerabilities encountered in this domain include the inability to fully exercise control over sexual reproductive health, as well as significant threats to physical and emotional integrity through physical, sexual and emotional violence.

There are several ways in which discriminatory social norms and practices hinder adolescent girls' capacity to achieve their physical capabilities, but greater availability of information about sexual and reproductive health rights has facilitated significant progress toward improving girls' status.

5.4.1 Unequal quality and provision of care

Bias towards boys can be expressed in different aspects of life, including some that can have physical and developmental consequences for girls. One of them that came out during the interviews in Kobo and Kelala is related to nutritional practices.

A common discriminatory social practice is related to girls having second-order access to food, in terms of both the timing of the meal and its quantity. Most respondents in both sites agreed that, at home, the male is likely to be served food first. Several girls in Kelala emphasised that this difference was not because girls were unequal, but rather was a result of the more physical nature of men's work, requiring more food, and because men have to go to the field early in the morning, so need their morning meal first before they leave the house. While this is true, it does not acknowledge that women and girls are generally up in the early morning as well, preparing food and carrying out domestic tasks – including fetching water and firewood. In fact, girls are sometimes more physically active than boys, supporting both the mother (at home) and the father (outside the home). This could have important developmental impacts on girls.

Girls are likely to spend up to 16 hours per day on work (KII, school director, Kobo).

In Kelala in particular, there are also socially constructed limitations on the types of food girls can eat, because certain foods are thought to have 'sexual' properties. While these practices seem to be on the decline, at least two respondents reported their current use. For example, protein-rich and nutritious foods such as eggs and meat, as well as hot and spicy foods, and even *injera*, which is an important staple food, are believed to make girls sexy and more likely to become vulnerable to sexual abuse or to be more sexually active. These restrictions can result in important nutritional imbalances for adolescent girls during important developmental stages of their lives.

Our family thinks that if we are fed with a good meal then we will feel hot. They say that good food would cause increased menstrual blood outflow. A rural female is not allowed to use sugar either [...] if they 'feel hot' then their body will grow beautiful and their sexual feelings will increase (Young adolescent girls' FGD, Kelala).

5.4.2 Sexual and reproductive health

Box 1: Changing attitudes toward sex and contraception

The following exchange during an FGD with adolescent girls in Kobo illustrates recent changes in attitudes toward sex and birth control:

A: Do girls establish sexual relationships at their earliest age?

S: Yes, some of them do.

A: Are they exposed to unwanted pregnancy?

S: No, they are not exposed to unwanted pregnancy

A: Why?

S: If girls want to have sex with a boy they use contraceptives.

Access to information

All adolescent girls and boys interviewed (from 12 to 17 years of age) had some degree of information about reproductive health, derived largely from textbooks at school, as well as from extension health workers, health centre staff, school clubs, NGOs and in a few cases their mothers. Reproductive health and anti-HIV and AIDS clubs are important sources of knowledge, both for the adolescents' own use and to share with peers and family members. Adolescents also receive reproductive health information through radio programmes and the MoE, which produces information programmes on many issues, including the environment, reproductive health and HIV and AIDS, to be transmitted through videos at school. The dissemination of information about sexual and reproductive health is therefore quite good, and girls in particular have general knowledge about family planning, pregnancy and safe abortions. They also know how HIV is transmitted and how it can be prevented, as this has

been the focus of many information campaigns. However, having this information does not mean they have the capacity to make many sexual and reproductive health decisions.

Adolescent girls spoke about major challenges such as being at risk of rape, unwanted pregnancy, early marriage, unsafe abortion and sexually transmitted diseases. This fear arises from the fact that information does not guarantee the behaviours of others in their community, nor does it change the behaviours expected from them. Additionally, there are some limits to the information available, particularly for those girls who are out of school who cannot participate in school clubs and related activities. In Kelala in particular, where more girls are out of school, information is scarcer. Further, health extension workers have the knowledge and specific mandate to talk about family planning and HIV and AIDS, but they seldom talk about other important issues related to girls' sexual and reproductive health, such as menstruation and fistula. As a result of limits to available information, there are many misconceptions about menstruation shaped by discriminatory social practices and norms, at the peril of girls' development, social status and dignity.

In particular, most girls interviewed in both localities, but particularly in Kelala, said they felt that they had insufficient information about menstruation. Many of these girls still believe that menstruation begins after a girl has experienced her first sexual relationship, which, according to customs, should take place on the nuptial night. If a girl starts her menstruation before this night, she is believed to have had sex prior to marriage. People in the community may call her *shermuta* ('whore'). When an adolescent girl menstruates for the first time before marriage, she feels sad and ashamed, as if she were losing her social value as a girl. She is afraid that others will insult her. One of the risks of this negative social practice is that girls continue to be married off early, usually at the age of 12, to ensure they have not started menstruating, while the issue is precisely that, while they do not menstruate, their body has not yet entered puberty and are at great physical and emotional risks of starting a sexual relationship. This means that information on sexual health needs to be more extensive and detailed, as well as becoming more contextually relevant, so it can address these challenging issues that still hold girls back.

In addition to misinformation about menstruation and fistula, with risks for girls' sexual and reproductive health and emotional wellbeing, there are other examples of how the information adolescents and young women are given is far from perfect and traditional customs and practices still shape many girls' knowledge in this domain. Some of these misconceptions can even affect the uptake of important services. For example, the TT (tetanus–toxoid or anti-tetanus) vaccination that is normally given to adolescents of childbearing age or pregnant women is believed by people in the community – particularly in Kelala – to be mass contraceptive inoculations. Since health extension workers do not have information to explain why this vaccine is important,⁴ many parents and/or husbands, as well as girls themselves, prefer not to receive this important vaccine, jeopardising their health and that of their unborn child.

Limited control over sexuality and fertility

Adolescents are advised through various sources of information to take contraceptives whether they have a boyfriend or not in order to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

While there is more information and have been some changes in behaviour, girls are still unable to exercise their physical capabilities openly and freely. The study found evidence in both sites of a significant increase in the uptake of contraception: many adolescent respondents explained that they knew the functions of oral or injected contraceptives and that they could get them for free at health clinics. However, girls still find it difficult to negotiate their sexual and reproductive decisions because husbands are generally opposed to family planning, so adolescents have to access family planning services secretly before their marriage ceremony with the aim of delaying pregnancy, and they risk getting in trouble if they are discovered.

I have no health problems. I started menstruating on my wedding day. I took contraceptives before my wedding. My mother and sister knew about this but my husband did not (IDI, 15-year-old adolescent, Kobo).

⁴ The World Health Organization (WHO) explains that the TT vaccine not only protects women against tetanus, but also prevents neonatal tetanus in their newborn infants. When a TT or Td vaccine is given to a woman who is or becomes pregnant, the antibodies that form in her body are passed to her foetus.

I started using the injectable method without the consent of my husband, but I had to stop it because it made my menstruation irregular and excessive. As a result, I got pregnant without my plan. I gave birth through the help of a nurse at my house. I used to attend antenatal services before I gave birth (Life history, 19-year-old girl, Kelala).

According to focus group discussants, a young woman who has an unwanted pregnancy may choose to have a safe abortion, and some knew they could get this done at the health clinic. This is seen as an important service; otherwise, girls would opt for unsafe, irregular and high-risk abortions, complications of which can result in chronic health problems or even death.

There are thus mixed views as to whether access to contraceptives has empowered girls to manage their pregnancies. Most young women who had recently married spoke about using contraceptives to delay pregnancy, either in agreement with or absent the agreement of their husbands; getting their husbands' consent is no longer a condition for a woman to use contraception. What is more, it is not only 15- to 49-year-old women who can access contraceptives; they are freely available for adolescents aged 13 and 14. Nevertheless, women are unable to make decisions about their reproductive health openly, without fear and with confidence about the right to decide over their own bodies. Much work still needs to be done to transform discriminatory social practices.

An additional problem in Kelala is that health workers are not planning adequately for the provision of contraception. Current estimates of the need for contraceptives are based on an out-dated assumption of the age at which adolescents become sexually active. Adolescents are becoming sexually active earlier, and as a result there is an undersupply of contraceptive methods at the centres. Additionally, there are no adolescent-friendly sections designed to provide family planning support and information for younger girls. As a result of these two constraints, many younger girls who need more support are not willing to contact health clinics.

5.4.3 Access to general medical services

In addition to sexual and reproductive issues, some adolescents have other types of medical concerns. Findings from a number of households indicate that, since some poor households may not be able to pay for formal medical treatment for their children, they resort to traditional healers. This practice seems to be more common for girls than for boys, indicating a gender bias.

I have abdominal problems; I asked my father to take me to the health centre; but he says he has no money. I have severe pain in the morning. My mother uses a small iron rod to burn the skin of my abdomen. 'Tuatuate' is the sound of burning. If the burn gives the tua sound, it means the problem is located and burning will take place around that particular location. The body gets relief after the tuatate. If there is no tua sound, it means the problem is something else and no burning takes place. My illness still worries me (IDI, adolescent girl, Kelala).

However, health treatments at health clinics have improved, and in most health centres no payment is required for the most critical diseases. This could help transform service provision for girls and boys.

5.4.3 Physical security

Bodily integrity

Although FGM/C is banned, it was still mentioned as something that happened once in a while in these two communities, although none of the interviewees spoke about having experienced it first-hand, which is a positive step. Still, the belief that underpins FGM/C in these communities is that, if a girl is not circumcised, she will become promiscuous. This is indicative of the discriminatory social stigma linked to this harmful traditional practice, placing false blame on girls because of their sexuality, and inhibiting the possibility of them choosing how to live their sexual experiences.

Domestic violence

According to data obtained from this study, domestic violence takes place between parents and children, between siblings and between partners. It is seen as punishment for wrongdoing, usually targeted at the girl or woman, and mainly involves beating and insulting. In many instances, this form of physical abuse is accepted as a normal process and is simply endured, undermining young women's physical security and integrity.

Respondents identified a variety of situations in which domestic violence is perpetrated and often 'justified' according to discriminatory social norms and practices. For example, a common justification

for a husband's violence is jealousy, which women experiencing violence generally do not condemn. They even accept the blame on occasions.

My husband used to beat me. I was very young then. I did not know how I was supposed to treat my husband. He wanted me to respect him but I was conceited. That was not expected from a wife. Then he beat me. However, he never insulted me to affect my personality. He used to prevent me from meeting friends or relatives. I believe he was jealous. He beat me because he loved me (IDI, 17-year-old girl, Kelala).

Another interviewee spoke about how her husband beat her for various reasons. While she did not accept these beatings, she believed there was no one who could stand up for her because her relatives – including her parents – were not opposed to domestic violence. However, she later took action through existing legislative channels, asked for a divorce and got it. She now lives with her parents.

My husband used to beat me, but he never insulted me. I did not cry or scream when he beat me. I did not want neighbours to hear or know about it. Even if I screamed and neighbours came, I knew it would be his relatives who would not do anything to him. When I told my parents, they minimised the incident and encouraged me to go back to him. So there was no point in screaming. Gradually I felt that it was too much. I was afraid for my life and asked for a divorce (IDI 17-year-old girl, Kobo).

Domestic violence not only takes place between spouses but also is also common between parents and children and between older and younger children. While it was also reported to take place among boys, findings in these two sites suggested it was more common among girls. In most cases, girls justify the beating as they feel they deserve it, usually because of having disobeyed their father. This is indicative of a strong bias against girls in some social practices that affects their physical and psycho-emotional capabilities and instils in them a sense that it is right for them to experience physical abuse at the hands of others.

My father beats me when I misbehave. If I misbehaved or disobeyed, it is justified that my father beats me. My mother scolds me but has never beaten me. I am warned not to do things I am not told to do. Then I feel bad about it. I say to myself, 'I should not have done wrong.' I just get it wrong. I do it by mistake and regret what I did. Other children do not tease or insult me. If I do not insult them they do not insult me. I insult other children if they insult me because they bother me. When we play games, we tease each other. They irritate me. They hit me. Then I cry and go home crying. When I tell mother that they hit me, she would say, 'If you do not insult them they would not hit you.' The school teachers beat me, when I fight with other children (IDI, 16-year-old adolescent girl, Kobo).

This quote illustrates how, from a victim's point of view, physical abuse and violence can be justified when it is done under a false pretence of being committed for love and/or discipline. Sometimes domestic violence by a husband, parent or sibling leads to guilt.

Another girl spoke about how her duty at home was to serve everyone in the household, including older and younger siblings, and as a young sister one of her tasks is washing clothes. If she fails to do so then she can be punished for it, including by her brothers. The girl has already started to feel the need to run away from home as a result of this adverse environment. This kind of abusive intra-household relationship often acts as a push factor for girls to leave the family, including by migration. In some cases, this migration to urban areas can pose new risks for young girls, such as exposure to sexual abuse. Some respondents reported stories of girls experiencing injuries and sexual abuse and even being left disabled after migrating, but this information is not well documented or registered systematically.

Violence in and around the community and school

Single adolescent girls in these two localities are not safe to move from place to place. They can be harassed, intimidated or beaten on the way to and from school, for which they often need protection from male relatives such as a brother or a cousin. Some girls interviewed even reported having been beaten by boys in the school compound. As a result of this violent environment, one girl even said she had stopped going to school for the fear of walking alone. Girls have to walk to school, in some cases long distances, and in an environment where socially accepted notions of masculinity include violence

they are vulnerable to rape and other forms of sexual abuse. In fact, 14 of the girls participating in IDIs reported having experienced some form of violence.

Boys and men bother me when I go out to town. They call me a whore or a daughter of a whore. Whether they are educated or not they are the same. It is difficult to walk around without being pestered' (IDI, 17-year-old girl, Kelala).

There are boys and men who want to make relationships with me. They use different techniques to influence me. They even try to offer me money. I feel they will not force me into a relationship against my will. I believe that it would be those who are not educated who may try to use force (15-year-old girl, Grade 9, Kobo).

Despite the fact that any schoolboy who has harassed, intimidated or beaten a girl faces automatic dismissal, girls fear revenge and do not tell teachers about it. Further, although schoolgirls expected teachers to protect them against violence, responses by some girls indicated that teachers may be reluctant to take girls' complaints about beating or physical abuse seriously. If girls feel that teachers are not going to protect them, they will not come forward again to report abuse.

My teachers do not beat me because they do not have any reason to beat me but they do not protect me from being beaten by other students (IDI, adolescent girl, Kobo).

Physical violence in schools comes in the form of corporal punishment and gender-based violence. Corporal punishment is banned in schools. However, some teachers may resort to it under different circumstances, in particular when children are late. Also, teachers were reported to insult students, especially girls in the classroom, damaging their reputation and self-image, as well as their aspirations to continue in school.

Nobody has beaten me but my mother insults me sometimes. I have never encountered sexual violence. However, my classmates insult me. They call me a whore. Once, I was pressurised to have sex with my teacher. The female teacher came to me and told me that the teacher wanted to have a relationship with me. I told the female teacher that I came to school to learn not to have sex with a teacher. When she told him my response, he came to me and said that I did not know about love, to which, I replied, 'You cannot teach me about love.' He did not bother me after that (IDI, adolescent girl, Kelala).

Sexual violence against adolescents, from verbal and physical harassment to rape, was mentioned in both localities. However, there was a sense among some respondents that talking about such violence could be harmful to them and their choices. This biases the justice system against girls.

Rape used to be common during our mothers' time. Local boys used to rape women as they were in isolated areas. That was in the past. Now there is strict law and the local administration is enforcing it (IDI participant, Kobo).

There are strong measures being taken against rape, including the enforcement of existing legislation against different forms of violence. This has contributed in part to a reduction in the number of cases of sexual abuse or rape in this generation, but the problem is still underreported.

When a girl experiences rape she shares her problem with her family then the family takes it to the local administration. Some families negotiate with the boy's family to end the problem in marriage, but some of them hide the information because of their fear and keep silent. This will lead to unwanted pregnancy. They will be exposed to various social problems and are finally forced to drop out from school (KII with a community leader, Kobo).

5.5 Political capability of adolescent girls

5.5.1 Communication

Adolescents regularly communicate with parents, siblings, neighbours and friends. Usually, this happens within the family circle, within the neighbourhoods and even beyond the neighbourhood. They meet friends on the way to school, at school and when they fetch water and collect firewood. Some interviewees stated that they were not able to meet other relatives living away from the *kebele* and the *woreda* mainly because of distance and being unable to travel. Others have relatives who live outside the country and are longing to meet them or talk to them. They want to communicate with people in their networks, not only for sentimental reasons but also because they want to seek their

support to cover some of their unmet needs. For example, boys and girls interviewed want to meet or talk to their relatives to ask support for education materials or other types of resources that will enable them to continue their education.

Because of distance I could not talk to my father's relatives who live in the US. I need to get their support (Adolescent boy, Kobo).

I would like to communicate with my educated brother. I want to ask him to me buy books (Adolescent boy, Kelala).

5.5.2 Access and communication with a mobile

In Kelala, five (two boys and three girls) out of the 12 girls and boys interviewed had their own mobile phones. Others used their father's, mother's or siblings' mobiles. On the other hand, none of the adolescent girls and boys and young women interviewed in Kobo had a mobile. According to an IDI participant, the price of a mobile is equivalent to the cost of 50 kg of *teff* (which can feed a family of five people for more than a month). In this case, parents have to think carefully whether to buy mobiles for their daughters and sons. Parents are usually in difficult position when they can buy only one mobile, having to decide whether it should go to the boy or the girl. According to key informants in Kobo, it is usually the son who is given the mobile. Age also matters: older siblings are more likely to have their own mobile than younger ones. But it is clear that most adolescents cannot afford mobiles.

Through the use of the mobile phone, adolescents' access to communication has improved in the past five years and has widened their horizons. In a culture where girls have restricted mobility and are shy to talk in front of adult, the mobile has broken their isolation. The mobile has enabled some adolescent girls and boys to chat with friends and exchange information with relatives who live outside their community, either abroad and or elsewhere in the country.

There has been improvement in media technology in the past five years. We used to go to Kelala – about 25 km from our village – to receive calls from my brother who lives in Jeddah. Now they can call us anytime and anywhere (19-year-old boy, secondary school student, Kelala).

The mobile helps adolescent girls and boys build networks and maintain relationships with relatives and friends. They do not have to visit each other's house to discuss familiar issues, instead using their mobiles at any time and place.

I meet my mother regularly. My mother trades with coffee in the market place so we meet every market day. I use the mobile to communicate with my sister. Seated in our homes, we chat about our secrets. I always wished I could talk to my brothers who live in the lowland areas. Unless they come to visit me, I cannot travel to where they live – and there is no access to mobile services in the lowland area. The mobile is the gift of Allah (17-year-old mother and trader, Kelala).

While the mobile has improved the life of adolescents, it has also begun to raise parent's concern. They are afraid that their daughter chat with boys a lot, which they feel might lead to problems. According to a high school female student, she has to block calls from a male caller or address him as if he is a girl.

5.5.3 Access to other information technologies

Adolescents are starting to use the mobile to access other information, such as through the internet and FM radio. However, there are limitations in using the internet, including limited capacity to install the software and poor network availability.

I have a mobile. The mobile has internet and FM radio services. I do not use internet frequently but I use it to see my friends' Secondary School Leaving Certificate Examination results. The mobile is a good thing. To send messages to more people, we used to go to each individual's home. Now, we can use mobile technology. Use of internet is also another difference. It is good to transfer messages easily (17-year-old adolescent boy, high school student, Kelala).

On the other hand, girls and boys who have access to it seem to enjoy themselves not just communicating with others but also listening to FM radio services and enjoying recorded music.

Adolescents also often use text messages. For example, some send messages to relatives asking for books and other education materials.

There is limited access to satellite television, which one or two people have installed to generate income. These TVs are available in small catering places such as tea rooms. Young people – mostly boys – come to watch football, TV dramas and films. Both international and TV broadcasts are available. Girls are restricted from going to these places.

5.5.4 Opportunities to join clubs

In both sites there are school clubs in which adolescent girls and boys participate, including civics and ethics, sport, health and HIV, literature, history (Experience Ethiopia) and other clubs. Some of the clubs are promoted and supported by NGOs. MoE has limited the number as they have begun to crowd regular classes. The number of members in each club is also limited to manageable levels. Clubs are formed with the help of teachers. In each class, volunteers are asked to join a particular club. Hands are counted until the desired number is obtained: not all students that show an interest in being members are accepted because of the quota system. Although teachers may influence some students to join, it is entirely voluntary. However, some of the clubs are not functional and some clubs have not had meetings since their formation.

When I was in Grade 8 I used to be a member of the Civic and Ethical and Library Clubs. I served as chairperson for both clubs (High school student, older sibling, male, Kelala, who remembers how, with the help of the teacher, the club members helped improve the behaviour of students who had 'no ethics'.)

School clubs seem to be making a difference. They are venues for awareness creation about rights and harmful practices and life skills, for example how to protect against rape and unwanted pregnancy or escape early marriage. However, as membership in these clubs can be limited, for various reasons, not all girls who want to join are able to. In addition, school clubs are available and stronger in urban centres and where NGOs concentrate. It is unlikely that remote rural schools will have school clubs.

I am member of the Civic Club. There are only eight members. They meet once a week. There was regular session for awareness creation organised for us about child rights and harmful traditional practices. My friend helped me be a member of this club.

Out-of-school girls are likely to get access to reproductive health information from health extension workers. Illiterate young women confirmed that health extension workers go house to house and educate women about birth control and HIV transmission. However, younger adolescents as well as young girls in school may not get the information.

The health extension workers go house to house and teach women about birth control. I also get information them and from other women (Young woman, married and who has given birth to her first child).

5.5.5 Membership in civic and political associations

Adolescent girls and young women have opportunities to join civic or political associations. The Youth League is the political wing of the ruling party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). Members must be supporters of the EPRDF and aged between 18 and 29 years old. Meanwhile, the Youth Association does not require political affiliation or membership of a political party: any youth, irrespective of membership in a political party, gender, ethnicity or religion, can be a member. In both research sites, the *kebele* administrations defined youth as young people between 15 and 29 years. However, the Youth Policy of Ethiopia defines youth as young people between 18 and 29 years old. As such, adolescents and young people between 15 and 29 years are denied membership both in the Youth League and the Youth Association.

There is a Youth Association in our locality but it does not allow students to participate. It is the uneducated and school dropouts who can be members (High school student, older sibling, Kelala).

I am a member of the EPRDF Youth League. I pay a membership contribution. It is other members of the EPDRF who nominated me to become a member. I am also one of 30

adolescent boys and girls who are organised for group lending. The group is male dominated, however. There are only three girls (17-year-old widow, Kelala).

5.5.6 Engagement in decision-making structures

Leaders of the Youth League and the Youth and Women's Associations attend important *kebele* and *woreda* meetings. According to key informants, members of such civic organisations can voice their problems and concerns through their leaders. For example, Youth League and Youth Association members submit requests for land, jobs and loans to start businesses. Young people, girls and boys, 18 years old and above, participate in elections. On the other hand, youth are expected to provide free services to develop their communities. However, not all are willing to attend meetings.

I do not attend party meetings but participated in the last voting and in mandatory kebele development activities [the community gives 60 days' free services to develop the community].

I am not a member of the Youth League and do not participate in community development activities (Girl, 14-year-old, Kelala).

Young women are reluctant to join the Women's Association. They feel the members are older women, with no young women in their age range. The situation is likely to limit young women's networking and create loneliness, with adverse consequences.

I am not a member of the Women's Association but my husband is a member of the Youth League. The reason I have not registered is because my age group has not registered either (Young woman, married, Kobo).

5.6 Policy and programme responses

Our research findings indicated that the local governments have an important commitment to eradicating harmful traditional practices, through policies and programmes. Practices such as early marriage, FGM/C, abduction, rape and labour exploitation of girls are criminalised. The government has its own structure down to the grassroots levels to implement these policies and laws. In addition, local and international NGOs collaborate with government institutions at different levels targeting different vulnerable groups of adolescent girls and young women. NGO activities may not be evenly distributed, with some *woredas* having more NGOs than others. For example, there are fewer NGOs in Kelala than in Kobo.

WCYA collaborate with justice and women's associations and are actively engaged in fighting harmful traditional practices such as early marriage, rape, abduction, FGM/C and wife inheritance among Muslim communities in the lowland areas of both sites. In Kelala, Save the Children battles early marriage and thereby contributes to preventing school dropouts. In Kobo, WCYA works closely with local and international NGOs to tackle problems of girls coming to town from rural areas and being hired as housemaids by families in the town. NGOs work with schools and school clubs to teach girls life skills, including the prevention of early pregnancy and childbirth, early marriage, rape and abduction. However, there are some limitations in the coverage of these activities. Clubs can take only up to 30 members in a school. These members are expected to cascade the information to other students and to family members. Interviews with adolescent girls in both sites showed that some of the school clubs do not function well. Members do not meet regularly and their activities are limited. In many cases, these schools are dependent on NGO support.

At the lower level of administration, the *kebele* administration is mandated to organise grassroots-level women and youth's associations, by providing them with offices. It has to promote women's participation in decision making and their benefits from development activities. Women's associations are instrumental in directly implementing programmes and strategies to eliminate harmful traditional practices. However, grassroots women's associations complained of a lack of follow-up from the *woreda* administration to meet and discuss important issues.

Similarly, youth associations face key challenges. Youth land questions are not answered, the associations' decision-making role is limited and there is limited budget. The role of youth associations is to advocate for their members, but they have not been able to ensure employment even for those who have completed higher education. The association used to retain 15% of contributions to the *woreda* youth association.

5.6.1 Education

The qualitative data gathered in Kobo and Kelala revealed gender differences in accessing education in general and secondary education in particular for various reasons.

According to key informants from Kelala Education Office, ensuring education for all school-age children in general and female children in particular is their major focus. However, the *woreda* has the highest number of non-school-attending girls and boys or dropout youth. For instance, in 2011/12 academic year, 318 school children (both girls and boys) dropped out of the *woreda*'s schools for various reasons, such as intermittent attendance (especially during peak harvesting seasons), early marriage and migration to Saudi Arabia. Kelala is also the last district in terms of the rate of students who join higher educational institutions (HEIs), at both regional and national levels. For example, among 73 students who took the higher education entrance examination, only 43 (36 males and 7 females) were able to join HEIs. This means female participation in secondary and higher education is very low. According to key informants, the educational participation of females in the *woreda* is usually limited to up to Grade 8 owing to early marriage and migration of to Jeddah. Accordingly, the Education Office, in collaboration with *kebele* and *woreda* leaders, school principals, parents and various NGOs, is working to curb some of these causes of female dropout.

According to key informants from Kobo Education Office, the *woreda*'s Education Quality Control Group (EQCG) provides special supportive actions focusing on girls and their level of participation in every school club and classroom. In every school, there are girls' clubs aimed at developing female students' assertiveness and leadership skills, usually led by schoolgirls themselves. There are also a number of special supportive actions focusing on female students, such as tutorial classes to improve their academic performance, although most female students do not show up when they are called for these classes mainly because parents are reluctant to send their children to school for extracurricular activities mainly because they have other domestic responsibilities to fulfill. The EQCG has also designed different mechanisms to monitor the improvement of female students' academic performance by grouping them based on their educational performance, each group consisting of female and male students with different levels (highest, medium and lowest performing students). In short, the Education Office is working to improve girls' educational participation and performance. However, the major problem lies in demand. According to the principal of a rural primary school in Kelala, although education has the power to change the community's economic, social and political resources, the local people are reluctant to send their children, particularly girls, to school. Schools face diminishing motivation of households to the education of their children and a shortage of inputs to enable a sustainable teaching and learning process, namely, a shortage of classrooms, laboratory facilities, reference books and trained teachers.

It is with a lot of persuasion and pressure/coercion that parents send their children to the local school. Even then, the local community gives priority to boys' education rather than that of girls. To alleviate this problem, the school has assigned one teacher for each sub-kebele of the rural community. Accordingly, students who are absent from each class during the week are registered by the homeroom teacher, who is responsible for visiting the absentees' parents every Sunday and convincing them to send their son/daughter to school in the coming week. If they refuse, the school principal reports the case to the kebele administration, which has the power to reprimand these parents. In the past, there has been penalty (about 3 birr per absentee). But now there is no such type of penalty, which has encouraged parents not to send their children to school (KII, rural primary school principal, Kelala).

Schools in both sites promote girls' enrolment. Teachers are instructed to encourage girls participation in classrooms and provide tutorial classes on weekends. However, as one school director admitted, although they had been able to bring more girls to school, they had yet to improve girls' participation in classrooms and make tutorial classes effective. One of the major problems hindering the effective delivery of tutorial classes is that parents are reluctant to send their daughters to school for tutorial classes on weekends.

5.6.2 Early marriage

With respect to early marriage, information received at school or NGO-facilitated 'community conversations' has let many girls know that they can refuse to marry early as it is against the law. Key informants spoke about actions that girls can take to avoid marriage. For example, an adolescent girl can avoid marriage by reporting it to her teachers, who have the authority to suspend the marriage through the local administration. Girls can also report it to family members who are likely to be

supportive. At the *woreda* level, the local Justice Office, the police, WYCA and the local school have created a taskforce to fight early marriage. This disseminates information about the practice, trying to engage with adults to change attitudes and provide outreach to girls in need of protection.

My parents attempted to get me married, but I rescued myself by reporting the case to the local kebele administration. As a result, my father was sent to prison for two days. The local community has better respect for married young women than unmarried girls and that was why my parents attempted to get me married while I was attending school. I managed to escape from early forced marriage due to the information I gained as the member of the Civic Club (which had a regular session for awareness creation on children's rights and early marriages) when I was attending school (15-year old girl, Grade 6 dropout owing to family work burden, Kobo).

5.6.3 Youth employment

There is a government initiative in place to solve the local unemployment problem through small-scale enterprise projects. The programme requires that youth organise in groups in order to receive a group loan. However, it has faced problems, as youth are unhappy with lending because of a fear of debt and risk sharing. Community members admitted that the initiative had not been tested and its effectiveness was not evaluated before it was implemented: it should have received the support of youth and the community. According to community members, though, the interests of local youths do match the objectives of the programme implementation strategy. According to one participant, meanwhile, the problem is not only from youth side but also from the government side. The strategy has no flexibility to support private/ individual efforts.

Other programmes, like the PSNP, target households not youths, but youths are incorporated under targeted families. Youths who are under age 18 are not required to participate in public works. Pregnant women and children who have lost their parents are also targeted as special cases within the PSNP.

NGOs like Save the Children work on various micro-enterprise activities by organising local farmers and provide credit for different enterprises.

In Kobo, NGOs (e.g. PADET) implement specific projects to support local youths to solve their social and economic problems through direct support and income generation schemes. For example, a child who has lost both their parents or has a disabled head of a household or family members is targeted by various economic support programmes. Resources are channelled through the local Women's Association. Other support includes school materials such as exercise books, school bags, pens and pencils.

Adolescents are encouraged to generate their own income. For example, about 18 youths (2 girls and 16 boys) in Kobo receive communal wastelands from the *kebele* for red soil mining. The red soil is sold in towns to cover paths.

Households support their adolescent girls and boys through wages they receive from the PSNP. Some have improved their lives through the public work component of the programme. Whenever there is a paid work opportunity, the *kebele* administration gives priority to youth by giving them spare communal land for crop production to rent.

In conclusion, there are initiatives that are attempting to address the multifaceted problems of adolescent girls and boys. However, the magnitude of the problems appears larger than the initiatives that are out there to address them.

6 Findings and recommendations

6.1 Findings

Ethiopia is a largely male-dominated society, where gendered discriminatory social norms and practices are common and affect the ability of girls and women to achieve their capabilities: economic, educational, psycho-emotional, physical and political. However, as a result of recent legislation and policy, there are important transformations taking place, and, with new avenues for development opening for women and girls, their role is evolving. Nevertheless, important disparities remain between girls in rural and urban areas, between girls in different wealth quintiles and between girls who are born to families with different educational levels.

The study collected qualitative data in two rural districts in Amhara Regional State. In both cases, it was clear that the situation of adolescent girls is difficult. Discriminatory social norms and practices still compromise girls' capabilities and compound their exclusion. Practices found to inhibit adolescent girls' equal development and access to gender justice include early marriage and early pregnancy; unequal distribution of domestic responsibilities; limited mobility; limited decision-making power over social relationships; socially accepted notions of masculinity regarding violence – at home, in the community and at school; limited control over sexuality and fertility decisions; limited authority in the family; and inequitable care practices at home.

Although these practices are common, girls' increased access to information from a number of sources, such as school, community conversations, school clubs, television, health extension workers and NGOs, is already having a positive impact on many adolescents. More of them are continuing in school, have good access to information about family planning and contraceptive methods, have knowledge about protection against HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases and are aware that migration is a possible livelihood alternative for some (although it has a cost).

Alternative forms of 'escaping' these social norms were identified. In particular, international migration seems to be an increasingly common way for girls to leave an 'oppressive' domestic context, either in their paternal or their husband's home, to seek a new destiny in which they think they will be able to become economically self-sufficient and thus more independent upon their return. Although this 'aspiration' is realised for some of the girls who chose to migrate, it does not happen to all. Some face severe difficulties, hardship and mistreatment while migrating and come back to face even fewer opportunities than before.

Given the existing protective legislative and policy framework, some girls in these communities, through the support of local leaders, teachers and/or NGO workers, have been able to access protection against early marriage, getting a divorce in cases where early marriages fail for reasons such as domestic violence or laziness of the man. They have even had access to justice in cases of domestic and sexual violence. Although the number of girls that access these mechanisms is still very limited, it is growing and the knowledge that it can be done is more widespread, which might have an empowering effect on adolescent girls.

A lot of work needs to be done with the community, parents and siblings to make changes to discriminatory social norms more acceptable and long-lasting. At the moment, transformations in girls are seen as acts of rebellion, with little communication about why girls decide to modify the paths carved for them. More intergenerational information and communication is needed to support actions with adolescent girls taken by other actors in the community, including schools and NGOs.

At the moment, authorities and NGOs mainly work with girls on gender issues, without involving males (adolescents, as peers, and adults, as heads of household) to work on these transformations on a more profound level. Some positive examples of girls who continue in school through secondary, have supportive parents, have delayed their marriage and pregnancy decisions and aspire to having stable jobs and careers are indicative that changes in discriminatory norms and practices are possible in these communities. These girls need to become more visible role models for other girls.

Income poverty and lack of opportunities for adolescents (both boys and girls) and youth in these communities are also putting constraints on parents in terms of promoting girls' capabilities, particularly in relation to education. They also increase the likelihood that girls will be married off and

that they will need to seek the 'support' of a man for economic sustainability. As such, more work by the government, NGOs, local businesses and community members with a more entrepreneurial spirit is important to develop a context in which girls can aspire to developing.

6.2 Recommendations

Adolescent girls, in particular those who form families early on, are looking for livelihood alternatives. Improving their access to microfinance, accompanied with skills development and even financial literacy courses so they can manage a micro-enterprise, might encourage and enable adolescents to organise themselves to create jobs as a means to fulfil their economic capabilities.

Given the high dropout rate of girls, particularly in their transition to secondary school, having the ability to continue in non-formal education is critical for adolescent girls to continue building their education capabilities. For this purpose, offering evening or weekend classes for girls who are otherwise busy with domestic activities could open an opportunity for dropouts to have another chance to improve their education. For girls who dropped out as a result of early pregnancy or marriage, significant work at the school and community level, possibly driven by NGOs and local activists, is required to reduce the level of verbal abuse and harassment they face when they return.

Promotion of community-based crèches at a minimal cost, perhaps run by local women, could help girls care for their babies and young children while they attend school (formal or non-formal). They could also be a useful support in taking care of younger siblings in order to free up girls' time for participation in productive activities and ensure children get proper care while their mothers work in the home.

Community conversations/coffee ceremonies are good spaces to disseminate information with adolescent girls – for example, dissemination of information on HIV and AIDS has been successful. Adding other important issues on which information is currently inadequate, such as managing menstruation, would be positive.

Currently, youth associations have a mainly cooperative focus, providing support related to savings and loans for young people. Youth clubs could offer psycho-emotional support and peer information to adolescent girls, becoming a space for them to get together and exchange ideas with other adolescent girls beyond school clubs. These clubs could also provide leisure activities, information services and mentors for girls. Adolescent girls need life skills training and counselling, as well as female role models and ways to build their confidence to express themselves. These could all be activities or initiatives fostered in the context of a youth club for adolescent girls.

Access to information can be transformational for girls. In addition to methods currently in use, other technologies, such as mobile phones linked to information platforms on reproductive health, should be explored. Such interventions would allow girls to receive targeted text messages on health and ideas for managing everyday life. In particular, TV or radio programmes with relevant information about transforming gender roles could help reinforce what girls and boys learn at school, reach girls who are not in school and reach others in the community, such as boys and parents, who need to be part of the transformation.

To improve girls' access to and success in formal education, community leaders in both rural communities of Kobo and Kelala suggested the need for i) more tailored vocational training; ii) safe spaces for girls; iii) guidance and counselling for school girls; and iv) employment options and opportunities for local youth. School- and NGO-based counsellors should be thoroughly prepared to be able to support girls in a range of psycho-emotional issues, including providing support in cases of sexual violence.

In order to be able to achieve more meaningful transformations in the lives of girls, it is of utmost importance to involve parents (both mothers and fathers), as well as adolescent boys, in purposely developed conversations so they can better understand the need for changing gender roles and how supporting girls through modified social norms and practices can be beneficial for girls and for the whole family.

Improved access to social justice mechanisms would provide girls with legal recourse at the local level when in need of protective interventions – particularly as the legislation is in place. Although

more girls are using legal mechanisms to ascertain their rights, many do not denounce violations because they do not want to embarrass their parents or because social norms prevent them from doing so.

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Appendix 1: Conceptual framework

Political capability domain
 Goal: capability to i) voice needs/demands and assert accountability for rights vis- *voiced* decision-makers at community, local government levels and beyond; ii) network and organise in safe and supportive environments among peers; and iii) develop and exercise leadership skills

Key facets of vulnerabilities to be overcome	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
	Control/surveillance Restricted mobility Limit on public roles Limit on private roles Limited authority in family Limit on public roles (caste)	Non-provision/implementation of information Non-provision/implementation of justice services	Voice/representation Group membership Association Mobility

Vulnerabilities to be overcome: limitations in political and civil liberties, agency, gender justice and citizenship

- Restrictive citizenship laws and practices
- Public/private ideologies and restricted mobility/agency for girls (will include discussion of limitations on association, capability development through peer groups; leadership opportunities etc.)
- Access to justice (most info on this is on women, but has relevance for adolescent girls)

Economic capability domain
 Goal: capability to secure and have use of assets (land, inheritance, credit) and to prepare for/be supported in equal participation in productive activities so as to promote economic security, especially in the case of older adolescents and young women

Key facets of vulnerabilities to be overcome	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
	Limited access to assets Unequal inheritance and property rights Transfer and control of dowry Exclusion from labour markets and decent work Occupational discrimination – hereditary employment Effect of child labour – exclusion from schooling	Non-equality/provision/ implementation in inheritance law Weak implementation Non-enforcement of labour law Gender discrimination in equal opportunities Non-implementation of children act on labour Weak access to justice	Income-generating opportunities, skills, training Productive assets – land, credit, technology Vocational and technical training opportunities Decent work Access to information about rights awareness training

Vulnerabilities to be overcome: limited access to economic opportunities, productive resources and assets

- Gender biases in inheritance laws and productive asset accumulation, including land
- Limited vocational training and labour market preparation/opportunity (including access to credit)
- Unpaid household labour and ‘time poverty’
- Exploitative child labour

Educational capability domain			
Goal: capability to access and make the most of quality educational and vocational training services			
Key facets of vulnerabilities to be overcome	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
	Gender and identity-based school exclusion based on son bias Unequal care burdens Lack of choice over time use Violence in school or community Gender inequalities in teaching/learning processes	Non-provision/implementation of education services Non-provision of quality child care Non-provision of reproductive health services to prevent early pregnancy	Education Health care Leisure time Vocational and technical training opportunities
Vulnerabilities to be overcome: restricted opportunities for capability development through education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Poverty and parental underinvestment in daughters ○ Pregnancy as a cause of school dropout ○ Early marriage and cessation of schooling ○ Gender-insensitive school environments ○ Gender-based violence, lack of safety and security ○ Gender biases in the learning environment and curriculum ○ The gender impacts of HIV and AIDS in education 			
Physical capability domain			
Goal: capability to enjoy physical security, bodily integrity and access to good health care, including reproductive and mental health services			
Key facets of vulnerabilities to be overcome	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
i	Unequal quality and provision of care (son bias, including female foeticide/infanticide) Limited authority in family Early marriage Limited control over physical body (safety) Gender-based violence Harmful traditional practices Socially accepted notions of masculinity re: violence Gendered norms of 'honour and shame' underpinning ideologies of male control over female bodies	Limited safe spaces Limited protective services Limited access to justice Non-provision of health services Non-provision of reproductive health services Non-enactment or enforcement of national laws consistent with international norms	Life Adequate food and nutrition Bodily integrity Care and protection (nurture) Good health and access to health care
Reproductive	Limited control over fertility Limited control over sexuality Early marriage Polygamy Limited authority in family		

	Unequal quality and provision of care Unequal care burdens Lack of choice over time use		
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Vulnerabilities to be overcome: lack of physical security, bodily integrity and investment in health

- o Context of insecurity and heightened vulnerability to violence
- o Social determinants of and investments in health and nutrition
- o Intensified vulnerability to HIV and AIDS
- o Gender-based violence
- o Harmful traditional practices – FGM/C, early marriage
- o Sexual and reproductive health and rights (will include discussion of lack of access/decision-making on family planning, contraception; issues of maternal mortality/morbidity etc.)

Capability domain of managing, negotiating, and benefiting from, intra-household and family relations :

Goal: capability to manage, sustain and benefit from nurturing relationships and equal care and provisions from adults within family structures

Key facets of vulnerabilities to be overcome	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
	Limit on private roles Restricted parental care Discriminatory family codes Bride wealth and dowry Marriage choice Legal parental authority Stereotypes Restricted mobility	Lack of adequate provision of child care Insufficient legal protection Limited information	Inclusion in decisions affecting self Parental rights Voice within the family Access to adequate nurture and support from adults in caregiving roles

Vulnerabilities to be overcome: gender inequalities in family relations and household roles and responsibilities

- o Discriminatory family codes, personal status laws and marriage practices (including early marriage, polygamy, age differences; abusive bride wealth systems; divorce/and child tutorship etc.)
- o Unequal household roles, decision-making power, position and status (including discussion of son bias etc.)
- o Sociocultural stereotypes (of the girl's/woman's role in the family)
- o Limited access to adequate care and nurture

Psycho-emotional capability domain (mental wellbeing)

Goal: capability to develop emotional intelligence, a secure sense of personal identity and fulfilling and supportive relationships

Key facets of vulnerabilities to be overcome	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
ii	Stereotyping of female roles Restricted mobility Restricted access to education Limit on private roles	Insufficient legal protection	Inclusion in decisions that affect self Freedom of association Supportive and nurturing social life

Restrictions on association

Vulnerabilities to be overcome:

- Sociocultural stereotypes (of the girl's/woman's role in the family)
- Overcoming negative attitudes
- Poor mental health
- Lack of mechanisms and support to cope with stress

Appendix 2: Research instruments, FGDs

Instructions

Introduce yourself, explain the purpose of the study.

Ask participants to introduce themselves.

Obtain verbal consent, and record all discussions. Explain why you have to record the discussion.

Engage participants all the time. General questions:

1. How do you define adolescence?
2. How do adolescents understand wellbeing/social justice?
3. What do adolescents in this community value and why?
4. What are the key coping strategies and sources of resilience (migration, transactional sex, drug use/alcohol, violence, religious guidance etc.)? Are there gender differences?

Part of this can be done through a participatory learning tool that will help build trust relationships and create entry points into difficult issues, e.g. body mapping or mobility mapping.

Body mapping

The body map is a participatory tool that helps young people explore how and their experiences, views and feelings on a particular issue.

<p>Body part probes Explore gender differences and both positive and negative examples</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Head: mental health, the way they think and/or their learning • Eyes: how people see adolescents and young people in the community, how the issue has affected their perceptions of the world • Ears: how community members listen to young people or young people listen to adults • Mouth: how adults communicate with young people and/or the way young people communicate with one another • Main body: what particular health issues are relevant to adolescents, is there protection from different forms of abuse or exploitation • Heart: what are some of the feelings people young people have to deal with, who they get support from in times of need • Arms and hands: kinds of activities young people are involved in • Legs and feet: are there any restrictions on adolescent mobility and time use, e.g. for work, study or income generation <p>Note: Young people should be encouraged to draw their answers to each question on the flipchart while the facilitator/note-taker writes down verbal answers.</p> <p>The importance of exploring and analysing differences in views and experiences according to issues such as gender, age, disability, ethnicity, geography, socioeconomic background, socio-political context, living context (e.g. internal displacement from home/community)</p> <p>The importance of exploring any positive as well as negative impacts</p>
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Questions to support a more traditional focus group

	Thematic area	Questions
1	Education/vocation	<p>What do you think about school?</p> <p>Do adolescents in your community go to school?</p> <p>Is there a difference between the numbers of girls and boys that go to school in your community?</p> <p>Are there any young people in your community that are denied access to school completely? [Probe for gender differences/marginalised people]</p> <p>What age do youth tend to leave/finish school in your community? Is there a difference between girls and boys?</p> <p>Do you think both adolescent girls and boys should go to school? Why or why not? Until what age/school level?</p>
		<p>Do all young people have the same lessons and learn the same subjects at school? If not, what are the differences? Why do you think this is?</p> <p>Do boys and girls learn different things or take different lessons in school? If so, do you agree with this? Are there lessons you don't take that you would find useful?</p>
		<p>Are there any places other than school where you can go to learn?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who provides these opportunities? - What do they teach (skill/craft/vocation/religion)? - Who can go there to learn? Are there any differences between boys and girls? Disabled? - Do you think they have been helpful to young people in the community? - Do you have to pay to go? - Have you ever been? If yes, what made you want to go?
2	Livelihood strategies	<p>What are the main activities that young people participate in?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inside the household (household chores; child care) - Outside the household (agricultural-related activities; other) - Do these differ for boys and girls?

	Thematic area	Questions
		Do young people in your community make money? If so, how, where, when, how often? Is there a difference between girls and boys? If not, why do you think this is the case? What are the limitations on young people making money? What are the key economic challenges young people face in this community? [Probe: food insecurity, access to education, unemployment or work opportunities, environmental risks, rising prices, drought, migration] Are these challenges the same for young men and young women? Are they the same or different to those faced by adults?
	Debts and loans	Are many people in your community in debt? If so, do you know how people in this community pay off that debt? (If response is working for money lender, ask): Who works for money lender? (If response is the interviewee probe further): Do you think this happens to many adolescents in your locality or just to a certain group? [Prompt: by caste, tribe religion, etc.] How are the work conditions for adolescents you know who are engaged in bonded labour? Is this more common for boys or girls?
		Do young people have different access to employment/work opportunities than adults? Is this different for young men/women? Or are young people able to access work in the same way that adults do/can? If no, why not? Is there a difference between young women and young men?
	Migration	Do any young people in the community migrate to other places/towns/countries? Do their parents/or siblings migrate with them (gender differences)? Have they ever migrated? Have members of their household ever migrated?
	Land and asset ownership	Can adolescent boys/girls own any assets? [Provide examples of assets: land, livestock, books, jewellery, radio, mobile, toys] [Provide relevant prompts according to sex of respondents] Which ones? [Prompt: for example, what assets do you own?] How (e.g. inherit, buy, gift)?
		Do young men and young women have access to assets? If so, is it the same for w/m? Why/why not? What do you think about this?
3	Key coping strategies in the community	Ask group what are the key vulnerabilities (economic, social, physical, environmental) in this area Ask group to identify the most, the middling and the least vulnerable, keeping note of why they put particular household in the groups Ask group to identify what the key coping mechanisms used in this community are. What do people do when in difficulty? Do adults do different things than young people? Gender differences?
4	Forming adult relationships (marriage and divorce)	At what age do young people normally separate from their parents (either to marry or to go live on their own)? Is there a difference in age between when girls and boys separate from their parents? What are some of the main reasons for young people separating from their parents? Do girls and boys separate from their parents for different reasons?
5	Voice within household decision-making	Do young people in this community have a voice in household decision making? When they live with parents? When they live with parents-in-law? When they are married? What sort of decisions do they usually make? How is it different for male and female youth? [All of the above] If they don't feel young people have a voice/decision-making power in the household, why is this the case? [These decisions can include the following issues: education, marriage, expenditure of household income etc.]
6	Physical/health	Do you receive any reproductive health education at school? If so, what were you taught about? [Probe: HIV/AIDS education/awareness, reproductive health, menstruation] If so, do adolescent boys and girls and girls experience the same health education? Where else do young people access health information/education, in particular reproductive health information or advice? Or are there places where youth can go to receive health information, i.e. youth-friendly health services? [Probe: Family, religious leaders, local health services, husband/wife, peers etc.]
		What increases the risk of someone being exposed to HIV/AIDS? Are there any activities that take place in your household/community that increase this risk? [Probe: Early sexual initiation, FGM/C etc.] Do you know any people living with HIV (PLHIV) in your community? If so, how do you view them? How are they treated in the community? Are they stigmatised or discriminated against etc.?
	Reproductive	At what age do you think women in the community have their first child (younger than 15, 15-18, 19-23, 24+)? Is there an expected number of children that woman should have here? If so, what do you think about that? Do you agree/disagree? Who enforces this idea?
		At what age do you think young people in the community have sexual relations for the first time? Do you think this differs for young men and women? If so, why?
		What do you think are the reasons for young women and men first having sex? What do you think are some of the risks associated with young people having sex? [Probe STIs, HIV, etc.]
		Do young people your age have access to contraception (family planning mechanisms) such as condoms? If not, why not, and would you like access? What do you think about contraception? Are condoms provided free of charge or do you have to purchase them? Are they freely distributed? Has there been any change in young people's capacity to access/purchase contraception methods?

	Thematic area	Questions
		Are young women (or men) exchanging sex for money or other things (like food)? Working as sex workers or at risk of trafficking (that is, when young women are sent to other places, including other countries, under false pretences, for the purpose of engaging in sex work)? Why is this happening? Has this become more/less common in past 2-3 years? Why, etc.? [Note: Respondents might find this difficult to answer, don't insist]
	Violence	Do you know of any young people your age who have faced violence (verbal, physical or sexual)? If yes, where and from whom? Why did you think it happened (e.g. school, field, public area in the community, home etc.)?
		Are certain groups of young people (disabled, ethnic minorities, PLHIV etc.) targets of discrimination and violence in this community (by violence we include physical violence, behavioural violence, name calling and aggression in general)? Do you think violence is greater towards men or towards women or is it the same? Do you think there has been a change in this situation in the past 2-3 years? If so, why?
	Access to justice	Have you or any young people you know been victims of crime over the past couple of years? If so, explain what happened etc.
		Do you think that all people in this community have access to justice (e.g. to the police, to courts) if they feel an injustice has been done against them? If not, why do you think this is the case?
7	Self-esteem and mental health	Are there any particular pressures on young people in your community that are emotionally and psychologically difficult? Are there differences between girls and boys?
		Sometimes, young people who are stressed or depressed find it useful to have counselling services, to talk to, or help from psychologists. Are there government or NGO services that depressed young people in your community can use?
		Has the consumption of drugs/alcohol by young people ever been a problem in the community? If yes, have you witnessed any change in young people's use drugs or alcohol? Why do you think these changes are happening? What are the effects on young people (and others) of taking drugs or alcohol?
8	Social connectedness	What do young men and women do with their spare time?
	Access to communications	Do young people in your community have access to mobile phones and use the internet? Is there a difference between girls and boys using these technologies? If so, why do you think so?
	Youth involvement in social groups or political organisations	Are there groups and clubs (at school, in your neighbourhood) within your community that young people can participate in? If so, what kinds of groups and clubs are there? What benefits do you get from belonging to the group? Has there been a change in the number youth groups and clubs accessible to young people over the past 5 years? If so, why is this? Are there other young people in the community who cannot participate? Do adolescent girls participate in the same way as adolescent boys? Why/why not? Do you think there are groups in the community excluded from certain community activities/events? Which groups? Why does it happen?
		Do you participate in any social and political organisations? If so, what kind (e.g. youth wing of political party, youth trade unions, grassroots campaigning on social issues)? What made you become involved in this activity?
		Are there youth-specific organisations in the community? (N.B. this is different from clubs, looking more at youth development NGOs etc.) What kind of activities do young people engage in with these organisations? [Probe for civic engagement – e.g. campaigning on social issues, participation in local decision making]
	Engagement in decision-making structures	Are there spaces for young people to participate in community decision making (including political) (e.g. discussing with assemblyman or other members of the assembly; participation in town council meetings or equivalent)? [N.B. This is what we refer to below as civic participation]
		What do you think about the relevance of civic participation?
		Do you think it is safe for young people to be involved in activities linked to civic participation (gender differences)?
9	Future aspirations	What changes, if any, would you make to your community? How do you think you could accomplish these changes? What might be some of the challenges to achieving those changes?
		Total

Appendix 3: Research instruments, IDIs

Older adolescents template

Instructions

1. Explain the purpose of the research and what you will be using your answers for
2. Explain that you will ask the interviewee questions and they can respond what they think and what they know (not only yes or no answers); they can also reply that they don't know when it is the case

Basic demographic information: gender, age, ethnicity, religion, type of respondent, community name, date, etc.

Probes throughout:

- Gender differences
- Ethnic minority or caste differences
- Traditional institutions and cultural norms
- Power dynamics within households, peer groups, communities

Probes: Why, what, where, how, when, how often ...

- Keep the focus of the questions on the interviewee, their life and their reality as opposed to other adolescent girls as this will be covered in the FGDs
- Probing sentences:
 - Tell me more about it ...
 - What do you mean by that?
 - Can you explain better/more?
 - Give me examples ...
 - How is that/how/what do you mean?

	Thematic area	Questions
1	Family status and living arrangements	Who do you live with (numbers of people in the household)? Who is the head of the household (age, gender and relationship to them)? Since when have you lived with them? How many siblings do you have? Younger? Older? Gender?
2	Intra-household decision making	For what things do you have to ask permission? And from whom? Do you feel that you have a voice within your household? If you don't feel you have a voice why is this the case? How is it different for male and female young people within your household? What are your main activities inside the household (household chores; child care)? How long does it take you to do these? Are these different from other members of your household? Who decides on who does what? Why?
3	Decision making about personal life, mobility	Do you feel that you have any restrictions on your mobility? Are you able to move around freely within your community, outside etc.? If not, when and why? What is this caused by? E.g. religion/role in household/ safety/long working hours? If so, please tell us more about it. Do any of the girls/ women in your household/family have restricted mobility? Why is it different? Is this the same or different for girls/women?
4	Education and vocation	Do you go to school/college? If yes, what school/college do you go to? What costs do you incur going to school? Who pays for you? If not in school, at what age did you leave? Please tell us why you left. If you never went to school, please explain why. What do you require to go to school (uniform, books, bag, shoes, transport money etc.)? Who provides you with these items/supplies? Is it the same for girls/boys? How was the school/college selected? Why, by whom etc.? What do you like about your school? What do you not like about your school? Do your parents encourage your education/to go to school? If so, how? Do they encourage your siblings in the same way? If not, why not?
		(If at school:) Are you ever consulted at school/by teachers about your opinions (about the school, about your ideas, plans, home situation, concerns etc.)? Is it the same for your siblings? Are you able to express your thoughts/concerns to teachers if you have any? If not, why do you think not?
		How are you treated at school? In the classroom, in the schoolyard, on the way to and from school (comfortable, uncomfortable, under pressure, happy etc.)? By peers, by teachers ... Is there anyone you can talk to when you have concerns at school?
5	Leisure time	What types of leisure/recreational activities do you do? Extracurricular; not linked to school – church, clubs, sports, bars, informal community etc. Do your sisters attend similar activities? Older/younger sisters? [Probe for gender and age differences] Do you need to ask permission to attend these? Is it the same for your sisters? [Probe for gender and age differences] Have your leisure activities changed over time? If so how? Why? Has the amount of time you spend on them changed over time? [Probe: more or less leisure time ...]

	Thematic area	Questions
6	Livelihood strategies	Do you have a source of income? If so, how, where, when, how often? When did you start having a paid activity? Why did you start? How did you make the decision to do so? Who was involved in that decision? What is your family's economic situation like? How many meals do you have per day? Are there some hungry months? Have you ever felt hungry with nothing to eat? Who else makes money in your household? What do you do with the money you make? Save, give to someone, spend? If you had more money for yourself what would you spend it on?
		(If interviewee does work:) Do you feel safe at work? Is there anything that makes you feel very good or very bad at work? Have there been any specific changes/incidents at work that have caused this feeling? What difficulties/challenges etc. do you face in meeting your and your family's needs/securing a livelihood? When your livelihood is in difficulty/you face economic security what do you do? What are your coping strategies (economic/social – include issues around risky behaviours: commercial sex, substance abuse, others)? How effective are these coping strategies? [After each coping strategy ask how effective it is]
7	Migration	Have you ever migrated (as an individual or as part of your family)? From where to where? Have any of your parents or your husband migrated? What are the reasons for migration? [Prompt: Economic, family conflict, education] What were your experiences of migration? During the journey, once arrived etc. (positive and negative, support received, challenges faced etc.)? If others migrated, did anything change for you? How did you feel about migrating? Did your situation get better or worse as a result of the migration?
8	Forming adult relationships (marriage, co-habitation, divorce)	Are you currently living with your parents? If not, at what age did you separate from your parents. Why (to go live on own, to live with a partner etc.)? Who decided when you should separate from your parents? How did you feel about that decision?
9	Health/physical	Do you have any current health problems/concerns? How do you deal with them? What kinds of health services do you access? Where are they (how far), how frequently do you access them? When was the last time you accessed a health service? What for? Are you able to access any of these services if you want/need to? Do you think there are constraints that might not allow you to access these services? If yes, what are these constraints? [Probe: Cost, distance, attitudes and gender of providers, husband restricts, certain population groups excluded, language barriers, services not appropriate, services not available (e.g. HIV-related care and support services)]
	Reproductive health	Do you receive any reproductive health education at school? If so, what were you taught about? Where else do you access health information/education, in particular reproductive health information or advice? [Probe: Family, religious leaders, community-based organisations, local health services, radio, TV, mobile phone, leaflets, NGOs, husband/wife, peers, siblings, health extension workers etc.]
	HIV/AIDS and STDs	What do you know about HIV/AIDS and STDs? How are HIV/AIDS and STDs transmitted? How are they prevented? HIV/AIDS: From where did you get this information? Do you know anyone who is affected/infected? In your home and/or around you? How do you feel about that? How do people react to you? Etc. [Try and bring out issues of stigma and discrimination]
	Violence	[Note: Reassure again here is confidential, do not need to tell names etc.] Have you ever seen or heard about violence toward adolescent girls? [Probe: Beating/hitting, insults, pressure, shouting, verbal abuse, being prevented from seeing friends/relatives or taking part in activities, etc.; denying food, water, clothing), sexual (unwanted sexual contact) Who are the perpetrators? What did you do when saw or heard about this violence?
9	Access to justice	Has any member of your female family members been a victim of crime in the past 12 months? [Robbery, rape, domestic violence, trafficking] Over the past 5 years? If so, explain what happened, what you did etc. Have you ever accessed the justice system in your community? Do you know where to go? What types of services exist (police, courts, reconciliation committees, informal, NGOs etc.)? Where do you go? Why? If so, when, for what purpose, what result? Did you find it easily accessible? How were you treated? If you have not accessed justice services, do you think that you would be able to? If not, why not? Whose help would you need to get to access the justice system?
10	Self-esteem and mental health	Do you face any particular pressures that are emotionally and psychologically difficult? How do you cope when you face these difficulties? Who do you turn to and why? What type of support do you receive and do you think it is adequate? Sometimes young people who are stressed or depressed find it useful to have counselling services, to talk to or get help from psychologists. Have you ever used services of this kind? Why/why not? Do you think the services were adequate?
11	Wellbeing and social connectedness	Do you have friends in this community? How often do you meet with them? What do you do? Where do you go? Do you have to ask permission from someone to meet your friends? If so, who? Have your interactions with friends changed over time (as you became an adolescent) etc.? Is this the same for your sister?
	Horizontal social capital	If you are in trouble, e.g. need support at school, financial support, feeling sad etc., what do you do? Where do you go? Who do you turn to? What kind of help do you receive? [Focus on wellbeing and relationships] Has this changed as you entered adolescence?
		Are you a member of any group or club (at school, in your neighbourhood, youth groups)? If so, since when, where/which (social or political)? What do you do in the group? How many members are there? How do you become a member? How often do you meet? What benefits do you get from belonging to the group? If you're not a member of a group or club, why not?

	Thematic area	Questions
	Vertical social capital Engagement in decision-making structures	Are there spaces for you to participate in community decision making (including political) (e.g. discussing with assemblyman/woman or other members of the assembly; participation in town council meetings or equivalent)? Do you vote (if you are old enough/elections of any type)? Why/why not? How do you decide?
		Are you aware of how to participate in the existing mechanisms/channels for civic participation? Have you ever participated in these existing mechanisms/channels for civic participation? If so when, why, how? What happened?
12	Access to communications	Who do you communicate with on a regular basis and how? Are there other people you would like to communicate with but are unable to, why? Do you have access to a mobile phone and use the internet? If not, would you like to have access to these types of communication technologies (e.g. mobile phone, internet, radio, TV)? Has your access to these communication technologies changed in the past 5 years?

Appendix 4: Research instruments, household case studies

Aim: The aim is to explore intra-household dynamics in terms of adolescent girls, by triangulating views of others in a household including adults, other youth, children etc.

Selection: 2 households with adolescent girls - 1 with sons, 1 without; nuclear/vs. extended households; polygamous household, etc.

- Select households from IDIs or FGDs participants.
- Go back a number of times at different times of the day. If possible, sleep over in the household.
- Take detailed notes, thick description ...
- Could also do or have already done an IDI, life history with a member of the household

Tool	Purpose	Who/what
Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observing interactions/dynamics between people in the household • Between young/old, men/women • Around certain activities (domestic; work-related; outside the house – school, mobility etc.) • Positive (joking, caring etc.) and negative (power, abusing etc.) interactions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The household • When do certain activities (household chores, farming-related activities, activities related to going outside the household etc.) • Going to a market, to a clinic, water point, town • To an event e.g. youth club, other community event etc.
Drawing of household, including wider area where household is situated	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What happens in different areas • Who controls the different areas • Private vs. public spaces • How they perceive their households • How they perceive where the boundaries of the household are 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adolescent girls • Boys • Other members of household
Institutional/person mapping (bubble diagram)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore who are key people in an individual's life (how they are related to them), how they affect/impact (positively and negatively) their lives, their differential access to them etc. • Can be both household members but also people beyond the household (peer, friend, neighbour, other member of kinship network) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adolescent girls • Boys • Other members of household
Time-use diaries (timeline, with hour slots)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explore what people do at different times of the day, how long it takes them, whether there may be seasonal differences • Whether they think the activities are positive or negative or they like/don't like doing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adolescent girls • Boys • Other members of household

Appendix 5: Research instruments, KIIs

The following guide for KIIs is a general set of questions for the different types of key informants to be interviewed. Proposed interviewees:

Capability domain	Key informant
All domains	Programme implementers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local government officials in health and education planning Local/regional social welfare officers NGO leaders Youth workers Traditional leaders Religious leaders Academic analysts Head teacher of local secondary school Health workers (sexual and reproductive health) Leaders of youth-led groups and organisations Women's group leaders
Specific focus areas KIIs	
Educational	Head teacher of local secondary school Local education officer
Economic	Vocational training provider Local employer
Physical	Health workers (sexual and reproductive health)
Psychosocial	Leaders of social support NGOs Religious leaders Counsellors/psychologists Social workers
Political	Leaders of youth-led groups and organisations Judiciary/legislators/community justice implementers

Prior to the interviews, a selection of questions will be chosen (and perhaps additional specific questions added) that correspond to the individual to be interviewed.

- Changes over time?
- Differences between girls vs. boys
- Differences among ethnic minority vs. mixed communes

Indicators	Questions	Capability
Employment/economic activities		
Young people's relationship with employment	At what age do young people start working in paid employment in this community? Are there gender differences? What kinds of roles do young people undertake in paid employment? Are there gender differences? Are there expectations as to the kinds of roles that girls and boys should undertake? Do young people work in unpaid roles within this community? Are there gender differences? Are there differences in wages between young women and young men? Do you believe there is a problem with youth unemployment in this community? How does this relate to youth unemployment at the national level? Is this a recent or long-term problem? What has been the government's response to the problem of youth unemployment? Has there been a different response to the situation of young women and men? Has this response been effective? In what ways? Are there NGO/community-based organisations/private businesses supporting youth employment? Who are programmes targeted to? How do they aim to help young people?	Youth association, <i>kebele</i> leader Women's association
Young people working without contracts Young people working extended hours Young people working in dangerous conditions Young people experiencing greater pressure/harshness from employers Perceptions of job insecurity Sexual harassment at work	What kinds of work do young people do? Are there gender differences? What are some of the challenges to gaining access to employment? Both informal and formal? For girls, and for boys? What are some of the work-related risks young people face in the country or community (such as informality, long hours without compensation, dangerous conditions, harshness from employers, job insecurity)? Are there differences between boys and girls? Are there any public, NGO or private interventions in place to improve the conditions of working youth? When did these interventions start? Are there differences between boys and girls? Is there any evidence of cases of sexual harassment for young women at work? Has it changed in the past 2 years?	Youth association <i>kebele</i> leader Women's association

Indicators	Questions	Capability
Main geographical sources and destination areas of young migrants Migrant youth unable to access key services	Do youth in this community/country/district migrate? Gender/age differences? Where do youth migrate from and to? What are the main reasons for youth migration? Gender differences? Are young migrants able to access key services in the same way as local youth (e.g. health, education, water/ sanitation, housing, utilities, government support or benefits)? Where/how do young migrants access social networks and support? What challenges do youth migrants face? Are there gender differences, age differences?	Youth association <i>kebele leader</i> Women's association
Limitations on young caregivers' economic independence and education	What responsibilities do young people hold for household and care work (e.g. caring for dependants, including young children, those with chronic illness and the elderly – and household tasks such as collecting water/firewood, cleaning etc.)? Are there gender or age differences? For those who do have care work/household responsibilities do you think that combining these with work responsibilities poses a particular challenge to young people? Do you think that there are gender differences? If so, how does it affect their capacity to continue working and/or going to school?	WCYA

Education		
Young people accessing and attending education	Is education a priority for young people in this community? Is there a difference between young women and men? Does the importance people in this community place on participating in formal education differ for young men and young women? What are the main reasons for adolescents not attending school or dropping out of school early? Are there any programmes to help young people stay at secondary school/college? Are they run by the government or by NGOs? Are there differences between experiences in local vs. boarding schools?	School director
Gendered norms in the learning environment	Are there any differences between the education girls and boys receive? Do teachers treat young men and women differently within the classroom? If so, why do you think this occurs? Do teachers in this community receive any training, or resources on understanding gender differences in teaching? From where? If so, what has been the effect/response?	Woreda Education Office
Opportunities to learn skills valued in labour market	Have any measures been taken to increase the availability of technical training, particularly including areas that can increase young people's employability? If so, what have been these measures? Are they led by the government, NGO or the private sector? Are there different programmes for young men and young women? If so, what is the rationale for this?	Woreda Education Office

Health		
Young people's access to and the youth-friendliness of health services	There is a gap in most health systems between health care for under 6s and for adults. Are providers aware of this gap? Are they trying to address it? Reproductive health? Safe sex? Family planning? Abortion? Are they adequately tailored towards adolescences? If so, how?	Woreda health officers

Psycho-emotional wellbeing		
Psychosocial/emotional impact of different wellbeing issues	Are you aware of any emotional/psychosocial wellbeing issues within this community/nationally? Such as unemployment, lack of opportunities, limited schooling, isolation and lack of friendship - causing stress, depression, anxiety, fear etc. Has the consumption of drugs/alcohol by young people ever been a problem in the community? Are there differences between girls and boys? Why do you think these changes are happening? Are there any mental health services? For, example, counselling services provided by government or NGOs to youth?	Woreda health officers

Physical security		
Vulnerability of young people to different crimes	Is violence or crime an issue in this community? Are there differences in the gender of perpetrators and victims? Which kinds of crime? Are measures being put in place by government or NGOs to reduce the incidence of violence? If so, are any of these measures focused specifically on youth? What are they? Are these measures gender-sensitive?	Women's association leader Woreda Justice Office
Treatment of suspects by police/justice system	Is there a specific treatment for youth offenders? If there are there different justice systems, how do they work? Do they take gender differences into account? Are young people aware of their relationship with the justice system and their rights?	Women's association leader Woreda Justice Office

Intra-household violence/perceptions of domestic violence	<p>What is the prevalence of domestic violence in this community/nationally? What kinds of relationship is this most prevalent? Between couples? Between generations? In what kind of households is violence prevalent (e.g. older couples, younger couples, early marriage)? If domestic violence is perceived to be present, are there any measures being taken to reduce its incidence? Is domestic violence viewed as a crime justiciable by the state?</p>	<p>Women's association leader Woreda Justice Office</p>
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Participation and social connectedness		
Young people involved in local decision-making structures	<p>Are there opportunities for young people to participate in local decision making? Have the voices of young people been heard in discussing ways to promote social change in any specific goal areas (e.g. economic recovery, HIV/AIDS programming, child-friendly education services)? Have the data been disaggregated by gender? If so, through what mechanisms?</p>	All
Social networks	<p>Are there many groups or clubs (at school, in the community) for young people to participate in? Are there differences between girls and boys? If so, when, where, what? Why do you think young people participate in these groups?</p>	All
Use of phones (landline or mobile) Use of internet	<p>Are there any actions being taken to promote the use of information technology by young people? Is there a gender gap? If so, what is the purpose of this?</p>	School director

Policy responses – Shape to specific capability domains being focused on		
Programming affecting young people	<p>What youth programmes are put in place by government or NGOs? [mention all, across sectors] What is the youth population targeted by these programmes (all youth/vulnerable youth/females/males)? How effective have these programmes been? (Impacts?) Are there any plans for future programming?</p>	All

Depending on availability of time use the participatory tool, learn more about key vulnerabilities of adolescent girls

Approach	Visual tool	Purpose	With whom	Running the meeting, write-up/analysis
Small group discussion	Vulnerability mapping (Part 1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ask group what are the key vulnerabilities (economic, social, physical, environmental) in this area specific to adolescents Ask group to identify all households in the community with adolescent members (list/write on cards) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can this be disaggregated by gender? Ask group to identify the most, the middling and the least vulnerable, keeping note of why they put particular household in the groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender differences? Use listing, or cards and ask participants to sort into 3 piles 	Vulnerability mapping <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identifying key vulnerabilities in the area Identifying the differing levels of vulnerability by household and gender differences Obtaining listing for sampling purposes 	Separate groups with younger and older adolescent girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 facilitators – 1 leading, 1 taking notes Taking notes of: discussion on vulnerabilities, interesting verbatim quotes, non-verbal communication etc. Use information to select respondents Write up views of vulnerability and triangulate with findings from IDIs etc. <p>Probes</p> <p>Economic: stop going to school, reduce consumption, take on more work, ask non-working family members to take on more work, selling assets, engage in labour-sharing strategies, labour pledging</p> <p>Social: seek legal aid, seek counselling, seek pastoral care, drink, smoke, engage in risky behaviours (drugs, risky sex and transactional/commercial sex).</p>
	Coping strategies and resilience (Part 2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ask group what the key coping mechanisms are that people use in times of crisis Ask how these differ among households – those who are better off and those who are most vulnerable Ask them to categorise different types of informal coping strategies – savings groups, borrowing, labour sharing, relying on friends, relatives, religious institutions Ask if there is a difference between the support received by girls and boys Ask them to weigh relative importance of these mechanisms and then <i>vis-à-vis</i> formal government/NGO programmes 	Resilience and coping strategy mapping <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understanding household coping mechanisms Understanding relative importance of informal social protection mechanisms Understanding interactions – both positive and negative between formal and informal forms of social protection 		

Appendix 6: Research instruments, life histories

Preparation:

- Once oral consent is taken, the life history will be recorded and then translated and transcribed verbatim.
- Additional notes, observations, will be noted by the researcher.
- A sheet of paper and pens need to be brought to the interview.

Please also be prepared for people who have suffered various tragedies and may not want to speak in any detail about these. Researchers need to be sensitive about whether to continue the discussion, whether to give the person the option for a short break or whether being a sympathetic ear is of value.

Introduce the project and its purpose.

Explain the objective of the life history interview and its format: you want the person to tell us about their life, and you will prompt them with some questions related to special areas of interest for the research. The interview will take from 60 to 90 minutes. Reiterate that all comments will remain confidential.

The key point of inquiry is understanding change over time.

1. Background Information:

Age:

Place of birth:

Living arrangements:

Position in the household:

2. Individual recent past:

Can you tell us about any major life events that have happened over the past 3-5 years?

Can you tell us about any particularly happy moments or milestones within this 3-5-year period?

- Do you feel in control of these happy events?

What decisions did you make building up to these events? For example, education, economic opportunities, family events such as marriage, childbirth, social interactions

Can you tell us about any difficulties/challenges that have happened in your life over the past 5 years? For example, with regard to getting enough money, employment or work opportunities, education, health, social interactions (e.g. staying in touch with, being able to communicate with others, security, participation in the community)

What can you tell us about the cause of these challenges? Can you explain why you think you have faced these challenges?

Have you/your family tried to overcome these challenges? What strategies have you used? How well have these strategies worked?

How important have your family resources/networks been in assisting you overcome challenges? Have they changed, deteriorated, improved etc. over time, then, now?

How do you think your options/strategies have been similar to or different from those of adults?

How do you think your options/strategies have been similar to or different from girls/boys of the same age? In particular, have there been any government programmes or services that have helped you overcome these challenges? What about any programmes or services provided by NGOs?

Who else has helped you overcome problems? (Family, relatives, peer group, etc.)

3. Longer past

[Note: Interviewer uses a longer visual timeline to prompt the discussion around the longer past]

Thinking back to your life since you were a child until now, can you tell us what have been the key events (positive and negative) that have marked your life? This includes thinking about things that have happened to you that have influenced the type of choices you have made or the alternatives you have had since you were a child until now as a young person.

- At individual level (e.g. schooling, work, health, engaging in early sexual activity, deciding to get married/have child (if relevant))
- At household level (e.g. livelihood opportunities, available household resources, decisions in the household to spend on schooling, your health or that of other members, changes in the family (birth, death, marriage, divorce etc.))
- At community level (e.g. participation in community activities or discrimination/exclusion from community activities, participation or exclusion from participating in community decision making, situations of security/violence)

4. Future plans

- Given your present circumstances what are your plans in the next 1 or 2 years? What about your longer-term plans?
- Have these plans changed with respect to the plans you had 5 years ago?
- Do you know if there are any youth programmes in the community (to promote employment opportunities, education, health, participation etc.)? Have you ever made use of any of these?
- If so, how do you think that youth programmes in this community can be improved to better meet your needs?

Appendix 7: Research instruments, generational pairings

Instructions:

Focus on 10-19 years

Pick two 18 year olds and their mothers and grandmothers. Aim to select girls of positive deviance/good news stories.

Undertake each interview separately (owing to sensitivities/greater likelihood of being frank in absence of parents) but ensure that the three interviews are undertaken by the same researcher.

List of questions:

Ask to reflect on key capability dimensions and what made a difference. Was their experience gendered? If so, what made them realise these gender differences (e.g. restrictions on mobility, dress code, different levels of household chores etc.)?

- Economic opportunities
- Education experience
- Relationships within the family
- Observations about parents' interactions
- Social connectedness
- Cultural/decision making
- Reproductive/health
- Bodies
- Time use
- Physical security
- Mental health