

# Adolescent economic empowerment in Ethiopia

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May 2019



# Table of contents

Acronyms list	V
Glossary	V
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>1</b>
Introduction	1
Research methodology	1
Key baseline findings	1
Change strategies	2
Policy and programming implications	3
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
Conceptual framework	4
<b>Research methodology</b>	<b>7</b>
Research questions	7
Mixed-methods approach	7
Research sites	7
Mixed-methods analysis	7
<b>Baseline findings on adolescent economic empowerment</b>	<b>9</b>
Economic aspirations	9
Market-appropriate skills	15
Access to assets and resources	17
Access to decent and age-appropriate employment	21
Access to age- and gender-responsive social protection	25
<b>Change strategies</b>	<b>29</b>
Engaging with adolescents	29
Supporting parents	29
Strengthening systems and services	29
<b>Policy and programming implications</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Annex 1: Policy implications</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Annex 2: Quantitative data baseline results</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Annex 3: GAGE Ethiopia research sites</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>Annex 4: Research ethics, sample and methods</b>	<b>49</b>

## Figures

Figure 1: GAGE conceptual framework	6
Figure 2: Map of Ethiopia with research sites highlighted	8
Figure 3: GAGE Ethiopia research sites broken down by region and woreda	48

## Boxes

Box 1: Overview of GAGE and our baseline report series	5
Box 2: Regional differences in employment aspirations	12
Box 3: Differences related to disability	14
Box 4: Daniel: 'A strong intention to be successful'	14
Box 5: Regional differences in uptake of TVET programming	17
Box 6: Khalid: 'Working for change'	18
Box 7: Differences in adolescents' control over economic resources by location	20
Box 8: Financial inclusion for adolescents with disabilities	21
Box 9: Megertu: 'They make you suffer a lot'	23
Box 10: Differences in adolescent work by location	24
Box 11: The impact of disability on adolescent employment	24
Box 12: Regional differences in access to the Productive Safety Net Programme	27

## Tables

Table 1: Adolescents' economic aspirations, (younger adolescents, aged 10–12 years)	9
Table 2a: Caregivers' economic aspirations for their younger adolescents (aged 10–12 years)	10
Table 2b: Adolescent and caregiver aspirations by age and gender	11
Annex Table 1: Economic Empowerment (Young Cohort), Gender and Disability	44
Annex Table 2: Economic Empowerment (Young Cohort), Location	44
Annex Table 3: Economic Empowerment (Old Cohort), Urban Only	45
Annex Table 4: Economic Empowerment (Old Cohort vs. Young Cohort), Urban Only (Debre Tabor and Dire Dawa Only)	45
Annex Table 5: Urban and rural sites	46
Annex Table 6: Research sites	47
Annex Table 7: GAGE Ethiopia baseline instruments disaggregated by individual and group-based activities	51
Annex Table 8: GAGE Ethiopia baseline qualitative research nodal sample	52



## Acronyms list

EDHS	Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey
GAGE	Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence
OPHI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Programme
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training
VSLA	Village savings and loan association
FHI 360	Family Health International

## Glossary

Delala	Broker.
Kebele	Community or smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia.
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.
Qeerroo	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.

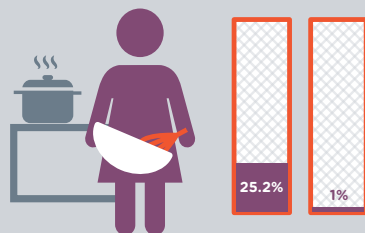


## Ethiopia: Economic empowerment

**Recommendation:** Promote and enforce safe, non-exploitative labour practices for young people; strengthen access to and quality of technical and vocational training pathways, and savings and credit programmes for adolescents; and ensure social assistance programming is informed by adolescent-, gender- and disability-specific lenses.



Female caregivers have high aspirations for their adolescents' futures in professional – not agricultural – employment



But there are major differences in aspirations for girls. In pastoralist Afar, 25.2% want their daughters to be homemakers, compared to less than 1% in rural South Gondar



Older boys are twice as likely as older girls to have control over financial resources likely because they are twice as likely to be in paid work



Nearly one-third of rural adolescents live in households benefitting from the Productive Safety Net Programme

**“ I wanted to continue my degree ... But my family stopped sponsoring me and I stopped learning ... Then I went to Sudan to work on the sesame harvest.”** 17-year-old boy, South Gondar

# Executive summary

## Introduction

While Ethiopia is one of Africa's fastest-growing economies and has seen significant declines in poverty levels over the past decade, high rates of multidimensional poverty persist. The effects on adolescents are particularly significant, including a high likelihood of involvement in child labour (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), 2017). There is a growing evidence base on young people's access to economic empowerment opportunities and the challenges of youth unemployment and under-employment, but this often overlooks gender dynamics, urban/rural differentials and the experiences of adolescents and especially very young adolescents who are excluded from labour statistics (Presler-Marshall and Stavropoulou, 2017).

This report on adolescent economic empowerment in Ethiopia seeks to contribute to these knowledge gaps. It is one of a series of reports presenting findings from baseline mixed-methods research as part of the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) longitudinal study (2015–2024). We focus on: adolescents' economic aspirations and the aspirations of parents for their adolescent children; the extent to which adolescents are able to acquire market-appropriate skills and access assets and resources needed for future economic empowerment; the availability of decent and age-appropriate employment; and access to age- and gender-responsive social protection. We pay particular attention to gender, regional and rural and urban differences, as well as differences between adolescents with disabilities and those without. We also discuss the change strategies currently being implemented to fast-track social change, as well as 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 baseline findings

- **Economic aspirations:** Adolescent girls and boys alike have high aspirations for their future livelihoods, as do their caregivers (with the exception of caregivers in Afar, who are more likely to envision their adolescent boys continuing with a pastoralist livelihood and for girls to be future homemakers). While urban adolescents generally have more specific career paths and goals and have some knowledge about what they need to do to reach these goals, their rural counterparts generally have very limited understanding of how they can translate their aspirations into reality.
- **Market-appropriate skills:** Although Ethiopia's technical and vocational education and training (TVET) opportunities are expanding, uptake among adolescents is limited due to perceptions that TVET qualifications are less desirable, minimum grade requirements, and cost barriers – except for in large urban centres such as Dire Dawa, where such courses enjoy a more positive reputation. Girls are accessing TVET centres, but pursue various courses that are perceived to lead to public sector employment, whereas boys appear more interested in courses that can lead to self-owned businesses.
- **Access to assets and resources:** In terms of control over one's finances, adolescents reported low levels of control (just 12% reported controlling their own income). There were important gender differences (for instance,

older adolescent boys are almost twice as likely to control their own finances as their female counterparts) and regional differences, reflecting greater access to the cash economy among adolescents in East Hararghe due to the widespread nature of khat cash crop production and marketing opportunities. Adolescents were found to have very limited access to savings opportunities, affordable loans and banking services.

- **Access to decent and age-appropriate employment:** Not surprisingly, older adolescents are much more likely to be in work than their younger counterparts (in urban areas, 17% compared to 3%). There is a significant gender gap, with older adolescent girls 50% less likely to be in paid work than boys of the same age and nearly 50% less likely to control money of their own. While there are limited regional differences among rural communities, adolescents from Batu in East Shewa are significantly more likely to be working than their counterparts in other urban areas (27% compared to 15% in Dire Dawa and 19% in Debre Tabor). Adolescents with disabilities face particular challenges in accessing employment opportunities due to infrastructural barriers, poor educational opportunities and community-level stigma and discrimination.

- **Access to age- and gender-sensitive social protection:** The government's flagship social protection scheme, the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) – from which almost one-third of the rural households in our sample benefit – has important effects on household consumption and covers some of adolescents' school-related costs. The programme does, however, have important age and gender limitations in practice, including the risk of families substituting adolescents' labour for that of adults on the scheme, and age- and especially gender inequalities in terms of distribution of the cash benefits within the household. The direct support component of the programme also has weaknesses in reaching adolescents with disabilities.

## Change strategies

Programme initiatives targeting adolescents and their parents are largely small scale and are limited primarily to setting up savings groups. At the services and systems level, the government's main focus is on TVET and the PSNP –which are at scale, and more recently on group loans for youth, but as our findings highlight, these have important limitations in terms of ensuring accessibility for the most vulnerable adolescents.



Adolescent boy with farming tools from Oromia © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019



## Policy and programming implications

Our baseline research findings point to the following policy and programming implications:

- Policy actors and practitioners involved in promoting economic empowerment should consider how to raise awareness about and enforce safe and non-exploitative labour practices, including in factories, industrial parks, as well as for domestic work (which is not governed by Ethiopian labour legislation) and for migrants to urban areas and abroad.
- In line with national legislation to promote labour rights, policy actors (including the bureaus of Labour and Social Affairs, Women, Children and Youth, Justice and Education) should consider how to improve anonymous reporting chains to report cases of labour exploitation and abuse (such as through youth centres, social courts, women's and children's affairs bureau offices and schools).
- The Ministry of Education and other educational and skills building providers should consider how to improve adolescents' numeracy and financial literacy, including through efforts to ensure young people stay in school up until the end of 8th grade to master foundational mathematical skills; and teach financial literacy (including budgeting, savings, how to open and maintain a bank account, etc.), in civics classes, as well as building hands-on programming into clubs, and in non-formal education centres.
- The Federal Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Agency could consider improving awareness and uptake of TVET services by providing detailed and accessible information and guidance on TVET opportunities (especially to rural adolescents and adolescents with disabilities), reducing cost barriers, creating TVET pathways that begin with primary school graduation, and targeting TVET programming to local job market needs.
- Government agencies, development partners and non-government organisations (NGOs) could consider scaling up access to savings opportunities for adolescents (especially girls), via clubs and youth centres, while regional credit associations could invest in scaled up access to credit programmes for older adolescents (especially girls), ensuring clear guidance, equitable access and fair repayment conditions.
- In line with the National Social Protection Strategy's commitment to inclusive social protection modalities, relevant ministries and development partners could work to ensure that the PSNP in rural and urban areas takes into account adolescent-specific risks and vulnerabilities, paying particular attention to the risks and vulnerabilities facing adolescents with disabilities, adolescents in internally displaced communities, and adolescent girls at risk of child and forced marriage.

# Introduction

Ethiopia has one of Africa's fastest-growing economies, and has substantially reduced the poverty rate from 61% in 1995 to 26% in 2013 – in part through its flagship public works programme, the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) (UNDP, 2015). However, in terms of multidimensional poverty, it remains among the poorest countries in the world (87%) (OPHI, 2017). Children are particularly deprived: in 2011, 94% of children still suffered from at least two deprivations that threatened their survival or development (Plavgo et al., 2013). As a direct result of high poverty levels, Ethiopian young people are very likely to work. Indeed, despite a legal minimum working age of 14, Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of child labour globally (UNESCO, 2012). Adolescent boys aged 15–19 are far more likely than girls to have been employed within the past 12 months (69% compared with 24%) (CSA and ICF, 2017), with girls more likely to be involved in unpaid domestic and care work. While youth un(der)employment is a national concern, given that high population growth has led to land fragmentation and is making it difficult for the economy to generate enough jobs, girls and young women are especially disadvantaged (Save the Children, 2013; Igbatayo and Babalola, 2014). The very limited employment opportunities open to girls are one reason why migration – including to the Middle East to participate in the 'Maid Trade' – is an increasingly common path for girls as young as 13 (Bezu and Holden, 2014a; 2014c; Jones et al., 2014b; 2016b).

There is a growing body of evidence on young people's economic empowerment in Ethiopia, but overall very limited evidence that focuses explicitly on adolescent girls and the opportunities and barriers they face in terms of access to skills, assets and resources, employment opportunities and social protection. There is less evidence still on the experiences of very young adolescents (under 15 years), because labour statistics tend to focus on persons aged 15 years and above (Presler-Marshall and Stavropoulou, 2017). This report seeks to address these gaps, drawing on GAGE's mixed-methods baseline research findings.

The report begins by presenting our key findings on adolescent economic empowerment. We follow the GAGE conceptual framework which defines capable adolescents as having: (1) aspirations about decent, rewarding and age-appropriate employment; (2) access

to market-appropriate skills, including numeracy and financial literacy and technical, vocational and business skills that go beyond gender-segregated occupations; (3) access to assets and resources, including land and other agricultural assets and access to savings and credit options; (4) access to decent and age-appropriate employment opportunities; and (5) access to age- and gender-responsive social protection (see Figure 1). Where relevant, sub-sections of this chapter explore differences by gender and context. Where our findings underscore significant differences in the experiences of adolescents with disabilities compared to those without disabilities, we also highlight these in a text box.

The second half of the report looks at our findings on the change strategies currently being used by different stakeholders, from the micro to the macro level. We discuss which interventions are perceived by our research respondents to be effective in supporting adolescent economic empowerment, as well as any shortcomings and key gaps. The report concludes by exploring policy implications of the baseline 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 Martha 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

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

GAGE is a unique longitudinal mixed-methods research and impact evaluation study 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 that 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, most of whom live in the Global South – the development community is increasingly recognising that adolescence offers a unique window in which to accelerate progress in tackling 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 prevalent in 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. In order to fast-track social change, understanding this divergence is key.

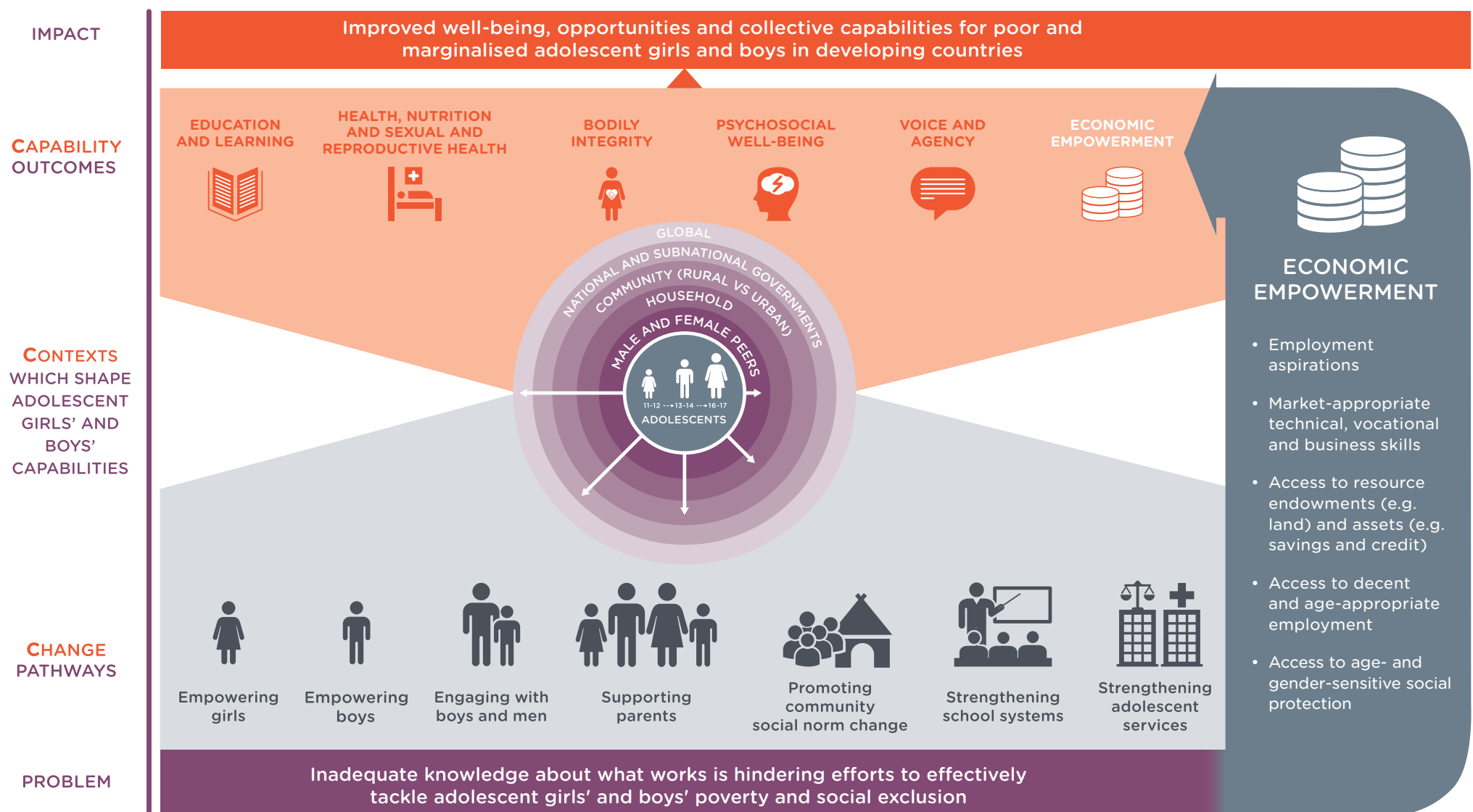
This report is one of a series of short baseline reports focused on emerging mixed-methods findings from the GAGE baseline. Based on our conceptual framework (see Figure 1), the reports will present our baseline findings about adolescent boys' and girls' capabilities in six key domains: (1) education 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.

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 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).

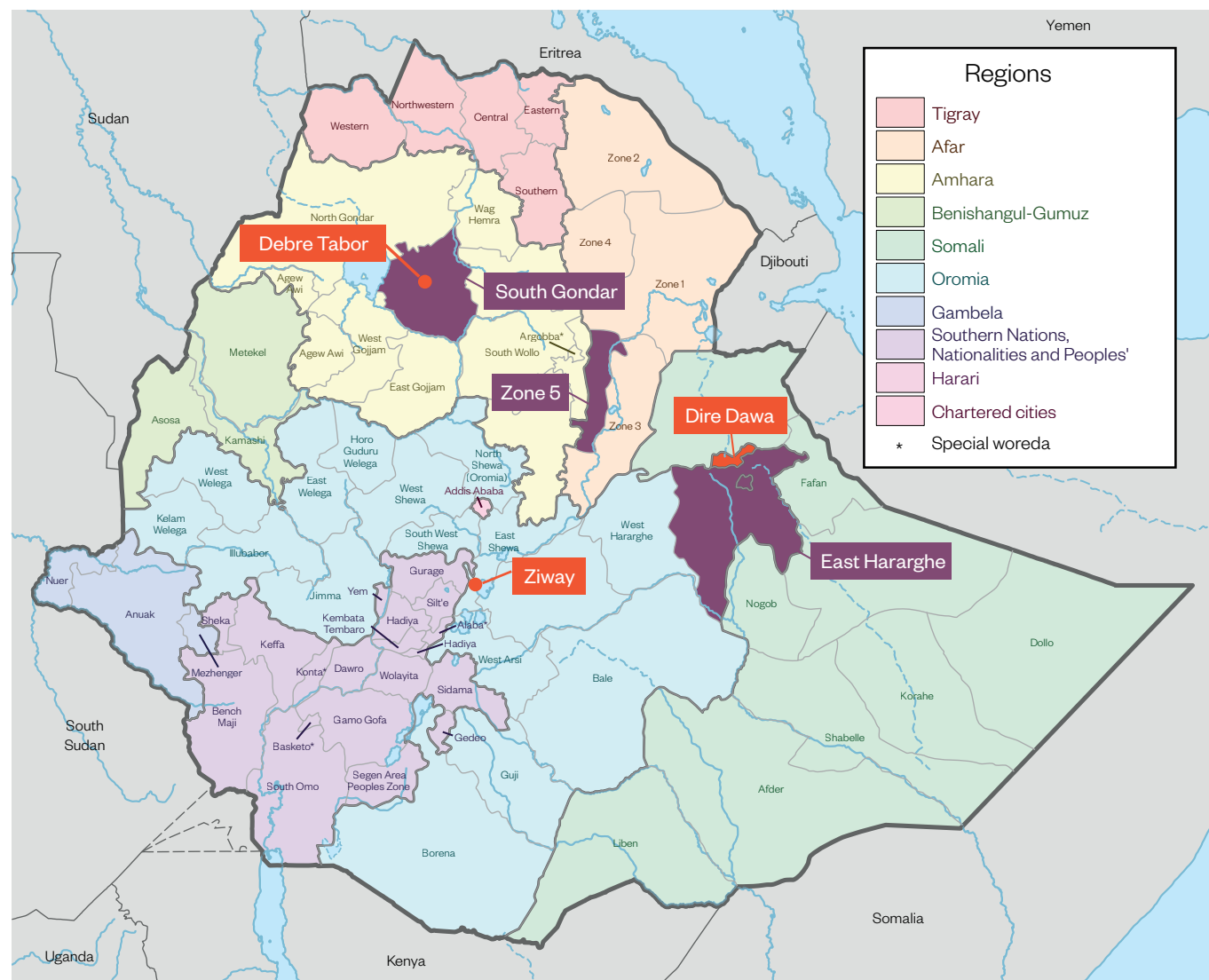
Given GAGE's strong focus on vulnerable cohorts of adolescents, in line with the 'leave no one behind' agenda, our sample includes adolescents who are especially disadvantaged, such as adolescents with disabilities, married, separated and divorced adolescent girls, adolescent mothers, and those from 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 economic empowerment

## Economic aspirations

Although most older adolescents are involved in agriculture (CSA and ICF, 2017), many young people and their parents no longer consider farming a viable livelihood option. Along with land shortages driven by population growth, a combination of other factors – including increased fertiliser prices, climate change, loss of soil fertility, negative attitudes that portray agriculture as ‘backward’ and ‘too demanding’ alongside changing aspirations due to education and modernisation – mean that agriculture is no longer appealing to many rural adolescents (Tadele and Gella, 2012; Jones et al., 2014b; 2016c; 2017). Evidence suggests that this is even more so for girls, who believe that independence requires education and paid employment (see also Tadele and Gella, 2012; Jones et al., 2017).

GAGE research findings confirm these general trends (see Table 1). Across all three regions, girls aspire to be teachers, health professionals (doctor, nurse), or other salaried professionals (such as a manager). In Afar, job aspirations are more diverse for females, also including (non-police, non-military) government work, religious leaders, own agriculture, or homemakers. Boys’ aspirations vary similarly across regions, from wanting to be teachers, doctors, or


salaried professionals (Amhara and Oromia), or additionally religious leaders or work in own agriculture (Afar).

As one 15-year-old girl from Semurobi, Zone 5 (Afar), explained: *‘We do not want to be involved in the same activities as our parents... Our parents are doing daily labour, it makes them tired. We want to be government employees.’* Furthermore, as the literature suggests, farming is becoming a less lucrative option, as one key informant from Community C notes: *‘These days, there is a severe shortage of farmland in our locality that would be allocated to our children while they establish a household. So, education is considered as one of the livelihood options, while farming as a livelihood is no longer viable.’* As such, adolescents are beginning to look beyond farming and herding towards a more varied range of career options. As a 19-year-old young man from Community B, Zone 5 (Afar), explained: *‘Herding animals is not a good thing this time. We are facing drought and the number of animals is decreasing. The better option is to learn and change our lives.’*

High aspirations for employment among adolescents were apparent, ranging from traditional occupations such as teachers and doctors but also starting to include other professions such as engineers, football players and

**Table 1: Adolescents’ economic aspirations, (younger adolescents, aged 10–12 years)**


	South Gondar		East Hararghe		Afar	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Teacher	38.0%	48.1%	25.5%	35.9%	20.6%	23.9%
Doctor	23.8%	24.3%	41.2%	27.9%	3.4%	6.4%
Nurse, health technician	4.0%	5.2%	4.8%	8.6%	6.0%	13.5%
Salaried professional (i.e., manager)	7.1%	7.5%	6.8%	4.5%	21.9%	9.1%
Clerical and secretarial work	0.8%	0.7%	0.6%	1.2%	2.5%	3.6%
Driver	4.9%	0.0%	3.2%	0.2%	2.4%	0.0%
Police, military	3.2%	1.4%	0.1%	0.2%	3.6%	0.3%
Government job (non-police/military)	3.7%	5.3%	3.5%	3.9%	2.5%	7.1%
Religious leader	1.6%	0.0%	2.3%	0.7%	9.6%	5.3%
Agriculture (farmer, sheppard, fishing)	4.0%	0.7%	1.9%	0.8%	19.9%	5.4%
Homemaker/housewife	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	4.1%	0.7%	14.2%
<i>Sum of these professions</i>	<i>91.2%</i>	<i>94.0%</i>	<i>89.9%</i>	<i>88.0%</i>	<i>93.0%</i>	<i>88.8%</i>

 We do not want to be involved in the same activities as our parents... Our parents are doing daily labour, it makes them tired. We want to be government employees.

(15-year-old girl from Semurobi, Zone 5, Afar, Ethiopia)

artists. In some cases, adolescents had high aspirations despite few role models in the community, as a 12-year-old girl from Community A, Zone 5 (Afar), explained who was also keen to broaden her language abilities possibly to have opportunities at income generating opportunities outside her region: *'I want to become exceptional from the community and become a teacher in the future. I also want to know more Amharic language... There is no female who has completed her education here.'* Gaining a driving license was highly valued as a route to employment for boys: *'They [male peers] will be drivers or police officers. Most of them are getting their driving licenses, they take 8,000 birr from their families to get the licenses'* (participant in a focus group discussion with 17–19-year-old girls, Community C, South Gondar).

Many adolescents conveyed aspirations to not only do well professionally, for themselves and their families, but also to serve their country, as one 11-year-old boy from Dire Dawa noted: *'I am committed to serve my country to*

 Herding animals is not a good thing this time. We are facing drought and the number of animals is decreasing. The better option is to learn and change our lives.

(19-year-old young man from Community B, Afar, Ethiopia)

*the end of my life in the future. I wish to become a medical doctor and I want to serve the Ethiopian people.'* Likewise, other adolescents expressed philanthropic reasons behind their career goals, including this 15-year-old boy from Batu, East Shewa: *'I want to be a president because there are a lot of uneducated people... If I become president, there are also lots of street children whom I want to raise and support as children of my own.'*

It is also vital to understand parental aspirations for their children, as these often shape adolescents' own aspirations (Favara, 2017). Our findings highlight that female caregivers are similarly ambitious, with most preferring that their children have skilled professional jobs (see Table 2). As one participant in a focus group discussion with mothers, in Aquashmoch (South Gondar) noted: *'We wish them to be like the school teachers or a doctor. The health professionals at the health centre, it is a good profession for our children.'* In East Hararghe, almost half of female caregivers aspire for their son to be a doctor (48.0%),

**Table 2a: Caregivers' economic aspirations for their younger adolescents (aged 10–12 years)**

	South Gondar		East Hararghe		Afar	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Teacher	18.1%	20.2%	13.0%	16.6%	15.5%	18.6%
Doctor	25.2%	24.0%	48.0%	34.7%	3.5%	5.3%
Nurse, health technician	5.4%	10.2%	8.1%	14.0%	2.9%	10.3%
Salaried professional (i.e. manager)	19.6%	17.1%	10.6%	9.3%	21.6%	7.7%
Clerical and secretarial work	0.9%	2.6%	0.3%	0.9%	5.0%	8.6%
Driver	0.7%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Police, military	0.4%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	2.9%	0.2%
Government job (non-police/military)	15.5%	17.2%	8.8%	9.7%	8.6%	7.4%
Religious leader	2.8%	0.0%	1.2%	0.5%	11.8%	4.3%
Agriculture (farmer, shepherd, fishing)	2.7%	1.0%	1.4%	0.0%	22.2%	4.6%
Homemaker/housewife	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	3.6%	0.3%	25.2%
Has no aspiration	1.7%	2.4%	0.9%	2.0%	1.1%	1.1%
<i>Sum of these professions</i>	<i>93.0%</i>	<i>95.8%</i>	<i>93.4%</i>	<i>89.3%</i>	<i>95.3%</i>	<i>93.4%</i>



**Table 2b: Adolescent and caregiver aspirations by age and gender**

	Overall		Young Cohort		Older Cohort		Female Caregiver (young cohort)		Male Caregiver (young cohort)	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Teacher	31.4%	24.3%	36.8%	27.4%	7.4%	3.9%	16.8%	14.1%	11.8%	11.3%
Doctor	28.8%	32.0%	27.8%	31.7%	33.2%	33.7%	29.5%	36.0%	34.3%	38.8%
Nurse, health technician	7.0%	4.2%	7.0%	4.3%	7.0%	3.5%	11.8%	6.0%	11.3%	6.2%
Salaried Professional (i.e., manager, accountant)	6.6%	8.5%	5.9%	8.3%	9.4%	9.4%	12.7%	15.1%	14.6%	17.1%
Clerical and secretarial work	1.1%	0.8%	1.2%	0.8%	0.8%	0.2%	2.3%	1.0%	3.4%	1.1%
Driver	0.1%	3.7%	0.1%	3.9%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.2%
Police, Military	0.7%	1.6%	0.8%	1.6%	0.1%	1.1%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%
Government job (non-police, non-military)	4.5%	3.6%	4.7%	3.6%	3.8%	3.1%	12.3%	11.1%	10.5%	9.6%
Retail (own or someone else's shop, commercial or financial business)	4.0%	2.5%	2.5%	1.6%	10.8%	8.6%	1.9%	2.0%	2.4%	1.5%
Skilled construction (mason, electrician, etc)	1.2%	2.5%	0.5%	1.5%	4.2%	9.4%	0.6%	1.1%	0.6%	1.8%
Tailor/Seamstress	0.4%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Mechanic	0.1%	0.7%	0.1%	0.5%	0.3%	1.8%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.4%
Computer/electronics technician	0.7%	2.0%	0.5%	1.1%	1.3%	7.5%	0.6%	0.9%	0.6%	0.8%
Religious leader	0.8%	2.4%	0.8%	2.6%	0.8%	1.1%	0.6%	2.7%	0.5%	2.8%
Agriculture (farmer, livestock care, fishing)	0.8%	3.6%	1.0%	4.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.8%	3.6%	1.1%	3.3%
Homemaker/housewife	2.7%	0.1%	3.2%	0.1%	0.5%	0.0%	3.7%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%
Other	9.2%	7.7%	7.1%	6.8%	18.5%	13.8%	6.1%	4.8%	5.3%	5.1%

and similarly for their daughter to be a doctor (34.7%) or a teacher (16.6%). In Amhara, female caregiver aspirations are split between sons and daughters being doctors (25.2% and 24.0%, respectively), salaried professionals (19.6% and 17.1%), teachers (18.1% and 20.2%), or government workers (15.5% and 17.2%). In contrast, primary female caregivers from Zone 5 mostly want their sons to be either salaried professionals (21.6%), teachers (15.5%), or to care for livestock or perform other own agricultural work (22.2%) but want their daughters to be homemakers (25.2%) and teachers (18.6%). Our survey findings further revealed that parents' livelihood aspirations for their children are consistent with the age at which parents expect their offspring to make key life decisions. Primary female caregivers expect both boys and girls to make key life changes in their twenties, including completing higher education and becoming financially independent.

Access to media outlets appears to have an important role in influencing adolescents' future career aspirations. For example, a 10-year-old girl from Dire Dawa explained that her aspiration to be a doctor stemmed from learning on TV that doctors *'help and heal the sick'* and *'transplant kidneys and transfuse blood'*. Some adolescents are aware of the way media can shape their aspirations. Participants in a focus group discussion with 16–18-year-old adolescent boys from Community H, East Hararghe, noted that differences in access to media (even within rural areas) play a part: *'People can learn through media. If there was electricity and they have TV they can learn from it. Even in the rural area there is a difference between those on the main road and off road ... they have better awareness ... If I see a doctor, I want to be like him. If I see an athlete who represented his country ... I want to be like him.'*

Our qualitative findings also suggest that parents from urban areas appear more willing and/or able to discuss

**Box 2: Regional differences in employment aspirations**


Regional differences in employment aspirations are marked. In South Gondar, aspirations are generally high among adolescents, and fairly similar across adolescents by gender – both boys and girls want to be either doctors (23.8% and 24.3%, respectively) or teachers (38.0% and 48.1%). This was also borne out in our qualitative work. As an 11-year-old girl from Debre Tabor, South Gondar noted: *'I want to be a medical doctor because that is what I deeply like from the bottom of my heart.'*

Although adolescents in East Hararghe reported wanting to be doctors and teachers (boys: 41.2% and 25.5%; girls: 27.9% and 35.9%), our qualitative findings suggest that they are more hesitant about their aspirations or the routes to achieving their goals compared to their counterparts in South Gondar. They often articulated their employment aspirations using non-specific statements such as *'to get educated and be in a big place'* (participant in focus group discussion with 10–12-year-old boys, Community I, East Hararghe). Low employment rates and a high reliance on khat cash crop farming in this region seem to play a part in adolescents' lower aspirations: as one participant in a focus group discussion with 16–18-year-old boys in Community H, East Hararghe, pointed out: *'The problem is they say, "What difference have those educated ones made?" They prefer farming. They say, "Educated people don't have jobs."* These types of attitudes are likely reinforced by a short history of education in remote rural areas of East Hararghe and broader disillusionment with education also found in other studies (e.g. WIDE).

In Zone 5 (Afar), adolescents have noticeably lower career aspirations and knowledge about potential educational and employment options. Boys' aspirations are grouped into salaried professionals (21.9%), teachers (20.6%), and livestock care or other own agriculture (19.9%), while girls' aspirations largely fall under teacher (23.9%), nurse (13.5%), or homemaker (14.2%). This is due, in part, to a lack of local role models, the predominantly pastoralist lifestyle (and associated challenges in attending school regularly), and for girls the focus on marriage rather than education.

In this area, 25.2% of primary female caregivers wanted adolescent girls to be homemakers, compared to 3.6% in East Hararghe and less than 1% in South Gondar. This view is mirrored in the qualitative data: as a father from Community A, Zone 5, noted: *'Marriage is our strong motive and so we give the highest attention for it. If a father has asked his daughter for marriage, she should give priority for marriage. It is our culture.'* These views also seem to shape adolescents' own aspirations: *'What would I do except working on household chores?'* asked one 12-year-old girl from Community B, Zone 5. *'I want to work; I want to do house chores like cooking and collecting fuel wood,'* noted another 10-year-old girl from Community A, Zone 5. Boys in Afar predominantly aspire to be salaried professionals and/or to take care of livestock, aspirations that were also expressed by their primary caregivers, who often see no alternative livelihood options. As a mother from Community A, Zone 5, explained: *'He will look after cattle.'*

The negative impact of living in rural settings on adolescents' aspirations is evident in the literature (Dercon and Singh, 2011). Our findings support this and show a clear difference in professional aspirations between adolescents in rural and urban areas, with urban adolescents able to imagine a wider range of potential futures. These range from gender-atypical aspirations (for example, a 17-year-old girl from Batu, East Shewa who spoke of her goal to *'become a star [football] player'*) to aspirations to turn hobbies into commercial success (a 15-year-old boy, also from Batu, who explained that his dream was to become a *'drummer and keyboardist'*). Adolescents from urban areas were also able to explain, in detail, the reasoning behind their career aspirations. For example, a 17-year-old girl from Batu explained that she *'wants to do research and get different medicines ... because there are a lot of people dying of cancer ... There is no cure for it up to now ... so I want to work on these areas.'* By contrast, adolescents from rural settings often aspired to well-known professions in the community because *'educated individuals become doctor or teacher'* (16-year-old girl, Community I, East Hararghe) but were unclear about what these professions actually entailed: *'I don't know. I will learn it in the future'* (12-year-old girl, Community L, East Hararghe).

 I want to be a president because there are a lot of uneducated people... If I become president, there are also lots of street children whom I want to raise and support as children of my own.


(15-year-old boy from Batu, East Shewa, Ethiopia)

future career options and advise their children. As a father from Dire Dawa explained: *'We discuss about business, ones that provides good profits and those that don't. For example, pharmacy provides good profits fast, it is good for someone who wants to get money.'*

### Gender differences in career aspirations

Boys and girls reported equally high career aspirations, with teaching as the most desirable profession (among boys and girls). Of our cohort in rural regions, 30.1% of boys and 40.4% of girls wanted to become a teacher, while 30.3% of boys and 24.4% of girls wanted to become a doctor. Unsurprisingly, differences by gender were more apparent when it comes to homemaking, with 3.5% of girls aspiring to take care of the family home, compared to no boys at all (0.1%). As described earlier, these differences were most notable in Afar, Zone 5.

Adolescent identities and aspirations, particularly among girls, evolve over time and are strongly influenced by their maturation and immediate circumstances. As girls get older, they will often see their potential employment and livelihood options shrink. This can be seen clearly with married girls who, in most cases, have had to drop out of school. In these cases, girls often turn to more practical and socially acceptable options such as having a small business or petty trading. As one participant in a focus group discussion with 16–17-year-old married girls in Community I, East Hararghe, explained: *'The chance of going to school passed us by, we think to succeed in area of business'*. This was also clear in our qualitative work, with a large proportion of married girls claiming that they want to


 The problem is they say, "What difference have those educated ones made?" They prefer farming. They say, "Educated people don't have jobs."

(A focus group discussion with 16–18-year-old boys in Community H, East Hararghe, Ethiopia)


*'open a clothes shop'* (14-year-old married girl, Community C, South Gondar) or *'do business selling grains like wheat and sorghum'* (16–17-year-old married girl, Community C).

The expectation of marriage can also impede career aspirations among younger girls, and especially those in rural communities. The weight of this assumed trajectory may result in girls being reluctant to express aspirations beyond education, for fears that these goals may not be reached. As one grandmother from Community I, East Hararghe, explained: *'Most girls got married and dropped out of school ... She is afraid to talk about what she wants to be in the future.'* Girls are therefore more likely to not express any clear career goals: *'I do not want to be anything. I do not want to do anything'* (16-year-old girl, Community B, Zone 5) or to leave the decision up to God: *'It is God that knows that'* (participant in focus group discussion with 12–14-year-old girls, Community H, East Hararghe).

Another clear gender difference which emerged was that while boys and girls both have high career aspirations, girls often frame their career aspiration within the context of marriage. This was observable among adolescent girls with very high aspirations (e.g. *'Before marriage I need to graduate with an economics degree and to work for three years in a civil service organisation, then after that I need to get married'* (17-year-old girl, Debre Tabor, South Gondar)), as well as among those with more modest goals (e.g. *'I need to be a teacher. I need to support my parents and my clan, then I will get married'* (10-year-old girl, Community A, Zone 5)).

 [She] wants to do research and get different medicines ... because there are a lot of people dying of cancer ... There is no cure for it up to now ... so I want to work on these areas.

(A 17-year-old girl from Batu, East Shewa, Ethiopia)

 Before, I didn't have any status in my household. But after I completed my college training, got a job and started to get a salary, they changed their mind and started to respect me.

(A 18-year-old adolescent boy with a hearing impairment, Dire Dawa, Ethiopia)

**Box 3: Differences related to disability**

Both our quantitative and qualitative work found that adolescents with disabilities did not allow their impairment to curb their future aspirations. Nearly half of adolescents with disabilities report aspiring to be a doctor or teacher one day, a finding that holds for boys and girls. As one 16-year-old girl with a disability from Debre Tabor, South Gondar, explained: *'I want to be a civil servant, employed in government offices because I want to live by my own because I am no different from or inferior to others'*. In fact, adolescents' own vulnerabilities were often key drivers of their aspirations, leading them to seek careers that could help others facing similar challenges. A 17-year-old girl with a disability from Debre Tabor, South Gondar, noted that she *'needs to be a doctor ... to give support for those who have physical disabilities'*. Similarly, another 17-year-old girl with a disability from Batu, East Shewa, explained that *'I want to become a teacher, since I want to support individuals with hearing disability'*.

**Box 4: Daniel: 'A strong intention to be successful'**

Daniel is an 18-year-old boy who has recently moved to Dire Dawa from Addis Ababa to open his own business as an optician. Deaf since birth, he is determined to build a successful future – despite the limitations that his family and teachers tried to impose on him.

Daniel attended – and did well at – a school for deaf children through to the end of 8th grade. When he transferred to secondary school, however, *'education was provided with voice and no sign language, thus we were suffering hugely'*. Because he could not understand his teachers, he failed to score well enough on the 10th grade exam to progress on to preparatory school. While his parents *'perceived that I couldn't achieve anything'*, he enrolled in a technical and vocational education and training (TVET) course to study to be an electrician. Unfortunately, he once again ran into accessibility issues and was forced to drop out.

By chance, Daniel met a doctor who told him about an opportunity to study *'optical eyeglass production'* through which he could *'contribute in healing people with problems'*. Sensitive to the impacts of disability, Daniel enrolled at the Misrach Centre in Addis Ababa and spent the next two years learning how to make and fit glasses for those with visual impairments.

Recently, Daniel was visiting his cousin in Dire Dawa when he learned about an opportunity to go into business there: *'I heard that there were no optical eyeglass producers available in Dire Dawa. There are only traders who bring the eyeglasses from Addis Ababa ... But that could be dangerous as they lack the required technical training – despite this work being associated with the most sensitive body part, our eyes. As a result, I decided to work here.'*

Daniel's aspirations for his future have been shaped by his friend, *'who attended some training on woodwork and became successful in his business'*. Noting that his role model *'already has his own house and vehicle and is ... married and has a child'*, Daniel explained that he has *'a strong intention to be successful like him'*.

Indeed, although his business had only been going for a month at the time of the interview, Daniel had ambitions: *'I intend to expand my business further to the neighbouring towns – Harar, Jijiga and the like – in order to enhance my income'*. Although for now he is using his mobile phone to *'communicate through text messages'* with people who *'don't know the sign language'*, he admits that it is *'difficult'*. As business picks up, his first step will be to hire another person without a hearing disability who can communicate with clients to market the glasses, so that he can focus on producing them.

Daniel's dedication to building his own future has had an unexpected benefit – in that his family now respects him: *'Before, I didn't have any status in my household. But after I completed my college training, got a job and started to get a salary, they changed their mind and started to respect me.'* There is, he concluded, no better motivation for success.





Adolescent girl in Dire Dawa © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

## Market-appropriate skills

Despite significant progress in promoting primary education for all, Ethiopia is one of five countries globally where over half of young people aged 15–24 lack basic skills (UNESCO, 2012). While the country has officially integrated financial education (including a unit on savings, planning and budgeting) into the school curriculum (Hopkins et al., 2012), our qualitative research found no evidence that such skills-building was actively implemented.

However, the government is focusing on TVET as a key instrument through which to develop the skills appropriate for economic growth and to contribute to national plans for transitioning to a knowledge-based economy and achieving middle-income status (Admassie et al., 2015; Ministry of Education, 2015). Our findings highlight the increased TVET opportunities open to adolescents now, as a key informant in Dire Dawa noted: *'In the past, when a student failed in grade 10, they didn't have any alternative. Today, students have various opportunities to resume their education such as in technical and vocational education colleges...'* That said, although the government has been scaling up TVET opportunities, uptake of formal training remains low (Belete, 2011) while

TVET enrolment has actually declined in recent years (Ministry of Education, 2018).

Many young people in our sample reported that if they fail to get the requisite exam scores to attend university, they would prefer not to turn to TVET because it lacks the prestige of a university education, and is also quite costly. As one older adolescent boy from Community C (South Gondar) explained: *'I didn't want to join TVET originally as it costs 90 birr per month ... Instead, I wanted to continue my degree ... Later I joined a diploma course in electricity at the Ebenat TVET college. But my family stopped sponsoring me and I stopped learning ... Then I went to Sudan to work on the sesame harvest.'*

The high cost of attending TVET appears to be a major barrier for adolescents. A 19-year-old young woman from Community C, South Gondar, noted: *'My father is 83 years old and he can't afford to cover my [TVET] education cost. That is why I chose to get involved in my own business rather than being a burden to my parents.'* Some of the mothers in our sample also highlighted that these courses are not readily available for adolescents with lower educational attainment: *'It may be available but you may need to have acceptable scores to join those TVET'*

*institutes. But those who didn't score well should also get training. Someone shouldn't be left to simply sit and waste his time because he couldn't achieve a good [exam] result.'*


Nonetheless, TVET can provide an alternative route to employment for adolescents who may otherwise be excluded from the job market. *'So the day I learned I failed 12th grade is my worst day. My happiest day was when I got to fashion design school. I was so happy'* (18-year-old girl, Batu, East Shewa). As a kebele (village) administrator in Batu explained, TVET courses have become increasingly diverse over time: *'The skills are many. They can engage in cattle-rearing, fattening, cattle trade, dairy farm, barber for men and women; restaurants, garages, washing cars ... It is determined by the interest of the youths.'*

Respondents noted, however, that demand for particular courses was shaped by both gender and location. For example, female preparatory students in Batu noted that while boys have many course options, because they have many employment options, *'girls prefer to learn computer science or IT [Information Technology]'* – in part because those jobs are more open to girls/young women. In rural areas, shorter courses such as bee-keeping, alongside basic financial training, are often preferred. As a Youth League key informant from Community F, South Gondar, noted, there is considerable demand for learning *'how to handle the money, especially the ways by which they are recording their daily expenditure and revenue, on how to prepare their income statement and financial statements to know their profits or loss'*.

## Gender differences in TVET participation

Existing evidence shows that female participation in TVET courses is increasing, with girls now accounting for half of all those enrolled – partly due to the government's commitment to affirmative action as a means of fostering gender equality (Ministry of Education, 2018). Our findings confirm this, and highlight the generational change in the number of girls attending TVET college, as a key informant from Debre Tabor, South Gondar, noted: *'In the past, the number of women in the college was not more than 25% to 30% ... Now the situation is different. Women account for 55% and the men 45% ... Hotel management, hairdressing professionals and the like. A number of women study these fields.'*


Yet, the skills gap remains highly gendered. The literature shows that girls mostly attend courses on textiles and hospitality and are under-represented in traditional technical occupations, which are perceived to be 'male'

 Those who are financially in a better situation teach their children further when they fail 10th grade. They learn vocational training. They have to pay 4,000–5,000 birr.

(A mother from Community D, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

(Biazen and Abegaz, 2009) – an issue the government has recognised and plans to tackle (CEDAW Committee, 2010; 2011; Ministry of Education, 2015). Adolescents in our study also noted that boys and girls tended to select different types of course. Whereas in the past, girls risked being confined to gender-stereotypical courses such as hairdressing, catering and secretarial skills (Tefera and Pereznieta, 2013), our findings suggest that this is beginning to shift; nevertheless, girls tend to choose courses that lead to employment in the public sector, whereas boys are more likely to take construction and engineering courses with a view to setting up their own business. As one adolescent boy in Dire Dawa explained: *'Boys usually take technical and labour-demanding courses at TVET. They open their own businesses. But girls prefer to learn computer science or IT and will try to get employment.'*

The lack of prestige associated with TVET colleges also appears to have greater implications for adolescent girls than boys. As a 17-year-old girl from Debre Tabor, South Gondar, explained: *'If we enrol in TVET, especially in the rural community, people assume that we failed because we developed inappropriate behaviour and assumed we have a sexual relationship with others. They label us as girls who engage in bad behaviour.'* This perceived 'failure' in attending technical college rather than university appears to brand adolescent girls as having acted inappropriately and may well influence their decision about whether to enrol in a TVET college.

 If we enrol in TVET, especially in the rural community, people assume that we failed because we developed inappropriate behaviour and assumed we have a sexual relationship with others. They label us as girls who engage in bad behaviour.

(A 17-year-old girl from Debre Tabor, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

### Box 5: Regional differences in uptake of TVET programming

There are clear regional differences in perceptions of, and access to, market-appropriate skills training. In South Gondar, TVET colleges are available, yet many adolescents are unwilling to attend as they have negative perceptions of the colleges. As one key informant from Community E (South Gondar) explained: *'They don't want to join the technical and vocational trainings, their attitude towards technical and vocational training is not good'*. A father of an adolescent girl from Community C commented, *'Yes, they can join the TVET college. But my daughter refused to join.'* Vocational training is also considered too expensive by some parents. As a mother from Community D, South Gondar, explained: *'Those who are financially in a better situation teach their children further when they fail 10th grade. They learn vocational training. They have to pay 4,000–5,000 birr.'*

Within our qualitative sample, in both rural East Hararghe and Zone 5, Afar, we found no evidence of adolescents participating in market skills training. This is perhaps unsurprising considering the limited number of adolescents in our study sites – especially those in Afar – who complete formal education and the minimum grade requirements to enter TVET college. As one of a group of boys from Community A, Zone 5, explained, Grade 6 is the (perceived) highest level of education for boys in Community A: *'We don't know anyone who gets past this level.'*\*

Access to technical and skills training is notably greater in urban regions. Our findings highlighted good access to technical skills training in Dire Dawa in particular, likely because it is a considerably larger urban centre than Batu or Debre Tabor. As participants in a community timeline exercise noted: *'This college is now giving training for many adolescents. In the past, when a student failed grade 10, there was no alternative. Today, most adolescents have the opportunity to get training in different technical and vocational skills.'* Adolescents in Dire Dawa also appear to have more positive perceptions of TVET. As a 17-year-old boy explained: *'Most children attend TVET after they complete grade 10 here. Children who attend TVET have a better chance to get a job compared to children who go to university.'*

Even within urban settings, access to market skills training is varied, and is largely dependent on adolescents' ability to travel to neighbouring urban centres. This is particularly apparent in Batu, East Shewa. Technical schools often offer training courses only up to a certain level, requiring adolescents to travel if they wish to complete the final levels. For example, one 16-year-old boy from Batu, talking about his brother's experience, noted: *'He took the exam and then continued to level 3 but then he stopped after taking a Certificate of Competence because there is no level 4 here.'*


\* The Ministry of Education determines score cut off points for the entrance examination to TVET based on available places in TVET colleges, but students should at least complete the grade 10 national examination to fulfil the entrance criteria. . Individuals who do not get sufficiently high scores to go to university during the national exam at the end of grade 12 may also be eligible (Krishnan and Shaorshadze, 2013).

## Access to assets and resources

Adolescents' access to productive assets such as land and livestock, and to financial resources such as savings accounts and credit, appears relatively limited – especially for girls and younger adolescents (Bekele and Worku, 2008; Bezu and Holden, 2014a; 2014b; CSA and ICF, 2017). While there have been important changes in women's legal rights to land ownership and inheritance over the past 20 years, this did not emerge as an important issue for the adolescents or their caregivers in our research findings. By contrast, access to savings, loans and financial inclusion did emerge as important constraints. For example, the latest Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey (EDHS) (2016) reports that of all adolescents aged 15–19, only 8% of girls and 10% of boys use a bank account (CSA and ICF, 2017). These findings are generally supported by the GAGE

survey results, with only 12% of younger adolescents, and 29% of older urban adolescents (aged 15–17), reporting having any control over their own financial resources).

Those adolescents who lack access to their own financial resources hope for the opportunity to receive a loan, though access to such credit is also fairly restricted: our qualitative research found that only a small number of older urban adolescent boys had access to loans, due either to a lack of collateral or bureaucratic obstacles in

 I should learn and I will be able to teach my friends, my brothers. I have the responsibility to do so ... to do well for my country.

(A 16-year-old boy living in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia)



**Box 6: Khalid: 'Working for change'**

Khalid is a 16-year-old boy living in Dire Dawa with his mother. They are supported by his father and two older brothers who work in Djibouti. Khalid wants to become a computer specialist and help develop Ethiopia. He is dismayed that most of his peers *'do not think like me'* and concentrate only on *'trying to get money'* rather than investing in their future. He disapproves of the way his peers use technology – *'to watch pornographic films'* – believing that they are tarnishing the country's image. He believes young people should use their talents and voices for the greater good.

When Khalid left school, after 10th grade, he took a job *'working with a man who had a mobile phone centre ... After six months I learned everything about computer maintenance.'* The shop owner recognised his competence and even though Khalid was young, appointed him as the main maintenance worker. Although Khalid was proud of his position, and making an adequate income for a young boy, he eventually decided to stop working and go back to school: *'I stopped because I wanted to continue my college education to improve my computer technology knowledge. I knew that I had the skill and I thought that I should become certified.'*


Khalid's decision was driven not by a desire to earn more, but to help launch Ethiopia into the information age: *'I decided to stop because I should not think about money only ... I should learn and I will be able to teach my friends, my brothers. I have the responsibility to do so ... to do well for my country.'* Indeed, he is convinced that technology has the power to transform Ethiopia: *'Mobiles and computers are important in people's lives. People can get information and communicate with others around the world through mobile phones and the internet. You can send money to other banks and customers ... You can also buy goods using the internet ... These are important for the development of the nation.'*

Recognising that his goal of studying *'computer security'* is a longer-term one, which will require him to pass certain national exams, Khalid is combining classes at a TVET centre with self-directed study. At TVET, he studies mechanical engineering, for two reasons: *'Firstly, I did not get good enough results to join the computer department. Secondly, our teachers do not have good knowledge in computer science.'* After his engineering classes each day, Khalid goes to the library: *'... to learn computer skills and how to use different applications. I will just teach myself. I can learn how internet hackers work to disturb the works of banks and other financial institutions.'*

He has strong views about how technology should not be used: *'I read yesterday that Ethiopia is the top country in the world when it comes to watching pornographic films ... It undermines our country, it affects our national image ... Now I have no power ... to protect the country from harmful things released through social media ... but I plan to develop the skills to achieve this ... I want to change my country's image for the future.'*

the application process. Governmental loan schemes can require either money or land as collateral, but even those with access to collateral are not always willing to risk it, fearful of losing what they have to high interest rates or project failure. More often, as other studies have also highlighted (e.g. Pankhurst and Dom, 2019), collateral is simply unavailable, as a 16-year-old adolescent girl from Debre Tabor explained: *'Recently, when I again asked the person registering unemployed youths, he told me to take 10,000 birr as a loan and start poultry farming. However, I have no one who can sign the guarantee to take this amount of money. So I ask the government to consider the problem of the poor ... Yes, there are lots of girls in town with similar problems like me ... There is also another girl I know and she asked the government to give her a loan. She was also asked, as I was, to form a group, but like me, she has no money.'*

To overcome the challenges facing young people in providing the collateral needed for loans, the government has promoted group loans for youths. Although there were some exceptions, the overwhelming reports about this scheme were of frustration at lengthy delays, the limited

 Recently, when I again asked the person registering unemployed youths, he told me to take 10,000 birr as a loan and start poultry farming. However, I have no one who can sign the guarantee to take this amount of money. So I ask the government to consider the problem of the poor....

(A 16-year-old adolescent girl from Debre Tabor, South Gondar, Ethiopia)





amount of capital available, and restrictions in place for getting loans approved. One 18-year-old adolescent boy from Debre Tabor who works as a daily labourer described the bureaucratic hurdles he had had to confront, including age requirements and formal identification papers that are often especially challenging for migrants to obtain: *'One government group loan programme required participants to be at least 20 years old... so I tried to pursue an alternative job association programme. I then found I lacked the required identification. This would have cost 80 birr to renew – money I did not have.'* Adolescents are also wary of group loan schemes, because while only one group member may be required to present collateral for a whole group, the burden of repayment falls only on that individual. As a 17-year-old boy from Batu explained securing collateral typically requires intergenerational cooperation and may reinforce inequalities as it is more likely something that better off households could afford: *'In case the money obtained through credit is wasted, it is up to the individual who provided the collateral to pay the money. So people fear delivering a title deed to get credit, and a majority of youths do not access the credit service.'*

While adolescents do sometimes participate in savings programmes through their schools or adolescent clubs, access to formal bank is very limited. As one older boy from Community C (South Gondar) noted: *'I try to save up even though it is not much ... I have a savings book*

*in the bank ... I want to continue my education, if my family supports me, and through my savings ... I want to join a private college ... and then become a government employee.'* Age requirements are also a barrier to adolescents accessing formal institutions, as one 17-year-old boy from Dire Dawa explained: *'I have a saving account, but I didn't save anything yet because I opened the account under the guardianship of another person ... What if this person refuses to withdraw the money after I save some? Therefore, I think that I will get an ID when I reach 18 to open my own account.'*

## Gender differences in access to resources

These same patterns hold when we consider our baseline findings separately by adolescent gender. Furthermore, at least within urban areas, we found substantial disparities across gender; older adolescent boys were significantly more likely than girls of the same age to have control over financial resources (39% compared to 21%). This disparity is evident in cases where adolescent girls are reliant on males (either fathers or husbands) to provide them with the money necessary to achieve their goals of greater financial independence. As one 17-year-old girl in Community C explained: *'If I can open a cafe in Bahir Dar or Gondar I can earn good money. I only need start-up money, my father promised to give me a place to work ... I just want*

### Box 7: Differences in adolescents' control over economic resources by location

While there is little variation in control over economic resources between adolescents in urban areas and those in rural areas, there is significant disparity in access within each category. There is broad variation in the amount of control young people report having over their own finances, ranging from 18% of younger adolescents in East Hararghe (six points above the mean of our sample in both urban and rural areas) to 9% in South Gondar and just 1% in Afar. This is likely because in East Hararghe, many young people are involved in some aspect of *khat* cash crop production and/or marketing.

There is also some variation, though to a lesser degree, within urban areas. Of the urban areas in our sample, Dire Dawa has the lowest proportion of older adolescents who control their own finances (24%, as opposed to 28% in Debre Tabor and 32% in Batu). The high figure in the latter may reflect the fact that the floriculture industry in Batu attracts a very high number of young migrant workers from the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR), who are living alone in the town.

**D** I get 50 birr profit per 100kg of groundnut ... I save the profit ... I have a savings box [at home] ... I save it for my family.

(An older girl from Community I, East Hararghe, Ethiopia)

*to be independent from the support of my family.'* Another married adolescent girl explained that she was reliant on her husband to support her in establishing a small business before she could start earning money herself: *'He will serve as a priest and if he opens a shop for me, then I will work with it ... If we have enough money we will open a clothes shop, if not, just a small shop.'*

In our sample, we found that girls tended to have even less access to formal institutions, relying instead on informal saving schemes. An older girl from Community I (East Hararghe), for instance, noted: *'I get 50 birr profit per 100kg of groundnut ... I save the profit ... I have a savings box [at home] ... I save it for my family.'* Girls of a similar age in South Gondar noted that they belonged to traditional savings or burial groups (*idirs*) indirectly, via their parents. Other adolescent girls in Community C described savings programmes in their schools, to which each contributed 5 birr per month, but the programmes were reportedly unreliable and could not always be sustained.





### Box 8: Financial inclusion for adolescents with disabilities

Within our study sample, disability appears to have minimal effect on access to financial resources, with only minor differences between adolescents with disabilities and those without in terms of their control over finances, among older and younger adolescents alike. In fact, in urban areas, 33% of older adolescents with disabilities have control over their finances as opposed to 29% of those without. This outcome seems at least partially attributable to government social assistance for adolescents with disabilities to attend school and partly to the desire of some adolescents with disabilities to find paid work in order to take some of the financial burden off their families. A 16-year-old girl with a visual disability from Debre Tabor, who receives a small stipend to attend education emphasised that: *'I want to earn some money and put myself through school. I am now living on people, so I want to be independent, I want to work and change my life.'*

## Access to decent and age-appropriate employment

Despite a legal minimum working age of 14 years and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs' National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Ethiopia has high rates of child labour (UNESCO, 2012). Evidence suggests that boys are more likely to work for pay than girls, but girls are expected to spend their time providing their natal and marital families with free labour (CSA, 2014b; Jones et al., 2017; Pankhurst et al., 2018). GAGE survey findings echo this: young adolescent boys are slightly more likely to be in paid work than girls (6% compared to 4%), and similarly for older urban boys (30%, compared to 15% of older urban girls). At the same time, our qualitative research indicates that in both urban and rural settings, girls work in the home or provide labour in support of their families' household income without retaining any control over their finances.

GAGE baseline quantitative work uncovered substantial variation in gendered attitudes and norms related to women working outside of the home, controlling finances, and holding positions of leadership. There was little difference in these attitudes and norms by gender for either older or younger adolescents, but considerable variation across urban versus rural locations (with

adolescents in rural locations having more gendered attitudes and norms), and also across rural sites with the lowest gendered attitudes and norms in South Gondar, and the highest in Afar. Among urban adolescents, at least, attitudes and norms related to economic empowerment appear to become more gendered with age

### Domestic work

In line with the literature, our qualitative findings highlighted that girls who do engage in paid work tend to be restricted to low-paying and risky sectors such as domestic work (Broussar and Tekleselassie, 2012; Loveday and Dom, 2016; Jones et al., 2014a; 2014b; 2016b; 2016c; 2017). However, our findings indicate that girls tended to have a more positive view of the possibilities of such work. As a 15-year-old girl from Community D, South Gondar explained: *'We can be a housemaid, work and go to school. While working, we can finish school. We will have paid work and will be alone so we can decide for ourselves.'* However, our qualitative survey showed that especially when young girls migrate to find domestic work, the associated risks tend to be exacerbated as they leave their social safety nets. As Erulkar and Ferede (2009) have also highlighted, girls engaged in domestic work away from home are often exposed to predatory employers who may withhold pay or pressure girls into commercial sex work. Sometimes drugs are also used to coerce girls into staying, as a 17-year-old adolescent girl focus group participant from Dire Dawa explained: *'They say "you will work as a maid", but then they are commercial sex workers when they come here. They can't change work because they become addicted.'*

### Migration

Boys involved in seasonal migration face multiple risks. Older adolescent boys from South Gondar tend to go to the rural lowland areas of Humera and Metema to find employment in cash crop farming (sorghum and sesame). The influx of adolescent boys competing for work creates a dangerous environment in terms of both health and bodily integrity. Migrants reported high levels of illness (especially malaria) and peer violence (including homicide) between adolescent boys and young men from different locations (e.g. adolescent boys from Gondar attacking boys from Gojjam and vice versa) who compete over labour rates, relationships with plantation owners, and girls. One young man from Debre Tabor described the conflict that he saw in Humera: *'There is very hot fighting there among different groups. People from Gojjam and Gondar fight even though*

There is very hot fighting there among different groups. People from Gojam and Gondar fight even though they are both from Amhara... For example, the one from Gondar agreed to do a job for 400 birr, then the one from Gojam offers to do it for 300 birr. Then when they find out, they fight each other. I showed my ID and said I was from Debre Tabor, that saved my life.

(A young man from Debre Tabor, Ethiopia)

*they are both from Amhara... For example, the one from Gondar agreed to do a job for 400 birr, then the one from Gojam offers to do it for 300 birr. Then when they find out, they fight each other. Even people from Gondar and different areas like Semada or Gayint, they fight with each other... I showed my ID and said I was from Debre Tabor, that saved my life.* Sisters told stories of their brothers who had gone looking for work either returning sick or injured or not returning at all. As one 11-year-old girl explained: 'Some of them don't come back and some of them come hurt. People kill them and injure them ... There are some who come back with malaria.' As discussed in the companion baseline report on health, sexual and reproductive health, and nutrition, there is also a high risk of exposure to HIV given the prevalence of commercial sex workers in the area.

Migration to urban areas can also entail economic risks. Often, when boys set off with the intention of migrating seasonally to urban centres and returning home with money, economic realities prevent them doing so – in that opportunities are often limited to unreliable, poorly paid and gruelling daily labour. A 15-year-old boy in Batu described his experience coming to the city for work: 'Initially, I came from Wolita area to work and stay with my older brother... after some time my brother left to Addis, leaving me alone... I lived on the street for about three months. While I was living on the street I started washing cars... Business is very low at the moment, thus we are wandering here and there without a job. In a similar vein, a 15-year-old boy from Debre Tabor explained that many of the youth he sees arriving in his city have to adapt to the economic conditions they find: 'After they came to the urban areas, the situation may not be as they expected so they will not attend their education and ... they engage in daily labour.'

When they leave home, they say we will work as a maid there, but then they become commercial sex workers. They can't change other work because they become addicted and may have some diseases. So, they even do not work as a maid.

(A 15-year-old girl in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia)

Adolescent girls who migrate in search of work can also find themselves in risky occupations due to limited alternative opportunities. Many girls who go to urban areas become involved in commercial sex work, coerced into staying by 'delala' or brokers and risking exposure to drug addiction and sexually transmitted illnesses. As a 15-year-old girl in Dire Dawa explained: 'When they leave home, they say we will work as a maid there, but then they become commercial sex workers. They can't change other work because they become addicted and may have some diseases. So, they even do not work as a maid.'

Respondents in our research sites also referred to the desirability of international migration. As noted by one 16-year-old girl from Dire Dawa: 'I want to be like my older brother, he loves his family very much. He brought my mother here [from a rural village] and lived with her before he got married. I want to migrate to Arab countries, and help my mother like he did.' Gulf countries, especially Saudi Arabia, are regarded as particularly valuable opportunities for female adolescents from rural areas, who often take up domestic work abroad and support their families through remittances. However, as Jones et al. (2016) have argued, these opportunities are risky and expensive to obtain and can expose girls to economic as well as physical and sexual violence in the destination country.

While these risks are increasingly well-known in Ethiopia (see e.g. WIDE, 2019), many young people – including those in our sample – continue to 'try their luck'. Many girls from rural regions first migrate to cities to obtain a passport and try to earn enough money to finance their travel, such as this 17-year-old girl in Batu who currently works in a local cafe: 'We surely cannot reach our goal through this work ... This is temporary until I get my passport to go abroad ... to Kuwait or Beirut, any Arab land.' While domestic work abroad can be lucrative compared to opportunities available within Ethiopia, it is rarely stable, and adolescent girls deported from the Arab Gulf can easily find themselves back in an unfamiliar

city with even fewer economic options than before, had they chosen to continue their education. As one school principal described: *'The focus on Arab country returnees is a current national affair because the returnees are from different parts of Ethiopia, not only our locality ... As a result, there are a lot of jobless youth in Debre Tabor Town ... The majority are uneducated women and girls who dropped out from grade eight.'*

## Manual labour

In rural areas and urban areas, employers often ignore legal standards when hiring manual labourers, even those of very young adolescents. In Community D, South Gondar, a 12-year-old girl explained for example that she, alongside even younger children, did manual labour on a dam construction site five days a week: *'We mix cement with water and we give it to the others for work on the dam. That, and transport stone and gravel. They want one who works. They don't say that we are children. There are lots of people like me, both boys and girls. One friend is a year younger than me, she is 11.'*

In Batu, the site of a large floriculture factory, while the minimum working age is officially 18 years, our qualitative findings indicated that adolescents as young as 13 years are often involved, working 6 days a week, sometimes for

up to 12 hours a day (see also Box 9). As one adolescent girl, now aged 15, explained: *'I was just a kid and even the people there didn't believe I was fit to work. I lied that I was 15 when I first applied for the job. I wrote 15 on my ID with a pen.'* Many adolescents come to Batu from neighbouring districts and especially from R, seeking factory work, often lured by brokers falsely promising high wages and who transport young workers by the truckload to the city. Many subsequently quit after two to three months because of the heavy workload, low pay and strict working conditions, including fines for breaking a *'no talking'* rule. A 16-year-old girl reported: *'We have to work obediently and have to be quiet while working. We can't chat with the girl next to you. You just concentrate on the work. We get fined 90 birr if we talk outside of lunch breaks.'* Workers are also fined if they *'break a single head of the flower'* or if they did not *'accomplish the work targeted to do in a month'*.

Worker turnover has little impact on factory operations, since minimal training is required, so employers have little incentive to improve conditions as long as labour is in abundant supply. In Batu, a 17-year-old girl described her experience: *'If there is harvest, we can start as early as 7am and if there is no harvest, we start at either 8am or 8.30am. And we leave in late afternoon either at 5pm or 6.30pm. And if we have a lot to do, we go home in the*

### Box 9: Megertu: 'They make you suffer a lot'

Megertu is a 17-year-old girl living in Batu with her older sister. She works at a local flower company. While as a child she dreamed of becoming *'either a doctor or a teacher'*, she was forced to drop out of school at the age of 15, in 4th grade, because her father died, and her family was too poor to support her to continue her schooling. Now she is focused on earning an income – and staying healthy – in a challenging work environment.

Megertu admits there are advantages to working here. For example, the salary can be as high as 1,000 birr a month with overtime. And employees have some rights, as Megertu explained: *'My supervisor cannot fire me ... because she has no such right. She only has a right to supervise me and give directives for the work.'* She also provides employees with training on a wide variety of topics. *'They tell us about how we should keep ourselves healthy and distance ourselves from men. They tell us about violence against women. They also taught us the impacts of circumcision and the importance of using contraception ... There is even maternity leave for about four months.'*

The working conditions, however, are arduous. Days can be very long, from *'as early as 7am until 8pm or 9pm'* and she is required to *'stand the whole day long'* with *'only some minutes to go to the toilet'*. Meeting production targets is all that matters: *'If you have taken longer than the allotted time, you will be penalised. If you broke a single head of the flower, they deduct from your salary. If you have not met your targets for the month, they will deduct your salary.'* In the end, after deduction, at best *'you get either 700 or 800 birr'*.

Megertu's real concern about working conditions, however, is the chemicals workers are exposed to every day: *'I fear that the chemicals may affect my health ... If you have problems on your body from the chemical and go to seek a medical examination, they do not tell you the illness and just give you expired pills and syrup... They make you suffer a lot when you are sick. What they want from you is to meet your target and respect the working hours. Even if they see you staggering between death and life, there is no one to support you at the workplace.'*



**Box 10: Differences in adolescent work by location**

Our quantitative survey results show a significant difference in adolescents' involvement in paid work in rural areas (5%) compared to urban areas (3%). While there were no quantitative differences among rural regions in our survey findings, our qualitative findings highlighted the different types of work that adolescents in rural areas are engaged in. In Afar, our findings suggest that adolescents are less likely to be in paid work – reflecting the fact that even though adolescents are routinely involved in herding work, the income remains in the hands of parents until the point of marriage, even for older adolescent boys. Adolescents may also help their parents with other income-generating work, but do not control any of the money earned. For example, one 10-year-old girl in Community A, Afar, described the production of charcoal as a family endeavour; she assisted by selling the charcoal produced by her older brother for 10 birr, which was then given to her mother, who controlled the family's finances.

By contrast, in the rural zone of East Hararghe, adolescents are often involved in seasonal cash crop work, especially khat and ground nuts (both production and marketing). They are also significantly more likely to have control over their own money (as discussed above: 18% of young adolescents compared to 9% in South Gondar and 1% in Afar).

In South Gondar, adolescents are also frequently involved in herding work, in marketing of sorghum and mung beans, and (as we discuss further below) sometimes in Ethiopia's national public works scheme.

Interestingly, we found large variations in the proportion of urban adolescents involved in paid work across our three sites. Adolescents in Batu are significantly more likely to be in paid work (27%, compared with 19% in Debre Tabor and 15% in Dire Dawa); we also found large variation in the extent to which adolescents have control over their own finances (32% in Batu, compared with 28% in Debre Tabor and 24% in Dire Dawa). This is due to the floriculture industry in Batu, which, as discussed above, attracts a significant number of adolescents from other parts of Oromia and neighbouring zones in SNNPR (known in the broader literature as a migration corridor due to high levels of overcrowding and poor quality agricultural land (Bezu and Holden, 2014b)). While the floriculture factory work provides young people in rural areas with income-generating opportunities that would not otherwise be possible, the overall economic impact is mixed at best. The influx of migrants into Batu drives up prices, including rent, to the disadvantage of local enterprises and workers, many of whom pursue employment outside the factory. Qualitative respondents explained due to its reputation for exploiting workers for low pay and dangerous conditions.

**Box 11: The impact of disability on adolescent employment**

Our quantitative survey results demonstrate that disability (visual, hearing or physical) has a more nuanced impact on adolescent employment than might be expected. Among younger adolescents, those with disabilities are significantly less likely to work for pay than those without disabilities (only 1% of young adolescents with disabilities in our survey had paid work, as opposed to 5% of adolescents without disabilities). However, among older adolescents in urban areas, there was no distinguishable difference in probability of paid work by disability status (at 21% for both groups).

Some of this equality could be attributable to the increasing need for young people to work, regardless of their physical condition, as they age. Our qualitative findings suggest some further potential explanations: first, in urban areas, there are more alternatives to physical labour available to adolescents with physical disabilities, such as working in shops or in craft work. One 16-year-old girl in Debre Tabor was able to start saving money from her job, saying '*[my father] opened up a shop for me that sells herbicides, I used to do that during the school break ... He paid me as an employee ... I buy everything that I need for myself.*' Another 17-year-old girl in Batu with a hearing disability does craft work, though for very low pay: '*[The work] is somewhat good [but] they give us a lot of work and pay us minimal money.*' Additionally, older adolescents with disabilities often have to work to support themselves if their families are unable or unwilling, while at the same time attending special needs education, which is usually only available in urban centres. One 17-year-old boy with a physical disability in Debre Tabor runs a poultry business, explaining that his family is poor and that '*they don't have the capacity to support me, so I support myself.*'

**D** I fear that the chemicals may affect my health ... If you have problems on your body from the chemical and go to seek a medical examination, they do not tell you the illness and just give you expired pills and syrup...

(A 17-year-old girl in Batu, Ethiopia)

*evening either at 8pm or 9pm. That is how it is. Rest one day in a week ... Normally younger children (under age 17) are not allowed to work. However, they don't focus much on that as a precondition. This is because anyone who goes to seek employment in Sher Flower Company is considered as poor and does not have other means of livelihood.'*

Most concerning are the accounts of exposure to harmful chemicals in the flower glasshouses that are used illegally (according to key informants) but hidden underground when authorities come to inspect. A 17-year-old girl explained the impact on workers' health: *'Sometime those flowers harvested in the evening are put in chemicals and when we go in the morning the chemical is very fresh and not good for health. Due to the high exposure to chemicals, I always fear for my health.'*


Another girl, also 17, added: *'When I was first employed here, I had no health problems, but after, I started suffering from gastritis ... and low blood pressure'*. She suspects this is because of the chemicals used on the flowers which she is regularly handling.

## Access to age- and gender-responsive social protection

There is mixed evidence about the effects of Ethiopia's flagship public works programme, the PSNP, on adolescents. Reaching approximately 8.2 million individuals as of 2016/17, it has two main strands: (1) direct support in the form of cash transfers to vulnerable populations (especially female household heads and older persons) reaching an estimated 1.3 million beneficiaries; and (2) a public works scheme, whereby eligible individuals work on public infrastructure projects (typically terracing, road construction and reforestation) for cash and/or grain payments, reaching approximately 6.9 million individuals. Although the PSNP has been primarily a rural initiative, it was expanded to some urban areas in 2017, reaching an estimated 180,000 beneficiaries, including in Dire Dawa (9000 beneficiaries) (Endale et al., 2019).



Young boys in Afar © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019


 I can learn without worrying about school materials. I will also be able to afford clothes like my friends.  
(An 16-year-old adolescent girl in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia)

While evaluation evidence suggests that the PSNP has had significant positive impacts on food security, household consumption, child learning outcomes and (to an extent) child nutrition (Gilligan et al., 2009; Pankhurst et al., 2018; Favara et al., 2019), there is evidence that older adolescents may be substituting their own labour on the PSNP for that of their parents, at times at the cost of their education (Pankhurst et al., 2018; Favara et al., 2019).

Around 31% of young adolescents in our rural study sites (and approximately 7% of young adolescents in Dire Dawa) are in households that receive PSNP support, with the highest proportion being in Zone 5 (Afar) (34% compared to 30% in South Gondar and 31% in East Hararghe). In line with the broader literature, our qualitative research findings pointed to a number of positive economic and psychosocial spillover effects on the wellbeing of adolescents from PSNP families. As a 16-year-old adolescent girl from Dire Dawa (whose family benefit from the PSNP) noted: *'I can learn without worrying about school materials. I will also be able to afford clothes like my friends.'* Participation can also help facilitate income-generation activities, as one 15-year-old boy from East Hararghe explained: *'My mother gives me some of the money and I buy chickens with it and I use the money I get selling the eggs to cover my school expenses.'* For some rural adolescents, the PSNP even offered the promise of a future safety net. As a 16-year-old girl from Ebenat (South Gondar) reasoned: *'If you have safety net benefits you will get a good husband. So if I get the chance to become a safety net beneficiary, I will get married with a good husband and we will live a better life.'*

Caregivers from PSNP beneficiary households also highlighted its positive impacts on their adolescents' wellbeing. *'I used the money to educate all my children'* (PSNP beneficiary parent, Ebenat). And as one participant in a focus group discussion with PSNP beneficiaries in Dire Dawa explained: *'I was not able to give them what they wanted when they asked for something in the past. Now, I can provide for my children upon their request and my children have become equal with other children.'*

However, unlike urban beneficiaries who often just receive direct support, rural beneficiaries need to fulfil a

 Of course they told us not to involve our children who are attending school in public works. But I could not manage to do all the... work, which took at least three hours per working day since I am an old woman.

(A focus group discussion participant in Ebenat, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

labour quota. Despite formal guidance against involving adolescents under 18 years in public works labour, this is reportedly often circumvented in practice, as a focus group discussion participant in Ebenat, South Gondar, emphasised: *'Of course they told us not to involve our children who are attending school in public works. But I could not manage to do all the ... work, which took at least three hours per working day since I am an old woman.'* A 15-year-old boy from East Hararghe further explained: *'If we skip school for one day, they are not going to take measures. Besides, we have got to eat to be able to go to school so they must understand that as well.'* Key informants also highlighted that this has important implications for adolescents' time use and may impact their studies. A key informant from Community E, South Gondar, noted that: *'They are not properly supporting their children as some households forced children to take part in public works, which in turn affects their schooling.'*

Furthermore, there are also some reports of corruption within the PSNP system, with the implication that adolescents in the most vulnerable households are at risk of exclusion from the programme. In South Gondar, one grandmother explained that *'The selection criteria for the safety net are not known. Leaders are corrupted; they provide it for individuals they know.'* This was mainly seen in South Gondar, but also in other rural regions, as a mother from Community I, East Hararghe, explained: *'The group leader does not register poor people. You have to bribe them to get registered there. This thing is very common here.'*

## Gender differences in access to the PSNP

While the PSNP has a number of gender-responsive features, including specific provisions for pregnant and lactating women and allowances for mothers to work reduced hours to accommodate care work responsibilities, it is unclear how far these features are implemented on the ground. Moreover, our qualitative research findings suggest that the programme is not sensitive to the intersection



## Box 12: Regional differences in access to the Productive Safety Net Programme

Out of the three regions, South Gondar has both the lowest percentage of adolescents living in households that receive PSNP benefits (30%) and in households that receive economic benefits from other sources such as charity, scholarships or in-kind transfers (7%). That said, there are still many families in this region who benefit from the PSNP.

As one father from Debre Tabor explained: *'It has helped me in fulfilling the food demand of my household... I purchase cereal ... for household consumption using the money I received from the safety net.'* The PSNP is also perceived to limit outward migration from local communities: as a district-level key informant in Debre Tabor noted: *'It plays a big part in deterring migrants as they could have the opportunity to be involved in public works'.*

However, key informants identified numerous challenges in implementing the PSNP in this region. In the rural areas there are some difficulties in reaching key populations *'located in remote areas'* due to a lack of transport. Some, including a key informant from Community E (South Gondar), suggested that the programme does not reach those who need it most: *'The beneficiaries ... were supposed to be the poorest of the poor, but there are relatively better-off households who are under the PSNP'*. This was attributed to a *'gap in the recruitment process ... in which households hide their livelihood assets by giving wrong information'*.

The figures for East Hararghe were slightly higher than in South Gondar, with 31% of adolescents in families in the study sample receiving PSNP benefits and 12% in households that receive economic support from other sources. However, the conflict in Somali region and the consequential large-scale displacement has had an impact on the quality of social protection in this area. Adolescents described disruptions in PSNP support: as a 12-year-old boy in Community L noted, for example: *'It was late this month ... It is because of the conflict.'* It seems that due to the large influx of internally displaced people, social protection services – for local communities and displaced families alike – are highly strained. As a key informant from Community I explained: *'We used to get sorghum, wheat, fafa [fortified blended food], and flour. Now, the support has stopped ... It is after people returned ... following the conflict. Now, the support has been shifted to them ... Generally, displaced individuals receive food and clothing just to sustain their life, they never get enough support.'* In response, community members have set up community-based social protection measures to help displaced individuals. As participants in an older boys' focus group discussion in Community L, East Hararghe, explained: *'We are fundraising for their food, and livelihood ... The qeerroo [organised local youth that emerged to push for political reforms in 2017/2018 in Oromia Region] collected money for them from the community.'*

Zone 5, in Afar region, has the highest percentage of adolescents living in households receiving PSNP benefits (34%) and other economic support (18%) compared to the other two regions. Social protection in Zone 5 consists of grain distribution, rather than public works. Caregivers and adolescents in pastoralist communities pointed out that the PSNP involved six-monthly transfers of 50 kg of grain, but that this usually lasted a household for only one month, and that food insecurity remained a significant concern. As participants in a community mapping exercise in Community A, Zone 5, explained: *'We received 50 kg of wheat at some interval and we are not regularly receiving'*.

In urban areas, social protection most commonly comes in the form of direct support, rather than participation in public works. In Dire Dawa, 7–8% of adolescents live in households that receive PSNP benefits and 11–13% in households that receive other forms of economic support. However, this support does not necessarily appear to be reaching the most vulnerable young people. Participants in a focus group discussion of older adolescent girls involved in commercial sex work emphasised that young people, like themselves, who are compelled for economic reasons to live on the street, are often excluded: *'They do not allow us to get the chance to enrol in the safety net programme. Rather, they give it for individuals that are living with parents, not street people.'* While there are other initiatives to support young people on the streets, these appear to be small scale and piecemeal.



Boy with a physical disability selling bibles for a church in Debre Tabor, Amhara © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

of gender and age vulnerabilities. In some communities in South Gondar, for instance, we found that married adolescent girls (who were often the most economically vulnerable) were unable to access the PSNP as the programme's registration list had remained static for about a decade.

Moreover, although our survey suggests that PSNP benefits are reaching households that include adolescent girls, gender norms that restrict girls' ability to control their finances within the household may inhibit their access to such benefits. Our qualitative work highlights this, with a 15-year-old girl from Dire Dawa explaining that: 'Now, my father also gets PSNP direct support ... but he refused to

give me even 50 birr. The support is meant for the poorest of the poor ... those who are old and disabled ... He gives me the small amount after many fights with him ... He says, they did not give him money and that the thief has stolen the money ... What he gives me is not even enough to buy shampoo and soap.' The mother of an older adolescent girl from Dire Dawa also emphasised the challenge of intra-household inequalities in terms of benefiting from the PSNP: 'I think he receives 900 birr and this is a lot of money ... but he has never given us any so far. He refused to give at least half of what he gets for her and her brother ... He is particularly quarrelsome with my daughter when she asks for money ... He spends the money only on drink.'



# Change strategies

We now discuss the extent to which key policy actors and practitioners are pursuing change strategies to enhance adolescents' access to age-appropriate programmes and services that foster their economic empowerment. We follow the disaggregation of change pathways set out in our conceptual framework, from the micro through the meso to the macro level (see Figure 1), noting that in terms of economic empowerment, most strategies are at the systems and services level. As we found no strategies targeting adolescents' specific gendered needs, we have combined empowering girls and engaging with boys into a single strategy (engaging with adolescents).



## Engaging with adolescents

Outside of the systems and services aimed at supporting adolescents' economic empowerment, we found little evidence of efforts implemented at scale to engage with adolescents by providing them with savings opportunities, training, employment, or asset transfers. Younger girls living in rural South Gondar noted that they were given opportunities to save their own pocket money in order to meet their longer-term needs. As a 10-year-old girl from Community C (South Gondar) commented, *'Instead of eating bread, we save the money'*, explaining that the savings club, which formerly met at school but was now defunct, was run by an NGO worker from outside the community. Older out-of-school girls living in Dire Dawa reported that a *'Catholic organisation'* previously provided several students with training on *'carpentry, making bread and other things'* and then created jobs for graduates: *'The older ones who were trained are in a good job now'*. A number of adolescents also mentioned receiving in-kind transfers from charitable organisations. For example, a 17-year-old boy in Batu (East Shewa) reported receiving *'trousers, t-shirt and shoes and a gift for Christmas'* from a religious organisation. Adolescents also mentioned direct support from international NGOs such as Family Health International (FHI 360), which a 15-year-old boy from Batu noted *'gave us 8 exercise books, 3 pens and a school uniform for this year'*.



## Supporting parents

Efforts to support parents, to alleviate household poverty and improve adolescent consumption appear similarly ad hoc – and gendered. Overall, the main modality appears to be women's savings groups. A number of respondents referred to CARE's women's savings group initiative in both rural South Gondar and rural East Hararghe. A key informant from Women's Affairs in Community G (South Gondar) explained that *'They teach us to save our own money so that we can take a loan from our own money'*. A mother in Community I (East Hararghe), who noted that CARE is no longer working in her kebele, reported having *'benefited much from the CARE saving group, I am using that money to take care of my children'*. In Debre Tabor (South Gondar), a key informant with another NGO, WABI, explained that the organisation had recently moved away from *'the provision of school materials for children and match fund for care givers [because] the handout programme is not sustainable ... It develops dependency syndrome among beneficiaries.'* Instead, WABI has also moved to a village savings and loan association (VSLA) model that provides women with *'skills trainings to be successful in their micro-enterprise'*.




## Strengthening systems and services

In terms of economic empowerment, our findings highlight that government services – including TVET, job creation programmes and the PSNP – are being delivered at scale, albeit in an uneven manner for adolescents. Only very few private organisations in urban areas are providing services to support adolescents' access to economic empowerment, including job referral programmes and banking services.

## Technical and vocational training

We found that TVET courses, providing skills ranging from construction to hairdressing, are generally available, outside of Afar. A Youth League key informant in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) explained that, *'We facilitate youth to get training in TVET colleges'*. However, costs can be high – especially for rural students, given transport and boarding

 They sometimes ask for kebele ID card and obtaining that is very difficult. You need minimum 300 birr to get it. And if you do not have that ID, you will not be registered. Its price was 20 birr but you have to bribe for 300 birr to get it. Those who have the money can get into cooperatives and work.

(A 16-year-old girl, Batu, East Shewa, Ethiopia)

fees – and course options are often quite restricted, particularly at the government institutions, which are relatively more affordable. TVET courses were also more generally perceived as inferior to preparatory school and university. In addition, we found that TVET enrolment can be quite gendered, with girls disproportionately enrolled on 'soft courses' (adult, Debre Tabor, South Gondar) such as hairdressing and hotel management.

### Job creation programmes

In an effort to reduce youth unemployment, especially among relatively well-educated young people, government-run job creation programmes for adolescents and young adults are increasingly available in urban areas and in rural South Gondar and East Hararghe. A school principal in Debre Tabor (South Gondar) explained: *'With regard to work/job creation opportunities, there is a special budget (about 10 billion birr) allocated by the Federal government, which was distributed to regional governments to create jobs for the youth. For instance, the share of Debre Tabor town administration is 15 million birr, of which 7.5 million has been allocated for creating jobs for unemployed youth, especially for university graduates and returnees from Saudi Arabia.'* However, priority tends to be given to those who have completed grade 10, making it challenging to access for the most vulnerable young people.

Most jobs, in rural and urban areas alike, involve heavy manual labour, such as grinding gravel, hauling sand and laying stone. In rural areas, as a key informant from Women's Affairs in Community E (South Gondar) explained: *'There are males who are involved in cattle fattening activity and there are females who ... are now engaged in business activity, mainly in a grain retailer business.'* In urban areas, adolescents (generally boys) are also supported to get their driving licence so that they can drive bajaj [three-wheel taxis]. We found that while job

creation programmes are quite widely available, they often exclude adolescents (with most focusing on young people aged 20 years or older) and exclude the most vulnerable young people. Older girls in Batu (East Shewa) described how documentation requirements and corruption also limit access to programmes. As a 16-year-old girl explained, *'They sometimes ask for kebele ID card and obtaining that is very difficult. You need minimum 300 birr to get it. And if you do not have that ID, you will not be registered. Its price was 20 birr but you have to bribe for 300 birr to get it. Those who have the money can get into cooperatives and work.'*

Only in Batu did adolescents mention job referral services. Older out-of-school boys noted the presence of private sector services whereby *'adolescents go to employee-employers linking agents to look for a job outside this locality'*, but more frequently they were introduced to employment opportunities through informal brokers.

### Credit services

The Ethiopian government provides some young people – albeit mostly young adults – with access to credit so that they can start their own businesses. A father in Community D (South Gondar) explained that, *'The government creates job opportunities for those who failed in grade 10. Five students who failed grade 10 make a group and the government gives them money for them to start their own job. The government gives 150,000 birr for each group and they start up their own business.'* A female preparatory student in Batu (East Shewa) added, *'Once a year, the government gives small shops to the poor and students who failed 10th grade. They also give around 6,000 birr as loan.'* Our qualitative research found, however, that credit can be challenging for adolescents to access as discussed above and quite risky for young people, *'because it is difficult to pay it back with its interest'* (mother, Community D, South Gondar), even though *'young people can get loans on easier terms'* (adult man, Community E, South Gondar). Several key informants observed problems relating to group modalities and collateral and emphasised that groups had failed when *'they were requested to repay the loan while they did not make any profit'* (religious leader, Risiki, East Hararghe), while some respondents noted that recent regulations require *'parents to sign the surety using their land'* (kebele official, Community E, South Gondar) before loans are issued. The end result is that many young people are unable to access credit.





Market in Oromia © Nathalie Bertrams / GAGE 2019

## Banking services

Surprisingly, there was no mention of girls' clubs or adolescent clubs providing information on financial literacy and related services (apart from the NGO worker mentioned earlier, who visited schools to support student savings). Only in Batu (East Shewa) did adolescents mention services to support their financial inclusion. Several older girls discussed using banks and noted that staff treated them rudely when they made mistakes.

## Social assistance

The majority of key informants and PSNP beneficiaries agreed that Ethiopia's flagship social protection programme has created a sea change in the lives of the 'poorest of the poor people' (Youth League leader, Community G, South Gondar). For example, a male farmer in Community E (South Gondar) reported, *'There is a change for the children. They used to work for other people on herding cattle, now [after the PSNP] they live with their parents and also they are going to school. There isn't anyone who works for other people.'* According to fathers in focus group discussions in Community C and Community D, the PSNP also appears to be improving

agricultural yields in some places in South Gondar, by preventing soil erosion and building dams to allow irrigation.

While we found that the PSNP's effects are more muted in Oromia – perhaps due to the severity of the drought and the magnitude of need – adults generally agreed that the programme is at least reducing distress borrowing and, in some cases, is helping households acquire productive assets. A father in Community H (East Hararghe) explained how, *'Before being included in the PSNP, I was borrowing money to carry out trading activities. But now that I am included in the PSNP I do not need to borrow money from others. Those who didn't have a donkey have bought a donkey, those who didn't have a goat bought a goat. Even last year I bought a goat. I also bought a donkey.'* In Zone

▮ There is a change for the children. They used to work for other people on herding cattle, now [after the PSNP] they live with their parents and also they are going to school. There isn't anyone who works for other people. (A male farmer, Community E, South Gondar, Ethiopia)

5 (Afar), where the PSNP provides only '*monthly wheat aid*' (kebele official, Community B), we found that few households received benefits on time. One beneficiary from that same community commented, '*If we get it this month we will get it again after eight months*'.

While the PSNP is widely acknowledged to be reducing the depth of household poverty and improving adolescents' access to school, there are also concerns that it is encouraging child labour, with study respondents noting that they and/or their peers regularly take their parents' places on job sites. In East Hararghe, a religious leader admitted that children as young as 9 years old sometimes work on public works projects. In South Gondar,

research participants initially stated that '*the criteria do not include children below 17 years old*' (male farmer, Community D) but one subsequently admitted that it was considered acceptable for those '*above 15 years old and not attending education*' to take their parent's place on the scheme (father, Community C). Children were more forthright about this. A 10-year-old boy from Community C admitted that his 14-year-old brother works on the PSNP, albeit on a shift schedule that allows him to continue his education; a 12-year-old boy from the same community admitted that he has been doing PSNP public works since he quit school.



# Policy and programming implications

Our mixed-methods research findings point to a number of priorities for policy, programming and practice. It is critical for each of these to consider intersecting vulnerabilities and the ways in which these shape economic empowerment outcomes. Boys from economically disadvantaged households and who also have a disability face greater challenges than their counterparts without disabilities, for example, while young migrant adolescent girls involved in domestic work or the floriculture industry face more complex vulnerabilities than non-migrant adolescents who are involved in more skilled work.

- Policy actors and practitioners involved in promoting economic empowerment should consider how to raise awareness about and enforce safe and non-exploitative labour practices, including in factories, industrial parks, as well as for domestic work (which is not governed by Ethiopian labour legislation) and for

migrants to urban areas and abroad. Attention should also be paid to tackling adolescent girls' vulnerability to involvement in the commercial sex industry.

- In line with national legislation to promote labour rights and the Ministry of Social and Labour Affairs' National Action Plan to Combat the Worst Forms of Child Labour, policy actors (including the bureaus of Labour and Social Affairs, Women, Children and Youth, Justice and Education) should consider how to improve anonymous reporting chains to report cases of labour exploitation and abuse (such as through youth centres, social courts, women's and children's affairs bureau offices and schools). Enforcing child labour for young adolescents in line with the Labour Law which prohibits children's engagement in the labour market under 14 years and efforts to improve the rights, working conditions and safety, including limiting the types of





and hours of work and promoting flexible non-formal education options, should be prioritised in the short-term, with longer-term efforts to focus on changing labour legislation with respect to adolescents.

- The Ministry of Education and other educational and skills building providers should consider how to improve adolescents' numeracy and financial literacy, including through efforts to ensure young people stay in school up until the end of 8th grade to master foundational mathematical skills; and teach financial literacy (including budgeting, savings, how to open and maintain a bank account, entrepreneurship skills, short-term job placements etc.), in civics classes, as well as building hands-on programming into clubs, and in non-formal education centres.
- The Federal Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Agency could consider improving awareness and uptake of TVET services by providing detailed and accessible information and guidance on TVET opportunities (especially to rural adolescents and adolescents with disabilities), reducing cost barriers to make access more equitable, creating TVET pathways that begin with primary school graduation (rather than 10th grade completion), and targeting TVET programming to local job market needs. Efforts are also needed to change attitudes that TVET is an option of last resort rather than a valuable investment in future employment opportunities.<sup>1</sup>
- In order to address gender inequalities in economic empowerment opportunities, it is critical that the

Ministry of Women, Children and Youth together with gender units in other relevant ministries invest in measures to improve the safety of transport to workplaces and skills building institutions given widespread fears of sexual harassment and abuse by adolescent girls and parents, and to monitoring and supporting reporting systems vis-à-vis experiences of sexual harassment abuse in the workplace.

- Government agencies, development partners and non-government organisations (NGOs) could consider scaling up access to savings opportunities for adolescents (especially girls), via clubs and youth centres, while regional credit associations could invest in scaled up and age-sensitive approaches to credit programmes for older adolescents (especially girls), ensuring clear guidance, reducing collateral and providing transparent and feasible repayment conditions. Particular attention should be paid to providing access to credit for adolescents with disabilities, to internally displaced persons and for adolescents seeking tertiary education opportunities.
- In line with the National Social Protection Strategy's commitment to inclusive social protection modalities, relevant ministries and development partners could work to ensure that the PSNP in rural and urban areas takes into account adolescent-specific risks and vulnerabilities, paying particular attention to the risks and vulnerabilities facing adolescents with disabilities, adolescents in internally displaced communities, and adolescent girls at risk of child and forced marriage.

<sup>1</sup> See Pankhurst et al. (2019).

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# Annex 1: Policy implications

Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Enhance age- and gender-responsive social protection	<p><b>Goal 3: Good Health and Well-Being</b></p> <p><b>Target 3.8:</b> Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empower parents or guardians through training and other support schemes on income generation to prevent children from becoming vulnerable to various poverty-driven social and economic problems (NCP, pp.15)</li> <li>• Establish and strengthen different income generating programmes that help families to sustain and ensure the realization of children's social and economic rights including health and education. (NCP, pp.25)</li> <li>• Sustain the productive safety net program in rural areas and to start urban productive safety net program to benefit low income people in urban areas. (GTP 2, pp. 113)</li> <li>• Increase the number of productive safety net program beneficiaries from 3.4 million in 2014/15 to 8.3 million; increase the number of male and female headed households who graduate from safety net program from 49,199 in 2014/15 to 1,000,223 or 5,001,116 graduates; increase the number of chronically food insecure household heads (male and female) who are able to build assets through household based credit package services from 161,698 in 2014/15 to 628,850. (GTO2, pp.126)</li> <li>• Include youth in the PSNP in urban areas to secure their source of income as well as to get access to food and in rural areas to also improve watershed management which will ultimately create employment opportunities–include youth with disability under direct support. (Youth Development Package, sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.5)</li> <li>• Investigate options to supply educational materials, school feeding and financial support for children from poor and low income family backgrounds (ESDP V pp.114)</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>• Create favourable conditions for children who have become victims of natural and man-made disasters and children affected by recurrent droughts to get the necessary care, support and protection. (NCP, pp.19).</li> <li>• Creating an enabling environment for children in difficult circumstances to have access to quality and timely social and economic services. (NCP, pp.19)</li> <li>• Develop programmes and services that benefit child-headed households to mitigate their social and economic problems. (NCP, pp.24)</li> <li>• Create a national management information system that enables collection and compilation of data and information on children's wellbeing from the federal level to the lowest administrative units. (NCP, pp.25)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Expand the PNSP to all drought-affected areas – including emerging regions such as Afar – and ensure that the support provided to the poorest families is adequate to meet basic nutritional needs</li> <li>2. Incentivise education by providing stipends/supplies/uniforms to families and in areas where it is likely to have impact – i.e. the poorest and most food insecure.</li> <li>3. Ensure that school feeding is available in all drought affected areas – working to ensure that the food that is provided contains the nutrients that children are most likely to lack in particular areas given local diets.</li> </ol>



Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Support adolescent economic aspirations	<p><b>Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth</b></p> <p><b>Target 8.5:</b> Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value</p> <p><b>Target 8.6:</b> By 2020, substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training</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>	<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>• 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>• Build the capacity of adolescents so that they are competent and confident to take part in their own development and that of their country. (ADaP, p. 30)</li> <li>• Assist adolescents to recognize their capabilities and potentials that could shape their aspirations and their future (ADaP, pp. 34)</li> <li>• Enhance youth's participation in the country's transition process from agricultural-led economy to industrialization process through enhancing their professional competences and skills and ensuring their benefit from the fruits of development. (Youth Development Package, section 2.3)</li> <li>• Give special attention and emphasis and create an enabling environment towards youth girls and youth with disabilities. (Youth Development Package, section 2.4)</li> <li>• Support youth to develop professionalism with adequate knowledge and skills and having entrepreneurial mentality and being respectful towards job. Support them to make rational decisions. (Youth Development Package, section 2.5)</li> <li>• Enhance youth's awareness towards work ethics and encouraging them to engage in self-employment jobs. (Youth Development Package, section 3.1)</li> <li>• Ensure youth participate in the process of transitioning the agriculture led economy to industrialization by coordinating their effort, knowledge, skill and energy and ensure they fairly benefit. (Youth Strategy, Section 2.4)</li> <li>• Create one economic society through accepting and respecting diversity. (Youth Strategy, Section 2.5)</li> <li>• Ensure youths living in rural areas benefit. (Youth Strategy, Section 5)</li> <li>• The youth agenda will be further integrated into the different economic and social development sectors. The youth will benefit from credit and saving services by organizing themselves into social cooperative associations. (GTP II, pp.210)</li> <li>• Create a favourable working environment for young workers so that they are protected from labour exploitation and hazardous working conditions. (NCP, pp.21)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Expose young people to aspirational but actionable ideas—using role models from the community paired with video-linking to “introduce” especially captivating adults.</li> <li>2. Introduce adolescents to role models through visits to schools from local service providers and professionals (e.g. health extension workers, social workers, prosecutors, doctors, engineers etc.)</li> <li>3. Continue expanding rural job opportunities—especially to reduce adolescent migration in risky sectors (e.g. domestic work, seasonal agricultural work, commercial sex work, etc.)</li> <li>4. Consider creating a mentoring programming wherein locally successful adults are compensated for taking on adolescents as apprentices and supporting them to learn a skill/trade/ business.</li> <li>5. Raise awareness about and enforce safe and non-exploitative labour practices including in factories and industrial parks, as well as for domestic work (which is not governed by Ethiopian labour legislation).</li> <li>6. Improve anonymous reporting chains to report cases of labour exploitation and abuse (including through youth centres, social courts, etc.).</li> <li>7. Invest in vocational guidance counselling services – through youth centres, online sites, etc. – for urban out-of-school adolescents.</li> </ol>

Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Improve adolescent numeracy and financial literacy	<p><b>Goal 4: Quality Education</b></p> <p><b>Target 4.1:</b> Ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.</p> <p><b>Target 4.5:</b> Eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide all children with access to pre-primary education for school preparedness and access to nearby institutions in which they can complete the full eight years of primary and two years of general secondary education. (ESDP V pp.35)</li> <li>• Increase the completion rate of primary education (1-8 grade) from 52.2 percent in 2014/15 to 74 percent by 2019/20. (GTP II, pp.186)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ensure that young people stay in school through the end of 8th grade to master foundational mathematical skills.</li> <li>2. Teach budgeting, savings, how to open and maintain a bank account, etc., in civics classes-- and build hands-on programming into clubs, as well as in non-formal education centres.</li> </ol>

Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Strengthen adolescent technical, vocational and business skills	<p><b>Goal 4: Quality Education</b></p> <p><b>Target 4.3:</b> Ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university</p> <p><b>Target 4.4:</b> Substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Construct training centres where children can develop their talents and learn new skills in the fields of art, sport, science and technology. (NCP, pp.18)</li> <li>Protect vulnerable children with microcredit or grants together with skills training to improve their livelihood (Social Protection Strategy as cited in ADap, pp.21).</li> <li>Give special attention and emphasis and create an enabling environment towards youth girls. (Youth Development Package, section 2.4)</li> <li>Give special attention and emphasis and create an enabling environment towards youth with disabilities. (Youth Development Package, section 2.4)</li> <li>Support youth to develop professionalism with adequate knowledge and skills and having entrepreneurial mentality and being respectful towards job. Support them to make rational decisions. (Youth Development Package, section 2.5)</li> <li>Include entrepreneurship education under the educational curriculum to enhance youth's entrepreneurial skills and attitude. (Youth Development Package, section 3.1)</li> <li>Enhance youth's practical skills through providing the required equipment and material support to furnish libraries, ICT, and laboratory that in turn enable the youth to have access to modern technology. (Youth Development Package, section 3.3)</li> <li>Provide updated information to youth about the potential job opportunities available in different sector, including urban agriculture, the service sector, manufacturing, etc.—targeting information to youths in different contexts, including pastoralist areas (Youth Development Package, sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.6)</li> <li>Provide short-term trainings focusing on business leadership, financial and property management, and market assessment and business planning programmes that can possibly enhance youth's job creation skills and entrepreneurial attitudes. (Youth Development Package, section 3.1)</li> <li>Provide special education programme and skill training for youth with disability and special needs. (Youth Development Package, section 3.1)</li> <li>Provide skill training and improve rural youth's—including those in pastoralist regions-- access to technical and vocational training programmes. (Youth Development Package, sections 3.2, 3.6)</li> <li>Create awareness on the part of youth that they are the key strategic power by developing training programmes. (Youth Strategy, Section 5)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Provide detailed and accessible information and guidance on TVET opportunities, especially to rural adolescents, emphasizing to young people that they need not choose traditionally gendered courses (e.g. health for girls and electricity for boys).</li> <li>2. Encourage young people to pursue TVET education by reducing (or eliminating) cost barriers.</li> <li>3. Create TVET pathways that begin with primary school graduation.</li> <li>4. Step up support to help young people, esp. from rural areas, reach secondary school and pass 10th grade exams—though the provision of extra tutorial support (where that is required to access TVET education).</li> <li>5. Target TVET programming to job market needs—and consider creating TVET pathways that meet other development goals (such as reducing the adult: child ratio in classrooms by providing teaching assistants or providing small group support for students with disabilities).</li> </ol>

Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Strengthen adolescent technical, vocational and business skills		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensure youth participate in the process of transitioning the agriculture led economy to industrialization by coordinating their effort, knowledge, skill and energy and ensure they fairly benefit. (Youth Strategy, Section 2.4)</li> <li>• Increase number of TVET institutions from 1,329 in 2014/15 to 1,778 by 2019/20 through the expansion of government, private and non-government TVET, including at least one TVET in each Woreda. (GTP II, pp.187)</li> <li>• All round support will be provided specially to youth who graduate from different higher learning institutions and TVET programs to engage in the productive sectors of agriculture, manufacturing and digital technology. These youth would become the source of the country's future developmental entrepreneurs and investors.(GTP II, pp.210)</li> <li>• Produce a lower- and middle-level, competent, motivated, adaptable and innovative workforce, which can contribute to poverty reduction and social and economic development through facilitating demand driven, quality TVET and transfer of demanded technology. (ESDP V pp.36)</li> <li>• Revise curriculum from pre-primary to preparatory secondary education in line with job creation and utilization of technology. (GTP II, pp.186)</li> <li>• Provide competent TVET graduates from formal and short-term training courses to meet market demand. (ESDP V pp.100)</li> <li>• Increase young women's participation and benefits in the economic sphere. (Ethiopian Women Development and Transformation Strategy, pp.22)</li> </ul>	



Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Improve adolescent access to resource endowments	<p><b>Goal 1: No poverty</b></p> <p><b>Target 1.4:</b> Ensure that all men and women, particularly the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership, and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology, and financial services including microfinance</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <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>• 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>• 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>• Ensure equal rights in land use and asset ownership. (GTP 2, pp. 92)</li> <li>• Ensure women's access to land. (Ethiopian Women's Development and Transformation package, pp. 21)</li> <li>• Increase the beneficiary of youth from 10 percent to 30 percent by engaging 4.32 million youth in agriculture and 3.64 million youth in non-agricultural activities. (GTP II, pp.210)</li> <li>• Increase the rate of youth participation in micro and small enterprise from 59 percent in 2014/15 to 90 percent by the end of the plan period. (GTP II, pp.210)</li> <li>• Creating favorable conditions for rural youth to get access to land through using parents' farmland. (Youth Development Package, section 3.2)</li> <li>• Reallocate and redistribute communal land and land located along the hillsides and mountain areas to landless youth. (Youth Development Package, section 3.2)</li> <li>• Improve rural youth's access to irrigation and provide improved animal breeds and selected seed varieties. (Youth Development Package, section 3.2)</li> </ul>	<p>1. Encourage parents to allocate household resources to their children in an equitable way.</p>
	<p><b>Goal 5: Gender Equality</b></p> <p><b>Target 5.1:</b> End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere</p> <p><b>Target 5a:</b> Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws</p>		

Capability outcomes	ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT		
	SDG goals and targets	GoE policy goals	GAGE policy recommendations
Improve adolescent access to savings and credit	<p><b>Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth</b></p> <p><b>Target 8.10:</b> Strengthen the capacity of domestic financial institutions to encourage and expand access to banking, insurance and financial services for all</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The youth agenda will be further integrated into the different economic and social development sectors. The youth will benefit from credit and saving services by organizing themselves into social cooperative associations. (GTP II, pp.210)</li> <li>• Protect vulnerable children with microcredit or grants together with skills training to improve their livelihood. (Social Protection Strategy as cited in ADap, pp.21)</li> <li>• Help women and youth to benefit from savings and credit as a route to gender equality. (Ethiopian Women's Development and Transformation package, pp.26)</li> <li>• Improve youth's access to credit and saving services—and to awareness about savings tradition—including pastoralist youth. (Youth Development Package, sections 3.1. 3.2, 3.6)</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Scale up adolescents' –especially girls-- access to savings opportunities via clubs, NGOs, youth centres, etc.</li> <li>2. Scale up access to credit programmes for older adolescents—especially girls-- through regional credit associations (with clear guidance and fair repayment conditions).</li> </ol>

# Annex 2: Quantitative data baseline results

Annex Table 1: Economic Empowerment (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 Has Money S(he) Controls	5604	12%	0	1	13%	12%	-9%		12%	10%	-23%	
=1 if Receives Economic Support	5602	11%	0	1	11%	11%	-1%		11%	13%	23%	
=1 if Household Receives Benefits from PSNP	5601	28%	0	1	27%	29%	11%	X	28%	28%	0%	
=1 if Has Paid Work	5602	5%	0	1	6%	4%	-22%	O	5%	1%	-73% X	
Fraction of day spent in non-productive activities	5606	79%	0.33	1	80%	78%	-3%	X	79%	82%	3%	X
Financial attitudes and norms	5368	1.59	0	5	1.58	1.60	2%		1.58	1.68	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). Indicator for economic support includes receipt of educational tuition or materials, employment, or economic skills building. 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: Economic Empowerment (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 Has Money S(he) Controls	5395	12%	12%	12%	0%		9%	18%	1%	X	15%	10%	-33%	O
=1 if Receives Economic Support	5390	11%	13%	10%	-17%		7%	12%	18%	X	15%	11%	-25%	
=1 if Household Receives Benefits from PSNP	5388	28%	4%	31%	649%	X	30%	31%	34%		0%	7%	2010%	X
=1 if Has Paid Work	5392	5%	3%	5%	77%	X	5%	6%	6%		4%	2%	-53%	O
Fraction of day spent in non-productive activities	5393	79%	91%	78%	-15%	X	78%	78%	73%	X	91%	92%	1%	
Financial attitudes and norms	5188	1.59	1.17	1.64	40%	X	1.24	1.87	2.31	X	1.15	1.18	3%	

See note in table 1

Annex Table 3: Economic Empowerment (Old Cohort), Urban Only

	Overall				Gender				Disability Status				Urban Location			
	Sample Size	Mean	Min	Max	Male	Female	% Diff	X	No Disability	Disability	% Diff	Debre Tabor	Dire Dawa	Adami Tulu/Batu	Sig Dif?	
					Mean	(F-M)	Mean		(D-NoD)	Mean						
=1 if Has Money S(he) Controls	1332	29%	0	1	39%	21%	-47%	X	29%	33%	14%	28%	24%	32%		
=1 if Receives Economic Support	1332	16%	0	1	17%	15%	-16%		15%	23%	46%	10%	11%	22%	X	
=1 if Household Receives Benefits from PSNP	1331	3%	0	1	4%	3%	-21%		3%	10%	264%	O	1%	8%	2%	X
=1 if Has Paid Work	1333	21%	0	1	30%	15%	-50%	X	21%	21%	-3%		19%	15%	27%	X
Fraction of day spent in school, training, employment	1333	24%	0	0.77	27%	23%	-15%	X	25%	17%	-31%	X	28%	22%	24%	X
Financial attitudes and norms	1317	1.10	0	5	1.19	1.04	-13%		1.09	1.35	23%		1.03	0.89	1.27	X

See note in table 1

Annex Table 4: Economic Empowerment (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)	X	Old Males	Old Females	% Diff (OF-OM)	O	Young Males	Young Females	% Diff (YF-YM)
=1 if Has Money S(he) Controls	1720	19%	0	1	26%	12%	-52%	X	30%	23%	-24%	X	12%	12%	0%
=1 if Receives Economic Support	1717	12%	0	1	11%	13%	18%		14%	9%	-37%	O	12%	13%	4%
=1 if Household Receives Benefits from PSNP	1717	4%	0	1	4%	4%	-6%		6%	3%	-43%	O	5%	3%	-33%
=1 if Has Paid Work	1720	10%	0	1	17%	3%	-82%	X	23%	12%	-47%	X	3%	3%	13%
Financial attitudes and norms	1695	1.07	0	5	0.96	1.17	21%	X	1.01	0.93	-8%		1.25	1.08	-14%

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: Research sites

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%

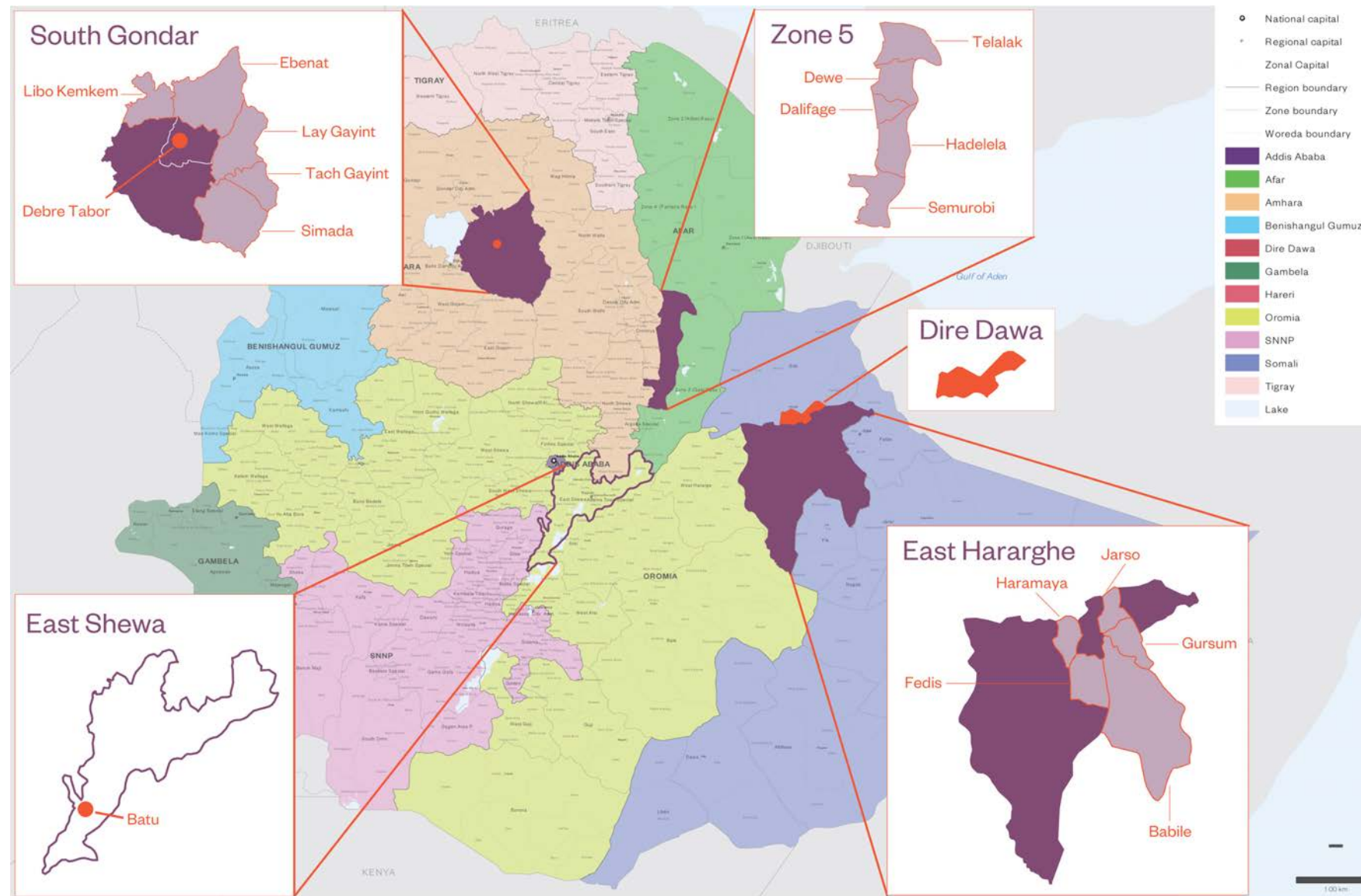
<sup>4</sup> 434 woredas graded across multiple domains and then collapsed into a ranking 1–3 in terms of food (in)security – 1 is highest level of food insecurity (<https://data.world/ocha-ethiopia/76029294-3cbc-4bd0-8786-adcddb6475886>).

<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 3: 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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This document is an output of the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) programme which is funded by UK aid from the UK government. However, views expressed and information contained within do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies and are not endorsed by the UK government, which accepts no responsibility for such views or information or for any reliance placed on them.

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ISBN: 978-1-912942-30-5

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