

Abdiboru Project

**Improving Adolescent Reproductive Health and Nutrition through
Structural Solutions in West Hararghe Zone, Oromia, Ethiopia**

Mini-Assessment Report

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1. The Abdiboru Project – Improving adolescent reproductive health and nutrition through structural solutions

Improving adolescent reproductive health and nutrition through structural solutions is a project to be implemented in West Hararghe zone, Oromia, Ethiopia. The project is implemented in four selected woredas of West Hararghe Zone: Chiro, Boke, Mesela and Anchar. It is a five-year project running from October 2015 to September 2020.

Abdiboru project seeks to test a set of interventions, including social norms and structural issues, aimed at improving the reproductive health and nutritional status of adolescent girls; specifically reduction of early marriage, improving educational attainment, gender equitable food allocation, contraception use and empowerment. The intervention target are adolescent girls in the age group 10-14 year. However, adolescent boys, adult male and female community members, parents, husbands, in-laws, school environment, governmental structure, religious leaders and other influential people in their area are also important stakeholders of the project.

The project interventions will be implemented by CARE Ethiopia. The assessment of the impact of the intervention and the overall monitoring and evaluation of the project will be undertaken by Addis Continental Institute of Public Health (ACIPH). The evaluation of this program has several components including qualitative studies, quantitative studies, routine monitoring and evaluation as well as assessing the quality of the intervention.

This assessment, ‘mini assessment’, is the first activity of the project conducted with the aim of understanding the context of the project implementation area and specifically to identify key social norms affecting the desired program outcomes, decision makers and their reference groups, the extent of agency adolescent girls have on matters of their concern, and the social sanctions or pressures for deviating from the social norms. This information will then be used to inform the design of the baseline main qualitative and quantitative data collection instruments.

2. Methods

The mini-assessment used a qualitative approach. We conducted Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) to collect relevant information to address the purpose of the project. These were conducted February 1, 2016 to February 4, 2016.

Respondents include adolescent girls and boys aged between 10-19 years and adult women and men over age 30. They were residents in the project implementation woredas; namely Mesela, Chiro, Anchar and Boke Woreda.

Respondents for FGDs were selected with the help of the woreda health office and health extension workers. The proposed selection criteria included being a permanent resident (at least 6 months) of the locality, ability to communicate comfortably, and willingness to participate in the FGDs. The FGD participants were 9-10 in each group. In as much as possible each group was homogeneous in at least one main respect such as age and gender. Key informants were also selected in the same manner. Representativeness of the respondents was not taken into consideration, as the main purpose was to learn about the context from individuals who are more informative.

FGD and key informant interview guides were first prepared in English. Experts from ACIPH, CARE and BMGF reviewed and provided feedback on the English version. Once consensus was reached, the mini assessment tool was translated into the local language 'Oromifa'. The translation was done by research assistants who were competent in both English and Oromifa languages. Two independent experts were engaged in the translation and back translation. The experts, apart from being competent in both languages, had Master's degree in public health and a good understanding of the concepts and issues to be discussed.

FGDs were conducted either in the compound of the health center or health post as appropriate for the locality. Each FGD was conducted by two research assistants who had Master's level education and trained for two days. The training included orientation about the project, qualitative data collection methods and understanding the research instruments including a brief overview of the social norms concept. One of the research assistants served as moderator and the other as note taker. To ensure privacy, neither the staff of the health center nor the health post were allowed to sit in the FGD. The necessary precautions were also taken to avoid intruders and trespassers during sessions. FGD sessions lasted 45-95 minutes; the longest discussions were those conducted with

male adolescents. The same location and procedure was followed for the key informant interviews. The KII sessions lasted for 25 to 50 minutes.

Data were processed in two steps. First, the FGD and KII facilitators prepared a summary of each session immediately after it was conducted and developed these later based on the notes taken during the session and the audio records. Second, key findings were extracted based on the summary of each session, notes taken during the field work, and observations made during the field work.

3. Key Findings

3.1 Participants of the mini-assessment

A total of eight focus groups were conducted during the mini-assessment, two in each woreda (Table 1); two with adolescent girls, two with adolescent boys, two with adult women, and two with adult men. There were a total of 39 female and 38 male FGD participants. In addition, four KIIs (two women, one adolescent girl and one man) were conducted with individuals who had a good understanding of community norms. None of the individuals invited to participate in the focus group discussions and key informant interviews refused to participate.

Table 1: Description of the Focus group Discussion and Key Informant

Name of woreda	Number of groups	Types of groups	Number of participant per group	Number of Key Informant
Chiro	02	Adult Women	10	01
		Adult Men	09	01
Mesela	02	Adult Women	10	01
		Adult Men	10	
Boke	02	Adolescent Boy	09	01
		Adolescent Girl	10	
Anchar	02	Adolescent Boy	10	-
		Adolescent Girl	09	

3.2 Theme #1: Major activities and events in the lives of young girls and boys in the community

The major reported activities in the lives of adolescent girls and boys include attending school, helping parents in household chores such as fetching water, farming activities such as rearing and feeding cattle, participation in income generation and trading activities, and participation in social activities such as mutual development initiatives, such as participation in small scale bridges and weddings. These activities appear to have gender differences. While males are expected to

participate more in activities outside the home, girls are expected to have roles linked to household activities.

Often parents decide on the type of activities and events adolescents participate in when the event is of economic importance and essential for livelihood. The participation of both adolescent girls and boys in farming and trading activities is important as most households are subsistence farmers.

At a young age adolescents are instructed by their parents in how to participate in events. Older adolescents chose activities they want to participate in as long as they are within the customary gender norms. However, their involvement in activities/events may not necessarily be within the acceptable cultural norms. Adolescents like the freedom of mobility associated with educational and trading activities.

“In early age, adolescents are involved in activities that their family assigned to them. Attending school and keeping cattle are the major activity. Besides attending school, adolescent girls are involved in trading at the market; by doing so they support their family and purchase educational materials such as exercise books and pens.” Adult women FGD participant

Some trading activities are highly encouraged by parents to both girls and boys due to the high cash return; such activities include a participation in *Khat*¹ business which involves working for long hours from dawn to midnight: from collecting it from the farm to packing and transporting. This particular business is a major concern for the safety of adolescent girls since they work together with adolescent boys and men for long hours which creates plenty of opportunities for having relationships. Thus, while families encourage adolescents to earn money, they are worried about unprotected sexual relationships, sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancy, marriage without consulting families, and early marriage.

3.3 Theme #2: The general pattern and community’s attitude regarding young girls’ education

¹*Khat* is locally grown stimulant and a high value cash product.

Almost all respondents had a positive attitude about girls' education and claimed that opportunities for school enrollment are equal for both girls and boys. Enrolling every child is accepted as a norm and enrollment is generally very high. However, school dropout rate was believed to be higher for girls. Girls are also challenged to focus on their education due to the high expectation to help in household chores after school. Some also said girls need only 'literacy education' sufficient to manage marriage. Higher level education for girls is not regarded as a priority in the community. Some even believe girls' marriageability could be compromised by the desire to pursue higher level education and the chances of older girls getting married may be low.

“The majority of adolescents are nowadays attending school, the majority are still boys. However, most families in rural areas are poor and cannot purchase educational materials sufficiently...their children have to participate in the labor market (often in Khat business) to fulfill that...so attending school regularly for adolescents from poor families is not easy”. Adult female FGD participant

The decision to send children to school is mainly made by fathers. Mothers play a critical role by supporting the education of girls; although the major decision is made by the father, girls cannot go to school if the mother is not supportive.

“I (a mother) do everything to support my children's education...I even work as maid to earn money to support them...they need clothes like their friends...they need to eat well...if not fed enough how can they attend class.” Adult female FGD participant

“Although the father makes the decision regarding the adolescents' education, the mother is important for their success...the mother follows their activities and supports them on a daily basis. Without her (the mother) young boys and girls cannot succeed...her struggle is needed for the success of children”. Adolescent boy FGD participant

During times of economic difficulties, adolescents may be forced out of school by parents. Households with large families may not send girls to school because of the demand for extra hands for child caring and in managing household chores. Adolescents may also drop out of school by themselves due to the desire to engage in economic activity, desire for early independence, and/or early marriage/partnership.

The motivations to send adolescents to school originates from government policy. Educated groups from the locality provide the enthusiasm and commitment in support of girls' education. The shrinking availability of farming land size also encourages parents and adolescents to seek education as the way out. More job opportunities are created for educated girls at various levels of the government structure starting from the *kebele*, which was an important motivator for the adolescents, their parents and the community at large. Teachers, community leaders, and government officials visit households to insist families send children to school.

“Fathers and the community members are highly influenced by the media...advocacy through mass media can influence decision making regarding adolescent education”.

Adolescent boy FGD participant

Girls that discontinued their education are regarded as useless and irresponsible by the community; especially when they do so without consulting their parents. Families that are not supporting their girl's education are also regarded as irresponsible and may lose respect in the community. Adolescent girls discontinue their education these days mainly to go abroad to Middle East countries to serve as maids.

“Adolescent girls are not strictly following their education...their intention is to go abroad...most can't pass grade 10 due to that.” Adolescent boy FGD participant

Adolescents not going to school are considered a threat to the community security and pride. Boys who discontinued their education are often suspected to get involved in activities disturbing the security of the community and substance abuse including *Khat*, tobacco and alcohol. Adolescent girls who discontinued their education may engage in early marriage without their parents' approval, which may end up with divorce and later in commercial sex activities. Government bodies consider these girls as a burden and put various pressures on them and their families.

“Actually no direct punishment for adolescents for discontinuing their education, but adolescents who are absent from school have no acceptance in the community. No one respects their opinion in community discussions and conversations.” Adolescent boy FGD participant

3.4 Theme #3: The condition of marriage for young boys and girls

Most respondents reported early marriage is widely practiced in the community. Tacitly, girls between 12 and 17 years of age are expected to get married. Girls also claim that they are ready for marriage by age 12 and they even start faking their age, claiming to be older to reduce social and legal liabilities. It is not uncommon for high school adolescents to get married while attending school. Early marriages often end in divorce, some after giving birth. These days family-arranged marriages are less common.

“In the past marriage used to be arranged by families...now that is not happening...some girls marry at school...some just on the road without even thinking seriously about it...you know...such marriage do not last long ...it ends in divorce as they are not mature enough to keep the marriage alive.” Male adult FGD participant

“They (girl adolescents) do not involve family in their marriage decision...once I tried to counsel an adolescent to reconsider her marriage plan...she resisted and told me it’s her right to decide when to get married” Female KI

”...in this community; girls thought to be not tempting/attractive to man if she stay single over the age of 17”. Adolescent boy FGD participant

“No one is involved in their marriage, they arrange it by themselves. They often marry a boy of their age. Commonly they meet at school, wedding ceremonies, and at Khat trading places. Some marry early through peer pressure and mediators. Some start to satisfy their sexual desire. Other marry early due to economic problems. Although the community respect their choice they are too young to manage marriage...divorce rate is high and they come back to the family. That is the worst thing...they are insulted and called divorcee (‘Nashiida). We try to restrict the movement of adolescent girls due to fear of early marriage”. Adult female FGD participant

“A divorced girl is considered as a low-priced commodity...they (males) say she is divorced so we can get her easily.” Female KI

“If her friends marry...she just follows them. There are ‘Cajoles’ (delala; intermediators) who mediate marriage. She would not listen to her families.” Adolescent girl FGD participant

According to respondents, in the majority of cases adolescents decide by themselves whom and when to marry. Marriage decision is reported to occur by mutual consent between the groom and the bride. Parents/caregivers often have no influence on the choice made by the girls. When adolescent girls marry an economically independent partner they will be supported by their partner parents (parent-in-laws). Early marriage is not openly objected to as long as it is done in a culturally accepted manner; meaning parents are formally asked to allow the marriage to go ahead. Usually the male partner has to send elders to the girl’s family to propose marriage and request their blessing.

“These days, the majority of adolescent partners get married or start living together without their parents approval or even without letting them know...only a few go through the traditional/cultural process called ‘Mayir or Chabsi’,which has been a norm in the area and in which the male partner sends proposal to marry the girl through elders.” Adolescent boy FGD participant

The main drive for early marriage is the peer influence. Respondents reported that marriages sometimes occur in waves, when one of the girls marries her friends and classmates do the same in quick succession.

“In one semester seven girls got married from the nearby school...we tried to prevent but couldn’t...now most of them are in court seeking divorce and claiming child support.” Adult male FGD participant

There are also intermediaries (called *Delala* or ‘*Haadhamuumdelafee*’) who facilitate partnership and marriage for the sake of economic gains or other benefits. The intermediaries include male school friends, elder women in the villages, relatives, and out of school girls and boys. Adolescent girls are also motivated to marry early by looking at successful and happy marriages in the village. More acceptance and respect offered by the community to married adolescent girls than the unmarried ones encourage the girls to marriage early. Adolescents from a poor family also see marriage as a way out of poverty; poor families cannot afford to purchase school materials and

uniform. Lack of jobs in the villages and surrounding areas has also become a deterrent for school completion. On the other hand some are trapped by the intermediaries who are scavenging them for gaining money from the suitor.

“Similar to the brokers in the cattle market there are intermediaries that mediate partnerships between adolescent boys and girls...they drive them to an early marriage. We call such brokers ‘Haadhamuumdelafee’ which literally means ‘a thin Mummmed mother’ ...they fool them by saying ...your family are living for themselves, they are exploiting your labor... get married and start living for yourself.” They (intermediaries) also exploit the unemployment situation by saying...”do not waste your time going to school...see those who already completed, they have no job...you better marry while you are young.” Adult male FGD participant

“Girls are often deceived by the intermediaries...they tell adolescents girls about joblessness after school completion and urge them to marry young when they are still attractive...the intermediaries may get 100-200Birr for their mediation.” Female KI

“After completing vocational school, which is 2 years after 10th grade, there is what they call competency examination...many cannot pass this exam...so no job and return home jobless...thus education is nonsense as far as it does not create job. That is frustrating for adolescents and that is why they deviate to income generating activities (such as Khat trading business)and early marriage.” Female KI

“These days, girls argue ...why should I waste my time on education ...there is no job...better to marry early.” Adult male FGD participant

There is also a widespread view that adolescents may not get their age match partner or previously unmarried man as they grow older (past 17 years). They are often perceived as not attractive and unlovable if they stay unmarried beyond age 17. Parents are also teased for having unmarried adolescent older than 17 in the household. On the other hand, unsuccessful marriage at a younger age is risky for adolescent girls because the chances to re-marry are low, although that may give them a second chance to continue their education. A divorced women has very little respect in the

community. As described above, she is often condemned and stigmatized since she is perceived as sexually available and even practicing commercial sex.

Late marriage (after age 17) is also widely condemned in the community. Thus, adolescent girls are very cautious not to turn away the first proposer due to fear that the chance may not come again. They may even look out for an early chance to avoid humiliation to themselves and their family.

“If a girl is not married before certain age... she is considered bad luck to the family. Girls should leave home by 18 year of age.” Female KI

3.5 Theme #4: Women’s and men’s roles related to food production, purchases and consumption in the community

There appears to be a common pattern with regard to food production, purchase and consumption. Food production or rearing cattle are planned and performed jointly by both women and men; elder children and other adult members of the family participate in such decisions. When it comes to selling products, men make the major decision on cash generating products (such as *Khat*) and properties (such as land and cattle). Women decide on products for consumption such as goats, chickens and crops already in the household. In some cases women may have their own income generated from petit trading, which is handled by the women. Women are supposed to make sure that produces are in excess of the family consumption before selling. Adolescent girls may help mothers in trading. The woman of the house is also considered as the household accountant and she manages the household finance. Thus she decides on food and other commodity purchases.

“The decision on what to purchase for consumption is left for the women. We give the money to our wives ...she is our finance keeper...she cannot spend the money without the permission of the husband on other items.” Adult male FGD participant

“On resources in the farm the husband decides...on resources collected and stored at home the wife decides- women decide on all resources under the roof.” Adult male FGD participant

Food preparation is fully the women's responsibility in the community. Adolescent girls are widely expected to help their mother in food preparation. Men have no recognized role in food preparation.

Food allocation in the family clearly favors males. Males are usually served first and given a larger portion. Women and adolescent girls eat last, after all males in the household are served. Females including adolescents are not also allowed to eat certain parts of beef like 'milas'² 'shagna'³ and 'firmba'⁴, which are considered delicious parts of the beef locally. Other parts considered less delicious such as the liver, stomach and intestine are for women/girls. Some say females are not supposed to eat raw meat. Some mentioned females can eat every part of the animal except "Kolet"⁵. Elderly male are treated on occasions with "Kiila", which is a special dish made of eggs and butter. During food scarcity women and girls may stay starved, having giving priority to men and boys. Adolescents could be forced out of school during food scarcity; instead they would work on the labor market to earn a living.

"...it is cultural that male eat first: husband before wife, boy before girl. Even if food is not enough, female serve male first and they may not eat at all. This is culture ...however there are special considerations for pregnant women and for the sick members of the household." Adult male FGD participant

"The husband eats first and is served larger portion, children eat next to the husband. Boys eat before girls. The wife eats last and eats the leftovers. Pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers are treated separately. Elderly and small children are served alone. During food scarcity she may not eat at all as there would be no leftover." Female KI

Women eating before serving their men are considered greedy, unmannered and disrespectful of her husband and the culture. Her parents could be implicated for not raising her with cultural competence. Neighbors and elders in the community will consider the woman unmannered and would not give her the respect she deserves.

"Not respecting the food allocation culture is considered shameful and discussing it is a taboo...it is seen as a culture no one can influence it. If a woman eats first she is called "Kan

²Milas : means 'Tongue'

³Shagna : hump, fundus (Oololla in Oromifa)

⁴Firmba:sternum, chest of an animal

⁵"Kolet" means Testis

darajallatu” (Meaning Glutton,Bulimic)...she loves her belly.” Adolescent girl FGD participant

4. Effect of Drought on Social Events and Activities

Respondents mentioned that the current drought affects the activities and events usually anticipated in the community. School dropout increased and adolescent girls and boys are more involved in the labor market to financially support their family and themselves. Due to loss of crops families are economically challenged to purchase educational materials and school uniforms, especially those with large family sizes. Commonly adolescent boys work as daily laborers. Adolescent girls help their mothers fetch water since water is not easily available during the dry season and during droughts in particular, it has to be fetched from distance places.

”During drought dogs and adolescents are the first victims...currently my son discontinued his education I and he are working as a daily laborer...because survival has become very difficult’. Adult male FGD participant

Marriage ceremonies do not go well during drought and food scarcity. Families would not have enough resource to help young newly married adolescent, marriage is not encouraged during difficult times. So the community struggles for survival rather than making new families and marriage. Drought may even threaten the survival of already formed marriages.

“You see there is an old saying in our culture...a boy asked his father during a drought season to let him marry...the father replied...my son if it rains,let?alone you, I will also marry an additional wife ...if no rain, no marriage ...I may even have to divorce your mother.” Adult male FGD participant

Food allocation during drought still favors males, females are more vulnerable than usual. In the household where food is scarce, men, adolescent boys and children eat first but women and girls eat last if food is left. That means women and adolescent girls keep on starving if the drought persists.

5. Field Observations

- The focus group discussants were not as open as we expected them to be. Especially the FGDs with adolescent girls and adult women focusgroups were not very productive. They appeared to have difficulty in expressing their ideas openly. From around ten in the focus group discussions, only three to four of them were speaking. The rest in the group were shy and needed time-consuming encouragement and probing.
- Since the field period was short, participants of the FGDs were selected with the help of local officials and health extension workers, thus they were reserved from speaking openly in front of others. As participants who are close to the administration tend to attend more meetings and get more chances for trainings, they are more conscious of what is desired regarding early marriage, school enrollment and related gender issues. The key informants were more open. This observation suggests that key informant interviews will be more useful than focus groups for the main study conducted in the area.
- The woreda (district) selected to serve as control, *Anchar*, is distinctively different from the other three implementation woredas. The cultural practices and ethnic composition was different. It has mixed culture of three ethnic groups which are Amhara, Argoba and Oromo. The cash crop in the area is also different, in the other the three woredas *Khat* was the dominant cash crop. In Anchar woreda cultivate irrigation based vegetables and fruits is dominant. The woreda is very mountainous and access was made through a dangerous not well-maintained road, which could be a serious challenge to implement the project and do regular follow up.

6. Limitations of the study

- Due to time constraint, participants of the FGDs were solely recruited by local facilitators.
- There are gaps in understanding the players in adolescent marriage. More information is needed to identify the actual role players behind adolescent marriage; need to triangulate data sources.
- The assessment is short of clarifying fully the school dropout in relation to marriage, how the two are related and if there are other driving forces.

7. Recommendations

- As the project is dealing with sensitive issues it is good to consider conducting more of key informants' interviews than focused group discussions. Key informant interviews can elicit richer and detailed information.
- Consider having a prolonged stay in the field for the main qualitative study to facilitate the selection of study participants and to get more time to better understand the culture and norms through informal observations.
- Consider changing the control woreda as it is distinctively different from the three implementation woredas.

8. Annex I: study Guide

Questions

1. In your community, **what are the major activities and events in the lives of young girls and the lives of young boys around the ages of 10 to 19?***(Collect data about girls and the boys separately, initially encourage without steering then prompt. List a few key activities/events for both girls and boys. For education, marriage and food production related see questions 2-4 below. For any other points follow up with questions A to F)*
 - A. Why are these considered major in the community?
 - B. Who has a voice in these taking place?
 - C. Who is responsible for these taking place?
 - D. Who influences the decision makers?
 - E. What are the norms for girls and boys in terms of their behavior around these major events?
 - F. What happens if these activities/events don't happen, what is the sanction?
 - G. How is the drought affecting these life-cycle activities/events?

2. Pick up on the discussions above that have referred to education if any and link to: **What is the general pattern, and your community's attitudes regarding young girls' education?** If Education is not mentioned previously probe by asking: **What is the condition of young girls and boys education in your community?** *(Try and get the general patterns and the ranges of experiences and some exemplar stories of attitudes to the education of young girls prompting with A-G above.)*
 - A. What is the general condition of young girls' education in your community?
 - B. Who has a voice in young girls' education?
 - C. Who is responsible for young girls' education?
 - D. Who influences the decision makers?
 - E. What are the norms for girls and boys in terms of their education?
 - F. What happens if these girls and boys are not educated, what is the sanction?
 - G. How is the drought affecting young girls' and boys' education?

3. Pick up on earlier reference to marriage and link to: **In your community, what are the typical steps involved when a young woman gets married?** If Education is not mentioned previously probe by asking: **What is the condition of marriage for young boys and girls in your community?** *(try and get the full story with details of a generic example with variations. Once they have finished, go back and probe :)*
 - A. **AT WHAT AGE:** At what age for the bride – range and average, who influences this?
 - B. **WHO:** Who decides who is chosen to be the groom? Who else influences this?
 - C. **WHY:** what are the factors that lead to decision in young girls' marriage *(probe: economic, social, other?)*
 - D. How much say do the bride/groom have? Get a sense of the average and the range

- E. How does the community see girls who are not married by age [use ideal age given above by respondents]? How does this affect those girls? Whose opinions matter most to the girls?
 - F. What would others say about parents whose daughters are not married by [use ideal age from above]? How does this affect the parents? Whose opinion would matter most?
 - G. How is the drought affecting this life event?
4. We would like to understand women's and men's roles related to food production, purchases and consumption in your community. (Many specific areas for this question so go straight into the questions below.)

For adults, ask Questions A-I; for adolescents, skip to Questions F-I only.

- A. For foods that are produced/reared, who in the household decides what to grow/rear and is there any consultation? With whom?
- B. From food produced/reared, who decides what to sell versus what to keep for home consumption, is there consultation? With whom?
- C. For foods that are normally purchased who provides the money? Who makes the decisions about what to buy and who is consulted?
- D. Are there significant contributions from others outside the household, e.g. government, donors, extended family/remittances? If so who makes the decisions regarding food expenditure from these funds? Who is consulted?
- E. When it comes to how decisions are made about food in the household, what do people in the community say when people go against these norms? Whose opinions matter most to women? To men?
- F. Who is responsible for preparing food for the family and who helps and in what way? (*check men, young girls, boys*)
- G. At meal time, what are the typical practices in terms of who eats when? Are there any exceptions? (*Could probe here about pregnant women, sick or elderly, differentiate normal and fasting periods.*)
- H. Are there any taboos or beliefs about foods, things that should never be eaten by young women or men, or should only be eaten by them? How much should or shouldn't be eaten? Are there expectations about food/diet and what young women should look like? Who sanctions these beliefs and what happens if somebody doesn't abide by them? When it comes to matters of diet, whose opinions matter most to women? To men?
- I. In what way does the drought affect adolescent girls more specifically when it comes to food consumption?

9. Annex II: Framework for the analysis:

The following tables shows the focus of the mini-assessment and the analysis approach:

Framework for analysis of mini-assessment to identify social norms data around (i) early and forced marriage, ii) continued education, iii) nutritional discrimination), each covering:		
Q1	Identifying the social norms	What do most people do? And are there sanctions if people behave differently?
Q2	Identifying the decision makers	Who are the decision makers?
	Identifying the reference groups for the decision makers	Who influences the decision makers?
Q3	Identifying how much agency the girls have themselves	In what areas and how much decision making power do they have?
Q4	Identifying the sanctions for deviating from the norm	What are the social sanctions for deviation?