

# Adolescent bodily integrity and freedom from violence in Ethiopia

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## Acronyms list

EDHS	Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey
EDRI	Ethiopian Development Research Institute
FGM/C	Female genital mutilation/cutting
GAGE	Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence
IRB	Institutional Review Board
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal

## Glossary

Absuma	Marriage system in Afar which mandates cross-cousin (maternal cousin) unions.
Haftu	An insult used to refer to an adolescent girl or young woman remaining unmarried above a socially acceptable age.
Kebele	Community or smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia.
Qeerroos	Groups of adolescent boys and young men who have formed at the community level in many parts of the Oromia region in response to political tensions prevailing in the country since 2016.
Khat	The leaves of an Arabian shrub, which are chewed (or drunk as an infusion) as a stimulant. The plant is grown as a cash crop.
Shegoye	A form of traditional dancing that adolescent girls and boys participate in without adult supervision in eastern Oromia.
Sunna	A less invasive form of FGM/C referring to the excision of the clitoris prepuce and of the clitoris or parts thereof (also referred to as Type 1 in the WHO four-fold classification of FGM/C).
Woreda	District or third-level administrative division in Ethiopia (after zones and regions).



## Ethiopia: Bodily integrity and freedom from violence

**Recommendation:** Address the gender norms that leave boys vulnerable to peer violence and girls at risk of sexual violence, FGM/C and child marriage – and support parents and teachers to embrace non-violent discipline.



3/4 of young adolescents have experienced violence at school – 2/3 have experienced or witnessed violence at home



For many girls, the verbal and physical abuse they experience in childhood evolves into sexual violence in adolescence



FGM/C takes place from infancy to adolescence; in some contexts girls endorse the practice given strong cultural pressures



Child marriage remains common. Most child brides are pushed into marriage by parents, but some marriage are adolescent-led

**“ I am powerful in the neighbourhood. When boys try to create problems for me, I beat them. I am aggressive and I can beat everyone who has tried to create problems for me.”** 11-year-old in Dire Dawa City, Ethiopia

# Executive summary

## Introduction

Existing evidence suggests that most Ethiopian adolescents have experienced at least one form of age- or gender-based violence (Pankhurst et al., 2018; Save the Children, 2011), and although declining over time, according to the latest Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS) (2016), harmful traditional practices are estimated to affect a significant proportion of the country's girls, including child marriage (40% of girls 15–19 years) and female genital mutilation and cutting (47% of girls 15–19 years), (CSA and ICF, 2017).

This report on adolescent bodily integrity and freedom from violence is one of a series of short baseline reports focused on emerging mixed-methods findings from the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) longitudinal study baseline data collection. Drawing on a gender and capabilities framework, the report focuses on adolescents' experiences and perceptions of age-, sexual and gender-based violence in Ethiopia, paying particular attention to gender and regional differences in risks and access to services as well as those between adolescents with disabilities and those without. The report also discusses the range of change strategies currently being implemented to fast-track social change, as well as the related gaps in the policy and programming landscape.

## Research methodology

In Ethiopia, our research sample involves a survey with more than 6,800 adolescent girls and boys from two cohorts aged 10–12 years (younger adolescents) and 15–17 years (older adolescents), and more in-depth qualitative research with 240 adolescents and their families. The baseline data was collected in selected sites in Afar, Amhara and Oromia regional states and Dire Dawa city administration during 2017 and 2018. The sample includes some of the most disadvantaged adolescents (adolescents with disabilities, married girls and adolescent mothers, adolescents from pastoralist and remote rural communities, adolescents from internally displaced households and child-headed households). Three subsequent rounds of data collection will be carried out in 2019/2020, 2020/21 and 2022/23 with the younger cohort when they reach 12–14 years, 13–15 years and 15–

17 years, and with the older cohort at 17–19 years, 18–20 years and 20–22 years. The main qualitative research will happen at the same junctures, but we will also undertake peer-to-peer and participatory research from late 2018/early 2019 onwards on an annual basis to explore peer networks and the experiences of the most marginalised adolescents in more depth..

## Key findings

Overall our findings highlighted that adolescents face significant and multidimensional risks in terms of bodily integrity and violence, but that the patterning of these risks differs considerably by gender, age and geographic location.

- **Age-based violence:** Most adolescents experience corporal punishment at the hands of their parents and by teachers in the case of school-attending adolescents. For boys, who tend to be less compliant, this punishment can be quite severe. Girls are more likely to be punished for violating gender norms and for 'misdeeds' beyond their control, including being late for school on account of domestic and care work responsibilities.
- **Peer-to-peer violence:** Primarily perpetrated by boys against other boys, peer-to-peer violence is widespread and is rooted in boys' need to demonstrate their masculinity.
- **Sexual and gender-based violence:** For girls, the links between verbal violence, physical violence and sexual violence are complex and difficult to disentangle. Girls are at risk of verbal harassment when they are young and increasingly at risk of sexual assault as their bodies mature. Although at lesser risk, some boys in our research sites reported incidences of sexual violence perpetrated against boys – something that is still a taboo to discuss.
- **Political violence:** Adolescents were also at heightened risk of being caught up in the political violence that was widespread during the baseline data collection period in 2017/2018. This was especially pronounced in East Hararghe where there were large numbers of internally displaced persons due to ethnicity-based violence between communities in Oromia and Somalia regional states.





Boy with a physical and visual impairment in Debre Tabor, Amhara © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

- **Child marriage:** Rooted in attempts to control girls' sexuality, child marriage shows remarkable variation in incidence and patterning across locations. In South Gondar (Amhara), for example, child marriage is often still arranged by parents but is overall declining; in Zone 5 (Afar), there are limited signs of change with the majority of girls married before 18 years; while in East Hararghe (Oromia), girls in some locations are 'choosing' child marriage in a context where there are few other options for adolescents (and adolescent girls in particular).
- **Female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C):** FGM/C is a deeply rooted cultural practice carried out on girls at very different ages in our research sites (ranging from early infancy to early adolescence). Our findings suggest that in Afar and Oromia, where historically the practice was more invasive, there appears to be a trend towards the less invasive sunna form rather than elimination of the practice.

## Change strategies

In terms of programming and policy efforts, very little is currently being done to reduce corporal punishment within the home and within schools as well as peer violence, whereas there are some multi-layered efforts to address sexual and gender-based violence – especially child marriage and, to a lesser extent, FGM/C. GAGE findings, however, highlight that tailored approaches are lacking to address harmful traditional practice in 'hotspot' communities.

## Policy and practice implications

Our mixed-methods research findings on the patterning of adolescent girls' and boys' perceptions and experiences relating to age- and gender-based violence, including harmful traditional practices, as well as current programming efforts to tackle such violence, point to a number of key policy and practice priorities as follows:



- **Engage with adolescents to address underlying social and gender norms that perpetuate violence:** Directly tackle the social norms that leave boys at risk of age-based violence, including bullying, and girls at risk of sexual violence and harmful traditional practices, focusing on masculinities and beliefs about girls' sexuality (including those related to age at marriage and FGM/C) by expanding and strengthening attention to these topics into civics classes, youth centres, and other non-school-based platforms. Complement classroom-based approaches with the design and rollout of mass media and social media campaigns to tackle harmful social norms underpinning age- and gender-based violence, beginning with urban adolescents where mobile phone and internet connectivity is considerably higher.
- **Engage with parents and communities to raise awareness about adolescents' vulnerability to multiple forms of violence and prevention and response pathways:** Community conversations and messaging by health extension workers, traditional and religious leaders as well as Ethiopia's new social worker cadre are needed to tackle corporal punishment in the home and at school, bullying and sexual and gender-based harassment and violence. Guidance for parents in the form of parenting classes, community conversations and media campaigns (in urban areas) could help parents of adolescents understand the risks their children face, become exposed to non-violent parenting practices, and also how to report and follow up on cases of violence. It is critical that such community engagement efforts also highlight the

risks of child marriage and FGM/C, especially the most damaging forms. Given considerable variation across and within regions in terms of the underlying drivers, perpetrator profiles, and age at which adolescents are most at risk of harmful traditional practices, care needs to be taken to tailor approaches and messaging to context specificities. This is important if the government's ambitious targets to eliminate child marriage and FGM/C by the mid-2020s are to be realised, especially given that our findings – along with the broader literature – suggest that social norm change processes are often complex and non-linear.

- **Work with schools to support non-violent classroom management techniques,** backed up by anonymous reporting options for students and teacher discipline where needed. Parent–teacher–student association efforts to codify punishments should be reshaped to focus on the rationale for and practical guidance regarding positive discipline approaches.
- **Strengthen formal justice mechanisms** by increasing awareness of and response mechanisms to age-, gender- and sexual-based violence as they affect both boys and girls within the police, prosecutors and judges, whilst simultaneously expanding the coverage, resourcing and mandate of local gender units to provide more specialist inputs. Reform efforts should engage with traditional justice mechanisms given their resonance at community level but be careful to avoid reinforcing discriminatory gender norms and local community cleavages, and to promote formal reporting and improved prosecution rates.

# Introduction

Most Ethiopian adolescents have experienced at least one form of age- or gender-based violence. Indeed, Pankhurst et al. (2018) reported that 90% of the children in the Young Lives qualitative sample had been victims of violence, with physical violence – especially corporal punishment at school – the most prevalent, and boys most at risk (Pankhurst et al., 2018; Save the Children, 2011). Corporal punishment becomes less common as children progress through adolescence, in part because older adolescents have better internalised the norms of classroom behaviour and in part because teachers (and sometimes parents) are afraid boys may retaliate (*ibid.*).

Sexual and gender-based violence – including harmful practices such as child marriage and FGM/C as well as harassment and rape – is also highly prevalent in Ethiopia (Jones et al., 2014a,b, 2016a,b,c, 2017; Camfield and Tafere, 2011; Pankhurst et al., 2018). Child marriage, though a deeply rooted practice, appears to be declining – at least in most regions of the country and among the youngest girls. The latest data from the EDHS (2016) shows that 40% of women aged 20–24 married before the age of 18 and 6% of girls aged 15–19 married before the age of 15 (compared to 14% of young women aged 20–24 (CSA and ICF, 2017). Patterning is similar for FGM/C, with a decline from 80% in 2000 to 75% in 2005 to 65% in 2016. The decline has been steepest among adolescent girls, decreasing by 24% between 2005 and 2016, but may also reflect under-reporting challenges as the practice was criminalised in 2005.

In terms of bodily integrity and freedom from violence, the GAGE 3 Cs conceptual framework (see Figure 1) defines capable adolescents as having sufficient access to information, support and services to be protected from age-based violence (including corporal punishment and bullying) and sexual and gender-based violence, including sexual assault and harmful traditional practices. This report – one of a series of GAGE reports on adolescent capabilities viewed through a gender lens (see Box 1) – is organised as follows: it begins by looking at violence perpetrated by parents and older siblings, by teachers, and by peers; it then looks at sexual and gender-based violence, FGM/C, and child marriage. Within each subsection, we explore gender differences in adolescents'

perceptions and experiences of violence. Where there are significant differences across research sites, we highlight these in a text box. Similarly, where our findings underscore significant differences in experiences among adolescents with disabilities compared to those without disabilities, we also discuss these in a text box.

The second half of the report looks at our findings relating to change strategies currently employed from the micro- to the macro-levels to tackle the multiple risks that adolescents face in terms of bodily integrity and freedom from violence, discussing what interventions are perceived to be effective by our research respondents, what their shortcomings are as well as key gaps. The report concludes by exploring policy implications of the research.

## Conceptual framework

GAGE's conceptual framework takes a holistic approach that pays careful attention to the interconnectedness of what we call 'the 3 Cs' – capabilities, change strategies and contexts – in order to understand what works to support adolescent girls' development and empowerment – now and in the future (see Figure 1). This framing draws on the three components of Pawson and Tilley's (1997) approach to evaluation, which highlights the importance of outcomes, causal mechanisms and contexts – but we tailor it to the specific challenges of understanding what works in improving adolescent girls' and boys' capabilities.

The first building block of our conceptual framework are capability outcomes. Championed originally by Amartya Sen (1984; 2004), and nuanced to better capture complex gender dynamics at intra-household and societal levels by Marta Nussbaum (2011) and Naila Kabeer (2003), the capabilities approach has evolved as a broad normative framework exploring the kinds of assets (economic, human, political, emotional and social) that expand the capacity of individuals to achieve valued ways of 'doing and being' (see Figure 1). Importantly, the approach can encompass relevant investments in girls and boys with diverse trajectories, including the most marginalised and 'hardest to reach' such as those who are disabled or are already mothers.

The second building block of our conceptual framework is context dependency. Our 3 Cs framework situates girls

### Box 1: Overview of GAGE and our baseline report series

GAGE is a unique longitudinal mixed methods research and impact evaluation study focused on exploring what works to support the development of adolescents' capabilities over the course of the second decade of life (10–19 years) as children transition from early adolescence through puberty and into early adulthood.

The far-reaching physical, cognitive, psycho-emotional, social and sexual transformations take place during the adolescent years – and especially following the onset of puberty – are considered second only to those experienced in infancy and early childhood in terms of their scope and speed. Given these pivotal life changes – and with a global adolescent population of more than 1.2 billion, the overwhelming majority of whom reside in the Global South – it is increasingly recognised by the development community that adolescence offers a unique window to accelerate progress against the effects of poverty, inequality and discrimination. By investing in young people there is an opportunity to reap a triple dividend for adolescents now, for their adult trajectories and for those of their children.

GAGE's starting point is that adolescent transitions shape both girls' and boys' lives, but often in highly gendered ways, due to the norms of their socio-cultural environments. These norms – especially around sexuality – start to become more rigidly enforced and more consequential in early adolescence, which forces girls' and boys' trajectories to diverge as they approach adulthood. To fast-track social change, understanding this divergence is key.

This report is one of a series of short baseline reports focused on emerging mixed methods findings from the GAGE baseline. Based on the GAGE conceptual framework (see Figure 1), there will be a total of six reports focused on our baseline findings about adolescent boys' and girls' capabilities. These include (1) education and learning, (2) health, nutrition, and sexual and reproductive health, (3) bodily integrity and freedom from violence, (4) psychosocial well-being, (5) voice and agency and (6) economic empowerment. This companion synthesis report summarises key findings and policy implications from a multidimensional capability lens.

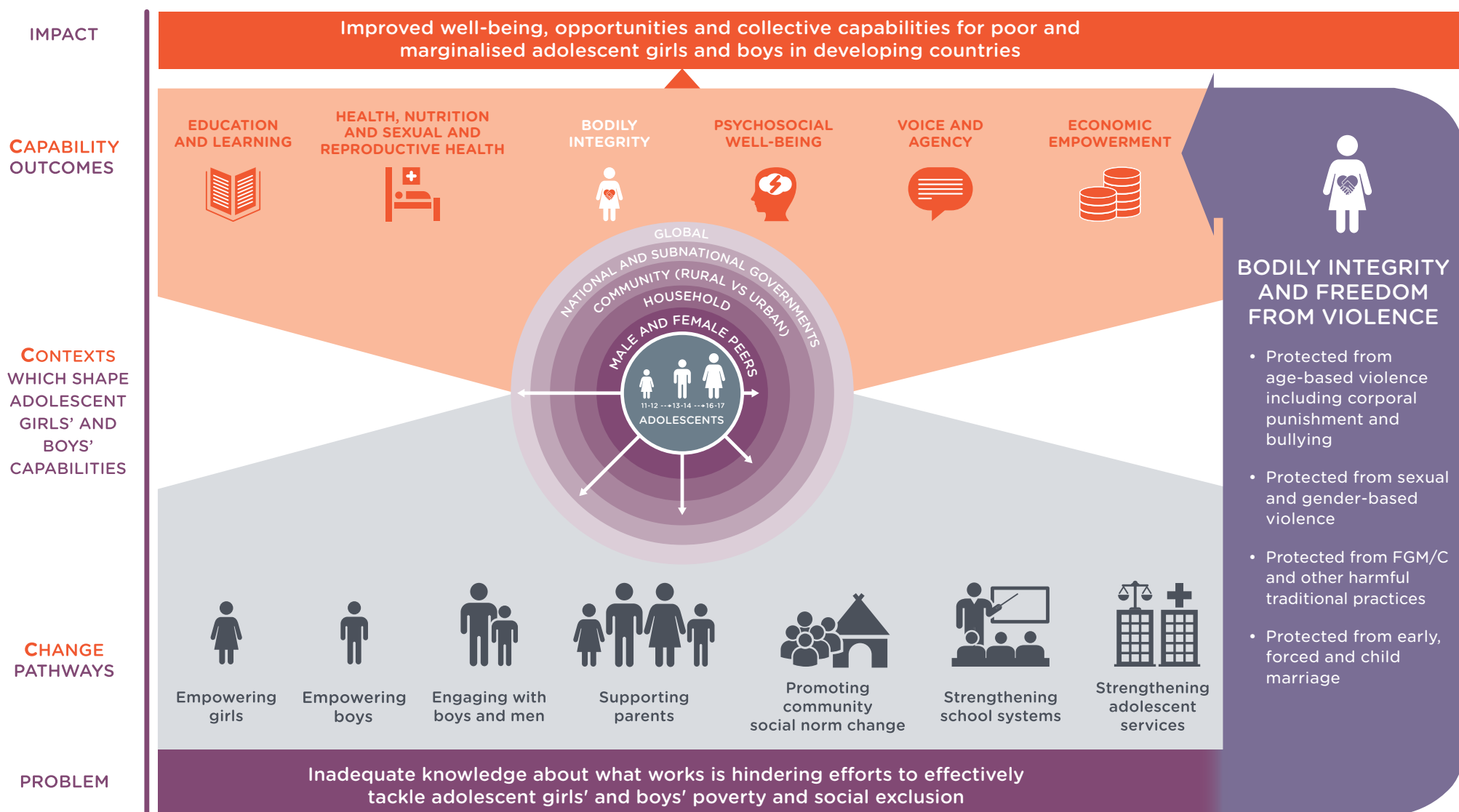
and boys ecologically, and that their capability outcomes are highly dependent on family or household, community, state and global contexts.

The third and final building block of our conceptual framework acknowledges that girls' and boys' contextual

realities can be mediated by a range of change strategies including: empowering individual adolescents, supporting parents, engaging with men and boys, sensitising community leader, enhancing adolescent-responsive services and addressing system-level deficits.



Figure 1: GAGE conceptual framework



Source: GAGE Consortium, 2019 forthcoming

# Research methodology

## Research questions

Stemming from our conceptual framework there are three core sets of questions at the heart of research, focusing on (1) adolescent experiences and the ways in which these are gendered and also differ by adolescents' economic, social and geographical positioning, (2) the ways in which programmes and services address adolescent vulnerabilities and support the development of their full capabilities, and (3) strengths and weaknesses of programme design and implementation in terms of ensuring programme efficacy, scale and sustainability. At baseline we are focusing on the first two questions and will explore the third question in more detail at mid-line and end-line.

## Mixed-methods approach

In order to explore these research questions GAGE is employing a longitudinal mixed-methods research approach. This baseline involved data collection in rural and urban sites in Ethiopia – totalling over 6,700 adolescent girls and boys, with a sub-sample of more in-depth qualitative research involving 220 adolescents, their families and communities. Our sample included two cohorts, the younger aged 10–12 years and the older aged 15–17 years (see more details in Tables 1–4) in Annex 2.

Our baseline quantitative and qualitative data was collected between late 2017 and early 2018. Going forward, the quantitative survey will entail two follow up rounds when the adolescents are 12–14 years and 14–16 years, and 17–19 years and 19–21 years, respectively. The main qualitative research will happen at the same junctures, but we are also undertaking annual peer-to-peer and participatory research annually (from late 2018/early 2019 onwards). See Annex 4 for more details on the research methodology.

## Research sites

Our research sample in Ethiopia involves adolescents from rural, urban and pastoralist communities from three regions: Afar, Amhara and Oromia. The sample also includes adolescents from Dire Dawa City Administration (see Annex 3 on research sites). Rural sites were selected to reflect economic and social vulnerability, as well as being informed by programme implementer capacities

(see more details in Annex 1). Urban sites were selected to capture emerging economic opportunities, variation in urban size and history, as well as to provide a point of comparison to rural sites on the basis of geographical and cultural proximity (see more details in Annex 2).

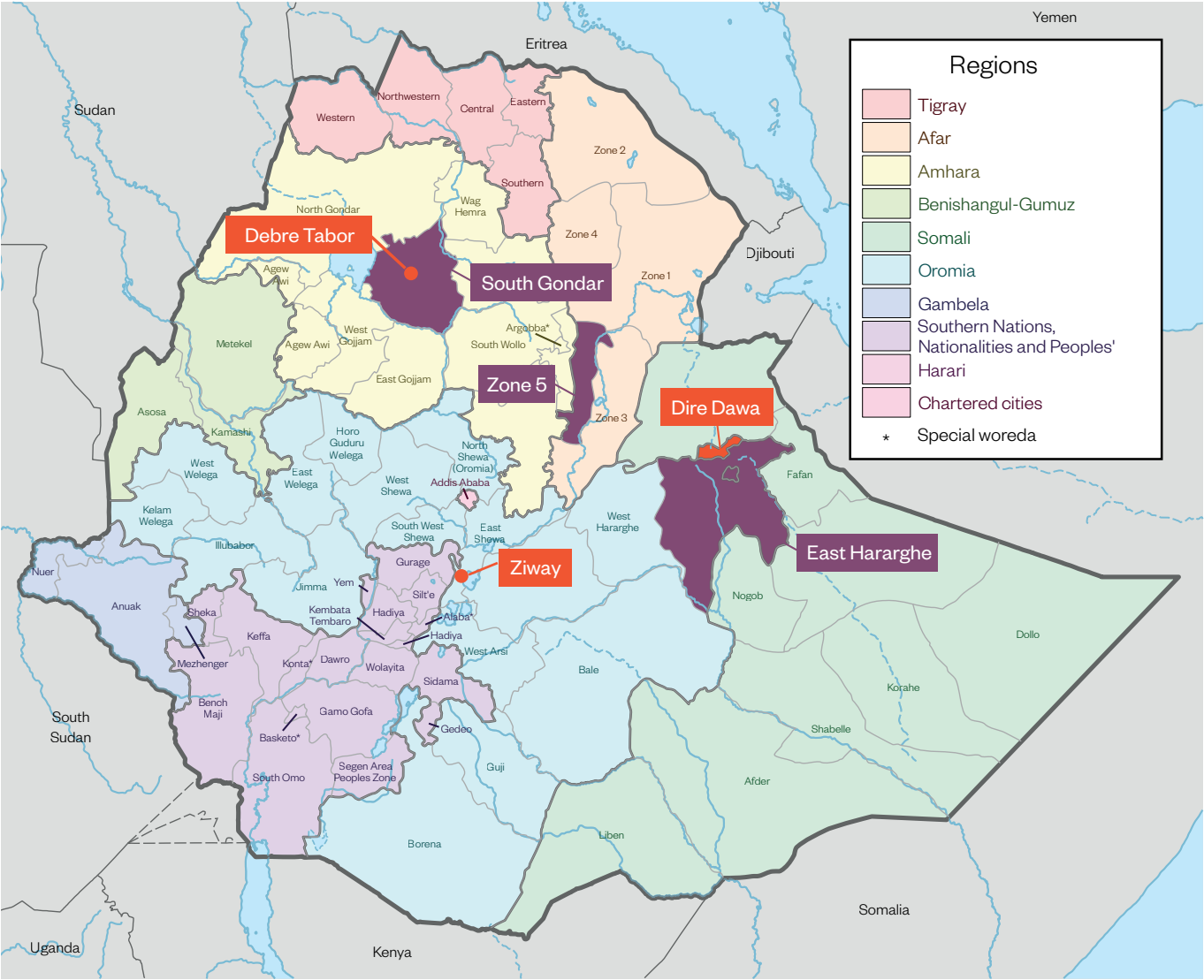
Given GAGE's strong focus on vulnerable cohorts of adolescents, in line with the 'leave no one behind' agenda, our sample includes adolescents who are especially disadvantaged, such as adolescents with disabilities, married, separated and divorced adolescent girls, adolescent mothers, and those from internally displaced communities. We included these adolescents in two ways: through a community listing process involving a random sample of adolescents of the requisite age, and through purposive sampling in an effort to overcome the stigma, discrimination and invisibility that such young people often face in their communities.

## Mixed-methods analysis

We employed an iterative analysis process, with the qualitative team attempting to make sense of the quantitative findings based on the narratives generated in the field and from the transcripts, and then the quantitative team delving further into disaggregating data to explore emerging patterns within and across sites. This was particularly important in the case of discussions on violence and harmful traditional practices, which are often highly sensitive issues to discuss and probe about. We recognise that for any of the six capability domains there are multiple areas we will be able to explore in further depth going forward; what we present here are key emerging findings, which we hope will lead to fruitful discussions with key policy and practice stakeholders, and provide motivation for additional mixed-methods exploration.

For the purpose of this series of reports, and given the large volume of qualitative data generated, we have focused primarily on interviews with the nodal adolescents to ensure that young people's voices are profiled, but also turn to key informant interviews to contextualise these findings. Future articles will draw on the additional data to complement the findings presented in this report and the other reports in the series.

Figure 2: Map of Ethiopia with research sites highlighted



Source: Originally created from File:Ethiopia adm location map.svg by User:NordNordWest and modified to show GAGE research sites.



# Baseline findings on adolescent bodily integrity

## Aged-based violence

### Violence perpetrated by parents and older siblings

Intra-household violence directed at children and adolescents is nearly universal in Ethiopia (Pankhurst et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2017; Save the Children, 2011), largely because parents 'share cultural assumptions and beliefs in the necessity of child corporal punishment so as to insure [sic] proper child upbringing' (Wonde et al., 2014: 21). On the one hand, with the exception of street connected children included in our sample from urban areas and adolescents with disabilities (see Box 2) relatively few GAGE adolescent respondents reported parental neglect – partly because vulnerable adolescents understood that their families were poor and struggled to meet all their needs, and partly because prioritising adults over children (e.g. for the best food) is a deeply ingrained norm that young people do not think to question (see companion GAGE report on health and nutrition). On the other hand, our survey – like the broader literature – found that corporal punishment is widely practised (e.g. Pankhurst et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2017). Some 68% of young adolescents (10–12 years) who completed our survey reported that they had experienced or witnessed violence in the home – with no significant differences between girls and boys. Among

urban respondents, younger adolescents were more at risk than their older peers (61% versus 51%).

Our qualitative work also found high levels of corporal punishment meted out by parents. *'When we made any kind of mistake, they will beat us,'* explained a 12-year-old boy from Community F (South Gondar). Another 12-year-old boy in Community J (East Hararghe) concurred, *'both [girls and boys are punished] starting from age three up to 10 and kids up to my age.'* Adolescents reported a range of types of punishments. An 11-year-old boy in Community E (South Gondar) explained that parents *'flog us using a stick, pinch us and punch our heads with their fist'*. An 11-year-old girl from Debre Tabor (South Gondar) said that her parents *'beat me with a cable cord. They will also slap me on my bottom.'* Some adolescents reported especially cruel punishments, often for stealing. A young adolescent

▶ On the one hand they (my parents) are economically poor and they didn't support me; on the other hand, in fact it is not the money that matters the most, but it is the thinking and the advice that I expect from them. They are too careless about me.

(A 17-year-old girl, South Gondar zone, Ethiopia)

### Box 2: Disability and age-based violence


There is some evidence that adolescents with disabilities are more likely to be neglected and abused by their parents than adolescents without disabilities. In a study in five sub-Saharan African countries, 25% of youth with disabilities (50% in Ethiopia) reported leaving home before the age of 18, with most stating that they chose to do so in order to end abuse (ACPF, 2010). Our survey found that younger adolescents with disabilities were slightly more at risk of experiencing or witnessing violence at home, perhaps because of greater stress levels in the household (see Annex 2). Our qualitative research findings were mixed. Although (as we discuss in the companion report on psychosocial well-being) a number of caregivers were highly supportive of adolescents with disabilities, a significant number of the adolescents with disabilities we interviewed at special education schools explained that they received little support from their parents; some had been effectively abandoned. A 17-year-old girl, from an urban site in South Gondar zone, who is deaf spoke negatively of the care she received from her parents: *'On the one hand they (my parents) are economically poor and they didn't support me; on the other hand, in fact it is not the money that matters the most, but it is the thinking and the advice that I expect from them. They are too careless about me.'*

boy from Community C (South Gondar) explained that a friend of his was *'tied with rope for the whole night'* and then left the next day with no food. A boy in Community F (South Gondar) added that some parents also *'smoke'* their children, forcing them to inhale the smoke from burning hot peppers.


Adolescents reported that violence is perpetrated by both mothers and fathers, with a number of adolescents reporting particularly negative experiences at the hands of step-parents. In some households, both parents appear to mete out punishment equally: *'Sometimes she [mother] beats me; other time she tells my father to beat me,'* explained a 10-year-old boy from Community E (South Gondar). In other households, one parent tended to use violent punishments while the other would serve as protector.

Adolescents are punished for many reasons. In rural areas – across all three regions – adolescent boys and girls were often punished with violence for losing control of livestock. *'Everyone here has been punished [flogged]. They punish you with a stick and leave you aside when you allow the cattle to graze on other people's land,'* explained an 11-year-old boy from Community H (East Hararghe). Such punishments can be very severe, and also lead to considerable psychosocial stress as one distressing example reported by a young adolescent boy from South Gondar underscores.<sup>1</sup> In this case the brother had reportedly taken his own life: *'My brother was herding goats, and one got eaten by wild animals. Then, my father beat him in the evening. Then he [the boy's brother] hanged himself in the night.'*

While a few explained that violence makes them *'frightened'* (young adolescent boy, Community H, East Hararghe) or *'nervous'* (young adolescent boy, Debre Tabor, South Gondar), and a young adolescent girl from Batu (East Shewa) reported that parents should be taught to *'approach the children in a friendly manner'*, most felt that corporal punishment was a normal part of life and did not focus on it. Indeed, one young adolescent girl from

 **Everyone here has been punished [flogged]. They punish you with a stick and leave you aside when you allow the cattle to graze on other people's land.**

(An 11-year-old girl, Community H, East Hararghe, Ethiopia)

 **I sometimes don't do my homework. At such times, I want to get beaten, because I will do my homework next time. It makes me think of the stick they beat me with in advance. I then do my homework well.**

(A young adolescent girl, Debre Tabor, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

Debre Tabor (South Gondar) stated that children should be beaten, because it helped them think and learn. *'I sometimes don't do my homework. At such times, I want to get beaten, because I will do my homework next time.'*

School attendance appears to cause tension between some adolescents and their parents. A 12-year-old girl in Community E (South Gondar) was beaten by her father because she left her brother in charge of the cattle and went to school. When her brother was unable to control the cattle, she was beaten. *'My father got very upset at me saying, "What is wrong with you, didn't I tell you to wait for me and I'll get you registered?" and he hit me on my shoulders with a stick.'* Other adolescents reported that they were beaten because they did not go to school or did not do their school work. A 10-year-old boy in Community K (East Hararghe) explained, *'if we stop studying and play the whole day outside, they will thrash us asking why we did not study.'*

Adolescents also reported that the violence meted out by their parents tends to diminish as the adolescent gets older. They suggested three reasons for this. First, adolescents make fewer mistakes than younger children. Second, adolescents are often faster than their parents: *'I run away while she [mother] tries to beat me,'* said a 12-year-old girl in Community F (South Gondar). Finally, older boys tend to fight back – which dissuades many parents, even the most frustrated, from trying to use physical punishment. A young adolescent boy in Community C (South Gondar) explained: *'By the time the boys become 16 and above, the father will be older and weak. Fathers stop arguing with their teenage boys. Sometimes the boys fight outright with their father.'*

Young adolescents are also punished physically for refusing to do chores or for not doing them well enough. A 10-year-old boy in Community C (South Gondar) explained that his brother was beaten because he could not cook

<sup>1</sup> Details changed to preserve child's anonymity

and care for the baby at the same time. *'My brother was beaten when he was not willing to carry the baby, as it is difficult for him to carry the baby while cooking wot [stew]. But our father needed him to do both.'*

Violence meted out by siblings tends to mirror violence meted out by parents. It is mostly older adolescents 'punishing' younger adolescents, or younger adolescents 'punishing' their younger siblings, for failing to do enough household work or adequately respect age hierarchies. 'My brother beats me when I refuse to accept what he said,' explained a 10-year-old boy in Community B (Zone 5, Afar). A 12-year-old girl in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) explained that cramped living conditions meant her older brother sometimes tried to beat her: *'When we stretch out our mattress in the night time to sleep, he attempts to beat me.'*

## Gender differences in experiences of family violence

While our quantitative work found that boys and girls are equally likely to witness or experience intra-household

violence, our qualitative research found important gender differences. Namely, girls tend to be punished less than boys (at least physically) and when they are punished, it tends to be for violating gender norms. In terms of corporal punishment at school, our quantitative and qualitative work generated similar findings: boys experience the bulk of physical violence. That said, our qualitative work provides significant nuancing, as it suggests that girls are more likely than boys to be punished for things beyond their control.

While it was only girls that reported experiencing emotional violence from their parents, we found that girls were more likely than boys to say they were never physically punished by their parents because they never did anything wrong. *'I do anything she orders me to do,'* explained a 10-year-old girl in Community I (East Hararghe). We also found that when girls were verbally insulted or physically punished, it tended to be because they were not living up to local standards of femininity. Some girls, for example, were punished for making mistakes with chores, as learning to run a household is the central task for adolescent girls. *'They have beaten me because I broke the*

### Box 3: How far do differences in context explain differences in corporal punishment by parents?

While our survey found that intra-household violence was equally common in Amhara and Oromia (71% versus 72%) – but far less common in Afar (38%) – our qualitative research found not only more but also more severe examples of corporal punishment by parents in Amhara (with the caveat that adolescents there may simply be more aware of their rights to live a life free from violence and be more comfortable reporting such violence). In line with our survey, which found that 68% of rural adolescents and 61% of urban adolescents had experienced violence at home, our qualitative work confirmed that corporal punishment at home is less common in urban areas than in rural areas.

In Debre Tabor city (South Gondar), for example, there were more reports of forced kneeling and pinching and none of being bound with ropes or whipped. In Batu town (East Shewa), while young adolescent girls imagined that they would be punished severely if they were caught with a boy (e.g. *'hang me on an electric rod and beat me', 'burn me with a heated spoon', 'locked in a room for a month without food'*), only one girl reported actual parental violence: *'My mother punishes my brother when he refuses her orders. She orders him to wash dishes and to cook food. If he refuses, she punishes him.'* The absence of violence at home also stands out in Dire Dawa city, where a 10-year-old boy reported that his neighbours handle things completely different from his parents: *'They don't advise them like our family does.'*

A minority of adolescents involved in our research reported that they do not experience corporal punishment at home. A 10-year-old girl in Community L (East Hararghe) said, *'She [mother] never beats me. She just speaks to me [using] hard words.'* An 11-year-old boy in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) added, *'They [family] have not punished me physically but they scold me.'* It is difficult, however, to know how to interpret these claims of non-violence, as many are then followed up with more nuanced explanations that make it clear that some children simply do not want to admit to being on the receiving end of parental violence. An 11-year-old boy in Community G (South Gondar), for example, explained: *'No, she [mother] did not beat me. He [father] did not beat me but he warns me. [Once] when I lost the sheep he beat me on the legs.'* Parents similarly suggested they did not beat their children, but subsequent comments suggested that they did. As one father from Community C (South Gondar) noted, *'children are educated so we give them advice... We don't physically punish them anymore,'* and then added that, *'If they don't listen, I will hit them.'*



container which we use for carrying lunch for workers in the field,' reported a 10-year-old girl in Community J (East Hararghe). Girls were also disciplined physically for being seen with boys, staying out at night, or fighting. A young adolescent girl in Community C (South Gondar) explained that fighting is strictly off limits for girls: *'Village people are very traditional... Last time my father saw me fighting with my friend while we were playing, he beat me very harshly.'*

Gender differences in corporal punishment at home are noticed – and sometimes reinforced – by boys, who admit that girls are generally better behaved but also recognise that they have fewer options for escape. As a young adolescent boy from Community C (South Gondar) observed, *'We run away, but the girls can't run away.'* In some cases, brothers actively police girls' behaviour, alongside their fathers. A key informant at the Women's Association in Community J (East Hararghe) explained: *'If there is an older brother in the house, he tells her to sit properly and listen to what the parents say. If she does not sit and listen, he will threaten to beat her. It is better she has a bigger brother because he goes out and sees what is going on outside. Otherwise she might cheat her father and mother easily. She is afraid of her brother because he gets information through his friends in the area.'*

### Violence perpetrated by teachers

Previous research has found that corporal punishment by teachers is endemic across Ethiopia and is meted out not only to punish children for misbehaving, but also to punish them for things that are often beyond their control, such as arriving late or not having completed their homework – usually driven by household poverty or being required to do domestic chores (Jones et al., 2015, 2016a, b, 2017; Save the Children, 2011; Pankhurst et al., 2016 2018). Our quantitative survey findings confirm this. Of the young adolescents who completed our survey and were in school, almost three-quarters (72%) reported experiencing corporal punishment at school. Boys are more likely to have experienced punishment than girls (78% versus 66%) and, among urban respondents, younger adolescents are far more likely to have experienced punishment at school


than their older peers (75% versus 59%). There are also some regional context differences as we discuss in Box 5.

Our qualitative work reinforced our survey finding that corporal punishment by teachers is widespread. As an 11-year-old boy in Community D (South Gondar) observed, *'Both [boys and girls], there is no difference between the two. There is no grade limit. All are punished.'* The specific forms of punishment mentioned by adolescents we interviewed, some of which are creatively cruel and lead to *'blood coming out'* (young adolescent boy, Community D, South Gondar), are listed in Box 4.

Adolescents reported that they are punished at school for a wide variety of reasons. Adolescents in all three regions reported that teachers beat students for fighting in the classroom. Severe punishments are also handed out for what appear to be relatively minor classroom management concerns. For example, a 10-year-old boy in Community G (South Gondar) explained that, *'Sometimes we get punished [with a stick] when we disturb and get loud.'* A 13-year-old girl in Batu (East Shewa) added, *'They beat students here when you do something that is not allowed, if you change your group or move about in class.'* Students are also punished for getting their lessons wrong or not doing their homework. An 11-year-old girl in Community G (South Gondar) explained, *'They only hit us [with a whip] when we couldn't answer a question.'* Students are also punished for behaviours often beyond their control – such as being absent from school, arriving late, having no exercise book, or not having had time to finish homework. A 10-year-old boy in Community E (South Gondar), who did not have time to finish his homework because of the chores he had to do at home, was shown no mercy: *'I become busy with different work and herding, then they beat me.'*

#### Box 4: Forms of corporal punishment perpetrated by teachers against pupils

- Forced kneeling
- Beatings with sticks, twisted metal rods, or pipes
- Being forced to do sit-ups while the teacher is holding an ear
- Slamming students into concrete walls or forcing them to collide with one another
- Pinching
- Twisting fingers with pens or pants with sticks
- Tying students with ropes
- Having to carry large rocks
- Having to clean the toilets

 They have beaten me because I broke the container which we use for carrying lunch for workers in the field.

(An 10-year-old girl, Community H, East Hararghe, Ethiopia)

They only hit us [with a whip] when we couldn't answer a question.

(An 11-year-old girl, Community G, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

As was the case with corporal punishment by parents, a handful of adolescents reported that their teachers do not use violence to control their classrooms. As 12-year-old girl in Community D (South Gondar), for example, emphasised *'They [teachers] don't [beat us]. They just scold us. They will say it is our loss.'* As was also the case with corporal punishment by parents, however, these statements must be treated with caution, as adolescents further nuanced their stories. A 10-year-old girl in Community H (East Hararghe) reported, *'I haven't been beaten here,'* before adding that beatings only take place *'when you don't recall what you have learned'*. Indeed, even teachers who were described by students as *'brilliant'* still made students kneel down for long periods of time (young adolescent boy, Community A, Zone 5, Afar).

In a very limited number of cases parents reported feeling that teachers have used excessive force but were unwilling to speak up because *'they fear the student will have another negative consequence at school'* (young adolescent boy, Debre Tabor, South Gondar). Generally, however, parents tend to sanction the punishment their children receive at school. As a father in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) explained, *'The quality of education is reduced because the teachers are not controlling the students. Previously, when students made a mistake, they*

The quality of education is reduced because the teachers are not controlling the students. Previously, when students made a mistake, they were punished physically, but now, due to democracy, the students are not punished.

(A father, Debre Tabor, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

were punished physically, but now, due to democracy, the students are not punished.'

Students had mixed opinions about corporal punishment. Some reported that they *'feel sad about the punishment'* (11-year-old boy, Community A, Zone 5, Afar), believe that *'students should be given advice when they are found doing wrong'* (young adolescent girl, Debre Tabor, South Gondar), or consider corporal punishment *'an illegal act'* (older adolescent boy, Debre Tabor, South Gondar). Others noted that they or their friends *'fear to come to the school'* or *'hate the teachers, hate the subject, and hate the school'* (young adolescent boy, Debre Tabor, South Gondar). A significant number reported knowing a student who had left school due to violence. Most students, however, agreed that corporal punishment is necessary in order to control overcrowded classrooms. A 12-year-old boy in Community H (East Hararghe), who had just reported that he had been severely beaten for making a computational error, explained: *'Yes, it [corporal punishment] is important. Students should be corrected from mistakes that they can make.'*

### Box 5: How context affects education and learning

While our survey found that adolescents in rural Amhara are at least risk of corporal punishment at school (62%) and those in Oromia are at greatest risk (83%), what stands out in our qualitative work is the lack of teacher violence in Afar. We hypothesise that this difference has two drivers. First, adolescents in Afar are far less likely to be enrolled in school. As noted in the companion report on Education, while the net enrolment rate in grades 5–8 is 72% and 52% in Amhara and Oromia respectively, it is only 18% in Afar (Ministry of Education, 2018) (indeed, in one of our qualitative research communities, there was no functioning school). Second, the normalcy of violence in Afar means that adolescents are less likely to report even fairly extreme violence.

In addition, while our survey found only marginally significant differences between urban and rural schools when it comes to adolescents' likelihood of experiencing corporal punishment, our qualitative work found that there was less violence – and less extreme violence – in two of the three urban areas: Batu (East Shewa) and Dire Dawa. Indeed, students in Dire Dawa stood out largely because of how much they liked their teachers. An 11-year-old girl, for example, reported that teachers *'create happiness when they teach'*. A 12-year-old girl noted that in some private urban schools, teachers would in fact be *'punished or fired'* if they beat students.



Adolescent girl in Dire Dawa © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

## Gender differences in experiences of teacher violence

Our survey findings highlight that as well as being punished less at home, girls are also at less risk of corporal punishment from teachers (78% for boys versus 66% for girls in the younger adolescent age group). A young adolescent boy from Debre Tabor (South Gondar) explained, *'The girls also get punished but it is more severe among the boys.'* There is little doubt among adolescents as to why boys are punished more than girls: boys overwhelmingly agreed that they are less well-behaved than girls. A 10-year-old boy in Community K (East Hararghe) explained, *'The male [students], simply they are disturbing. He does not beat them [girls] since they do not disrupt the class.'*

Boys and girls both agreed that when girls are punished by teachers, they are far more likely to be punished for things beyond their control. A 10-year-old boy from Community D (South Gondar), for example, observed that girls are forced to miss far more school than boys, which leads them to make mistakes in the classroom, which then leads to physical punishment. He said, *'Girls do not know how to read and write most of the time, because the girls*

*do not come to school as regularly as boys.'* Girls agreed with boys that while they are punished less, they are often punished unfairly. A 10-year-old girl from Community J (East Hararghe) explained that she is often late for school because she must first feed her father. *'I may take food for my father to the farm field. When I come back, I may be late for school because where we farm is far from our home. I was beaten by the teacher because I was a latecomer.'*

Most teachers in Ethiopia are male,<sup>2</sup> given that girls' access to education has only recently begun to catch up with that of boys, but the links between a teacher's gender and classroom violence are unclear; some respondents stated that female teachers are especially strict whereas others told us that male teachers are especially mean. There were mixed reports from boys and girls. An 11-year-old girl in Community L (East Hararghe) reported, *'Male teachers advise us. They don't beat us.'* Similarly, a young adolescent boy in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) commented, *'There is also a female teacher that hits our hands very hard.'* On the other hand, a 10-year-old girl in Community F (South Gondar) explained that *'female teachers are nice but the male teachers are mean, they hit us all the time.'*

<sup>2</sup> The most recent data shows that 62% of all teachers in general education are male, with female teachers especially unlikely to be teaching at the secondary level (Ministry of Education, 2018).



## Violence perpetrated by peers

Peer violence and bullying at school did not appear to be as significant a concern for adolescents as the corporal punishment handed out by teachers (with the exception of adolescents with disabilities – see Box 6). However, many young people reported some beatings and hurt feelings, with the most strenuous objections to violence at the hands of classroom monitors. While a 12-year-old boy in Community D (South Gondar) characterised the abuse handed out by classroom monitors as ‘correction’ for poor behaviour, an 11-year-old girl in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) reported that some classroom monitors were effectively corrupted by their power. She explained that in her school, a girl who was near the bottom of the class in terms of classroom rank took advantage of her position as monitor over other students: *‘She took students who did not disturb and beat them hard,’* though she went on to say that now, *‘if a monitor punishes students by beating, the teachers will take serious measures on the monitors.’*

Outside of school, adolescents reported greater levels of bullying – which our quantitative work confirms: nearly half (46%) of younger adolescents have experienced peer violence in the past year. Boys are more likely to have been bullied than girls (52% versus 39%), and among urban respondents, younger adolescents are at greater risk than older adolescents (57% versus 43%).

## Gender differences in experiences of peer violence

Our qualitative work found that while young adolescent girls may be taunted by their peers and called *‘rugged’* because their clothes are not considered good enough


### Box 6: Disability and heightened risk of peer violence

Our survey findings show that adolescents with disabilities are significantly more likely to have been bullied, and have significantly higher scores on the peer violence scale, than those without disabilities (see Table 1 in Annex 2). Similarly, in our qualitative research, some adolescents with disabilities reported experiencing quite severe bullying. An 11-year-old from Community C (South Gondar) explained: *‘I am afraid [of boys] because they can beat me. Girls are weak; but boys can beat me – they beat me, insult me and snatch my things – biscuit, bread, or when my mom gives me money to buy sugar or salt. A boy pushed me into a fire.’*

(12-year-old girl, Community F, South Gondar) or called *‘disgusting’* for no particular reason (12-year-old girl, Community E, South Gondar), the peer-to-peer violence that most adolescents face outside of school appears almost exclusively meted out by and directed at boys. This is in line with the existing literature which emphasises the links between understandings and practices of masculinity with violence in Ethiopia (Pells and Morrow, 2018), Pankhurst et al., 2018 and Heinonen, 2011). As an 11-year-old boy in Dire Dawa observed, male peer violence is largely the result of gender norms that encourage boys to measure their self-worth in their ability to fight: *‘I am powerful in the neighbourhood. When boys try to create problem to me, I beat them. I am aggressive and I can beat everyone who has tried to create problems with me.’*

The end result of these norms around masculinity is that boys fight with each other, and sometimes with girls, over access to grazing land and water for livestock, over masculine conceptions of *‘turf’*, and – as they get older – over girls. Young adolescents throughout rural Amhara told us that *‘shepherd boys beat and chase away girls’* (12-year-old girl, Community G, South Gondar). A 12-year-old from Community D (South Gondar) bragged that he was both loved and hated for his fighting prowess: *‘They [other children] love me but they fear me at the same time because I beat them when they send their cattle to eat our harvest. I win against them.’*

Even when resources are not at stake, boys appear to fight with one another to prove their strength. In rural areas, adolescents reported fights between villages. A young adolescent boy from Community H (East Hararghe) reported: *‘We fight with other village to attack them, we quarrelled with each other.’* In urban areas and especially between older boys, there are often fights between rival gangs. *‘There are large numbers of gangs here,’* explained an older adolescent boy in Dire Dawa. While some adolescents spoke of gang violence as driven by substance use or related to theft, a 10-year-old boy, also from Dire Dawa, believed that it also often grows out of boys’ need to demonstrate their strength: *‘The students*

 I am powerful in the neighbourhood. When boys try to create problem to me, I beat them. I am aggressive and I can beat everyone who has tried to create problems with me.

(An 11-year-old boy in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia)




say that it would be great if they fight to the end so that they will know each other's limit.' Boys in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) reported that older boys sometimes encourage the younger boys to fight for fun, and that among older boys, revenge is a common reason for fighting.

As boys get older, the 'resource' over which they fight is often girls. A key informant from the Social Court in Community G (South Gondar) commented: *'They have many girlfriends so the youths get into conflict and beat each other.'* Indeed, boys reported stories of 'competition between boys... who wish to have a relationship with other boy's girlfriend' (older boy, Dire Dawa) that resulted in broken bones (younger boy, Debre Tabor, South Gondar).

The dominant theme from adolescent girls is that as they begin to grow up, the lines between verbal harassment, physical violence and sexual assault become increasingly blurred. A young adolescent girl in Community A (Zone 5, Afar) said, *'Sometimes the boys try to make sexual relationship by force and beat the girl when she is refusing his request.'* An 11-year-old girl from Community E (South Gondar) explained that she had been beaten while doing

chores by boys who used sexual language to intimidate her. *'Girls are afraid going there [to collect cow dung], [we might be] beaten up or even killed. Boys would say "give me vagina".'* A young adolescent boy from Community C (South Gondar) agreed that this was not uncommon – but also hinted that in part, the verbal harassment and physical violence that younger adolescent girls experience is more a reflection of boys attempting to assert a newfound masculine identity rather than constituting sexual violence per se. *'Boys ask girls whether they like them or not. If girls tell boys that they don't like them, they beat them.'* This is not the case for older girls, whose lives and experiences with violence are increasingly shaped by norms which seek to control their sexuality (see below).

 Sometimes the boys try to make sexual relationship by force and beat the girl when she is refusing his request.

(A young adolescent girl, Community A, Zone 5, Afar, Ethiopia)

### Box 7: The multiple dimensions of school violence: Waktola's story

Living in one of Dire Dawa's worst neighbourhoods, violence is an inescapable fact of Waktola's life. He is surrounded by gang violence on the street and was forced to repeat a year of school because of a teacher who disciplined him violently. Waktola is not most concerned for himself, however; he feels terrible that he inadvertently ruined his brother's life and desperately wants to move his mother to a safer place to live.

Waktola is the youngest of six children, the oldest four of whom attended secondary school, though none passed their exams. The older brother closest to Waktola's age, however, did not even finish 7th grade, because he stepped in to protect Waktola from a violent teacher. As Waktola explained, *'When I was in grade 5, one of my brothers quarrelled with his teacher. He quarrelled because of me.'*

Waktola explained that the problem started because *'sometimes I was not going to school, because there were some children who were beating me'* and he was afraid. His teacher, focused on Waktola's absences rather than the bullying driving them, began to punish Waktola quite harshly. *'When my teacher made me kneel down and beat me, my brother saw him. Then he [the teacher] kicked me. Coincidentally, my brother was walking from the café to the toilet. My classroom was next to the café. My brother saw it when the teacher kicked me.'*

Waktola's brother protested when he saw his younger brother being kicked by a teacher. He told the teacher to *'punish me [Waktola] properly... Then the teacher said "This is not your business." Then they clashed. The teacher beat him with a plastic stick.'* The school – which did not discipline the teacher – *'called our mother and suspended us,'* Waktola reported. His *'brother was suspended for two years'* for trying to do the right thing.

Waktola, who was only suspended for one year, is now re-enrolled and attending 9th grade at a new school. His brother, however, never returned to school: *'He is always angry. He wants to attend... I am the one who ruined my brother's life. I always feel bad when I remember it.'*


Unable to change the past, Waktola is now determined to complete his education and become an accountant, so that he can move his mother to a safer neighbourhood. He explained, *'I worry about my mother. It is not a nice place to live... Everybody who is around has a chance of being beaten.'*

While violent retaliation is more the purview of boys than girls, some of the adolescent girls in our sample were quite clear that they were willing to fight back. A 10-year-old girl in Community A (Zone 5, Afar), for example, said, *'If they touch me, I will beat them with stones.'* A few boys also admitted that girls may defend themselves against such attacks. A 12-year-old boy from Community D (South Gondar) said, *'I do not beat girls because my sister beats me if I beat girls.'* Girls, like boys, recognise that they are mostly on their own to deal with the threat of violence. *'It is not common to tell family when peers fight each other,'* explained a 10-year-old from Community J (East Hararghe).

## Sexual and gender-based violence

### Sexual assault in the community

The 2016 EDHS reports that of girls aged 15–19, 3.5% had ever experienced sexual violence. Some groups of girls – such as those who have migrated to urban areas or who are working as domestic workers – are known to be

 I need to be a boy. Boys are brave. I will be very happy if I get the chance of being a boy. It is because boys can fight with others using their *gille* [knife] and win.

(A young adolescent girl, Community B, Zone 5, Afar, Ethiopia)

at especially high risk (Jones et al., 2014a,b, 2016b, 2017; Erulkar and Mekbib, 2007; Erulkar and Ferede, 2009) (see also Box 9). Our GAGE baseline research found that although adolescent girls are not the only victims of sexual assault (younger girls and boys of all ages are also victimised), the dominant discourse is that adolescent girls are the most vulnerable, because their physical maturity makes them targets while their age means they have few personal and social resources with which to protect themselves. As an older adolescent girl in Dire Dawa summed up, *'We are all sorry when we grow older.'*

Whether the threat to girls grows as they get older, depends as much on the girl as it does on her environment – given that puberty unfolds unevenly for different children. In addition, while there is a pronounced fear of strangers as the most likely perpetrators of rape, with a 13-year-old girl in Community B (Zone 5, Afar) claiming that girls are safe from rape in her village *'but if she goes in a distant place, men can rape her'*, our qualitative works suggests that are few places in which girls feel safe. Girls reported being at risk in local markets (where men *'touch my breasts and others hold my butt'*) (older girl, Dire Dawa), at home (where girls are afraid that they are at risk *'in my own house when I went out to throw away the garbage'*) (younger girl, Debre Tabor, South Gondar), and in school (where *'teachers ask out girls' who believe they must say yes because 'they will fail if they refuse'*) (older girl, Dire Dawa).

A minority of girls in our research were willing to defend each other from sexual harassment and physical violence of younger boys. Girls' ability to defend themselves from

### Box 8: How context shapes peer-to-peer violence

Among rural adolescents, our survey found that those in Afar are far less likely than those in Amhara or Oromia to report peer violence (22% versus 44% and 49% respectively). Qualitative findings confirmed this. As was the case with corporal punishment by parents and teachers, adolescents reported little bullying. Instead, several adolescents spoke about the normalcy of violence between peers. A 12-year-old boy from Community A (Zone 5, Afar) said, *'First his friend beats my brother with a stick, while my brother hurts him with a gille [large traditional knife] in reaction to that and finally their conflict has been resolved.'* A young adolescent girl in Community B (Zone 5, Afar), when asked what she needed in order to be happy, said, *'I need to be a boy. Boys are brave. I will be very happy if I get the chance of being a boy. It is because boys can fight with others using their gille and win.'*

Both our quantitative and qualitative work found that peer-to-peer violence is more common in urban areas, and the qualitative work suggests that it is far scarier to adolescents, exacerbated by fears of retaliation if violence is reported. Our survey found that 57% of urban younger adolescents had experienced peer violence in the past year, compared with 45% of their rural peers. Urban adolescents involved in our qualitative work also reported more severe injuries (such as from stone-throwing) and larger-scale violence that results in bystander injuries and police interventions. We also found significant concerns that substance use in urban areas is fuelling a rise in violence levels (see companion GAGE report on health and nutrition).



**When a girl is raped and somebody informs her family about the incident, instead of trying to support the girl the family may go to attack or kill the rapist.**

(An 11-year-old girl, Community A, Zone 5, Afar, Ethiopia)

sexual advances and violence by older boys and men appears far more limited. Some girls travel in groups, finding safety in numbers: *'The girls will go as a group; they don't go by themselves because they are scared,'* explained a mid-adolescent girl from Community D (South Gondar). Other girls reported that even this strategy may not provide adequate safety – because they are afraid that if they try to protect one another then they may also be raped. A 12-year-old girl in Community F (South Gondar) reported that a friend of hers was *'abducted off the street'* as they went to school. *'I have seen that happen to one of my friends [be taken on the way to school], he took her and forced himself on her when we came back from school. He grabbed her by her neck.'* She added that none of the other girls had tried to save the girl who was abducted, because *'if we tried to save her he might take us too.'*

Girls who have been sexually violated have limited options as well. Some girls are afraid to report what happened, according to our research participants, because they are afraid of retaliation from the rapist or are afraid of what their fathers and brothers might do to the rapist (which would then invite retaliation). *'Let alone the father, the brothers would also get in to a fight if he heard about this,'* explained a father from Community E (South Gondar). An 11-year-old girl from Community A (Zone 5, Afar) added, *'when a girl is raped and somebody informs her family about the incident, instead of trying to support the girl the family may go to attack or kill the rapist.'*

Most girls, however, are afraid to report sexual violence, not because they are afraid for their fathers, but because they are afraid of their fathers. *'Her family will beat her because they will ask why she went with him,'* explained a 12-year-old girl from Community F (South Gondar). A man from Debre Tabor (South Gondar) confirmed that these prejudicial attitudes were quite common and that there was general scepticism about girls being forced to have sex: *'No girls are unwilling. No one forces them to have a sexual relationship. So, the girls are doing this with their interest and willingness.'*



Two adolescent girls in East Hararghe © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

The price that girls pay for experiencing sexual violence can affect them for the rest of their lives. Some, for example, are made to marry the boy or man who raped them: *'In our locality girls get forced to marry. He raped her, now after, she got married,'* explained a young adolescent girl in Community C (South Gondar). Indeed, several research participants from Amhara were clear that because young men know that girls they rape will likely be forced to marry them, rape is a not uncommon approach to a thwarted marriage proposal. *'If a girl's father refused to marry her with a guy and if the guy likes her, this guy will ambush her while she is fetching water and take her to an unknown hidden place and rape her,'* explained a man from Community E (South Gondar).

For some girls, violence continues once they are married. In our rural sites in South Gondar, several married girls reported that they experienced physical and sexual violence at the hands of their husbands. A 12-year-old girl in Community D (South Gondar), for example, reported, *'Sometime there is beating. He might ask me to pass him some item. When I don't respond and just sit there, he would say why I am not complying? Then he has a beating stick.'* Girls also reported that they experience forced marital sex – though they do not conceptualise it as rape

 **We don't fight; we just don't talk about it. He does it with force even now.**

(A 12-year-old married girl, Community G, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

or even necessarily as violence. A 12-year-old married girl from Community G (South Gondar) said, *'We don't fight; we just don't talk about it. He does it with force even now.'*

### Gender differences

Although our findings suggest it is much less common, we did nevertheless hear a number of mentions of boys being at risk of or experiencing sexual assault, especially in urban sites. For example, one young adolescent boy in Dire Dawa recounted what had happened to him and a friend: *'One day, I and my friend went to [the outskirts of the city] for swimming. While we were playing, a man came to me and deceived me in the name of providing me with Ambeshok [local fruit]. He then took me to a hidden area and started to hug me and moving his hands on my chest. I then realised that he was going to rape me, I then ran away from him suddenly. While I was running I found two policemen walking and told them about the case and they immediately caught him and took him, beating him with a*

### Box 9: How context shapes differences in incidence of sexual assault

Our research found marked differences across locations in terms of girls' vulnerability to sexual assault, with fear and incidence seeming especially high in Amhara. In that region, even in rural areas, girls expressed high levels of fear of rape – and of pregnancy as a result – even to the extent that some apparently use contraception solely to ensure that if they are raped, they will not become pregnant. *'Girls get Depo [Provera] injection to avoid pregnancy in case they are raped,'* explained a mid-adolescent girl in Community C (South Gondar). In Oromia, on the other hand, while there were several reports of younger boys using sexually charged language against younger girls, adolescents flatly denied that rape occurred in their communities: *'It is not practised here. Relationships are based on agreement. It is not done here,'* said a young adolescent boy in Community I (East Hararghe). We do not know how much of adolescents' denial is driven by lack of knowledge or discomfort about discussing the topic. In Afar, the same kinship patterns that perpetuate child marriage appear to provide some measure of protection against stranger rape – because the girl's clan will fight to reclaim honour.

While girls' fear of rape is pervasive in all areas, the incidence of rape appears higher in urban areas – probably due partly to overcrowding and weaker social bonds and partly due to better reporting, given that support services are more readily available. Key informants in Batu (East Shewa) gave the examples of a four-year-old girl who had been raped by a stranger and a 12-year-old girl who was raped by her father. There is also concern in urban areas about the role that substances are playing in sexual violence. Several girls referenced alcohol-fueled attacks and a young adolescent girl in Dire Dawa reported having heard of date-rape drugs being used: *'There is a tablet that makes you feel sleepy. After they go there the boy will add it to Coca-Cola or any other soft drinks when she goes to toilet. She drinks it. Then he does whatever he wants.'* The only report of violence using digital channels/social media also came from Dire Dawa. An older adolescent girl told us: *'The other girl was age 15 and the rapist was filming the rape incident.'*



*plastic stick.*' Given cultural taboos around discussion of sexual violence against males, this was a striking finding that requires further follow-up in future rounds.


## FGM/C

Spurred on by the recent national commitment to eliminate the practice by 2025, the 2016 EDHS included multiple questions about FGM/C, which – unlike male circumcision – carries only health risks rather than health benefits. It asked adult women about their own experiences and also asked mothers about their daughters who were under the age of 15. Although the report found that 47% of adolescent girls aged 15–19 years had been circumcised, it pointed to tremendous regional variation in terms of the proportion and type of cutting and the age at which cutting occurred.

In Afar and Amhara, 90% of women had been cut before the age of 5. Indeed, our findings suggest that girls are overwhelmingly cut as infants in the first few weeks of life in South Gondar, while in Afar, we found greater age variation – ranging from infants (one year old) through to girls of 12 or 13 years, but generally before menarche. Key informants explained to us that the variation in age is driven by households' increasingly limited ability to cover the costs of the circumciser and related celebrations that may involve the slaughter of a goat. In Oromia, on the other hand, approximately one-third of EDHS survey respondents had been cut in early childhood and another third had been cut in early adolescence. In our research sites in East Hararghe, we found girls were most likely to have been cut during early adolescence (10–12 years).

Of girls under the age of 15, 86% of those in Afar, 48% of those in Amhara and 17% of those in Oromia had been cut, suggesting especially good progress in Amhara<sup>3</sup> but very limited progress in Afar. Indeed, the EDHS found that of girls in Afar who had been cut, nearly 70% had been infibulated<sup>4</sup> (compared to 7% in Oromia and 3% in Amhara). In Zone 5 (Afar), respondents suggested that the type of FGM/C had changed over time due to growing awareness of health risks that had been communicated by religious leaders in particular; we did not have any reports of infibulation at that site.

We also found that despite some respondents claiming *'they have abolished it'* (12-year-old girl, Dire Dawa), FGM/C

 If a girl isn't circumcised... when the female has intercourse with a male, it will be difficult for the male.

(A mid-adolescent girl, in Community D, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

is still widely practised in all three regions and is tightly bound up with norms about girls' sexuality. In some cases, it is believed that men will be unable to have sex with girls who have not been cut: *'If a girl isn't circumcised... when the female has intercourse with a male, it will be difficult for the male,'* explained a mid-adolescent girl in Community D (South Gondar). In other cases, being uncut is religiously proscribed: *'They considered females without circumcision as a sin or Haram,'* said a 12-year-old girl in Community A (Zone 5, Afar). As a 12-year-old girl in Community L (East Hararghe) noted, remaining uncut is simply not tenable in the longer run: *'It is not possible. There is no one who gets married without being circumcised.'*

While our findings indicate that FGM/C remains common across regions, it also found important variation. In Afar, for example, where a local leader in Community B (Zone 5, Afar) reported that *'the community is not willing to abandon this practice,'* it appears to at least be shifting form. *'In the previous time girls were circumcised by cutting all parts of their clitoris but now, due to the teaching of some religious leaders in the community, circumcisers began to cut only the tip.'* Indeed, despite the EDHS figures referenced above, our research found no evidence of infibulation in the sites in which we worked. In Oromia, where the practice is often carried out in adolescence, we found that girls themselves are demanding to be cut – so that they fit in with their friends and are seen as upholding cultural norms: *'Their daughters beg their families in order to get circumcised. My sister in grade 6... cried that her friends are circumcised and she too has to get circumcised,'* reported a 10-year-old girl from Community J (East Hararghe).

## Gender differences

Unlike FGM/C, which carries only health risks, research suggests that especially in development contexts, male circumcision offers health advantages to boys and their

3 Because cutting often occurs later in childhood in Oromia, the proportion of girls aged 10–14 who have been cut is not a good metric of girls' risk of being cut before adulthood.

4 Infibulation refers to what the World Health Organization defines as Type III FGM/C involving 'Narrowing of the vaginal orifice with creation of a covering seal by cutting and appositioning the labia minora and/or the labia majora, with or without excision of the clitoris'. (<http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/fgm/overview/en/>).

future sexual partners (Toledo et al., 2017). However, it is important that male circumcision be carried out safely. In Ethiopia, according to the DHS, 86% of adolescent boys 15–19 years have been circumcised, and 21% by a health professional (compared to just 8% by men 40–49 years, indicating a growing trend towards medicalisation. Several boys in our qualitative sample, however, reported group rituals using apparently shared razor blades. There were other reports of boys who tried to circumcise themselves, using a locally available herb that effectively burns off skin. A 10-year-old girl in Community D (South Gondar) explained that her brother ‘was about to die. We poured a lot of water on him and he survived. The herb is very bad; it removed the skin. He did that to himself.’

## Child marriage

Interpreting our findings on child marriage requires contextualisation. Rates of child marriage, and age at first marriage, vary considerably by region – and, as noted by Jones et al. (2016a,b), even between *kebeles* and *woredas* in a single zone. While the EDHS 2016 does not allow simultaneous disaggregation by both age and region (due to sample sizes), some patterns are clear. Looking at all women of reproductive age, age at first marriage is climbing rapidly in Amhara and is effectively unchanged in Afar and Oromia (see Figure 3). Because patterning and drivers of child marriage are so variable across regions, our discussion here will be framed around geography.

## Regional contextual differences

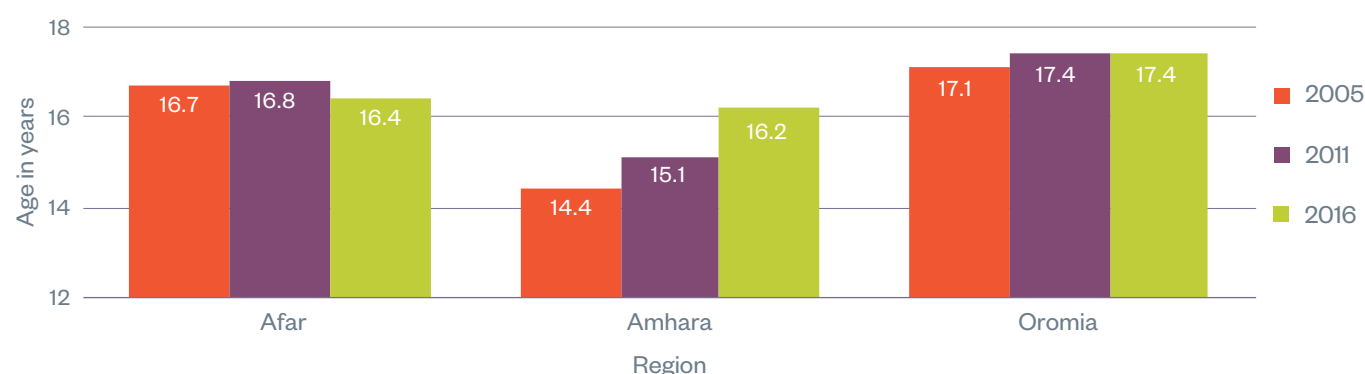
### Marriage practices in Afar

Noting that rates of innumeracy are high in Afar, and figures must be interpreted in that light, the region has the second lowest average age at first marriage and has seen very little

progress over time in this regard. With exceptions, girls have historically married in mid-adolescence and continue to do so: ‘*The majority of the girls have married at the age of 16 and 17 years,*’ explained a young adolescent girl from Community A (Zone 5, Afar). Indeed, a teacher from that same community added, ‘*changes have been slow.*’

Key to understanding this stasis in Afar is the *absuma*<sup>5</sup> marriage system. Marriages in Afar are arranged (for both girls and boys) to maternal cousins. Each individual girl may have dozens of *absuma* (potential partners) – indeed, one girl in our research mentioned that she had more than 30 – but which *absuma* an adolescent girl is to marry is determined by parents (and, to some extent, her potential future partners). Parents and some adolescents are deeply committed to the *absuma* system, as it reinforces kinship ties: ‘*If my daughter married to someone outside of our kinship, our family line would discontinue,*’ explained a man from Community A (Zone 5, Afar). Many adolescent boys in our research also supported the practice: ‘*The “absuma” (absuma being the female cousin to whom a boy or young man will be married) marriage system is our traditional norm and we strongly support this marriage system.*’ Adolescent girls in Zone 5 (Afar), on the other hand, were simply resigned to it. ‘*If we do not die, it is our absuma that we are going to marry.*’ While some girls try to ‘*escape to the river*’, parents ‘*bring them back to the house*’ and ‘*beat you seriously if you do not want to get married*’, reported young adolescent girls from Community A (Zone 5, Afar). Even attempted suicide offers no relief for girls. An older adolescent boy in Community A (Zone 5, Afar) explained that one girl, who ‘*drunk a poison because... she disliked the person whom she was forced to marry*’, was told by clan leaders to ‘*stick to her marriage and to respect the absuma marriage system*’.

Figure 3: Trends in age of first marriage, by region, 2005 to 2016 (all women of reproductive age)



<sup>5</sup> The bulk of the literature refers to this as the *absuma* marriage system. We are told that the term used here is accurate.



Adolescent boys from Afar © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

In Zone 5, Afar, the costs of violating the *absuma* system, for both girls and boys, are high. For boys, it can lead to violence or financial ruin: *'In our culture getting married to another's absuma is costly, you may conflict with the girl's absuma or they may kill you, or you should pay many cows for compensation. So I don't want to touch others' absuma,'* explained a young adolescent boy from Community B (Zone 5, Afar). For girls, the costs are higher still. First, while parents are the final arbiters, boys have some input into which cousin they will marry. One boy, from Community A (Zone 5, Afar), reported, *'I have many absuma. I chose my absuma by my own. I chose her for her beauty.'* Girls are not allowed this input, as *'it is not allowed in Afar's tradition to choose from your absuma. I will be forced to accept the guy they choose,'* explained a mid-adolescent girl from Community A, Zone 5, Afar).

Second, while *'both females and males are forced to marry under the absuma marriage system'* (adolescent

boy, Community A, Zone 5, Afar), girls are typically made to marry in mid-adolescence whereas boys typically do not marry until early adulthood as they need to be given livestock by their fathers (or relatives in the case of family poverty) to lead an independent life. The timing of this inter-generational transfer of livestock depends not only on a family's material wellbeing but also on whether families have other sons who can take on herding responsibilities. It may also be influenced by the number of *absuma* options a boy's prospective bride has; if a female cousin is getting past mid-adolescence and she has no other *absuma*, her mother may pressure the boy to marry her quickly and the boy and his family are unable to refuse. This age-related patterning of *absuma* marriages in Zone 5, (Afar,) means that boys are typically marrying a girl their own age or younger, whereas many girls are being made to marry men who are much older than them (sometimes even by 10 or 20 years). Adolescent girls understood that this age gap can be dangerous. One, from Community A (Zone 5, Afar), explained: *'Especially if she is going to get married to an adult who is older than her; she hates him, since he is going to beat her when they get married.'*

Finally, whereas boys can combine school and marriage – in part because they do not tend to marry until adulthood and in part because they can choose to continue schooling even after marriage – girls do not have this option. Not only

**►** The *absuma* [absuma being the female cousin to whom a boy or young man will be married] marriage system is our traditional norm and we strongly support this marriage system.

(Many adolescent boys interviewed in Afar, Ethiopia)



must young brides leave school in order to ‘keep goats that are our major asset’ (young adolescent boy, Community A, Zone 5, Afar), but parents in Zone 5 often deliberately marry girls before they are old enough to speak their own minds. Indeed, in Community A, (Zone 5, Afar) adults admitted that because so many educated girls had refused to marry under the absuma system, there is now a community agreement to prohibit girls from attending secondary school. A key informant explained, ‘Most of the families arrange and marry their daughter before grade 8. This is because after grade 8, girls also start to refuse their families’ marriage arrangement.’

### Marriage practices in Amhara

Historically, Amhara has had the lowest average age at first marriage – a figure driven in large part by the region’s tradition of ‘ceremonially’ marrying very young girls (under

Especially if she is going to get married to an adult who is older than her; she hates him, since he is going to beat her when they get married.

(An adolescent girl, Community A, Zone 5, Afar, Ethiopia)

5 years) in order to solidify ties between families and build prestige in the community (Jones et al., 2016a). However, this tradition is shifting rapidly, and while the age at first marriage is climbing, child marriage remains quite common – despite, or perhaps because of the reality that adolescent marriages are not locally conceptualised as child marriages. Some girls are still married very young, as ‘above the age of 13 years old is considered to be the age limit for girls to get into marriage’ (12-year-old girl, Community F, South

#### Box 10: Zinash: ‘What does free really mean?’

Zinash, 17 years old and living in Debre Tabor (South Gondar), has been married for a year – of her own accord and to a man she ‘chose’. Now the mother of a seven-month-old baby girl, Zinash does not regret her choice, but she also knows that it was not really free.

‘My mother died when I was three years old and my father was left alone to raise us... Soon he brought us another mother’, and had many other children. Zinash studied hard as a younger child and ranked near the top of the class but her enthusiasm for school waned over time – mostly because she could not stop ‘thinking of my mother and getting jealous of other students’. Even so, after she passed the 8th grade regional exam her father supported her to move to Debre Tabor to attend secondary school.

‘My father used to provide me with everything and there is nothing I have lacked. He did not want me to work for pay thinking that the work may hamper my well-being.’ Then only 15, however, Zinash could not stop thinking about her own mother and how her mother’s death had shaped her childhood. Living on her own, ‘renting a house in town,’ she increasingly found that she did not ‘want to go and visit them (her father and step-mother)’, as she believed that the 150 ETB a month father was paying for her living expenses was likely causing her father and stepmother to ‘be in disagreement’ because it was money not being spent on their younger children. As Zinash explained, ‘I did not want to become an obstacle for my younger siblings and a burden to my stepmother.’

A solution soon presented itself; Zinash got married. She did not know her husband well before they married. ‘I just knew him at school. When I was attending in grade 9, he also was going to school and working... We had no talks for three months. [In November] he asked me to get engaged. I agreed. I did not want to trouble my father to send me 150 ETB for house rent as well as the food ration.’ In January, they were married. Three months later, Zinash decided that she ‘wanted to conceive’ and stopped using contraception. She notes that while her husband ‘did not force me either to give birth or not to give birth, he was happy’ when their daughter was born 10 months later.

Zinash knows that girls are supposed to ‘marry after they turn 18’ and is clear that parents and adolescents know ‘a lot about the impacts of early marriage’. Her own marriage, she insists, was not really early, because it was undertaken ‘in my interests. This is different from the early marriage practised in rural areas because there, girls marry when it is not in their interests.’

Zinash reports that her father ‘is not that happy’ with her choice to drop out of school and marry. He tried hard to talk her out of it; ‘My child, I don’t want you to become upset. I want to continue supporting you with your education.’ Zinash, however, does not regret her choice – she is no longer ‘a burden to my father and my younger siblings’.



Gondar), and many girls *'marry voluntarily as of age 17'* (man, Community G, South Gondar).

Most child marriages in rural Amhara are still arranged by parents and still involve a significant age gap between partners. In addition, for the youngest girls, marriages are quite often forced: *'I had no idea that I was going to get married. And then the day approached and they told me... I said no way. I was even tempted to flee. But I had nowhere to go. So I got married not to disobey my parents,'* reported a 12-year-old married girl in Community C (South Gondar). Forced marriages are particularly common when husbands are priests. Because it is seen as vital for priests to marry virgins, and they are prohibited from ever divorcing, their wives are often pre-pubescent girls. *'According to our culture, the priests and religious leaders are careful in picking the person they marry,'* noted a man from Community C (South Gondar).

As the age at marriage increases, however, overall there is increasing space in Amhara for girls to have a say in choosing their partner. A father in Community D (South Gondar) explained, *'I promised to marry my daughter who was employed here for the boy when she was one year old. Now she refused to marry the boy when she grew up, so I respected and accepted her interest then I stopped. I also had a boy whom I selected a wife for him, but he refused to marry that girl and he married with the other girl from the family who have less income and less wealth. I accepted his interest and decision.'* While girls agreed with their parents that their opinions are increasingly heard, they were also clear that their decision-making remains bounded. As a mid-adolescent girl from Community C (South Gondar) asked, *'How can I get married without their permission? They have to allow me to get married. My families asked me if I want to get married, I say yes and they got me married to him. I know that he is from our area but I don't know him in depth.'*

The adolescent girls involved in our research reported that the majority of marriages arranged for younger girls


were driven by parents' need to control girls' sexuality and had little to do with girls being interested in marriage. *'If they are physically big, they get married because parents fear they will get wild. So they limit them with marriage,'* explained a girl from Community C (South Gondar). Marriage is also driven by parents' fear of sexual violence. *'From 12 to 18 years old, because they are afraid that she would be ruined. They are afraid that they'd get raped so they get them married as soon as they can,'* added a girl from Community D (South Gondar). Given that our research was conducted in food-insecure sites, and that previous work (Jones et al., 2016a, b) suggests that in Amhara it is better-off girls who are more vulnerable to child marriage from a purely economic standpoint because they have the land that facilitates early marriage, only one girl (a 12-year-old orphan from Community F, South Gondar) intimated that economics played a role in her marriage: *'They said we [aunt and uncle] are getting weak so who are you going to live with when we die? They said that I don't have mother so I don't have any one to raise me.'*

### Marriage practices in Oromia

Oromia, like Afar, shows few signs of progress towards eliminating child marriage. The median age at first marriage for the region is just over 17 years – and has been since 2000. Critically, our current research, like previous work (Jones et al., 2016a, b), suggests that age at marriage – at least in some hotspots (including Fedis) – may be contravening national progress and declining rather than rising. It also suggests that adolescent girls' decision-making may be key to understanding why.

Key informants report that child marriage has long been common in East Hararghe. A *kebele* official in Community J (East Hararghe) explained: *'Girls in this area get married just when their breast starts to emerge.'* He added that because girls are afraid that they will be insulted if they go to school after they have breasts, he has taken several to town to show them that even much older, better-developed girls are still studying. A teacher in the same community added that *'If a girl is able to carry a 20 litre jerry can, they (the parents) think as if she is ready for marriage. They assume she can also manage a man if she is capable of lifting and carrying a 20 litre jerry can.'*

Key informants' reports notwithstanding, parents in the rural *kebeles* in which we conducted the research noted that many girls are choosing to marry at an early age. A 12-year-old girl from Community J (East Hararghe) explained, *'When they reach grade 6 and 7, they get*

 I had no idea that I was going to get married. And then the day approached and they told me... I said no way. I was even tempted to flee. But I had nowhere to go. So I got married not to disobey my parents.

(An 12-year-old girl, Community C, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

*married. They get married at the age of 12. Finishing education is not usual for girls in this area. I do not know the reason'. A girl the same age from Community I (East Hararghe) added, 'They get married because it is in their interest. You can't enforce them not to marry if they want to marry.' A man from Community K (East Hararghe) added that some girls choose to marry as children simply to avoid being haftu (remaining unmarried above a socially acceptable age). More than an insult that suggests unwantedness, girls who are haftu are often left to marry 'an old man who has seven or eight children' because she is 'strong enough she can carry out many works'.*

The narratives surrounding the drivers of change are complicated. A man in Community K (East Hararghe) noted that drought is encouraging girls to marry because it prevents families from investing in adolescents' education – and leaves girls bored. *'As a result of drought, families, due to economic problems, are unable to buy pen let alone buying other necessities... Girls prefer marriage than to simply sit idle.'* In other communities, respondents believed that traditional shegoye dancing [a practice whereby adolescents dance in mixed-sex groups at night without adult supervision] is shifting form and has now become a venue through which girls marry, often as very young adolescents (starting with 11 and 12-year-olds). *'Once they*

*have started spending the night at shegoye, they plan to marry within the same time of the year,'* explained a young adolescent girl from Community H (East Hararghe). Some married girls report that peer pressure drove them to marry. One, from Community J (East Hararghe), said that she married simply because her friends did: *'I got married because they [referring to friends] got married.'*

Other girls marry as young adolescents because they are forced by boys – or tricked by brokers – into doing so. A 10-year-old girl in Community I (East Hararghe) explained that marriage was not really girls' choice: *'It is her husband who made the choice. The boy [together with his friends] will force the girl he chooses to go with him and will take her to his house until marriage formalities are done.'* A teacher from Community I (East Hararghe) added that brokers are increasingly involved in tricking girls to shegoye and then into marriage. *'The reality of what is being done in shegoye place is that the boy gives 1,000 birr for a person who plays a role of mediating between the girl and the boy. Girls can be easily deceived by the money. The boy gives another 1,000 birr for the girl and takes her home from shegoye place.'*

Parents' reactions to these very early, ostensibly free-choice marriages are mixed. There is considerable agreement according to a man from Community I (East



Family in Afar © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

Hararghe) that *'they are getting married early while they are not ready for marriage.'* How much of this is concern for girls and how much of this is concern for lost parental input is a matter for debate. A man in Community H (East Hararghe) explained that in the past, parents took care to choose suitable partners for their daughters: *'Earlier we conduct study on the behaviour of the prospective husband and his family for the well-being of our daughters.'* He blamed the government for recent changes, because it has been *'stressing the interests of girls'*. A young adolescent girl from Community I (East Hararghe) reported that while some parents might complain about their daughters' marriages, many (especially mothers) are quite happy when their daughters start going to shegoye because they are afraid that if girls wait too long, they will not be able to marry. *'Some parents are happy when adolescent girls go to shegoye as it opens them an opportunity to get married. Although the appropriate age for marriage is 18 in theory, our parents fear that girls cannot get married once they turn 15 as they will already be considered too old.'*

## Gender differences

Generally speaking, boys are much less at risk of child marriage than girls in Ethiopia, although it is not unheard of. According to EDHS (2016), 58% of women and only 9% of men age 25–49 marry before their 18th birthday. Our research findings resonate with these patterns, although we did find a minority of boys marrying as children in Zone 5, (Afar) and also in East Hararghe. In Zone 5, (Afar), it tended to be shaped around a household's ability to provide their son with sufficient livestock for an independent life and simultaneous readiness to forgo his labour on the one hand, and optimal timing for securing a preferred absuma, especially if the girl in question has more than one eligible absuma (cousin). In East Hararghe, if boys have a secure income from khat or other cash crops, they may be able to start a household earlier if there is a prospective bride they would like to secure.



# Change strategies to advance adolescent bodily integrity


We now discuss the extent to which policy and programming change strategies are being pursued by key policy actors and practitioners to better protect adolescents from age-based, gender-based and sexual violence.



## Empowering girls

In the area of bodily integrity, efforts to engage with girls are most advanced in terms of eliminating harmful traditional practices, especially child marriage. Beginning with civics classes, which introduce girls to the ideas embodied in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and biology classes, which discuss the relationship between child marriage, early pregnancy and fistula, the school curriculum lays the foundation for girls to begin thinking about bodily integrity. Starting around the age of 12, or in grade 5, many girls have the option to join school-based girls' clubs, which then expand the educational content of messaging for girls. Many girls in South Gondar, where clubs appear both more common and better resourced (due to NGO support and stronger commitment on the part of school authorities), reported that they had learned *'that a girl shouldn't get married below the age of 18'* (younger girl, Community D, South Gondar) or had been told *'that we don't have to be circumcised because it will create problem later'* (12-year-old girl, Community L, East Hararghe). In East Hararghe, where some schools have functioning girls' clubs, a few girls explained that their older sisters had protected them from FGM/C based on what they had been taught at school: *'My older sister prohibited me from undergoing FGM. She told me there is nothing it would bring on me if I don't become circumcised. I also think there is no problem if I remain uncircumcised,'* noted a young adolescent girl in Community I, East Hararghe.

Efforts to engage with girls to raise awareness about the risks of harmful practices have been less effective in Afar, as girls in that region have little say in decisions about their own lives, and where clubs do exist, club leaders are afraid of provoking conflict if they contravene local norms. A teacher in Community A (Zone 5, Afar) explained, saying, *'When we are teaching in girls' club, sometimes we face challenges or conflicts. If we teach them directly to stop early marriage and cross-cousin marriage (absuma), we*

 The students have also the understanding of the impact of early marriage... The problem is they have no capacity to say no their parents when arranged to marry them.

(A teacher, Community A, Zone 5, Afar, Ethiopia)

*will provoke conflict.'* She continued, *'The students have also the understanding of the impact of early marriage... The problem is they have no capacity to say no their parents when arranged to marry them.'* In other words, for engagement with girls to be effective, there needs to be an enabling environment based on engagement with parents as the main decision-makers in girls' lives.

Engaging with girls regarding age-based and sexual violence is far rarer and more ad hoc, according to our respondents. Adolescents in Debre Tabor (South Gondar), for example, noted that their civics teacher had taught them that they had a right to live a life free from violence – but then the teachers would beat them at times. High school students in Batu (East Shewa) observed that some primary schools had *'suggestion boxes'* where students could leave reports about teachers. However, they also observed that because *'teachers were trying to check our exercise books to identify who wrote the specific suggestion'*, students were wary of using boxes. In Batu (East Shewa), older adolescents also mentioned church-based youth clubs that *'give us advice on choices we need to make at this age'*. Notably, while this advice was aimed at protecting girls from sexual violence, it did so by advising girls to restrict their mobility and stay away even from youth centres, where boys tend to congregate.



## Engaging with boys and young men

Efforts to engage with boys and young men to reduce violence are very rare in the communities in which we worked. Outside of the civics classes and classroom suggestion boxes already mentioned, there appear to be no change strategies aimed at tackling age-based violence specifically. Our findings did, however, highlight



the emergence of *qeerroos*, groups of adolescent boys and young men who have formed at the community level in many parts of the Oromia region in response to political tensions prevailing in the country since 2016, and which culminated in the rise to power of the current reformist Prime Minister, Dr Abiy, in March 2018. The *qeerroos* were active in the GAGE research sites in East Hararghe at the time of data collection, particularly in response to the large-scale displacement of ethnic Oromos from the Somali region and ongoing border clashes between the Oromia and Somali regions. With increasing recognition of the role of *qeerroos* in peace building and community development work, these groups have forged considerable space to engage in political and civic activities.

In terms of sexual violence, in addition to the church-based youth clubs already mentioned – which do apparently advise boys to refrain from the substance use that is widely perceived to amplify the threat to girls – in Dire Dawa, older boys explained that some neighbourhoods have organised patrols in order to protect girls and women from rape. *‘There are police who look after neighbourhood at night. In our neighbourhood there is no such kind of things (rape).’* In terms of harmful traditional practices, while a few key informants from Amhara reported that some schools have gender clubs rather than girls’ clubs, and that these clubs include *‘both female and male students’*, none of the boys we interviewed were members of these clubs.



## Engaging with parents

There appear to be no efforts to engage with parents on age-related threats to adolescents’ bodily integrity – outside of the parent–teacher–student associations in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) that are codifying which punishments are to be meted out for which offences (e.g. for fighting versus harassing girls), rather than working to reduce violent discipline per se. Efforts to engage with parents regarding sexual violence appear similarly lacking.

Efforts to engage with parents on child marriage and FGM/C are primarily at the community level via broader awareness-raising (see below), though parents of adolescent girls who are being married under-age against their will are at times individually prosecuted, especially in Amhara (see ‘adolescent-friendly services’).



## Engaging with communities

According to our respondents, there are no efforts to engage with communities on age-related and sexual violence. Efforts to engage on harmful traditional practices, on the other hand, are fairly widespread and are, in Amhara, beginning to produce results. A man in Community C (South Gondar), for example, explained that the regional decline in FGM/C is due to the awareness-raising efforts of health extension workers and 1:5 groups,<sup>6</sup> which have emphasised how the practice leads to complicated births that cause not only fistula but also maternal and neonatal mortality. *‘The government has been creating awareness for a long time, they teach us that it creates bad complication during childbirth,’* he said. The regional declines in child marriage noted above are also partly related to efforts to link the practice to health risks. Efforts to use community awareness-raising to eliminate harmful traditional practices in Oromia and Afar – where a key informant in Community B (Zone 5, Afar) flatly stated that the community is *‘not willing’* to abandon their traditional practices – are more nascent.

As well as the more obviously government-sponsored awareness-raising approaches to reducing harmful traditional practices, the government and NGOs have been working with religious leaders to encourage them to preach against FGM/C and child marriage. Again, particularly successful in Amhara, efforts are also underway in Oromia and Afar, where key informants reported that reductions in infibulation are due to the efforts of religious leaders. In Oromia, a teacher in Community I (East Hararghe) reported that the girls’ club is working with religious leaders to stop brokers from using *shegoye* (the all-night dancing) as a venue for trapping girls. She explained, *‘This year we started discussing with religious leaders through girls’ club that we should stop the bribing that is happening to girls.’*

The government has also engaged with communities on reducing harmful practices more indirectly, by emphasising

▶ This year we started discussing with religious leaders through girls’ club that we should stop the bribing that is happening to girls.

(A teacher, Community I, East Hararghe, Ethiopia)

<sup>6</sup> The 1:5 groups are a structure through which the government organises communities in order to disseminate messages on a wide variety of development issues. Each group consists of one leader and five members, which are in turn federated into higher-level groups.

the importance of girls' education, which has been found to reduce both FGM/C and child marriage over time. This 'back door' approach has again been especially effective in Amhara. Many adolescent girls in South Gondar were incredulous when asked whether their parents would try to marry them off in coming years. *'No way! They don't want me to get married now; they tell me that they want me to finish school and then get married afterwards,'* said a 12-year-old in Community D (South Gondar). A father in Community E (South Gondar) agreed that education is paramount, and explained that if a young man came asking for his daughter, *'I will tell him that I only want her to excel in her education.'* While uptake of girls' education in Oromia lags considerably behind that in Amhara, especially at the secondary level, adults increasingly see value in schooling their children – even if they are unable to commit due to the current drought, which means their children must spend their time searching for water. *'All of us have awareness. Education is like light,'* explained a man in Community K (East Hararghe). As already noted though, the picture is more complicated in Afar. While a man in Community A (Zone 5, Afar) noted that, *'We are also seeing educated girls who give financial support to their family... as a result, we are now able to understand the value of education,'* the community agreement to prevent girls from attending secondary school (so that they will not refuse absuma marriages) suggests a need for further investments.



## Strengthening school systems

Efforts to work with schools to improve adolescents' right to bodily integrity are under-developed, with a key informant from the education sector in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) noting that *'corporal punishment should not be considered as a serious issue like that of developed countries'*. Indeed, outside of the ad hoc change strategies aimed at age-related violence mentioned earlier (e.g. suggestion boxes and parent-teacher-student committees), work through schools to address violence revolves almost exclusively around preventing child marriage. Specifically, in addition to civics and biology classes and girls' clubs, some schools are providing adolescent girls with a venue for reporting planned marriages and some teachers are serving as girls' first-line defenders, admonishing parents themselves and then bringing formal justice mechanisms to bear when necessary.

In South Gondar, this appears to be working very well in some communities. For example, a 12-year-old girl in

When we hear anything about this, we tell our teachers. They tell us to bring our parents. Then teachers tell them not to force their children to get married at an early age.

(A 12-year-old girl, Community G, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

Community G explained, *'When we hear anything about this, we tell our teachers. They tell us to bring our parents. Then teachers tell them not to force their children to get married at an early age.'* When parents refuse to cooperate, an 11-year-old girl from Community G (South Gondar) reported that kebele officials are now arresting them. *'Getting arrested started just a year ago,'* she said. Although few adolescent girls are enrolled in school in Afar, girls in Community A (Zone 5, Afar) told us that some school girls do approach teachers for help when they learn that they are to be removed from school to marry. Key informants added that they work hard to make sure that those marriages are delayed, as girls' education comes first. A man in that same community added that although parents strongly support *absuma* marriages, where girls are still in school they are delaying their marriages as they are *'afraid of legal punishment'*.



## Delivering adolescent-friendly services

While our respondents overall felt that formal justice mechanisms need considerable strengthening if they are to protect adolescents, they reported a wide variety of change strategies that if developed and taken to scale hold promise for supporting adolescents' right to bodily integrity.

In terms of reducing the age-related violence they face in the community, usually at the hands of peers and young adults, adolescents spoke highly of police efforts in some urban neighbourhoods to allay fear and build trust by *'establishing 1:5 networks'* (group of five people who are organised by the government to disseminate development-related messages to the grassroots) and bringing the community together to *'discuss and drink coffee'* (mid-adolescent girl, Dire Dawa). They also mentioned efforts to link police stations and children's parliaments to improve police officers' understanding of the risks that young people face (older girl, Dire Dawa). A man in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) reported that police efforts have improved students' access to school by reducing violence in the area.

He said, *'Thanks to the settlement of the federal police in the school area, we have got some peace recently.'*

Our respondents also reported some adolescent- and girl-friendly justice services aimed at addressing sexual violence. A female prosecutor in Batu (East Shewa), for example, explained that her office not only has a *'special division... that hears rape cases'*, but is working *'in a collaborative way with [the Ministry of] Women and Children's Affairs'* to make sure that girls who have been assaulted have a safe place to stay. She observes that this has significantly impacted girls' willingness to report crimes perpetrated against them, as girls' fear of retaliation is real – especially as they are required, in the absence of video-enabled testimony, to directly confront perpetrators in court. A key informant with the Women's Association in Batu (East Shewa) agreed that while the burden of proof required for sexual violence remains unrealistically high, the city is increasingly taking sexual violence seriously: *'We do not allow women to get abused; we do not try to cover their [the perpetrators'] crimes, we take them to law, those who abuse get tough and immediate judgement,'* she said. Although the majority of our respondents agreed that *'there is no person following the cases of the females in the area once they have been raped,'* (man, Community E, South Gondar) respondents were able to identify several cases where perpetrators had been successfully prosecuted. Adolescent girls in Debre Tabor (South Gondar), for example, reported that a man had been imprisoned for 15 years for raping a schoolgirl.

Our research found that formal justice approaches to supporting adolescents' freedom from harmful traditional practices are relatively common and can be effective – though the overall number of cases that are successfully handled remains low. In South Gondar, as already noted, it is not uncommon for parents to be fined, or even briefly imprisoned, if their daughter reports that she is being forced to marry. Unfortunately, most girls who are victims of forced marriage do not report it, which means the majority have no legal redress. In Oromia, a key informant in Community I (East Hararghe) noted that officials had recently *'brought back two girls from where they got married by brokers'*. In Batu (East Shewa), a kebele manager said that his office is making girls *'meet with a psychiatrist to check her emotional and psychological readiness for marriage'* – though girls explain that the impacts of these meetings on their lives are minimal because even when they are married quite young, their marriages are permitted to continue as long as they verify that *'nobody forced me to get married'* (15-year-old married girl). In Afar, woreda-level key informants in Zone 5 (Afar) reported that formal interventions aimed at preventing harmful practices take a less punitive approach. Rather than prosecuting parents for forcing their daughters to marry, officials sit down with them and explain the risks of forced marriage and that parents should reconsider forcing their daughter to do something that might make her so unhappy that she would consider suicide.

# Policy and programming implications

Having reviewed adolescent experiences and perceptions relating to age and gender-based violence and the existing change strategies in place to promote adolescent bodily integrity and freedom from violence, our mixed-methods research findings point to a number of key policy and practice priorities. Please also see more detail in Annex 1.

- **Engage with adolescents to address underlying social and gender norms that perpetuate violence:** Directly tackle the social norms that leave boys at risk of age-based violence and girls at risk of sexual violence and harmful traditional practices, focusing on masculinities and beliefs about girls' sexuality (including those related to age at marriage and FGM/C) by introducing these topics into civics classes, youth centres, and other non-school-based platforms. Complement classroom-based approaches with the design and rollout of mass media and over time social media campaigns to tackle harmful social norms underpinning age- and gender-based violence, beginning with urban adolescents given greater connectivity to mobile phones and internet.
- **Engage with parents and communities to raise awareness about adolescents' vulnerability to multiple forms of violence and prevention and response pathways:** Community conversations and messaging by health extension workers, traditional and religious leaders as well as the new social worker cadre are needed to tackle corporal punishment in the home and at school, bullying and sexual and gender-based harassment and violence. Parents need to understand the risks their adolescent children face, be provided with guidance on non-violent parenting practices, and also how to report and follow up on cases of violence.



Shegoye dancing, Fedis © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019



It is critical that such community engagement efforts also highlight the risks of child marriage and the most damaging forms of FGM/C. Given that the underlying drivers, types of perpetrators, age when these harmful practices are carried out and form of these practices vary widely across and within regions, care needs to be taken to tailor approaches and messaging to context specificities.

- **Work with schools to support non-violent classroom management techniques**, backed up by training for teachers in alternative positive disciplinary approaches, anonymous reporting options for students and consequences for teachers who resort to violence. Parent-teacher-student association

efforts to codify punishments should be reshaped to focus on the rationale for and practical guidance regarding positive discipline approaches.

- **Strengthen formal justice mechanisms** by increasing the number of prosecutors in local gender units and providing gender- and age-sensitivity training to non-specialist prosecutors who are most often dealing with such cases. Approaches should engage with traditional justice mechanisms given their resonance at community level but discourage their perpetuation of discriminatory gender norms, and encourage collaboration with the formal justice system, reporting and improved prosecution rates.

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# Annex 1: Policy implications

Bodily integrity capacity outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Accelerate the eradication of child marriage	<p><b>Goal 5: Gender Equality</b></p> <p><b>Target 5.3:</b> Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• See a child marriage free society whereby girls are in charge of their destiny by 2025 (National Roadmap to End Child Marriage TOC)</li> <li>• Religious leaders should educate the community about gender equality and become role models to prevent HTPs and violence against women. (Ethiopian Women Development and Transformation Strategy, pp. 34)</li> <li>• Create community awareness about HTPs that harm girls and women. (Ethiopian Women's Development and Transformation package, pp.63)</li> <li>• Help parents or guardians to have the necessary awareness on child rights and better parenting skills as well as family planning in order that they give the utmost care to children. (NCP, pp.16)</li> <li>• Undertake extensive awareness creation and mobilization programmes on birth registration to ensure registration of all children upon birth and all unregistered children (NCP, pp.23)</li> <li>• Establish and strengthen partnerships among governmental, religious institutions, community coalitions and non-governmental organizations. (NCP, pp.22).</li> <li>• Enable youths to ...dislike harmful traditional practices, have work and development culture and enable them to be self-confident citizens. (Youth Strategy, Section 2.4)</li> <li>• Improve protection of adolescents against risks and harm under all circumstances (ADaP, pp.32)</li> <li>• Take all the necessary measures to ensure the survival and development of children. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Create an enabling environment to prevent and control child abuse, child trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices. (NCP, pp.21)</li> <li>• Create an environment conducive to helping communities fight against harmful traditional practices that have negative impact on children's development. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Mobilize the public to give due attention to children's issues through the celebration of different child-related events and through child-focused programmes. (NCP, pp.22)</li> <li>• Increase the role of media in creating public awareness on children's affairs. (NCP, pp.22)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Continue awareness-raising efforts aimed at adults—including messages about the risks of child marriage, gender norms, the advantages of adult marriage (esp vis-à-vis new opportunities), the importance of providing guidance to adolescents about delaying marriage, etc.. Suggest venues include 1-5 structures, Parent/Teacher/Student Committees, religious sermons and health extension workers.</li> <li>2. Continue and expand in-person (e.g classrooms, school clubs, NGOs, and community venues such as Youth Centres) and mass-media awareness raising for adolescents—topics should include the right to say no, the risks of child marriage, gender norms, the advantages of adult marriage (esp vis-à-vis new opportunities), how to report planned marriages, and the importance of intervention on behalf of siblings and friends.</li> <li>3. Continue expanding locally appropriate vehicles for both adolescents and parents to stop child marriages—including school-and community-based reporting chains (anonymous where necessary), stepped up age documentation required for marriage, emergency justice responses to bring girls home, etc..</li> <li>4. Engage with faith leaders to ensure that they are messaging about ending child and forced marriage—including working with the Orthodox church to prohibit the marriage of priests and deacons to girls under the age of 18 and Muslim leaders to discourage child and forced (absuma) marriages.</li> <li>5. Develop—and use—justice responses (e.g. monetary or in-person fines) that locally resonate with parents who marry their daughters as children and for men who marry girls.</li> <li>6. Invest in outreach efforts—for girls, parents (and parents'-in-law), and husbands—to keep married girls in school (coupled with contraception).</li> </ol>

Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Accelerate the eradication of child marriage		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Institutionalize user-friendly and effective systems at national, regional, woreda and kebele levels for data collection on the extent of attitudinal and behavioural changes, effectiveness of preventive mechanisms and the levels of community involvement in the endeavours addressing HTPs. (HTP Strategy, pp.20)</li> <li>• Provide rights-based education programmes for women, youth and community groups through existing structures and institutions. (HTP Strategy, pp.22)</li> <li>• Increase the availability and accessibility of available specialized services through the deployment of trained personnel and adequate resources and by disseminating information on available services, their accessibility and significance to the public. (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.29)</li> </ul>	
Accelerate the eradication of FGM/C	<p><b>Goal 5: Gender Equality</b></p> <p><b>Target 5.3:</b> Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eliminate FGM/C by 2025.</li> <li>• Identify gaps in existing laws regarding children's rights and protection through research and undertake revisions accordingly. Particularly revisions in the family law will be assessed and enacted in all regions. (NCP, pp.25)</li> <li>• Establish and strengthen partnerships among governmental, religious institutions, community coalitions and non-governmental organizations. (NCP, pp.22).</li> <li>• Create an environment conducive to helping communities fight against harmful traditional practices that have negative impact on children's development. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Improve protection of adolescents against risks and harm under all circumstances (ADaP, pp.32)</li> <li>• Take all the necessary measures to ensure the survival and development of children. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Create an enabling environment to prevent and control child abuse, child trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices. (NCP, pp.21)</li> <li>• Mobilize the public to give due attention to children's issues through the celebration of different child-related events and through child-focused programmes. (NCP, pp.22)</li> <li>• Ensure and encourage print and electronic media to incorporate issues that help children achieve full personal, social and cultural development. (NCP, pp.18)</li> <li>• Enhance children's access to up-to-date publications and information that are child friendly and can increase their participation and encourage them to disseminate useful information. (NCP, pp.24)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Continue investing in awareness raising for parents (esp. mothers) about the risks of FGM/C where the practice is done in infancy or middle childhood—paying attention to gender norms and emphasizing other arguments as locally appropriate (e.g. rights, health risks, lack of religious text endorsement).</li> <li>2. Continue investing in awareness raising for adolescents—paying attention to gender norms and other arguments (e.g. rights, health risks, lack of religious text endorsement) as locally appropriate—and aiming to either have girls refuse to have their own bodies cut or to intervene with parents on younger siblings' behalf (depending on context).</li> <li>3. Step up efforts to engage with faith leaders so as to secure commitment to end FGM/C, and especially among Islamic faith leaders in regions where there has been the least progress over time (including Afar, Oromia and Somalia).</li> <li>4. Develop school- and community-based reporting chains that could be anonymously accessed by girls or other women to report FGM/C.</li> <li>5. Develop—and use—justice responses that locally resonate with parents /cutter perpetrators (e.g. financial or in-kind fines).</li> </ol>



Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Accelerate the eradication of FGM/C		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Broadcast local digital contents focusing particularly on cross-cutting issues and related topics such as environmental protection. (ESDP V pp.114)</li> <li>• Help parents or guardians to have the necessary awareness on child rights and better parenting skills as well as family planning in order that they give the utmost care to children. (NCP, pp.16)</li> <li>• Create awareness about international, regional and national laws, conventions and policies targeting families, communities, government and non-governmental organizations and other relevant bodies. (NCP, pp.22)</li> <li>• Conduct regular public awareness raising and sensitization activities on HTPs and the rights of women and children. (HTP Strategy, pp. 18)</li> <li>• Integrate sensitization and awareness raising efforts against HTPs with formal education programmes at different levels. (HTP Strategy, pp. 18)</li> <li>• Provide economic and income generation support for HTP practitioners (HTP Strategy, pp. 19)</li> <li>• Mainstream the preventive and elimination measures against HTPs in laws, policies and strategies. (HTP Strategy, pp.21)</li> <li>• Enhance the capacity of CBOs, religious institutions and traditional governance structures to get engaged in public awareness and concern on the rights of women and children (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.30)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. Invest in alternative rites of passage in communities where FGM/C serves as a rite of passage into adulthood and is actively sought out by girls.</li> <li>7. Provide cutters with training and alternative sources of livelihood.</li> <li>8. Invest in district level data on the incidence and type of FGM/C—as well as the age at which it is perpetrated—to speed elimination and investment in hotspot districts.</li> </ol>

Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Tackle age-based violence	<p><b>Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth</b></p> <p><b>Target 8.7:</b> Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.</p> <p><b>Goal 16: Peace and Justice and Strong Institutions</b></p> <p><b>Target 16.1:</b> Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere</p> <p><b>Target 16.2:</b> End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children</p> <p><b>Target 16.3:</b> Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mobilize the public to give due attention to children's issues through the celebration of different child-related events and through child-focused programmes. (NCP, pp.22)</li> <li>• Encourage the establishment and expansion of children's rights and well-being in community-based structures through community members' own initiative. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Take all the necessary measures to ensure the survival and development of children. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Create an enabling environment to prevent and control child abuse, child trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices. (NCP, pp.21)</li> <li>• Protect children from any form of sexual, physical and psychological abuse, exploitation of labour and trafficking. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Improve protection of adolescents against risks and harm under all circumstances (ADaP, pp.32)</li> <li>• Create awareness about international, regional and national laws, conventions and policies targeting families, communities, government and non-governmental organizations and other relevant bodies. (NCP, pp.22)</li> <li>• Ensure and encourage print and electronic media to incorporate issues that help children achieve full personal, social and cultural development. (NCP, pp.18)</li> <li>• Enhance children's access to up-to-date publications and information that are child friendly and can increase their participation and encourage them to disseminate useful information. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Ensure that schools achieve minimum standards which define the requirements to support effective teaching and learning in a healthy and safe environment; and by supporting community-based school management and decision making. (ESDP V pp.55)</li> <li>• Help parents or guardians to have the necessary awareness on child rights and better parenting skills as well as family planning in order that they give the utmost care to children. (NCP, pp.16)</li> <li>• Creating an enabling environment for prevention and controlling of involvement of children in activities harmful to their physical and psychological development, such as armed conflict, drug production, trafficking and other similar illegal activities. (NCP, pp.19)</li> <li>• Protect children from involvement in criminal activities and provide rehabilitation and integration services for juvenile offenders. (NCP, pp.20)</li> </ul>	<p><i>Teacher violence/at school</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Continue working towards smaller classes so as to facilitate classroom management.</li> <li>2. Invest in more teaching training and refresher training re non-violent classroom management.</li> <li>3. Invest in training for school management in order to shift the norms and expectations that govern teacher (and student) behaviour.</li> <li>4. Set up anonymous reporting for both students and parents and encourage them to use it.</li> <li>5. Invest in scaled up and altered PTSA groups that codify non-violent discipline responses.</li> <li>6. Invest in school- level mediation responses such are parent-teacher-student-management meetings.</li> <li>7. Sanction teachers who use violent discipline—eventually dismissing them (and referring on to formal justice) for recidivism.</li> </ol> <p><i>Parental violence/ at home</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Design and provide parenting classes that teach non-violent discipline and foster parent-child communication—consider rolling this out through the new social services workforce and through Parent/Teacher/Student committees.</li> <li>2. Train teachers to identify child abuse and report it to local authorities (anonymously where necessary).</li> <li>3. Train HEWs to identify child abuse and report it to local authorities (anonymously where necessary).</li> <li>4. Invest in community messaging about the right of all people to be violence free—and the importance of bystander intervention.</li> </ol>

Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Tackle age-based violence		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More protective and comprehensive legal and policy framework harmonized with the Constitution and international human rights standards facilitating prevention and response measures to VAWC and child justice in a multi-sectoral and integrated approach (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.27)</li> <li>• Mobilize and allocate adequate resources (human, material and financial) for the operation of existing and forthcoming specialized structures dealing with VAWC and child justice issues in an integrated and multi-sectoral approach (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp. 29).</li> <li>• Improve the efficiency and effectiveness of service providers in handling cases of VAWC and children in contact with the justice system from identification to reintegration (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp. 29)</li> <li>• Promote the engagement of existing community structures such as Idirs, youth centers and community-based correction centers as entry points for the provision of care and support services to survivors of VAWC (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.29)</li> </ul>	<p><i>Peer violence/ at home, school, in community</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Using school lessons, and school- and community-based clubs, implement hands-on activities (including role plays) that encourage words as a means of settling disputes—between peers and between siblings—and also encourages bystander intervention.</li> <li>2. Using school lessons, and school- and community-based clubs, focus on the gender norms that drive and perpetuate violence—paying attention to assertiveness training (especially for girls) and alternative masculinities (for boys).</li> <li>3. Using school lessons, and school- and community-based clubs, map out with young people what locations are safe and not safe and help them think through ways to avoid those spaces or make them “safer”.</li> <li>4. Invest in community messaging and mass media communications about the importance of bystander intervention.</li> </ol>
Tackle sexual- and gender-based violence	<p><b>Goal 5: Gender Equality</b></p> <p><b>Target 5.2:</b> Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Take all the necessary measures to ensure the survival and development of children. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Create an environment conducive to helping communities fight against harmful traditional practices that have negative impact on children's development. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Create an enabling environment to prevent and control child abuse, child trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices. (NCP, pp.21)</li> <li>• Protect children from any form of sexual, physical and psychological abuse, exploitation of labour and trafficking. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Ensure and encourage print and electronic media to incorporate issues that help children achieve full personal, social and cultural development. (NCP, pp.18)</li> <li>• Enhance children's access to up-to-date publications and information that are child friendly and can increase their participation and encourage them to disseminate useful information. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Broadcast local digital contents focusing particularly on cross-cutting issues and related topics such as environmental protection. (ESDP V pp.114)</li> <li>• Increase the role of media in creating public awareness on children's affairs. (NCP, pp.22)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Using school lessons, and school- and community-based clubs, focus on the gender norms that drive and perpetuate violence—paying attention to assertiveness training (especially for girls) and alternative non-violent masculinities (for boys).</li> <li>2. Using school lessons, and school- and community-based clubs, implement hands-on activities (including role plays) that encourage bystander intervention.</li> <li>3. Invest in community messaging about the importance of bystander intervention, including through 1-5 structures and through faith leaders</li> <li>4. Invest in messaging for parents/communities that survivors of SGBV are not to blame.</li> </ol>

Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Tackle sexual- and gender-based violence		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Help parents or guardians to have the necessary awareness on child rights and better parenting skills as well as family planning in order that they give the utmost care to children. (NCP, pp.16)</li> <li>• Create awareness about international, regional and national laws, conventions and policies targeting families, communities, government and non-governmental organizations and other relevant bodies. (NCP, pp.22)</li> <li>• Provide economic empowerment support for women and girls (especially adolescent girls) with entrepreneurship skills. (HTP Strategy, pp. 19)</li> <li>• Expand access and utilization for youth friendly reproductive health education and information. (HTP Strategy, pp.19)</li> <li>• Avail SRH services and programmes at schools and health centres, and for adolescents out of school, within youth centres (HTP Strategy, pp.19)</li> <li>• Organize capacity enhancement training programmes for media professionals to maximize nationwide dissemination of information on the rights of women and children and to augment the role of the community in the prevention and elimination of HTPs, and thereby utilizing the media towards social mobilization. (HTP Strategy, pp.19)</li> <li>• Develop practice standards and indicators that would help ensure and monitor the effective and efficient coordination of intervention programs at every level and by all sectors (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.30)</li> </ul>	
Invest in fit-for-purpose adolescent-friendly justice mechanism	<p><b>Goal 16: Peace and Justice and Strong Institutions</b></p> <p><b>Target 16.1:</b> Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere</p> <p><b>Target 16.2:</b> End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Take all the necessary measures to ensure the survival and development of children. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Create an enabling environment to prevent and control child abuse, child trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices. (NCP, pp.21)</li> <li>• Support youth to understand justice and democratic bodies and good governance by identifying the problems they are experiencing and organising around them to participate in democratic system building. (Youth Strategy, Section 5)</li> <li>• Protect children from any form of sexual, physical and psychological abuse, exploitation of labour and trafficking. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Establish and consolidate national, regional, zonal and Woreda level child rights and protection networks and forums and establish children's structures at all levels and strengthen the existing ones. (NCP, pp.23)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Continue efforts using school lessons, school- and community-based clubs, and mass media to raise young people's awareness of their right to be free of violence.</li> <li>2. Create and deliver campaigns to educate young people and parents about how to report violence.</li> <li>3. Ensure that justice mechanisms: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are physically accessible (e.g. are local and can be reached by young people).</li> <li>• Are socially accessible (e.g. are age- and gender-responsive).</li> <li>• Are safe (e.g. are confidential and provide protection from retaliation where necessary).</li> </ul> </li> </ol>



Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Invest in fit-for-purpose adolescent-friendly justice mechanism		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating an enabling environment for prevention and controlling of involvement of children in activities harmful to their physical and psychological development, such as armed conflict, drug production, trafficking and other similar illegal activities. (NCP, pp.19)</li> <li>• Protect children from involvement in criminal activities and provide rehabilitation and integration services for juvenile offenders. (NCP, pp.20)</li> <li>• Ensure due attention to children in contact with the law (those children who are victims of violence, brought to court as witnesses, juvenile delinquency, children whose parents are undergoing divorce, children of imprisoned parents, and children who are involved in civil cases). (NCP, pp.20)</li> <li>• Ensure speedy trial in cases involving children and a child-friendly justice system. (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Expand on the child friendly court system to improve the legal management of delinquent adolescents (ADaP, pp. 32)</li> <li>• Facilitate conditions so that child victims of sexual, physical and psychological violence have access to integrated legal and rehabilitation services (one-stop service). (NCP, pp.20)</li> <li>• Expand and strengthen environments conducive for child victims of violence to get appropriate rehabilitation services; expanding and strengthening child-friendly tribunals/courts. (NCP, pp.21)</li> <li>• Build and strengthen the capacity of organizations (police and law enforcement bodies, CSOs, FBOs, women and youth organizations, HTP committees, CBOs, Women Development Armies, gender activists, community change agents, health institutions, etc.) and ensure their enhanced participation/ownership on gender equality and social mobilization against HTPs (HTP Strategy, pp. 19)</li> <li>• Strengthen community policing efforts with special focus on HTPs against women and children. (HTP Strategy, pp 19)</li> <li>• Harmonize and reconcile civil and customary laws at federal, regional, zone/woreda and grassroots levels and strengthen implementation (with the active involvement of elders, religious fathers, tribal or clan leaders and other community-based structures). (HTP Strategy, pp.21)</li> <li>• Adopt new policies and laws to respond to newly emerging situations and further international and regional commitments with the view to ensuring the rights of women and children and to addressing HTPs. (HTP Strategy, pp. 21)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Secure improved prosecution rates, including through expansion of gender prosecution units and gender-sensitivity training for non-specialist prosecutors.</li> <li>• Result in punishments that are locally visible and meaningful.</li> <li>• Focus on rehabilitation where appropriate (e.g. young offenders are offered alternative solutions).</li> </ul> <p>4. Continue expanding one-stop shops where victims can access legal, medical, and psychosocial support in a single location, while investing in regular monitoring, evaluation, learning and adaptation of such centres.</p>

Bodily integrity capability outcomes	FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE AND BODILY INTEGRITY		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Invest in fit-for-purpose adolescent-friendly justice mechanism		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen the capacity of federal, regional and kebele/grassroots level actors and community policing structures to implement effective laws and policies in the prevention and elimination of HTPs. (HTP Strategy, pp. 21)</li> <li>• Establish a national review mechanism, whereby those organs in the justice administration system (police, prosecutors, judges and the administrative assistants) come together to evaluate levels of law enforcement, best experiences and practices, major challenges and the way forward, in the prevention and elimination of all forms of HTPs. (HTP Strategy, pp. 21)</li> <li>• Create equal access and expand affordable and user-friendly services for all women and children, especially for those who survive HTPs, by removing physical, social and economic barriers. (HTP Strategy, pp.22)</li> <li>• Provide legal aid for women and children affected by HTPs (HTP Strategy, pp. 22)</li> <li>• Provide and expand psycho-social support and safe house services for women and children affected by HTPs. (HTP Strategy, pp.22)</li> <li>• Provide capacity building programmes and specialized trainings for the professionals working in the main sectors engaged in response services (justice administration organs on gender sensitive investigation, prosecution and adjudication, health sector officers and those that provide psychosocial support). (HTP Strategy, pp.23)</li> <li>• Expand specialized one-stop centres throughout the country and other referral arrangements for the provision of comprehensive and integrated services for women and children affected by HTPs. (HTP Strategy, pp.23)</li> <li>• Improved system and capacity among all sectors and stakeholders to establish specialized institutions and sustained programs for the prevention and response to VAWC and child justice (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp. 27)</li> <li>• Increase availability and accessibility of immediate, relevant, comprehensive and effective care and support services to survivors of VAWC and to children in contact with the justice system in an integrated and coordinated manner (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.27)</li> <li>• Promote the meaningful and safe participation of survivors of VAWC and children in contact with the justice system in the design and provision of services (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.29)</li> <li>• Initiate the formal establishment of coordinating structures on VAWC and child justice at the national and regional levels with the mandate of coordinating comprehensive, multi-sectoral and multi-level prevention and response programs (VAWC Strategic Plan, pp.30)</li> </ul>	

# Annex 2: Quantitative data baseline results

Annex Table 1: Bodily Integrity (Young Cohort), Gender and Disability

	Overall				Gender				Disability Status			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Male	Female	% Diff (F-M)		No Disability	Disability	% Diff (D-NoD)	
					Mean				Mean			
=1 if Experienced Corporeal Punishment at School	4,644	72%	0	1	78%	66%	-15%	X	72%	71%	-2%	
Peer Violence Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,593	0.86	0	6	1.00	0.72	-28%	X	0.85	1.27	49%	X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence	5,593	46%	0	1	52%	39%	-24%	X	46%	59%	29%	X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, at school), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,588	0.58	0	6	0.66	0.50	-24%	X	0.58	0.65	12%	
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence at School	5,588	35%	0	1	39%	30%	-22%	X	35%	37%	7%	
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, away from school), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,588	0.43	0	6	0.54	0.32	-40%	X	0.42	0.86	103%	X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence Away from School	5,588	27%	0	1	33%	20%	-39%	X	27%	46%	72%	X
Peer Violence Perpetration Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,585	0.54	0	6	0.68	0.38	-44%	X	0.54	0.50	-6%	
=1 if Perpetrated Peer Violence	5,585	29%	0	1	35%	22%	-39%	X	29%	28%	-1%	
=1 if Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home	5,598	67%	0	1	68%	66%	-2%		67%	66%	-2%	
=1 if Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence	4,189	39%	0	1	43%	36%	-16%	X	39%	50%	27%	X
=1 if Know of a Place to Get Support After Violence	5,454	39%	0	1	43%	35%	-19%	X	40%	31%	-22%	X
=1 if Adult Female Caregiver	5,439	79%	0	1	77%	81%	5%	X	79%	79%	0%	
Married Before Age 18												
=1 if Married Before Age 18	5,600	0%	0	1	0%	1%	3208%	X	0%	0%	-100%	X
Relationships and marriage attitudes and norms	5,342	2.24	0	5	2.15	2.33	8%	X	2.24	2.38	6%	

Notes: This table summarizes information from GAGE baseline data collection in Ethiopia (2017-2018). Means are weighted to make results representative of the study areas. Differences between subgroups that are statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$  are denoted with an X, while those that are statistically significant at  $p < 0.10$  are denoted with an O. Disability is defined using questions from the Washington Group and includes difficulty in six core functional domains (seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, cognition, and communication). The Indicator for Experience of Corporal Punishment at School is an indicator for has ever experienced corporal punishment at school, including being beaten, hit, whipped, caned, forced to run/stand/kneel, or physically punished in some other way, among those enrolled in school at the time of survey. The Peer Violence Scale is constructed as the sum of indicators for has experienced (at least once in the 12 months preceeding survey), either in person or digitally, violence from peers, including: hurtful words, exclusion, theft/damage of personal property, physical violence, being forced to do something, or threats to the adolescent or someone close to them. This scale ranges from 0-6, and was not asked if the adolescent was aged  $\geq 13$  and married. The Indicator for Experienced Peer Violence indicates values of the Peer Violence Scale that are greater than or equal to zero. The Indicator for Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home includes experience (at least once in the 12 months preceeding the survey) of physical, verbal, or other violence at home, and/or witnessing physical violence against female guardian. The Indicator for Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence is constructed among those who have experienced peer violence or experienced or witnessed violence at home. The attitudes and norms index is a sum across several attitudes and norms statements, where for each statement respondents were assigned a '1' if they agreed or partially agreed and a '0' if they disagreed (in cases where agreement suggested a gendered response), and the reverse if agreement suggested a non-gendered response. Thus, higher values of the index indicator more gendered attitudes and norms.

Annex Table 2: Bodily Integrity (Young Cohort), Location

	Overall		Urban/Rural				Rural Location				Urban Location		
	Sample Size	Mean	Urban	Rural	% Diff (R-U)		South Gondar	East Hararghe	Afar	Sig Dif?	Debre Tabor	Dire Dawa	% Diff (DD-DT)
			Mean	Mean			Mean						
=1 if Experienced Corporeal Punishment at School	4,644	72%	75%	72%	-4%	X	62%	83%	70%	X	73%	77%	6%
Peer Violence Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcomes	5,593	0.86	1.14	0.83	-27%	X	0.79	0.96	0.34	X	1.45	0.87	-40% X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence	5,593	46%	57%	45%	-22%	X	44%	50%	22%	X	64%	51%	-21% X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, at school), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,588	0.58	0.90	0.55	-39%	X	0.52	0.65	0.16	X	1.16	0.67	-42% X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence at School	5,588	35%	49%	33%	-32%	X	33%	38%	11%	X	57%	42%	-26% X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, away from school), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,588	0.43	0.40	0.44	11%		0.38	0.52	0.28	X	0.50	0.30	-40% X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence Away from School	5,588	27%	26%	27%	6%		25%	32%	18%	X	31%	21%	-31% X
Peer Violence Perpetration Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcome	5,585	0.54	0.64	0.53	-18%		0.27	0.81	0.25	X	0.58	0.69	20%
=1 if Perpetrated Peer Violence	5,585	29%	35%	28%	-21%	X	19%	38%	18%	X	35%	36%	4%
=1 if Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home	5,598	67%	61%	68%	11%	X	70%	72%	36%	X	64%	59%	-8%
=1 if Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence	4,189	39%	40%	39%	-1%		33%	46%	27%	X	44%	36%	-20% O
=1 if Know of a Place to Get Support After Violence	5,454	39%	61%	37%	-40%	X	40%	37%	25%	X	63%	60%	-4%
=1 if Adult Female Caregiver	5,439	79%	46%	83%	78%	X	89%	79%	77%	X	58%	37%	-36% X
Married Before Age 18													
=1 if Married Before Age 18	5,600	0%	0%	0%	253%	X	1%	0%	0%	X	0%	0%	-100%
Relationships and marriage attitudes and norms	5,342	2.24	1.69	2.30	36%	X	2.24	2.14	3.39	X	1.75	1.63	-6%

See note in table 1



Annex Table 3: Bodily Integrity (Old Cohort), Urban Only

	Overall				Gender				Disability Status				Urban Location			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Male	Female	% Diff		No Disability	Disability	% Diff		Debre Tabor	Dire Dawa	Adami Tulu/ Batu	Sig Diff?
					Mean	(F-M)			Mean	(D-NoD)			Mean			
=1 if Experienced Corporeal Punishment at School	1,185	0.6107	0	1	70%	54%	-23%	X	62%	45%	-27%	X	63%	55%	63%	
Peer Violence Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcomes	1,314	0.9448	0	6	1.22	0.74	-40%	X	0.95	0.92	-3%		1.01	0.54	1.15	X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence	1,314	0.5023	0	1	58%	44%	-24%	X	50%	46%	-8%		52%	34%	59%	X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, at school), higher values indicate worse outcome	1,314	0.5953	0	6	0.65	0.55	-15%	O	0.60	0.40	-34%	X	0.67	0.33	0.71	X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence at School	1,314	0.3820	0	1	40%	37%	-9%		39%	26%	-34%	X	40%	24%	46%	X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, away from school), higher values indicate worse outcome	1,314	0.4740	0	6	0.76	0.26	-66%	X	0.47	0.66	42%		0.48	0.26	0.61	X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence Away from School	1,314	0.2718	0	1	40%	18%	-55%	X	27%	35%	30%		30%	15%	33%	X
Peer Violence Perpetration Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcome	1,316	0.5813	0	6	0.87	0.36	-58%	X	0.58	0.55	-5%		0.45	0.39	0.77	X
=1 if Perpetrated Peer Violence	1,316	0.2806	0	1	40%	19%	-51%	X	28%	30%	8%		26%	20%	34%	O
=1 if Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home	1,323	0.6134	0	1	64%	60%	-6%		61%	58%	-6%		58%	45%	73%	X
=1 if Has Talked to Someone About Peer/ Home Violence	963	0.4409	0	1	47%	42%	-11%		44%	43%	-3%		44%	27%	51%	X
=1 if Know of a Place to Get Support After Violence	1,325	0.8050	0	1	85%	77%	-9%	X	81%	73%	-10%		76%	79%	84%	O
=1 if Has Been Circumcized (females only)	655	0.2632	0	1	--	26%	--		27%	22%	-18%		18%	38%	24%	O
=1 if Adult Female Caregiver	1,265	0.4556	0	1	46%	45%	-4%		45%	59%	32%	O	51%	32%	50%	X
Married Before Age 18																
=1 if Married Before Age 18	1,333	0.0110	0	1	0%	2%	1005%	X	1%	1%	9%		1%	1%	1%	
Relationships and marriage attitudes and norms	1,298	1.6877	0	5	1.58	1.77	12%	O	1.67	2.03	21%	O	1.88	1.60	1.62	

See note in table 1

Annex Table 4: Bodily Integrity (Old Cohort vs. Young Cohort), Urban Only (Debre Tabor and Dire Dawa Only)

	Overall				Age				Gender							
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Old	Young	% Diff (Y-O)		Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)		Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)	
=1 if Experienced Corporeal Punishment at School	1,599	68%	0	1	59%	75%	27%	X	68%	52%	-23%	X	80%	69%	-14%	X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcomes	1,707	0.96	0	6	0.77	1.14	47%	X	0.99	0.61	-38%	X	1.19	1.09	-9%	
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence	1,707	50%	0	1	43%	57%	33%	X	50%	38%	-24%	X	62%	52%	-16%	X
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, at school), higher values indicate worse outcome	1,707	0.70	0	5	0.50	0.90	80%	X	0.54	0.47	-12%		0.86	0.93	8%	
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence at School	1,707	40%	0	1	32%	49%	52%	X	34%	30%	-12%		49%	48%	-2%	
Peer Violence Scale (0-6, away from school), higher values indicate worse outcome	1,707	0.38	0	6	0.37	0.40	8%		0.58	0.21	-64%	X	0.53	0.26	-51%	X
=1 if Experienced Peer Violence Away from School	1,707	24%	0	1	23%	26%	15%		32%	16%	-51%	X	34%	17%	-49%	X
Peer Violence Perpetration Scale (0-6), higher values indicate worse outcome	1,707	0.53	0	6	0.42	0.64	51%	X	0.54	0.34	-36%	X	0.69	0.59	-14%	
=1 if Perpetrated Peer Violence	1,707	29%	0	1	23%	35%	53%	X	30%	18%	-41%	X	40%	30%	-25%	X
=1 if Experienced/Witnessed Violence at Home	1,712	56%	0	1	51%	61%	20%	X	54%	49%	-8%		65%	58%	-11%	O
=1 if Has Talked to Someone About Peer/Home Violence	1,241	38%	0	1	36%	40%	10%		38%	35%	-8%		37%	43%	15%	
=1 if Know of a Place to Get Support After Violence	1,700	69%	0	1	77%	61%	-21%	X	81%	75%	-8%		65%	58%	-11%	O
=1 if Has Been Circumcized (females only)	432	28%	0	1	28%	--	--		--	28%	--		--	--	--	
=1 if Adult Female Caregiver	1,650	44%	0	1	42%	46%	12%		42%	42%	0%		46%	47%	4%	
Married Before Age 18																
=1 if Married Before Age 18	1,718	1%	0	1	1%	0%	-89%	X	0%	2%	--	X	0%	0%	-100%	
Relationships and marriage attitudes and norms	1,644	1.71	0	5	1.74	1.69	-3%		1.64	1.81	10%		1.71	1.67	-2%	

See note in table 1

# Annex 3: GAGE Ethiopia research sites

Annex Table 5: Urban and rural sites

Regional State	Zone	Urban sites	Rural districts (woredas)				
		10-12 year old cohort	10-12 year old cohort	Communities (kebeles) in-depth sites		Communities (kebeles) light-touch sites	
		15-17 year old cohort		Close to district town	Remote	Close to district town	Remote
Afar <sup>1</sup>	Zone 5		Dalifage Dewe Hadelela <b>Semurobi</b> Telalak	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>		
Amhara <sup>2</sup>	South Gondar		<b>Ebenat</b>  Lay Gayint Libo Kemkem Simada Tach Gayint  <b>Debre Tabor (zonal town)</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>F</b> <b>G</b>
Dire Dawa City Administration		<b>Dire Dawa (one of Ethiopia's largest cities)</b>					
Oromia <sup>3</sup>	East Hararghe		Babile <b>Fedis</b>  Gursum Haramaya Jarso	<b>H</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>J</b>	<b>K</b> <b>L</b>
	East Shewa	<b>Batu (district town)</b>	Adami Tulu Jido Kombulcha				

<sup>1</sup> An 'emerging' region which is largely pastoralist (nomadic and agro pastoralist); Afar ethnic group represents estimated 1.7% population. Note the quality of the data for Afar on age of marriage is believed to be problematic, in part at least due to limited numeracy among respondents.

<sup>2</sup> Amhara ethnic group represents estimated 27% of population

<sup>3</sup> Oromo ethnic group represents estimated 34% of the population

**Bold** = sites where qualitative research was carried out.

Annex Table 6: GAGE research sites by economic and social vulnerability criteria

Regional State	Zone	Urban sites	Rural districts (woredas)	Food security hotspot ranking <sup>4</sup> (July 2016)	Child marriage for girls 10-14 <sup>5</sup>	CM for girls 15-17 <sup>6</sup>
		10-12 year old cohort 15-17 year old cohort	10-12 year old cohort			
Afar	Zone 5				4.3%	6.3%
			Dalifage	1	7.9%	7.7%
			Dewe	1	2.3%	4%
			Hadelela	1	3.6%	5.5%
			<b>Semurobi</b>		<b>6.7%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>
			Telalak	1	1.9%	5.2%
Amhara	South Gondar		<b>Ebenat</b>	<b>1</b>	9.8%	29.4%
			Lay Gayint	1	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>36.9%</b>
			Libo Kemkem	n/a	7.1%	25.4%
			Simada	n/a	10.3%	32%
			Tach Gayint	1	11.6%	33.8%
				1	7.1%	25.3%
		<b>Debre Tabor</b>		n/a	8.9%	8.7%
Dire Dawa City Administration		<b>Dire Dawa</b>		1	12.6%	14.8%
Oromia	East Hararghe				15.2%	32.3%
			Babile	1	18.7%	41.7%
			<b>Fedis</b>	1	21.9%	53.1%
			Gursum	1	15.1%	28.3%
			Haramaya	1	21.6%	38.3%
			Jarso	1	15.1%	23.3%
	East Shewa	<b>Batu</b>	Adami Tulu Jido Kombulcha	1	10.3%	14.7%

<sup>4</sup> 434 woredas graded across multiple domains and then collapsed into a ranking 1–3 in terms of food (in)security – 1 is highest level of food insecurity (<https://data.world/ocha-ethiopia/76029294-3cbc-4bd0-8786-adc6475886>).

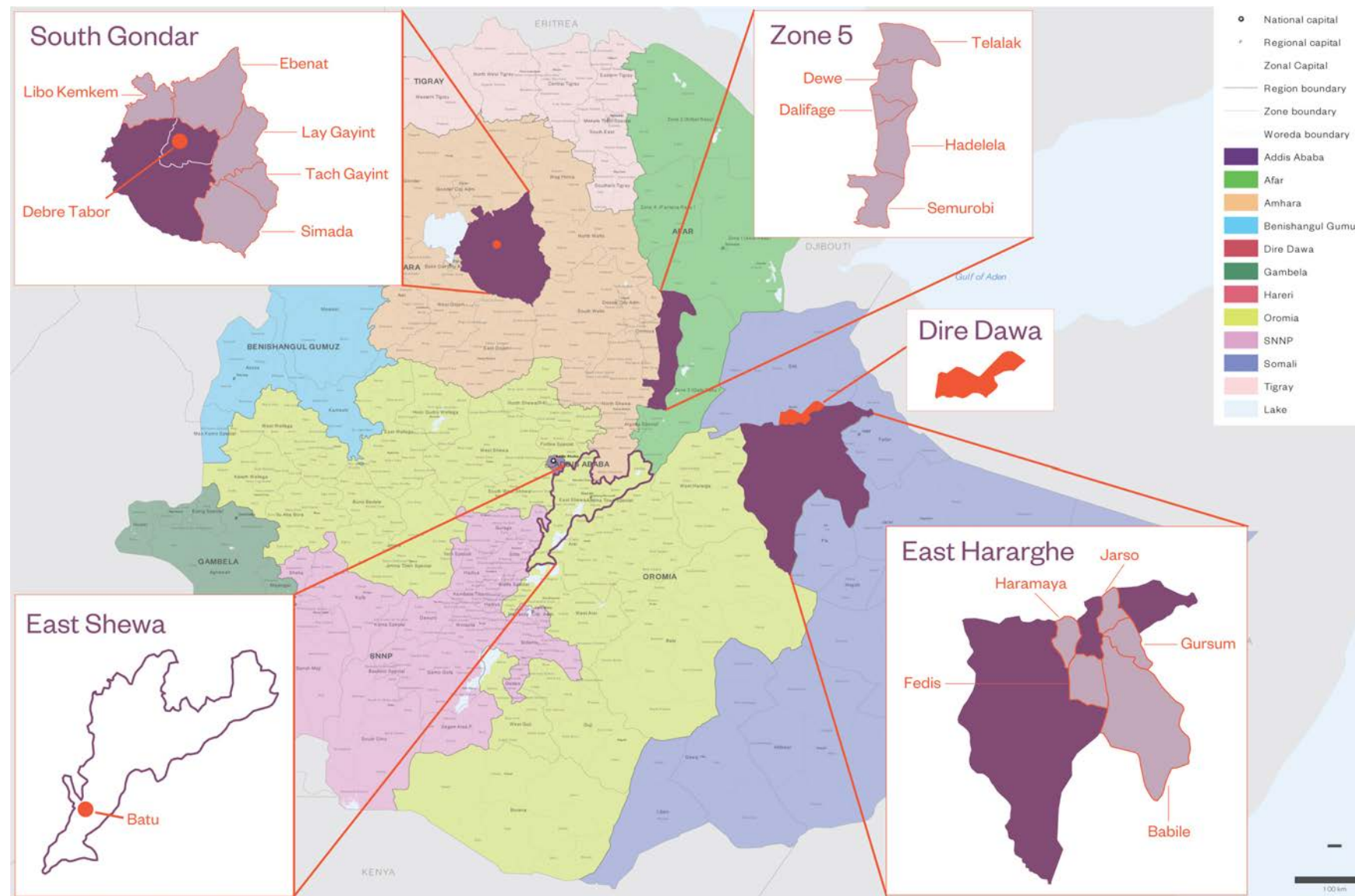
<sup>5</sup> As reported by the 2007 census

<sup>6</sup> As reported by the 2007 census

**Bold** = sites where qualitative research was carried out.



Figure 4: GAGE Ethiopia research sites broken down by region and woreda



Source: Based on the OCHA/ReliefWeb administrative map of Ethiopia (August 2017) and modified to show the GAGE research sites

# Annex 4: Research ethics, sample and methods

The information below supplements the methodology section in the main text.

## Research ethics

The key principles underpinning GAGE's approach to research ethics are as follows: (1) avoiding harm and protecting the rights of individuals and groups with whom we interact; (2) ensuring that participation in research and evaluation is voluntary and based on fully informed consent for adults and informed assent for adolescents 17 years ; (3) assuring the confidentiality of any information provided; and (4) having clear referral mechanisms in place for any adolescents identified by researchers as being at risk. Operationally, the Overseas Development Institute's Research Ethics Committee is the UK 'Institutional Review Board [IRB] of record' and George Washington University is the US 'IRB of record'. For Ethiopia, the study design was approved by the George Washington University Committee on Human Research, Institutional Review Board (071721), the ODI Research Ethics Committee (02438), the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI/DP/00689/10), and the Addis Ababa University College of Health Sciences Institutional Review Board (113/17/Ext). In addition, for the qualitative research we secured approval from regional government ethics committees in Afar, Amhara and Oromia Regional States.

## Community level sampling approach

In the case of the qualitative research, which involved a sub-sample of the quantitative research sites, we selected one rural district from each region, one remote and one proximate community for in-depth exploration, as well as three other sites where we undertook more light-touch data collection, (i.e. focus group discussions with community members and adolescents, and a limited number of individual interviews with adolescents), to gain some insights about communities that will, over time, see the implementation of distinct components of Act with Her's multi-arm programme design. Finally, although most of the qualitative research sample was selected from the randomised quantitative sample lists to achieve a balance of adolescents of different ages (10, 11, 12, etc.) and gender

of the household head (approximately 20% were from female-headed households, which is approximately in line with the national average, 74% were male, and 6% were child-headed households), we also purposely selected especially disadvantaged adolescents.

## Quantitative methodology

### Data collection and research instruments

The baseline quantitative data collection activity was conducted by experienced survey enumerators with local language skills hired by the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI). In addition to the sampling at regional, zonal and district level described above, to select communities or kebeles, we adopted a 'leave no one behind lens' in line with the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 agenda and categorised kebeles in all selected districts according to their level of geographic remoteness: (1) close to a town so having better access to infrastructure and services; (2) middling access; and (3) remote communities. In the absence of online data at the federal level, we determined this through key informant interviews during scoping visits prior to fieldwork.

To generate the GAGE quantitative research sample, a door-to-door listing activity was undertaken in all urban and rural research sites, following a specific protocol to ensure that the sample was consistently drawn across sites and to minimise the risk of overlooking particularly disadvantaged adolescents (e.g. those not enrolled in school, married adolescents and adolescents with disabilities). The listing activity identified adolescents aged 10–12 and 15–17 (urban sites only) living in the research sites, and the GAGE quantitative research sample was drawn randomly from this population. With assistance from and in collaboration with the qualitative research team, the EDRI survey enumerators also identified other marginalised adolescents in the community, and included them in the research sample as purposely selected respondents.

Once the GAGE quantitative research sample had been identified, EDRI survey enumerators administered face-to-face surveys covering all six GAGE to selected adolescents (the core respondent module) and their adult female caregivers (the adult female module), as well as adult male

caregivers (the adult male module) in a representative subset of households. Female researchers interviewed female adolescents, and male researchers interviewed male adolescents so that young people were able to talk more freely, especially about more sensitive issues such as relationships, puberty, sexual and reproductive health, attitudes, violence, and harmful traditional practices. Enumerators were trained extensively in the wording of the questions, as well as how to appropriately interact with adolescents. Additional interviews were conducted with key community respondents (such as kebele officials, school administrators, and health centre staff) in order to collect additional information on the research sites (the community questionnaire). This process resulted in 6,752 surveys in Ethiopia.

## Data analysis

Analysis of the quantitative survey data has focused on a set of indicators from each of the six capability areas identified by GAGE as pivotal for adolescents. Results are explored overall as well as across gender, age, geographic region, and disability status. The analysis uses sample weights that reflect the probability of being included in the study sample.

## Qualitative methodology

### Data collection and research instruments

The qualitative data collection was undertaken by a team of researchers with local language skills in each region; where local researchers were less experienced, more experienced researchers paired up with local language speakers. As with the quantitative data collection, female researchers interviewed female adolescents, male researchers interviewed male adolescents. We sampled a total of 240 nodal adolescents (approximately 15 per six main urban sites and 20 adolescents per six main rural sites, and the remainder in additional impact evaluation

programming sites) with the aim of reaching saturation.<sup>1</sup> The qualitative research team worked closely with local community facilitators to identify key informants and focus group respondents. This facilitated access as well as trust in the research process.

The nodal adolescent respondents were selected predominantly from the quantitative community lists described above, but purposive efforts were made to identify more adolescents with disabilities (approximately 15% of our sample), those who had been married as children (approximately 15% of our female sample) or out-of-school adolescents in communities where the random list did not yield adequate numbers of adolescents.

In terms of research instruments, we drew on interactive tools aimed at starting our conversation with the nodal adolescents by focusing on things they prioritise or deem meaningful in their lives. We also explored the services they access in their communities, and their family and social networks. Table 1 provides an overview of the tools and their purpose.

## Data analysis

The data analysis process has followed multiple steps. Preliminary analysis took place during both daily and site-wide debriefings with the team where we explored emerging findings and probed any surprising findings or emerging patterns during the fieldwork process. This also helped to inform the development of the thematic code book.

Following data collection, all interviews were transcribed and translated by native speakers of the local language, and then coded using the qualitative software analysis package MAXQDA. The code book we developed was shaped around the GAGE 3 Cs conceptual framework (capabilities, contexts and change strategies) but given the breadth of the framework, still allowed for local specificities to be incorporated.

<sup>1</sup> Guest et al., 2006 suggests that six individuals of any one social group is typically enough to reach research saturation in a given community i.e. after which additional insights generated are increasingly limited. We used this heuristic in our sampling in each site, then added additional especially disadvantaged adolescents to make up our total sample size.

**Annex Table 7: GAGE Ethiopia baseline instruments disaggregated by individual and group-based activities**

Individual instruments		Girls	Boys	Parents	Community Leaders	Service providers
A few of my favourite things	To use objects that are meaningful in an individual adolescent's life as an entry point to explore his or her perceptions and experiences across the six GAGE capability domains	140	100			
Social support network quadrant	To systematically explore who adolescents are able to turn to within their families and social networks for support and advice and why, as well as who they tend to avoid spending time with and why					
Worries exercise	To understand what are the predominant concerns in adolescents' lives and how they cope/ the extent to which they are able to be resilient in the face of these concerns					
Parents' life histories	To understand the life trajectories of parents of nodal adolescents and the ways in which these have shaped their approach towards and experience of parenting an adolescent			200		
Key informant interviews	To explore regional/woreda/kebele government officials', community leaders' and service providers' understandings of adolescent vulnerabilities and needs, and the extent to which existent programming is addressing these					160
Group instruments	Objective	Girls	Boys	Parents	Community Leaders	Service providers
Social norm mapping discussions with parents	To explore norms and practices related to more culturally sensitive adolescent-related issues, including migration, sexual and reproductive health, and disability			16 groups (128)		
Community timelines	To establish a timeline of the village/town/city in order to situate the individual findings				14 groups (112)	
Body mapping	To explore with younger adolescents norms and attitudes that shape adolescent transitions	9 groups (72)	9 groups (72)			
Community mapping	To understand adolescents' access to mobility and safe spaces, in their communities and beyond, including following migration	15 groups (120)	15 groups (120)			
Vignettes exercises	To explore more culturally sensitive age- and gender-related norms, including migration, disability, SRH	10 groups (80)	10 groups (80)	15 groups (120)		
<b>Total</b>		<b>784 adolescents</b>			<b>720 adults</b>	



Annex Table 8: GAGE Ethiopia baseline qualitative research nodal sample

Nodal sample												
		Early adolescents (age 10-14)		Older adolescents (age 15-19)		Siblings		Caregiver		Grandparents		Sample total adolescent
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Location	Urban	16	18	27	30	7	10	29	39	0	2	<b>91</b>
	Rural	45	74	1	1	12	19	36	54	2	18	<b>121</b>
	Pastoralist	15	17	1	3	8	6	17	20	0	0	<b>36</b>
Sub-total		76	109	29	34	27	35	82	113	2	20	<b>248</b>
With a disability		9	10	9	9	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	<b>37</b>
Adolescent Household status	Male headed household	59	88	12	18							<b>177</b>
	Female headed household	12	20	8	6							<b>46</b>
	Child headed household	3	1	5	5							<b>14</b>
Sub-total		74	109	25	29							<b>237</b>
Marital status	Married	0	6	0	9	(3)	(7)	(76)	(80)	(2)	(7)	<b>15</b>
	Divorced	0	4	0	2	(0)	(2)	(1)	(20)	(0)	(2)	<b>6</b>
	Widowed	0	0	0	1	(0)	(0)	(1)	(12)	(0)	(10)	<b>1</b>
Sub-total		0	10	0	12	(3)	(9)	(78)	(112)	(2)	(19)	<b>22</b>





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## **About GAGE**

Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) is a nine-year longitudinal research programme generating evidence on what works to transform the lives of adolescent girls in the Global South. Visit [www.gage.odi.org.uk](http://www.gage.odi.org.uk) for more information.

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