

**Towards Improved Economic and Sexual Reproductive
Health Outcomes for Adolescent Girls (TESFA) Project
Baseline Qualitative Study Report**

Submitted to CARE Ethiopia

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Operational in Ethiopia since 1984, CARE's involvement into sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and maternal, newborn and child Health (MNCH) programming began in 1995 with the *Family Planning and HIV/AIDS* program. Since that time, CARE has gained expertise in the design and implementation of family planning and MNCH programs in Ethiopia by piloting innovative approaches, social analysis and action, village saving and loan association, mobilizing communities, encouraging behavior change communication, and engaging with government and local organizations etc. CARE Ethiopia's experience working with stakeholders at various levels to develop and implement sustainable family planning and MNCH activities, combined with global leadership in SRH, MNCH and HIV/AIDS equips CARE with the unique skills to tackle enduring and emerging issues that affect the health and wellbeing of women, men and children of Ethiopia.

1.2 Brief Overview of Adolescent Girls in Ethiopia

Adolescent girls in Ethiopia face multifaceted social, cultural and economic challenges. This is particularly evident in the South Gondar zone of the Amhara region where the prevalence of, harmful traditional practices (HTPs) such as early and forced-marriage and female genital mutilation is rampant. Besides, a societal preference for investments in males condemn many girls to lead life marked by little or no education, poor health including increased vulnerability to HIV and SRH, low income, and the inability to control life decisions. One of the highest rates of early and forced-marriage in Ethiopia exists in the Amhara region, with 48 %

of girls married by the age of 15, and 74 percent married by the age of 18.¹ This high proportion has serious repercussions on the lives of the adolescent girls, particularly with respect to education, health and economic stability.

Of the married girls under the age of 24, only 9 percent attend school, a stark contrast from the 78 percent of unmarried girls. Nearly half of the unschooled girls cite marriage and childbirth as the primary causes for not pursuing their education. In addition, unwanted

¹*The Adolescent Experience in-depth: Using Data to identify and Reach the Most Vulnerable Youth People*, Population Council & UNFPA, 2009.

pregnancies and unsafe abortions are significant issues of adolescent girls in the region. Over half of maternal deaths among women under the age of 20 have been attributed to abortion. Moreover, 81 percent of married adolescents (between the ages of 10-19) in Amhara reported that their first experience of sexual intercourse occurred against their will.²

In 2009 CARE in collaboration with local partners conducted a study to assess the underlying causes of poverty in Ethiopia. The study highlighted a number of factors that cause adolescent girls to be disproportionately vulnerable to poverty and marginalization: 1) They live in rural areas with low incomes; 2) They have little education; 3) Adolescent girls are exposed to a high incidence of gender-based violence (GBV); 4) They have limited media access; and 5) Adolescent girls face discriminatory socio-cultural norms coupled with weak government policies and systems. In summary, the study found that being a married adolescent girl almost exclusively equates to social isolation, low levels of confidence and self-efficacy, significant power imbalances with males, barriers to education (including informal education such as savings and business skills development), minimal to no access or control over income or other assets, financial dependency on a husband, intimate partner violence, and social pressure to have children.³

The age gap between an adolescent girl and her husband in Amhara tends to be an average of nine years,⁴ is a significant factor in preventing young girls from achieving economic independence and making important life decisions such as those related to sexual and reproductive health. However, CARE's study on the underlying causes of poverty found that despite the high rates of early marriage in South Gondar, there have been few interventions in the area of adolescent girls' SRH and few studies on the sexual behavior of youth.

1.3 Project Objectives and Outcomes

1.3.1 Project objective

²Erulkar&Muthengi (2009)

³ CARE Ethiopia (2009), Situational Analysis of Adolescent Girls in Lay Gayint, South Gondar

⁴ Source MEASURE Evaluation funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

In 2015, CARE, through Johnson and Johnson funding, directly targeted 1200 ever-married girls and 400 community members to participate in the project. The specific objectives of the project are: (1) to increase ever-married adolescent girls' knowledge on reproductive health and family planning; (2) improve adolescent girls' attitudes about and the use of family planning and other reproductive health services; (3) improve adolescent girls' income and access to assets through savings and loan groups; and (4) enhance community support for adolescent girls, particularly from their partners, families and other gate keepers so they may participate in the program and other civic actions.

1.3.2 Project Outcomes

By the end of the project, it is expected to achieve the following outcomes in the communities where the interventions are implemented:

- a) Improved perception of reproductive health knowledge among girls;
- b) Increase in girls who report confidence in their spousal communication with in-laws;
- c) increase in girls who report having autonomy or decision-making over their own income;
- d) increase in girls who report that community members think it's normal for girls to move freely outside the home if she wants to

1.4 Objective of the qualitative baseline study

Care Ethiopia has contracted out Kilimanjaro Consulting to undertake the baseline study of "Johnson and Johnson Towards Improved Economic and Sexual reproductive Health Outcomes for Adolescent Girls (TESFA)" project which is being implemented within 4 Kebeles (Atikenta, Debelima, Gena Mechawecha and Mahidere-MAriam) of Farta Woreda, South Gondar Zone, Amhara Region. This study has been conducted in 2 kebeles out of the 4 mentioned. This study has been initiated with the specific objective of understanding the existing social norms that negatively affects girl' sexual reproductive health and health related outcomes. In addition, it aims to identify the existing positive conditions and enablers which support the girls for social and economic empowerment, and inform strategies and approaches which helps to address the existing social barriers/norms. Based on previous years of project implementation, the TESFA staff identified the following two prevailing social norms that inhibit achievement of

the project objectives. They are: A married girl should be in the home and serve the family; and every decision should be made by a man, not a woman. These two norms directly speak to issues of girls' mobility, decision-making, role in the household, and couples communications, all of which are key influencers to girls' achieving economic empowerment, and reproductive rights and access.

This baseline focuses on social norms, adapting Christina Bicchieri's⁵ framework of norms. Applying a social norms approach to this project requires looking at key individuals who are influenced by social norms held by their reference groups. For TESFA, we focus the social norms inquiry on husbands and mother in laws of adolescent married girls rather than the girls themselves. The reasons are that adolescent married girls are very isolated and have few social networks, or friends, so are less directly influenced by norms; they are so to speak "power down" nearly completely under the authority of their husbands or mother in laws. Given this dynamic, we chose to instead focus on normative influences on husbands and mother-in-laws (MILs). Note that CARE programming and quantitative aspect of the baseline study conducted by CARE previously focused on (measuring and) empowering adolescent girls themselves (building girls' confidence, negotiation skills, reproductive health knowledge, financial skills and engagement in village savings and loans groups). This current qualitative baseline complement to the quantitative study and focuses at the necessary changes in the enabling environment – norms held by power holders, specifically husbands and mother-in-laws such as: 1) A married girl should be in the home and serve the family, 2) Every decision should be made by a man, not a woman "*Set lejin mulu mebt mestet Ayasfelegim*". Hence, some of the changes CARE wants to see in this baseline study are:

1. The married girls have increased mobility, specifically, they can go to school, church, health clinics and see friends
2. Girls have increased communication and decision making

⁵Christina Bicchieri, C. (2005). *The grammar of society: The nature and dynamics of social norms*. Cambridge University Press.

2. The Study Process and Methodology

2.1 Study Process

CARE Ethiopia invited competent consulting firms to participate in this assignment and granted the assignment to Kilimanjaro Consulting. The CARE team developed the vignettes and conducted a training session with the consultants on social norms theory and measurement, and the consulting team conducted a pre- test on one FGD for each group and finalized six vignettes used in the four different FGD. The consultants prepared summarized transcripts from the pre-test to debrief, make needed revisions of the vignettes, and finalize the tools.

Kilimanjaro consulting team made maximum effort to ensure the quality of study starting from translating the data collection tools into Amharic focusing on the objectives of the study. Each question in the data collection tool articulated in a clear and unambiguous way with a logical flow and skip orders. Moreover, the tools were administered in a language that the respondents could understand well and the FGDs were facilitated in gender sensitive manner. The team leader verified each completed questionnaire and audio tapped FGDs at the field on a daily basis and communicated the areas of improvement needed.

All the transcriptions and translations works have been made by the main study team members so that errors are minimized in interpretations and understanding of the contextual environment. The team leader has checked all the transcribed data with the audio and addressed all missing points into the revised transcriptions for final use by the team during summarization and organization of the framework analysis charts.

2.2 Study Methodology and Approach

This baseline study used a qualitative study design using vignettes with FGDs as main data collection techniques targeting married girls, husbands, mother-in-laws and SAA sub groups in the target areas. Based on previous years of programming in this area with adolescent girls, CARE pre-identified the two most salient social norms holding married adolescent girls back

The vignettes focus on the application of the social norm theory to understand empirical

expectations, normative expectations, sanctions, sensitivity to sanctions, conditionality, and validating reference group members for the two norms. This qualitative research on norms held by the husbands and mother-in-laws as they are the two key figures that play into a married adolescent girl's life. The following table summarized the number of FGDs conducted and total number of participants in the study.

Table 1: Total number of FGDs by Kebele and total distribution of respondents, October 2015

S/N	Study Sub Group	Total Respondent at Atkena	No of FGD	Total Respondent at Debelima	No of FGD	Total FGDs	Total Respondents
1	Husband	17	2	9	1	3	26
2	SAA/ community members (men and women)	14	1	24	2	3	38
3	Mother In Law	11	1	20	2	3	31
4	Married Girl	23	2	10	1	3	33
	Total	65	6	63	6	12	128

The sample participants were identified by the facilitators at the study sites using a mix of purposive and random sampling techniques. The socio-demographics and cultural context across the four kebeles are similar. In line with the analysis framework provided, the consulting team first organized and summarized the themes that emerged from the transcripts both by the study sub groups and identified social norms in two separate tables. This helped to identify the major findings and make interpretations accordingly. It has to be noted that we cannot diagnose for pluralistic ignorance because we did not capture data on what is actually occurring compared to perception. However, this qualitative study elicited rich data about the perceptions of respondents and assist to capture diverse views.

In terms of analyzing the data, the team, first went thoroughly all the FGDs transcriptions and pooled together the transcriptions of the two study sites by the sub groups: husbands, mother-in-laws, SAA and married girls. Second, color coding schemes are used to identify the content related to each construct in the theoretical framework. To this end, the coding followed: yellow for empirical expectation, purple for normative expectation, red for sanction, purple for sensitivity and green for condition. Third, similar responses pulled together and placed under the

corresponding construct. Fourth, content analysis was carried out and the most frequent responses provided by the four sub groups are summarized. Fifth, dominant responses obtained are inserted into the final framework/chart.

3. Presentations of Key Findings based on Framework Analysis

The data analysis was conducted based on the draft analysis framework provided by CARE US team. The consulting team summarized key points in the analysis framework, organized them by sub group (see Appendix II). Second, the framework of analysis reorganized and summarized based on the key social norms identified (see Appendix I) for the baseline study which facilitate for narrative explanations and discussions by linking the main empirical and normative expectations, possible sanctions by the main reference group to the main character who breaks the norm, and sensitivity to sanctions have been provided.

Overall, the study revealed how the social norms influence social behaviors in the community. The norms influence members of the community to approve or disapprove certain acts, decisions, practices, and behaviors. In this regard, masculinity seems to have gained wider acceptance. In essence this is reflected by granting males sole household decision makers and wives to be abide by the decision. In addition while men have unlimited mobility rights, women, particularly married girls mobility is highly restricted. This has isolated married girls from friends and family tightened control on them. This is widely practice by the community with a conviction that married girls would become ‘good wife’ if they stay and work at home. Discharging household duties are considered as the sole responsibilities of women. However, women are still expected to work in farm lands along with their husbands. The established norm casts men feminine if they engage in household duties, like making food.

Most respondents recognized that the unfair way married girls being treated by the mother in laws, by their husband, and by their own parents. However, the norm hindered them to exercise their decision. This indicates that the norm compels some members to adhere what they personally dislike but widely approved by the rest of the society, the notion Bicchieri (2005)⁶

⁶ Christina Bicchieri, C. (2005). *The grammar of society: The nature and dynamics of social norms*. Cambridge University Press.

posited pluralistic ignorance. In par with this notion, the study surfaced that individual behavior in the community does not fully signals his/her true beliefs. This is widely reflected in FGD that respondents consider girls under 14 and boys under 21 are both immature to form marriage and assume family responsibility. Nevertheless, many under 21 married boys and married girls about 14 or less years of age have participated in the FGD as a respondent. Bicchieri (2005) regarded this as “unpopular norm” subject to change via intervention.

Mother in laws, relatives, and neighbors tend to play central role in couple’s household affairs. If the mother in law is unhappy with her daughter in law, she can direct her son to discipline or to divorce. Specially, when the son is economically supported by his family, through the provision of farm land or sharing residential areas, the couples are likely to face higher pressure from the mother in law and relatives. In turn, the mother in laws are highly influenced by their reference groups tend to change their behavior and decisions in response to the reflections of their reference group. Similarly, married husbands are highly influenced by their friends and very sensitive to critics of their friends.

3.1 Findings on Married Girls Mobility

The study revealed that girl's mobility primarily depends on mother-in-law’s and husband permission. Married girls are expected to first seek permission from the mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere. All groups’ discussants mentioned that mother-in-laws or husbands will not be happy nor tolerate when married girls leave home without any consultation and permissions from their mother-in-laws and husbands. The married girls’ husbands and SAA’s group participants indicated that most husbands would be angry and beat their wives when they leave their houses without any kind of permission. The husbands would get angry for a number of reasons. Most mentioned that they associate her absence with adultery or some affairs outside her home and consider the girl as bad and deviant. Similarly, the mother-in-law and married girls groups also mentioned that the mother-in-law will assume that her role was undermined or not respected by her daughter-in-law. Mother-in-laws reflected their unhappiness in different ways: insulting the married girl, yelling at and accusing her. The Mother-in-laws not only tell their sons

to insult and beat the married girls, if the incidence repeated the girls would be sent back to her parents.

The study also revealed that the living arrangement of married girls depend on the maturity of the girls. Those girls considered as young (not matured mostly below the age of 14) by the community would stay with their mother-in-laws until they mature and matured girls live in separate house with their husbands. Married girls who are living with their mother-in-laws are limited in mobility and totally under control of mother-in-laws. They were not allowed to go outside to markets, peers, schools and neighbors. The only freedom is when they go to their biological parents (if the girl is not matured she is allowed to rotate living one month with mother-in-law and one month with parents until she gets matured). For girls who are considered matured and not living with their mother-in-law, their mobility is not relatively limited to the households and relatively independent of the mother-in-laws, but they would still be in control of their husbands. The majority of respondents indicated that restriction on married girl's mobility, those married girls who are living in the mother-in-laws house, is mainly supervised and implemented by mother-in-laws. This prevents the girls from going to school, and seeing friends and family; mostly by tightening control on her with a conviction that she would play 'good wife' roles in the house. Most respondents mentioned school after marriage are prohibited because of two reasons; one to control the social interaction of married girls and second since the husband is a farmer and not educated they would fear that the girls would leave their husband if they are educated. Most of married girls group said "marriage is a prison for most of girls because they are not allowed to go outside home and socialize with their friends and family."The tight control observed on married girls' mobility will have far reaching effect on their life. It deters girls from access to information and available resources. In addition, married girls will not get skill development and educational opportunity and eventually this practice will lead them to be in state of marginalization in the community.

The study also assessed the Social Analysis and Action community group members who influence the mobility of married girls. The result shows that girls' mobility is not supported by the community in general as they believe that girls would be out of control of the mother in-law and the husband. In addition, the community thinks that the girl will lack household skills and labeled as "*gateewot*" (wild). All respondents agreed that the expected role for married girls is

confined at household, giving birth and taking care of children, serve the mother-in-law including washing her feet, and perform all household activities. Since the mobility of married girls is under the control of mother-in-laws' and husbands', these power holders were also expected to exercise or ensure the societal norms which are accepted by the community. If not their friends, relatives, neighbors and community in general would influence them to practice it through all possible sanctions.

Generally, husbands in the community are influenced by friends, neighbors and by their mothers or relatives. If married girls' mobility is out of the norms of the society, friends of the husband and neighbors tell the husband to discipline his wife via giving advice, rebuking or beating her. The majority of the husband's friends tell to the husband "your wife is becoming out of control and you need to do something about it". The Mother-in-laws also advise their sons to discipline their wives. They tend to tell their sons "to insult her" or "to get divorced if such incidence is repeated". The Mother-in-laws are also in turn are influenced by other friends and neighbors. If married girl's mobility is thought to be out of the norms of the society, friends of the mother-in-laws' and neighbors would advise the mother-in-law. If she makes this mistake for the first time, the mother-in-laws' friends would tell her to give the girl advice in order not to repeat it again. However if it is repeated they would say to mother-in-laws' "If she is not staying in the house and taking the roles at home, kick her out of the house and bring another wife to your son." They would add by telling her "she did not help you, if she is not in the house to do her household duties, you have to send her to her parents and we will find another girl for your son".

There are certain sanctions on members who break the social norms in the communities. The sanction for not exercising the expected norm is happen on husbands, Mother-in-laws and married girls by their reference groups in particular and the community in general. The husband would be considered as a fool, weak and incompetent man who has no control over his wife and isolate him from social events. This husband's friend reference group sanctions would have stronger influence on the married girl's husband behavior. The mother-in-laws would also be blamed for not undertaking/performing her role to discipline the girl. As a result, the mother-in-law's friends and other community members will gossip, insult; accuse and look-down/lower her status for not playing her role (role defined by the community). The finding shows that the

mother-in-law's friend sanction looks stronger in influencing the mother in law's behavior. The girls were blamed and exposed to all physical, psychological and social punishments that are put by both mother-in-laws and husbands. The married girls are considered as lazy and undisciplined, living with fear of being beaten up, shouted at, kicked out of the house etc. Their marriages could also be dissolved for going out of the household without permission.

The study revealed that all target groups are sensitive to sanctions imposed by their reference groups. For example, “Husbands are sensitive when they find their colleagues gossiping about their personal/household issues and get embarrassed when they see some friends expose their issues to others”. Moreover, the husband and his friends’ future relationship get strained and it would become very painful to the husband. If the married girls continued to leave the house without seeking permission first, the Mother-in-laws would be primarily influenced by fear of her friends’ sanctions to send the married girl to her parents and make divorce. Ultimately, these two pronged pressures from husbands and mother-in-laws would force the married girls to adjust their behavior and conform to the social norm in fear of the sanctions.

However, all sub groups mentioned that married girl’s mobility is possible and acceptable under certain conditions. For example, the husband group indicates that, married girl’s mobility is possible and acceptable only with certain special conditions such as illness, death, neighbor conflict etc. The Mother-in-laws and married girls groups mentioned that married girls can go without permission to fetch water, collect fire wood, if it is nearby place, and to attend religious or church ceremony. Generally, girls tend to go to clinic in secret to get family planning services to delay their first born pregnancy. Both groups mentioned that after the girl matured and starts to live with her husband in a separate house, she will have a relative freedom to go to market, and other social gatherings. In this scenario, the influence of mother-in-law’s on the girl will be minimal. Moreover, married girls indicated that, it is not acceptable for them to go out without permission unless they decide to leave their husband for divorce and go back to their parents. Married girls also indicated that their life is like a ‘prison’ for they are not allowed to go anywhere or visit someone.

One can clearly see the point that the communities consider the Mother-in-law as responsible for the girls’ growth and behavioral development. To ensure this, the Mother-in-law tends to isolate her daughter-in-law from the community, including the market, schools, friends

and family by tightening control so that she would play her 'good wife' role. The mother-in-law's isolation of the girls from most social services and interactions will negatively impact the girls' development because an isolated girls have no other options as source of information, education, skill development and have own income sources. The implication is clear on married girl's knowledge and practices on Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) except some instances (example, monthly visit to her parents).

The study revealed that unwritten and taken for granted social norms influence individual's attitude, behavior, and action. The prevailing social norms still impact the husband and wife relationships and behaviors in the community. The majority of the respondents think that the community believes with respect to mobility women are expected to work at home all the time while husbands to focus on field works. The mobility and decision making roles are somehow interrelated in the community. In general, the tradition and the enduring perspectives dictate wives to be at home and discharge household responsibilities. This has limited the married girls' mobility. If wives go out frequently, there is a fear that they would tend to change their mind when they observe better opportunities out there. Compared to the other social norms such as household roles, couples communication and decision making the team found relatively less relaxation on mobility norm. For example very few respondents stated married girls can go to school if and only if she completed her household activities.

3.2. Findings on Household role of married girls

With respect to the household roles, married girls (daughter in-laws) are expected to perform household duties as adult do including taking care of household activities and waiting at home even though they are not old enough to assume this role. Since most of the married girls move to the mother-in-laws house at early age, the mother-in laws are expected to teach them all the household duties, how to manage house and becoming good wife for their son. As a community culture, daughters-in-laws are expected to respect and abide by the rules of the Mother in-laws. The main duties of daughter in-laws who reside with the mother-in-law house include preparing the house and cleaning, fetching water, collecting of fire wood, preparing food; taking care of cattle, washing legs of the mother-in-law, waiting at house. Moreover,

married girls who live with their husbands are expected to perform most of the household duties in addition to giving birth and raising the child. In some cases, married girls are allowed to engage in income generating activities and husbands would be happy if she brought additional income of her own. Although most husbands in the communities consider the married girl's household role is limited around cooking, fetching water, washing cloth etc, some few respondents revealed that they would be happy if their wives involved in some income generating activities and make her own decision in her own resources including money.

The community puts certain sanctions when this norm is violated. In general, the Mother-in-law, husband and wife would not be socially accepted. The friends of the mother-in-law, her neighbors and other community members (this is not specified) would gossip; insult and possibly degrade their respects. In fear of these negative social sanctions, the opinion of mother-in-law and couples would change at the same time, the pressure of mother-in-law on husband and wife would increase in order to change their decisions. There is a chain of reactions from outside to inside the household. However, after the girl get matured and starts to live with her husband in separate house, she will have a relatively more freedom (independence) to engage in other income generating activities, go to market, and other social gatherings as other women in the community do by discussing with her husband. In this case, the influence of the Mother-in-law' would be minimized.

In the old days, it was a shame and disgracing for men to perform household activities like preparing food or assisting the wife in the process. It was also a shame for a husband to go into the kitchen and take food. These days, it is not unusual for husbands to do this so long as there is food in the house, husbands would tend to take and eat their food in the absence of their wife. This change is attributed by the society due to ease of access to education and growing mobility of the community. Another example, some of the husbands would be happy when married girls participate in some income generating activities in their household (example raising her own goats) and participate in the community saving schemes. Here, one can see the prevailing household role related social norm is being challenged and relaxed due to economic challenges coupled with ease of access to education and growing mobility of the community.

3.3. Findings on Couple's Communication and Decision making

The qualitative study tools (vignette) and the associated questions that focus on couples communication and decision making include both household resources/money and having children. Accordingly, the FGD groups were asked about the communication and decision making of couple regarding the use of household resources and their say on child bearing.

The first category of the queries made to the husband and married girls groups focused on communication and decision making involvement on the household resources/money. However, the second group of queries for the Mother in laws and SAA's groups were about couples communication and decision on child bearing issues. Both groups mentioned that there is a relative change on communication and decision making of couples on these issues compared to the previous times. Previously, married girls were not allowed to call their husband's name, consultation and communications between the couple were not acceptable. Today, however, the social norm on couples communication and decision making seems relaxed compare to the others.

3.3.1 Communication and Decision making on household resources

Even though most husbands mentioned that couples communicate and decide on household resources and that married girls could ask for what they would want to buy (e.g. nutritious food for their children), the final decision is still made by the husbands. Most husbands do not show all their money and not also tend to discuss on all their income with their wives. Some husbands also indicated that "if the breadwinner is only the husband, the wife has no part to decide on the money issues". Other husband group participants also said "If her role at home is limited and doesn't have her own income generating activities, I am the one to make decision".

The study finding shows there is difference between those married girls with and without a child with respect to both in couple communication and decision making. Those girls who have a child with their husband (a common child) has a relative confidence and tendency to consult her husband compared to the others (without child). The respondents also indicated that married girl would tend to discuss money issues and most husbands tend to listen her if she gave birth (have a common child). In short, this is to say that if the married girl has a child, she is relatively being listening by her husband's and mother-in-laws somehow. That means the likelihood of couples' consultation and mutual decision making increases in the household. In general, girls would

consult her husband's when the issues are common issues/interest. If the issue is for her private or personal benefit (such as buying cosmetics etc) versus coffee and other food items (common for both), most husbands would tend open for consultation. Otherwise, most husbands do have suspicions on the girls and would not be open for discussions. This is to mean that husbands would be open to discuss when the wives initiated the consultations for common issues. Couples would make decision in consultation given that the issue is a common issue like buying coffee, food and cloth to their child. For these purchasing items, it seems that a joint decision would be made but it is the husbands or mother-in-laws who would go to the market to buy them. However, most married girls respondents also indicated husbands usually refuse to buy soap and cosmetic (hair oil) for their wives because they fear that they would look attractive and start having affairs with other men.

In the other vignette, respondents were asked about the role and reaction of husband's friends on couples communication and spending decision. Respondents were given a story where a fictional character, a husband, had promised to invite his friends for a drink but later changed his mind after discussing with his wife that the money in his pocket is needed to buy household items instead of drinks for his friends. The majority of respondents mentioned his friends would not accept that the husband and wife arrived at this decision through consensus in the first place. Instead, all the friends would think that his wife overturned his first decision and they would be angry and disappointed about it. They noted that the husband's friends would say "he had to settle first with his wife prior inviting us for a drink". The friends are saying that the husband would first decide with his wife before inviting his friends which implies that they would expect the husband and wife's decision to be more important than if the husband had just decided on his own. Most of the husband's friends did not oppose (even encouraged) the couple consultations though they would think the wife made him change his mind. That aspect is seen as a bad decision making by some of them because it would look like deceiving them and will result is affecting their relationship.

Such practice by husbands will not be without some sanctions from the reference group. Some respondents further stated that his friends would no longer invite him for a drink and would consider him as a greedy person. In addition, they would say that his wife is his boss and they will gossip about him and likely to break their friendship. In the worst scenario, his friends think

that he is teasing them and even they resort to fight with him. Similarly the married girls group also mentioned that the husbands would lose respect, particularly their masculinity and social dignity among their reference groups (friends) as they are regarded as men who are governed by their wives advice. In general, the society does not appreciate wives to dictate or tell what to do their husbands. In general, the social sanctions that the husband encounter is as strong as losing social dignity, respect and losing his friends.

Mixed responses were reflected regarding the sensitivity to friends and family sanctions. Although some few respondents stated that friends negative sanction does not matter, still many respondents stated “the husband will be influenced by his friends attitude and will not continue with his stand of continuously involving his wife in finance and property related decision making”. All respondents of married girls group have agreed that further effort to discuss on use of money for future depends on how the husband would react at first time. If the husband become sensitive to sanction of his friends and would not give positive response on money spending, at least for most reasons, married girls would not be encouraged to discuss with their husbands on money spending especially if the husbands faced conflict with his friends because of this. Most wives will not dare to raise money issue in the future. If they do, they know that they would fall in conflict with their husbands. Usually, wives are subordinate for decision making specially concerning household spending.

Though consultation, communication and discussion among couples is not common culturally in the communities, husbands and wives tend to discuss on many household issues affecting their common issues. Most respondents from SAA and husbands groups support the husbands and wives' consultation and communication which is a positive change in their communities now days. For example, most husbands who are progressive consider their wives as a bank to keep their money out of their sight. In addition, some husbands also cited that they often give their money to the wives to save for them. Some group members cited them as a model family when this household made progress and life change for the better. Most respondents even blame the husband for inviting a guest without consulting his wife. Most wives do not agree with their husbands when they tend to take money from home to invite friends for drinks. Respondents indicated that these are an indication of a change in the community although culturally in the broader community, decision making is mainly done by male as the household

property is considered to be his own sole property. This resulted in a subordination of married girls on incomes of the husbands. Married girls skills development enhanced her involvement on income generating or saving schemes and hence involvement in better couples communication and decision making. In short, economic empowerment of married girls would result not only in financial freedom but also decision making power for girls.

Finally, the study showed that the social norm bounds individual decision making behavior. However, those husbands and wives are capable of enduring social sanctions for some times and achieve success in their life; they tend to grab the attention of many community members and people start (try) to consider them as best examples. Some respondents from the husbands group cited "if the couples remain strong and shows good progress in their life, others will consider them as good model. The couple will work together to face possible challenges until their marriage get stronger".

3.3.2 Communication and Decision Making on Family Planning issues

With regard to family planning, bearing a child is a highly valued in the community. Respondents stated that most community members consider children as an asset and a mechanism to keep women at home, to impart a sense of women's belongingness to the family, and serves as an instrument to form strong family kinship. Moreover, the Mother-in-laws and others believe that that the girl has to bear a child in order to become submissive (cool) and be able to manage her house and become part of husband's family. If not, she would be considered as stranger as one who looks outside. The wife will also be considered as out of the control of husband as it casts as being not abide by husband's rules and orders. That is the main reason why friends and other relatives expect and even encourage married couples to have a child while they are young and discourage couples staying too long without children. The Mother-in-law' and her friends encourage couples to have children. Otherwise, they would tend to advise the husband and his mother to break the marriage if the couples failed to have a child as soon as they are engaged. Friends and family think that the wife is deceiving the husband by suspending fertility or using family planning methods such as contraceptives in secret.

Although couples made decision to delay giving birth sometimes, there are pressures and sanctions from their reference groups. Those couples, who have no child, are not accepted by the community. As a result, the mother-in-laws as well as couples would be insulted, gossiped and degraded in their respect by their friends, relatives and the community in general. The mother-in-law's friends, neighbors and community group would consider the husband as "impotent, lazy and controlled and guided by his wife". The friends and family members start to speak strong words that the husband is keeping and feeding "a mule" who cannot conceive a baby.

Respondents stated that people in the community are very sensitive to critics coming from colleagues, relatives, and neighbors. In most cases, the social sanction would change the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples. The pressure of the Mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision. The mother-in-law will tend to deny her son saying "if you do not have a child you are not my son". The husband would also be threatened his parents would take away the land they gave him when he formed the marriage. In the situation where the mother-in-laws unable to provide any land and other resources to the couples during the marriage arrangement, there would be relative more resistance from couples (i.e the couples are less sensitive to sanctions) to accept the mother-in-laws decision. As land has become scarce to the many households in the communities, it seems it has some facilitating conditions for change in the social norms.

Although they are very few, when married wives get access and better awareness either through the community conversation, peer education at school and community level on family planning, and community saving schemes, they try to move a step to exercise their rights even in their tough environment. For example, married girls are visiting clinics to use family planning in secret. Another example, some of the responses indicate that some of the married girls' husbands who are "better, educated and progressive" have better in handling their marriage in better ways in these situations. The households also have better communication and discussion in decision making.

With respect with both couple communication and decision making on household resources and family planning issues, the social change scenarios demonstrated that some husbands and wives tend to discuss on many household issues affecting their common life. Most respondents from SAA groups support the husband and wives communication which is a positive

change in their communities now days. We can cite some examples which demonstrated the changes:

Example 1: In the area of decision making all respondents agreed that these days married girls are not forced to have a child unless they get matured (above 14 years of age). In addition, now days, spacing of giving birth issues are becoming acceptable by mother in-laws (elder women) but only after giving birth of the first child because of limited household resources (land and other resource to feed and cover expenses of child).

Example 2: Some husbands are more accepting of their wives having her own income generating activities, and participate in decision making.

Example 3: Most husbands who are progressive consider their wives as a bank to keep their money out of their sight. Some group members cited them as a model family when this household made progress and their life change for the better. Most respondents blame even the husband for inviting a guest without consulting his wife. Most wives do not agree with their husbands when they tend to take money from home to invite friends for drinks. Respondents indicated that this is an indication of a change in the community.

Example 4: The study also showed that those couples resilient to some retarding social norms and pursued their own course and end up in success would have higher chance of becoming good role models and impact the community. Some husbands and SAA respondents stated that " some wise, educated and progressive couples showed their strong stands, succeed in their life and other would follow them"

In general, comparing the different social norms, married girls mobility is much stronger (rigid) than the others. With respect to social sanctions, it is strong for all the sub groups and the main character is sensitive to these sanctions for there are strong social networks interacted and influenced each other. Comparatively, the sanctions on husbands from friends are much stronger in the area of mobility. In the case of girl's mobility, the team did not observe social norm relaxation compared to the other two social norms. Comparatively, with respect to the reference groups, it is both the friends of the mother-in-laws and husbands who put relatively stronger sanctions in the area of girls' mobility norm violation.

4. Recommended Strategies and Approaches

After thorough evaluation of each key finding under each societal norms and the team, the team come up with the following major recommendations and strategies:

Recommended strategies and approaches #1: There is a need to undertake interventions that target in changing some community taboo through open community conversation (CC) and interpersonal and group communication. For example, the responses from the respondents on the communication and interpersonal relations reveal that individuals in the community do not tell on the spot even for their closest friends what they feel inside their heart about some norm breaking incidents. Another example, awareness creation and BCC focusing on husbands and married girls on couples joint decision making is very important.

Recommended strategies and approaches #2: The consultant team found that the community has good awareness of the social norms as well as the impact of early marriage, importance of family planning issues. Nevertheless, this awareness has not brought practical change on the ground to change their lives. Since it is a norm to respect Mother-in-law and the role of Mother-in-law is to guide and teach the married girls how to behave and practices including household skills, mobility etc, more interventions including behavioral change communication (BCC) for the mother-in-laws will bring practical changes in the community.

Recommended strategies and approaches #3: Interventions need to go beyond awareness creation to behavioral change to bring the desired practices in the community. Designing appropriate behavioral change models to local context to actively involve elder women and influential leaders in the community would help to fill gaps. Strengthening the existing awareness raising programs by the government and other stakeholders in the areas towards early marriage, family planning and SRH issues will help to sustain the changes.

There is a need to have effective behavioral change interventions for the mother -in-laws and the married girl's family in the community. For example, allowing girls to get education would benefit not only the girl but the society as the saying goes" educating a girl is educating a community". Designing, development , production and distributions of some basic BCC messages related to FP, SRH, Education for both girls and boys etc through local context will

boards and household materials like table mats, curtains, cups (mugs), bottle openers, caps etc would help households to talk about it on the daily basis. That is, designing and developing behavioral change communication messages using low literacy format to ensure clear understanding might benefit the communities.

Recommended strategies and approaches #4: Girls and women economic empowerment through life skills trainings including broader girls human rights issues and related interventions will be required. Creating opportunities for the married girls through skills development and income generating scheme will empower women and girls to have equal footing with their husbands, enhance their participation in planning and decision making in the household's resources. This could support the husbands as well. The study revealed that for example having goat for girls is acceptable. This can be used further empower the girls economically to be active in resource decision making.

Recommended strategies and approaches #5: Any future strategies to address the key gaps in the community for example trainings in life skills etc should not only focus on the married girls but also the married girl's husbands. Any interventions targeting husbands need to consider their immediate reference groups to be effective. Plan for interventions which involve diverse groups. Interventions targeting only married girls or husbands might not bring change unless other reference groups are included

Recommended Strategies and Approaches #6: It is suggested the married girl to have economic freedom and involve in decision making, there need to be an economic empowerment scheme of the married girls. Although the involvement of wives in key decision-making is limited, respondents indicated that these days many husbands in the community keep their money with their wives. Those household who have shown progress and change in their life for better in this way are seen as good model for others. Interventions to strength some model family who resist the traditional norms and shows progressive changes can be used as a reference model family to teach others in the community.

Recommended strategies and approaches #7: Extensive use of role model approach is likely to challenge and change the existing social norm. During the study respondents have seen

comparing the existing social norms and the desired practices. There is a need to show the mother-in-law through some model households who has changed their life after utilizing the educational access in their community. Otherwise, in the community where there is no access to school or model family to emulate, it takes long to change the practices

Recommended strategies and approaches #8: Any interventions targeting married girls need to take in to consideration whether they are living with or without the mother-in-laws (living arrangement). Most of the married girls feel they have a relative freedom when they visit their families (especially until they are matured). They could interact with friends and others peer during such period (one month with Mother-in-law and one month with parents). This window period is very important. This implies that any intervention on girls need to consider the married girl's parents as well because this is the only root the married girls to get valuable information affecting their life

Recommended strategies and approaches #9: Partnership with concerned stakeholders both at community and sector level (school, health, women and social affairs, women associations, Idir, development committees, traditional legal system and legal offices etc.) and extensive joint follow up and monitoring programs with concerned stakeholders will help to track changes. Without such mechanism, it is difficult to put reinforcing interventions to sustain some of changes witnessed in the communities

Some of the following recommended strategies and approaches could be for policy advocacy issues that CARE can take them. Further probing have brought the issues on surface. But it may need broader level intervention beyond CARE programming. Therefore, these could be treated as unexpected outcomes to the study:

Recommended strategies and approaches # 10: Since domestic activities are labor intensive, it needs a full time worker. One of the reasons the Mother-in-laws want to keep the girl in the house is to help them with the domestic work as the house chorus is not easy. Implementation level intervention introducing improved local technologies would lesson burden of girls and women. It may also give more spare time for the girls.

Recommended Strategies and Approach #11: Most of married girls not allowed to go to school. They drop out from school after marriage because of expected role at household level and school is not also considered as important by the Mother -in-laws. The other reason for not sending married girls to school is due to the fact girls husband is also not educated or dropout from school and living as a farmer. It is suspected that *if married girls educated more than husband she becomes out of control of husband*. Here, working with other organizations who are focusing on adult education to involve the husbands might need to be considered. Note that this is one possible gaps identified and future intervention may include strategy to focus on Mother-in-laws on the importance of educating and encouraging equally girls and boys to bring change to the whole family in the household.

In summary, the consulting team suggests possible policy and project level interventions to improve married girls mobility and household roles such as: Policy level intervention may include ending child marriage advocacy, advocacy on girls education and policy level dialogue on gender equality. Different implementation level strategies could be envisage in the area of awareness creation and behavioral change communication such as community dialogue with community group (community conversations/CCs) with Mother-in-law's groups, leaders and husbands. Other girls/women empowerment strategies such as social and economic empowerment through re-enrollment of married girls into school, engagement of married girl's income generating activities and/or community saving schemes (Credit scheme and IGA-through revolving funds), alternative energy, energy saving stove and improve integrated WASH , adult education/literacy program – to lessen the burden of women.

To improve married girls' communication and decision making, policy level intervention may also include advocacy for girls education and economic empowerment of girls because economic empowerment gives the leverage for married girls to have equal footing with their husbands to discuss on resources, plan on allocation of resources and make use of it for the purpose they need. This needs some implementation level strategy through family/ couple discussion models – awareness creation and behavioral change through advocacy for girls' education and economic empowerment of girls.

5. Conclusion

The study revealed that the unwritten and taken-for-granted social norms influence individual's attitude, behavior, and action. The prevailing social norms still impact the husband and wife relationships and behaviors in the community. Mobility restrictions are the most stringent of prevailing norms. The majority of the respondents think that the community believes with respect to mobility women are expected to work at home all the time while husbands focus on field works. The mobility and decision making roles are somehow interrelated in the community. In general, the tradition and the enduring perspectives dictate wives to be at home and discharge household responsibilities. This has limited the married girls' mobility. If wives go out frequently, there is a fear that they would tend to change their mind when they observe better opportunities out there.

With respect to couple's communication and household decision making, the community norm clearly shows that all decision making role is at the hands of the mother-in-law and the husband. The prevailing social norm is being challenged and relaxed due to economic challenges and because of ease of access to education and growing mobility of the community. In the earlier time it was a shame and disgracing for men to perform household activities like preparing food or assisting the wife in the process. It was also a shame for a husband to go into the kitchen and take food. These days, this norm is being relaxed. So long as there is food in the house, husbands are feeling comfortable to grab and eat their food in the absence of their wife. This implies that there is a change in the society culture and norms with respect to couples communication.

Some husbands and wives tend to discuss on many household issues affecting their common issues. Most respondents from SAA groups support the husband and wives communication which is a positive change in their communities now days. For example, most husbands who are progressive consider their wives as a bank to keep their money out of their sight. Some group members cited them as a model family when this household made progress and life change for the better. Most respondents blame the husband for inviting a guest without consulting his wife. Most wives do not agree with their husbands when they tend to take money from home to invite friends for drinks. Respondents indicated that this is an indication of a

change in the community. The study also showed that those couples resilient to some harmful social norms and pursued their own course and end up in success would have higher chance of becoming good role models and impact the community. On the other hand, all respondents agreed that these days married girls are not forced to have a child unless they get matured (above 14 years of age). Now days, spacing of giving birth issues are becoming acceptable by mother in-laws (elder women) but only after giving birth of the first child because of limited household resources (land and other resource to feed and cover expenses of child). These are some of the indications that show the change in the social norms and a light at the end of the tunnel.

In general, comparing the different social norms, married girls mobility is a more rigidly held norm than the others. With respect to social sanctions, it is strong for all the sub groups and the main character is sensitive to these sanctions for there are strong social networks interacted and influenced each other. In order to change the prevailing practices, a holistic effort ranging from strengthening awareness raising programs, BCC, women economic empowerment and male participatory interventions to legal frameworks enforcement mechanisms needs to be in place.

Appendix

Appendix I

Summary Framework Analysis for All Sub Groups by Social Norms

1) Mobility of Married Girls

S.N	Constructs	FGD Group	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girl's mobility primarily depends on Mother-in-law's and husband permission. She is expected to seek first permission from the Mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere; • "Most husbands will get angry, yell, beat and ignore their wives for some time and create stress at their wives when they leave their house without getting permission" • "The husband will beat his wife and other people like the mother -in-law and neighbors may support when the wife is punished" • Most husbands warn their wife not to repeat it anymore • Some respondents noted "Now, people are changing and in the earlier time this used to be a serious issues" "They would use to damage the girls spontaneously in old days"
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If married girl went without permission, Mother-in-law or husband will not be happy and tolerate. The Mother-in-law will assume that her role was undermined/not respected by her daughter in-law; the girl advised and influenced by others; the girls could have affair with other man; • Mother-in-law shows her unhappiness in different way: insult a girl; accuse a girl; angry on girl; beat her; she will tell to her son to insult and beat her; If repeated the girl will be send back to her parents; • Those girls who are living with her Mother-in-laws are totally under the control of their Mother-in-laws. Not allowed to go outside to market, peers, schools and

			<p>neighbor. The only freedom is when she went to her biological parents (if the girl is not matured it is allowed to live one month with Mother-in-law and one month with parents until she matured);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girl's mobility primarily depends on Mother-in-law's and husband permission. She is expected to seek first permission from the Mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere;
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most husbands in the community “beat their wives when they go out without telling them”. • “Wives are expected to inform their husband before they go out for any reason” • “The husband think something is wrong with his wife” • “The wife is considered as bad or deviant”
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility of married girls who are living with their Mother-in-law is limited. For any kind of mobility outside of the house, married girls need permission from her Mother-in-law and her husband. • Restriction on married girls' mobility is mainly supervised and implemented by Mother-in-law. This is happened to isolate her from other friends and family so the husband and Mother-in-law tighten the control so she would play her ‘good wife’ role. • Most Mother-in-laws would think this is not acceptable behavior and would expect their daughter in laws to accept their rule; • Married Girls who are living with their mother-in-laws are limited in mobility only with in household. But for those girls who are not any more living with their Mother-in-law mobility is a not limited to households, but they would still be in control of her husband

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marriage is considered as a prison for most of girls because married girls were not allowed to go outside home and socialize with her friends and family
<p>Overall Synthesis: All sub groups expressed empirical expectations (how they think others would respond) of a married girl who left the house without permission from her mother-in-law or husband. Most husbands would react in anger, yelling, giving warning, ignoring the wife for sometimes and creating psychological stress, beating while most mother-in-laws would react in anger, yelling, accusing the girl, beating or telling her son to insult or beat his wife or send her off to her parent if she repeat it again. Most married girls would be unhappy because marriage is considered as a prison for most of girls.</p>			
2	Normative Expectation	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends of the husband or neighbors tell the husband to discipline the wife via giving advice, rebuking or beating her • Most friends tend to say to the husband “your wife is becoming out of control and you need to do something about it”
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls mobility seen as the girl is out of control /not abide of her mother in-law and husband as well as she lacks household skills and labeled as "GATEEWOTT" (looking outside, won't to have affair with other man) by the community; • The mother in-law influenced by her friends and the community to follow the norms of the community and take action on daughter In-law <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The Mother-in-law's Friends would say to Mother-in-law “If she is not staying in the house and taking the roles at home, kick her out of the house and bring another wife to your son.” ○ The Mother-in-law's Friends would say to Mother-in-law “she did not help you, if she is not in the house and not doing household duties, you have to send to her family we will find another girl for your so.” ○ The Mother-in-law's Friends would say to Mother-in-law " If she makes this mistake for

			<p>the first time, they would tell her to give the girl advice by emphasizing “even the adult also make a mistake.” The Mother-in-law would give advice and the advice will be to stay at home doing household duties; to be like Mother-in-law’s children and socialize with the Mother-in-law’s family.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The girl would be advised by Mother-in-law’s, friends of Mother-in-law’s, her husband and in some case if she is at school by her friends to respect rule.
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colleagues and neighbors expect the husband” to have full control over his house” • Friends and neighbors expect the husband “to punish his wife, advice or discipline her”. • Friends and others advice the husband “to get divorced if such incidence is repeated” • “Husbands are expected to inform their wives when they invite guests to their house”
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married girls need permission to go anywhere. Going outside of the household is not one of accepted role for Married Girls • Agreed and accepted role for married girls is confined at household. Having baby, serve the Mother-in-law including washing her feet, perform all household activities, washing clothes, are agreed and accepted role for married girls. • All groups have confirmed that going to school is not one of accepted roles for married girls. Most Mother-in-law do not want married girls to go to school. • Usually when marriages are arranged, mother in law families promise to send girls to school, but after a while she would be discouraged to go to school, finally they would keep her as a domestic servant. Main point is that they need to control her and from

			<p>having relation with other person so they would make her have a baby so she would be loyal to them</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married girls would be allowed to visit their families once monthly. This seems only chance for them to meet other people without supervision of their Mother-in-laws and their husbands.
<p>Overall Synthesis: All subgroups reflect expectations from the community to severely restrict married girls' mobility. Most husbands' friends would tend to say "your wife is becoming out of your control and you need to do something" and would expect him" to have full control over his house". As a result, most of them expect the husband to discipline the wife via giving advice, rebuking, punish or beating or "to get divorced if such incidence is repeated "while most mother-in-law's friends tell her first to give the girl some advice not to repeat it again, stay at home doing her household duties. If repeated, to kick her out of the house and bring another wife to her son.</p>			
3	Sanctions	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends and others who saw the incidence will "consider him as a fool man and tend to despise him" • Friends of the husband start to distance him and will refrain from inviting him in a valuable social events
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law's will be blamed for not undertaking/performing her role to discipline a girl. • The friends and community in general will gossip, insult; accuse and look-down/lower the status of Mother-in-laws's for not playing her role (role defined by the community).
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community consider the husband as "a weak person who have no control over his wife" • Friends and colleagues regard him as an "incompetent person who pretend to have good house"
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opinion of the reference group is very important in putting sanction over married girls. Most reference group are convinced that this is a punishable action when the norm of limited mobility is violated. Most

			<p>importantly when married girls are not willing to respect agreed rules.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical, psychological and social punishments are put by both Mother-in-law and husbands on married girls. Girls are considered as lazy and undisciplined, living with warning, live in fear, beaten up, shouted at, kicked out of the house, their marriages are dissolved for going out of the household without permission. These sanctions mostly affect their lives, so force them to adhere for the accepted norm
<p>Overall Synthesis: Most sanctions on the husbands due to his wife unauthorized unlimited mobility comes from his friends. Although neighbors and other community members' criticisms through gossip are also undeniable, it is most husband's friends sanctions that matters most because they would consider him as a fool husband; would tend to despise and start to distance themselves and will refrain from inviting him in a valuable social events because the husband will be considered as "a weak and incompetent person" who have no control over his wife and who pretend to have a good or managed house". Most mother-in-laws would be blamed for not undertaking or performing her roles to discipline, follow the accepted rules and teach the married girls with the household activities. Most of her friends will continue in gossiping, insulting, accusing and looking down and lowering her social status. In fear of these sanctions from their friends, both the husbands and mother-in-laws put all forms of physical, psychological and social punishments on married girls.</p>			
4	Sensitivity to sanctions	<p>Girl's Husband Group</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “Husbands are sensitive when they find their colleagues gossip about their personal/household issues. Most husbands get embarrassed when they see some friends expose their issues to others”
		<p>Mother in-law</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most Mother-in-laws concerned with what others hear, sees and judge her for not taking her role to disciplined, skilled her daughter-in-law's. If a girl repeated to go out without permission in showing fear of social sanction, the Mother-in-law's will send the girl to her parents.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility of Married girls were influenced by Mother in-law, Mother in-law's friends, husband and neighborhood; Those Mother in-law who could not able to discipline their daughter in law as it is expected by the community norms will face social sanction by their friends; neighbors; community members; • As a result, Mother-in-law will not continue defending her decision as her reputation/status would be lowered among her friends • She would change her opinion and stand
	SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Friends will despise the husband". Their future relationship gets strained. This will become very painful to the husband.
	Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For most of the respondents, she will not continue defending their decision as her reputation would be lowered among her friends • She would change her opinion • Some of them responded the question by asking "How could she change her idea by others if she believes in it? If she agrees • She started to consult again her child and daughter in-law by saying please give birth as community is not accept her

Overall Synthesis: Most husbands are sensitive to sanctions, for example when their colleagues gossip about their personal/household issues. They get embarrassed when they see some friends expose their issues to others, despised by others and their relationship get strained. These would become very painful for the husbands. However, even if the majority of the husband's friend have the perception that the husbands reaction would be different had he came home alone, some very few respondents stated that it would not be always the case. Similarly, most mother-in-laws would be very much concerned with what others hear, sees and judge them for not undertaking the role of guiding, disciplining, teaching the girl with the required household skills. The dominant views is that since both the husbands and mother-in-laws' embarrassments would not be easy

when they come home with their friends in the absence of the girl; these lead them to take the married girl's mobility very seriously. Hence, if the girl repeated to go out without permission, in showing no fear of social sanction, both the husbands and the mother-in-law's will send off the girl to her parent.

5	Norm breaking Conditions	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Under special and occasional conditions such as illness, death, neighborhood conflict etc women may go out of home without informing their husbands.” • It is usually up to the husband to invite someone when he knew that something is available at home”
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The girls can go without permission to fetch water; collection of wood if it is nearby and to attend religious/ church ceremony. • The Mother-in-laws also indicated the girls also went to clinic without our permission and most of girls started FP before they give a child. • After the girl matured and start to live with her husband in separate house the married girl has freedom to go to market, and other social gatherings as other women discussing with her husband. The influence of Mother-in-law's on girls will be minimal.
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now days, the old culture is changing and relaxing. “Husbands are not so embarrassed for wrong doings at home and they will not be so serious when they come home alone and discover that the wife is not around” • If the husband is a matured one, he would say it is ok! She might have faced some problems and will wait patiently • Some respondents mentioned that not alone the husband even wives do not like when their husbands disappear from their farms without informing their

			<p>wives. But, it is not a big deal for the husbands if she found him in such situation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "it is ok if she face a sudden incident"
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no reason/conditions for married girls to go out of the house without permission. Meaning, it is not acceptable for married girls to go without permission unless she decide to leave her husband and go back to her parents. • Only with some exception for girls to go out without permission would be <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fetch water and fire wood ○ Going to local Church • Once monthly married girls visit to their family (locally known as 'wertera') is agreed, but it is also subjected to permission granted from husband and Mother-in-law <p>Life of married girls is like 'prison' for same reason that they would not be allowed to go anywhere, meet anyone or visit some one</p>

Overall Synthesis: All sub groups agreed that all married girls are allowed to visit their families on a monthly basis. Each sub group mentioned a range of conditions under which it is ok to go against the accepted norm. For most husbands, under special and occasional conditions such as if there is a common family issues (neighbor or family conflict or death), illness, neighborhood conflict etc girls may go out of home without informing their husbands while most mother-in-laws mentioned that girls can go without permission to fetch water; collection of wood if it is nearby and to attend religious/ church ceremony. Some SAA group stated that if the husband is matured, educated and progressive, he would say it is ok if she faces a sudden incident. Most married girls feel that the only exception for girls to go out without permission would be fetch water and fire wood, going to local Church and the agreed monthly family visit (locally known as 'wertera'). As a result, most of the married girls feel the life of married girls is like '**prison**' for the reason that they would not be allowed to go other places to access other social services, meet or visit some friends.

2) Girls Household Roles

S.N	Constructs	FGD group	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “In general, the tradition is that the wife is supposed to be at home. and perform household activities such as food etc
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married girls Living with Mother-in-law • Even if daughter in-law is a child, the Mother-in-law’s want the daughter in-law to behave like adult on taking care of household duties and waiting her at home; • The role of daughter in-law is to follow her Mother-in-law and performing household duties, respect and abide by Mother-in-law Rules. • Main duties of daughter in-laws included: giving birth, performing household duties including making food; taking care of cattle, washing legs of Mother-in-law’s, waiting at house, fetching water, collecting of fire wood. • Married girl Living with her husband (Independent of Mother-in-law) • Married girl who live with her husband independently from Mother-in-law have more freedom than that of living with Mother-in-law. She conducts household activities on her own by discussing with her husband.
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Most husbands expect their wives to prepare something at home regardless of the husband providing them the resource required or not” • “Wives are not expected to go out of the house”.

Overall Synthesis: Most husbands would expect their wives to prepare something at home. Some few respondents have the views that she should prepare something regardless of the husband providing them the resource required or not. Most mother-in-laws want the daughter in-law to behave like adult on taking care of household duties and waiting them at home; respect and abide by Mother-in-law rules. Some of the main duties of the daughter in-laws included: giving birth, performing household duties including making food;

washing legs of the mother-in-law, waiting at house, fetching water, collecting fire wood and taking care of cattle, Married girl who live with her husband independently from the mother-in-law have more freedom than that of living with mother-in-laws. She could also involve in other social and income generating activities of her own by discussing with her husband.

2	Normative Expectations	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends expect the husband to properly lead his family. Respondents noted that friends who came to the husband's house " On the spot they may say good things but later on they will start talking negative things about the issue saying he has no rule over his wife." Even they say "his wife is not at home for him. What does she do for us"? Even, some friends may advise "why not you get divorce? She is not fit for you".
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the girls move to Mother-in-law's house at early age. The Mother-in-law's teach those household duties and how to manage house and becoming good wife for her son. The community expect Mother-in-law should shape (discipline) and give household life skills to the married girl
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wives are expected to take care of the household" • Friends and others expect wives to be at home and do something

Overall Synthesis: Most husbands' friends would expect the husband to properly lead and manage his house and family. For them, the husbands would be responsible to work outside at the fields and the wife in side at the house with expectation to take care of the household. Some of the friends would expect him to serve himself including his friends if food is already prepared. They provided some examples which show some occasional shared household responsibilities. Most mother-in-laws would be expected to teach household duties and how to manage the house to become a good wife for her son. In addition, the community would expect the mother-in-laws to shape (discipline) and give household life skills to the married girls. Now days due to exposures and awareness, some husbands are willing and dare to serve themselves which is an indication of a relaxation of the household norms

3	Sanctions	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends may say" he has no rule over his wife; " she is now out of control"
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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents noted that “His friends will start gossiping about him and he will get mad when he hear about the issue from other friends” • Friends tend to demean the husband and think he is incapable of leading his own house
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law, husband and wife socially not accepted. The community and her friends will gossip; insult; degrade their respect
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends think that “the husband has made his wife so wild wife” care of her husband • “Friends tend to belittle the husband”

Overall Synthesis: Most husbands’ friends would have the opinion that “he has no rule over his wife and she is now out of control”. They would start gossiping about him and tend to demean him and think he is incapable of leading his own house. The majority of the mother-in-laws friends would blame the mother in law for not monitoring and disciplining; failing to teach and mentor the girl with all the household activities. Most mother-in-laws would be tee zed and blame for not teaching the girl all the household skills, rules and disciplining her. Furthermore, she would be considered irresponsible, lazy and not a good Amat mostly by her friends. As a result, the mother-in-law, husband and wife would be socially not accepted.

4	Sensitivity to sanctions	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents noted that “his friends will start gossiping about him and he will get mad when he hear about the issue from other friends” • He will not continue with his behavior due to the sanctions
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social sanction changed the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples.
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husbands are so curious when their household issues are exposed by their colleagues

Overall Synthesis: Since most husbands’ friends would start gossiping about him and he will get mad when he hears about the issue from other friends, he will not continue with his behavior due to the sanctions. Most husbands who were willing to serve themselves would not continue with their stand unless they are very matured, educated and progressive. The majority of the mother-in-laws has the views that the mother-in-law reactions would be different had she come alone (without her friends) implying that her behavior would be greatly influenced by her friends (her dominant

reference group).			
5	Norm breaking Conditions	Girl's Husband Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents noted “ It is ok if she goes out of home for family issues for him, to serve himself and his friends”
		Mother in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the girls matured and start to live with her husband in separate house, the married girl has freedom to engage into other income generating activities, go to market, and other social gatherings as other women discussing with her husband. The influence of Mother-in-law’s on girls will be minimal.
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wife may go out under emergency situations, when one relatives are sick
<p>Overall Synthesis: Most respondents noted that it would be ok for him to serve himself and his friends if she goes out of home for family issues. The wife may go out under emergency situations and when relatives fall sick and the mother-in-laws could take the household duties and serve the guest. According to most mother-in-laws, after the girl matured and start to live with her husband in separate house, the married girl has a relative freedom to engage into other income generating activities besides her household roles, go to market, and other social gatherings as other women do in discussing with their husbands because of the diminishing influence of mother-in-law’s on girls in this scenario.</p>			

3. Decision making on FP and household resources

a) Married Girls communication and decision making on using resources

S.N	Constructs	FGD group	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	Married Girl's Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Many husbands will discuss with the wives about the fortune they make” • Some respondents stated the following: “Most of our community does not dare to support couples discussion. Even for their children, they don't care to buy nutritious food. All they want is their children not to get starved (they want their child to get basic foods for survival!)” • The husband tends to say to his wife" try to get your own money" , "If her role at home is limited and doesn't have her own income generating activities, I am the one to make decision"

		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empirical expectation of the FGD participants on the decision making norm in the community clearly shows that households decision making is mostly done by the husbands • Communication is limited among married couples, especially when married couples are living with their Mother-in-laws. • Subordination, fear and lack of discussion, and subordination governs most relation among married couple • Recent changes are also observed in improved communication among couples, especially when they have started living by their own. • Couple would make decision in consultation with each other, given that the issue is concerning a common issue for both of them.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall Synthesis: Although the majority of the respondents stated that most husbands would discuss with the wives about the fortune they make and would encourage this consultation between the couples, all agreed that the final say is at the hand of the husbands. There are some few respondents who stated “most of our community does not dare to support couples discussion and children should eat whatever available for their survival.” Nevertheless, most respondents agreed that, couples would make decision in consultation with each other, given that the issue is concerning a common interest for both of them. Most husbands tend to say to the wife to try to get her own money or resources through income generating activities. "If her role at home is limited and doesn't have her own income generating activities, I am the one to make decision". Most husbands' friends would prefer the husband first consult his wife before he invited them. However, once he made the invitation, changing his mind (i.e changing his words) is like deceiving or lying to the friends and would result in criticism and sanctions such as considered as incapable to make decision; his wife might become his boss etc. Though most of his friends' gossip about it at first, when they found the couples are strong and demonstrate their positive economic life change, they would realize to continue supporting the couple's consultation and later tend to consider them as a good example. • Communication and couples' consultation is limited among married couples. However, recent changes is also observed in improved communication among couples, especially when they have started living by their own (without the mother-in-laws), when the married girl have her own income generating activities allowed to involve in joint planning, and having their first child makes husbands to tend to open with wife for consultation. These become positive facilitating factors 		
2	Normative Expectations	Married Girl's Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although in exceptional cases, some friends may consider those couples who exchange ideas on money related issues as a role model, the dominant view is that friends of the husband quite often tend to tell him this, "Don't give or disclose all your money to your wife. She will bother you to spend

			it on every things she sees”
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wives have less power on issues to decide on money in marriage. • Most uneducated husband would say nutrition food is not important, would say ‘feed him what you need’. Spending additional money on baby food comes as a last priority for husbands. Mostly wives would get negative response. <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision concerning household spending is mainly done by husbands, however, it was observed given the spending is for ‘common’ issue and ‘accepted’ cause, there is healthy communication among couples, there would be an agreed and mutual decision making. • Most husbands would agree for the spending their earning given there is a ‘good’ reason such as baby food, and the discussion with his wife is done on positive note <hr/>
<p>Overall Synthesis: Although the dominant views is that the husband's friends quite often tend to tell the husbands not to give or disclose all his money to the wife for she could bother him to spend it on every things she sees, most husbands would agree for the spending their earning given there is a ‘good’ and "common" reason such as baby food, buying coffee and initiated discussion by his wife. However, something which personal/private to the married girls such as cosmetics would not be expected and could lead to suspicion and will not be accepted by husbands.</p>			
3	Sanctions	Married Girl's Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends get disappointed and their relationships with him will be strained. They end up saying " his wife might have advised him negatively and he has no control over his house". • Friends may keep on saying “his wife is his boss”. • They will continue gossip about him and likely to break their friendship because they expect him to finish his own homework with his wife first before inviting them for a drink.
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husbands would loss respect, their masculinity and social dignity among their reference groups, friends, for listening their wives' advice. Society does not appreciate wives to dictate or tell what to do for their husbands. • In this community they would disrespect him as they consider him inferior for listening to advice of a woman. His reference groups would not trust him for future socialization, they stop being friends with him • Sanction is as strong as losing social dignity, respect and losing his friends. To be ‘controlled’ by his wife, ‘listen to a woman’, ‘ordered by his wife’

			is not acceptable behavior for husband, if not he would not have respect as a 'man' or his masculinity is questioned
<p>Overall Synthesis: Sanction is as strong as losing social dignity, respect and losing his friends. To be 'controlled' by his wife, 'listen to a woman', 'ordered by his wife', and sharing all information on his all incomes are not acceptable husbands' behavior by the community in general. If he does, he would not have respect as a 'man' or his masculinity is questioned. Husbands would loss respect, their masculinity and social dignity among their reference groups for listening their wives' advice. The community does not appreciate wives to dictate or tell what to do for their husbands. In addition, as far as finance and property related decision, the social norm is so stiff that there is no room for wives to make finance related small and big decisions in the absence of the husband. However, there are a lot of changes have been cited by the respondents on this social norm because some respondents argued that if the wife has her own property or income, she can participate and make decisions.</p>			
4	Sensitivity to sanctions	Married Girl's Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mixed responses were reflected regarding the sensitivity of friends and family sanctions. Although some respondents stated that friends negative sanction does not matter, still many respondents stated "The husband will be influenced by his friends attitude and will not continue with his stand of continuously involving his wife in finance and property related decision making".
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All respondents have agreed that further effort to discuss on use of money for future depends how the husband would react at first time. Given that most husbands would not give positive response on money spending, at least for most reasons, married girls would not be encouraged to discuss with husbands on money spending. Most wives will not dare to raise money issue in the future, if not she knew she would get in to fight with her husband. Wives usually are subordinate for decision making specially concerning household spending. We could see that this affect future communication between married couples for same or different issue.
<p>Overall Synthesis: Although some respondents stated that friends negative sanction does not matter, still many respondents stated "the husband will be influenced by his friends opinion and will not continue with his stand of continuously involving his wife in finance and property related decision making". However, there few who resist to this and body pursue their stand and shows with their economic progress for others to follow them sooner or later.</p>			
5	Norm breaking Conditions	Married Girl's Husband	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general as far as finance and property related decision, the social norm is so stiff that there is no room for wives to make finance related small and big decisions in the absence of the husband. "In the husband's absence if the wife sells a sheep or other property, he will not accept it". However, he can do whatever he likes with his property" No

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> room for breaking this dominant norm. • She can sell if she has her own sheep or other resources.
		Married Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decision making would mostly be done by husbands and they would give positive response based on two reasons : • Purpose of the spending, if "agreed" and "common" based on his awareness on how nutritional food would benefit baby's growth

Overall Synthesis: Under certain condition married girls can go against the enduring social norm in decision making. For example, she can make decision to sell if she has her own resource (example, sheep or other resources) and buy what she want. When a woman involve in her own income generating activities, there is a situation for girls to equally involve in decision making and communications. Other respondents defended the views that some husbands are not only discussing about money issues, but also putting their money with their wives. Even, there are girls who refuse to give money for their husbands for inviting their friends for drinks. These are some of the indications of the social norm relaxation in decision making.

b) Couple's Communication and Decision Making on Family Planning (FP)

S.N	Constructs	FGD group	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	Mother-in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother in-law interferes on decision making process of couples specifically on having first child. • Most of Mother-in-laws believe that the girls would have to give birth to become cool, manage her house and becomes a part of husband's family. If not, she is considered as stranger; she will look outside; out of the control of husband; and not abide by husband's rules and order. • Most Mother-in-laws believe that "Giving birth considered as a tie and a means to stay girls in her marriage"
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most respondents articulated that community believe married couples to have children at younger age Respondents stated that most community members consider children as an asset and a mechanism to keep women at home, to impart sense women's of belongingness to the family, and an instrument to form strong family kinship

Overall Synthesis: Most mother-in-laws would not be happy and accept and see this as a positive thing in the family. Mostly, they would prefer to interfere in the decision making process of couples specifically on having first child. If the mother-in-law failed to do that most mother -in-law's friends would say that the mother-in-law was not happy about the marriage of her son and that is why she was not want the couple to have a child. This would continue to accuse her by saying "you are doing wrong and you have not accepted what the couples are saying". Most other respondents articulated that their community believes married

couples are expected to have children at younger age because children are considered as an asset and a mechanism to keep women at home, to impart sense of women's of belongingness to the family and instrument to form strong family kinship.

2	Normative Expectations	Mother-in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law is influenced by her friend and community to push her son to give birth; • The Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law's friends, and neighbors will accuse the married couple for not giving birth; • The mother-in-laws would be expected to influence the couples to have at least the first child while they are young and while the mother-in-law is active to provide them care and support • The mother-in-laws mostly advised by friends to check or search in the house if the girl is using contraceptive or not or fooling her nor not because they don't accept that the couples both agreed. Rather, they would think the girl is playing with her son
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends and other relatives expect and even encourage married couples to have a child while they are young and discourage couples staying too long without children. • Most of the mother-in-laws in the community tend to advise to break the marriage if the couples failed to have a child as soon as they are engaged. • Friends and family think that the wife is deceiving the husband by suspending fertility

Overall Synthesis: Most friends and other relatives expect and even encourage married couples to have a child while they are young and discourage couples staying too long without children. The mother-in-laws mostly advised by her friends to search in the house and make sure whether the girl is neither to use contraceptive nor to be fooled by the girl because they don't accept that the couples both agreed not to have a baby. Rather, friends and family think that the wife is deceiving the husband by suspending fertility and might be playing with her son.

3	Sanction	Mother-in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law, husband and wife socially not accepted. The community and her friends will gossip; insult; degrade their respect. • The Mother-in-law's friends and community group would consider the husband as impotent, lazy and controlled and guided by his wife;
		SAA's Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends and family members start to speak strong words that the husband is keeping and feeding a barren" mule" who cannot conceive a baby. • Friends and neighbors may consider the husband impotent

Overall Synthesis: Most husband's friends and family members start to speak strong words that the

husband is keeping and feeding a barren” mule” who cannot conceive a baby. Most friends and neighbors may consider the husband a weak person. The mother-in-law’s friends and community group would consider the husband as impotent, lazy and controlled and guided by his wife. As a result, the mother-in-law, husband and wife are socially not accepted. The community in general and the mother-in-law's friends in particular would gossip; insult; degrade her respect.

4	Sensitivity to Sanction	Mother - in- law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social sanction changed the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples. • The pressure of Mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision • The pressure of mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision. The Mother-in-law will : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ deny her own son (she will say to her son if you do not have a child you are not my son) ○ treat him to take his land away from him if not push his wife to give birth ○ changed the opinion her daughter in law by saying everybody insult and gossip about her being able to be fertile
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents stated that people are very sensitive to critics coming from colleagues, relatives, and neighbors.

Overall Synthesis: Most respondents stated that people are very sensitive to critics coming from colleagues, relatives, and neighbors. The social sanction on the mother-in-law especially from her friends are so enormous that it could influence her to change her stand. The social sanction would be expected to change the opinion of mother-in-law. As a result, the pressure of the mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision as well. However, those couples who are more or less educated, progressive and determined, or those who did not receive any economic support from their parents when they engaged in their early marriage are less sensitive to the sanctions. The pressure from the mother-in-law on husband and wife would be minimal in this scenario.

5	Norm breaking Conditions	Mother- in-law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the condition that the Mother-in-law unable to provide land and other resources to the couple during the marriage arrangement, relatively there is resistance from couples to accept the mother-in-laws decision • Even if the girl is married, she wouldn’t be forced to have a child unless she matured (greater than 14years of age).
		SAA’s Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This days the condition (resources like lands, awareness due to information and experience of the old and young) has changed • The economic challenges and due attention being given to education is now relaxing the social norm and some couples are now staying longer without having children

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is some conditions under which the friends opinion doesn't matter: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ if the husband is a reasonable person who would react rationally and reasonably by listening her case/issues, it is ok to go out because he would serve himself if she put food on the table for him ○ " if the couples remain strong and shows good progress in their life, others will consider them as a good model. The couples will work together until their marriage get stronger: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if there is better awareness of the mothers on SRH, • if the mothers don't open the door for them..
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Overall Synthesis: In the condition that the mother-in-law unable to provide land and other resources to the couple during the marriage arrangement, unless the married girl is matured and married (greater than 14years of age), she wouldn't be forced to have a child. In some cases, " if the couples remain strong and shows good progress in their life, others will consider them as a good model for others to follow them"

A sense of relative severity of a sanction:

No Sanction 1

- The girl is too kid and not expected to handle such role,
- he will not be serious and
- won't take friends criticism

Less Sanction 2 (Minimal sanction)

- He would just give her advice /
- he simply reprimand her not to repeat it again

Moderate severity 2

- Gossiping about it,
- insult, warn and punish (beat) her for failing to play her role as a discipline,

High Severity 3

- he would beat her to death
- Suggestion for divorce (why not we or you look for another wife)
- she would be considered as a criminal (considered as not a real wife)

Appendix II

Framework of Analysis by FDG Groups

1) Girl's Husband Group 1 Norm) Mobility of Married Girls

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• “Most husbands will get angry and yell at their wives when they leave their house without getting permission”• Most husbands tend to “ignore their wives for some time and create stress on them”.• Most husbands “beat their wives when they return to home”• “The husband will beat his wife and other people like the mother -in-law and neighbors may support when the wife is punished”• Most husbands warn their wife not to repeat it anymore• Some respondents noted “Now, people are changing and in the earlier time this used to be a serious issues”
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Friends of the husband or neighbors tell the husband to discipline the wife via giving advice, rebuking or beating her• Most friends tend to say to the husband “your wife is becoming out of control and you need to do something about it”
3	Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Friends and others who saw the incidence will “consider him as a fool man and tend to despise him”• Friends of the husband start to distance him and will refrain from inviting him in a valuable social events

4	Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Husbands are sensitive when they find their colleagues gossip about their personal/household issues. They get embarrassed when they see some friends expose their issues to others”
5	Norm breaking Conditions	“Under special and occasional conditions such as illness, death, neighborhood conflict etc women may go out of home without informing their husbands.” It is usually up to the husband to invite someone when he knew that something is available at home”
<p>Overall synthesis: Most of husbands punish and warn their wives not to repeat if they go anywhere without husbands permission. Friends of husband and neighbors’ advise the husband to discipline and punish his wife. If not consider him as fool and start to isolate him and not inviting him on social event. The husband becomes sensitive and embarrassed. In general, the majority of the husband group respondents 10 (83%) stated that the husbands responses would be different if he came alone (without his friends) while only 2 (17%) mentioned no deference. However, under some conditions like as illness, death, neighborhood conflict, and her monthly family visit she would be allowed to go.</p>		

Girl's Husband Group
2 Norm) Girls’ Household Roles

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ”The dominant culture in the community is that the husband is supposed to direct his wife”. • “Most husbands in the community do not take and eat well prepared food from the kitchen in the absence of their wives”. This is not accepted norm for any husband to play this kind of household role in the community • “In general, the tradition is that the wife is supposed to be at home. if she frequently goes out, she would tend to change her mind when she sees another opportunity”
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends expect the husband to properly lead his family. Respondents noted that friends who came to the husband’s house “ On the spot they may say good things but later on they will start talking negative things about the issue saying he has no rule over his wife." Even they say “his wife is not at home for him. What does she do for us”? Even, some friends may advise “why not you get divorce? She is not fit for you”.
3	Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends may say" he has no rule over his wife; " she is now out of control” • Respondents noted that “His friends will start gossiping about him and he will get mad when he hear about the issue from other friends” • Friends tend to demean the husband and think he is incapable of leading his own house

4	Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents noted that “his friends will start gossiping about him and he will get mad when he hear about the issue from other friends” • he will not continue with his behavior or reactions due to the sanctions
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents noted “ It is ok if she goes out of home for family issues”
<p>Overall synthesis: Most of husbands indicated that the wife should be directed by her husband and she should wait her husband at home. The reference groups of husbands were his friends and neighbors and they expect him to have full control over his wife or divorce her. If not the husband will be sanctioned by his friends. They will undermine him and considered as a weak and incompetent to guide and maintain his house. As a result, the husband will become sensitive to sanction. He will be forced to change his attitude and practice. However, the husband group mentioned that it is only acceptable if she goes out due to common family issues, if she does not go far away.</p>		

Girl's Husband Group

3 Norm) Married Girls communication and decision making

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Some of husbands will discuss with the wives about the fortune they make” <p>Some respondents stated the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Most of our community does not dare to support couples discussion. Even for their children, they don't care to buy nutritious food. All they want is their children not to get starved (basic foods for survival!)” • The husband tends to say to his wife" try to get your own money" , • "If her role at home is limited and doesn't have her own income generating activities, I am the one to decision"
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although in exceptional cases, some friends may consider those couples who exchange ideas on money related issues as a role model, the dominant view is that friends of the husband quite often tend to tell him "Don't give or disclose all your money to your wife. She will bother you to spend it on every things she sees”
3	Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends get disappointed and their relationships with him will be strained. They end up saying " his wife might have advised him negatively & has no control over his house". • Friends may keep on saying “his wife is his boss”. • They will continue gossip about him and likely to break

		their friendship because they expect him to finish his own homework with his wife first before inviting them for a drink.
4	Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed responses were reflected regarding the sensitivity of friends and family sanctions. • Although some respondents stated that friends negative sanction does not matter, still many respondents stated “ The husband will be influenced by his friends attitude and will not continue with his stand of continuously involving his wife in finance and property related decision making”.
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general as far as finance and property related decision, the social norm is so stiff that there is no room for wives to make finance related small and big decisions in the absence of the husband. • “In the husband’s absence if the wife sells a sheep or other property, he will not accept it”. • However, he can do whatever he likes with his property” No room for breaking this dominant norm. • She can sell if she has her own sheep or other resources.
<p>Overall Synthesis: Most of the husband group said they will not discuss to their wives about money issues, friends of husband will advise the husband not to show all his money to his wife. If he discuss with his wife, most of his friends gossip on him by saying his wife is his boss. But In exceptional case, some see them as role model and accept the discussion. Married girls will decide if she has own income.</p>		

2) Girl's Mother-in-law

1 Norm) Married Girl's Mobility

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those girls who are living with her Mother-in-laws are totally under the control of their Mother-in-laws. Not allowed to go outside to market, peers, schools and neighbor. The only freedom is when she went to her biological parents (if the girl is not matured it is allowed to live one month with Mother-in-law and one month with parents until she matured); • Girl's mobility primarily depends on Mother-in-law’s and husband permission. She is expected to seek first permission from the Mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere; • If married girl went without permission, Mother-in-law or husband will not be happy and tolerate. That is because it is a norm to respect Mother-in-law and the role of Mother-in-law

		<p>is to guide and teach her how to behave including mobility;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If the girl not asks permission the Mother-in-law will suspect that : Her rules not respected by the girl; the girl advised and influenced by others; the girls could have affair with other man; • Mother-in-law shows her unhappiness in different way: Insulate a girl; Accuse a girl; Angry on girl; Beat her; she will tell to her son to insult and beat her; If repeated the girl will be send back to her parents;
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls mobility seen as the girl is out of control /not abide of her mother in-law and husband as well as she lacks household skills and labeled as "Gat Wot" (looking outside, won't to have affair with other man) by the community; • The mother in-law influenced by her friends and the community to follow the norms of the community and take action on daughter In-law • The girl would be advised by Mother-in-law's, friends of Mother-in-law's, her husband and in some case if she is at school by her friends to respect rule.
3	Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law's will be blamed for not undertaking/performing her role to discipline a girl. • The friends and community in general will gossip, insult; accuse and look-down/lower the status of Mother-in-law's for not playing her role (role defined by the community).
4	Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most Mother-in-laws concerned with what others hear, sees and judge her for not taking her role to disciplined, skilled her daughter-in-law's. • If a girl repeated to go out without permission in showing fear of social sanction, the Mother-in-law's will send the girl to her parents. • In general married girls, who live with her Mother-in-law's not allowed to go to market, communicate with her peers in community, and to go to school. This is happen because the Mother-in-law's want her daughter to perform domestic work at household level and she always suspicious that her daughter in-law is advised by other. • Mobility of Married girls were influenced by Mother in-law, Mother in-law's friends, husband and neighborhood; Those Mother in-law who could not able to discipline their daughter

		<p>in law as it is expected by the community norms will face social sanction by their friends; neighbors; community members;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a result, Mother-in-law will not continue defending her decision as her reputation/status would be lowered among her friends • She would change her opinion and stand
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The girls can go without permission to fetch water; collection of wood if it is nearby and to attend religious/ church ceremony. • The Mother-in-laws also indicated the girls also went to clinic without our permission and most of girls started FP before they give a child. • After the girl matured and start to live with her husband in separate house the married girl has freedom to go to market, and other social gatherings as other women discussing with her husband. The influence of Mother-in-law's on girls will be minimal.

Overall synthesis: Most of Mother-in laws believed that married girls should not go to anywhere without the permission of mother in laws or husband. Those girls who went without permission are considered as they are out of norm of the community and mother in-laws are influenced and advised by her friends to control and disciplined her daughter in-law. The social sanction was imposed on mother in laws by her friends, neighbors and community group in general and the mother-in-law's friends in particular for not exercising the expected role. In fear of social sanction, the mother in-laws would send the girl to her parent (divorce occur).

The result revealed that 77% of the respondent mentioned that the mother-in-law's responses would be different if she came alone while some respondents(23%) stated it would not be different.

Those married girls living with her husband in separate house have relatively freedom to go outside for marketing and other social gathering compared to those who live with mother in-laws. However there are some conditions where girls allowed to go without permission. This includes to fetch water, collection of wood if nearby and to attend ritual/ religious ceremony. Beside the mother in-laws also indicated married girls went to clinic secretly to take family planning serves. Some few mother-in-laws have also mentioned that she can go to school if and only if she completed her household duties.

2) Girls Household Roles

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
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1	Empirical Expectations	<p>Married girls Living with Mother-in-law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Even if daughter in-law is a child, the Mother-in-law's want the daughter in-law to behave like adult on taking care of household duties and waiting her at home; • The role of daughter in-law is to follow her Mother-in-law and performing household duties, respect and abide by Mother-in-law Rules. • Main duties of daughter in-laws included: giving birth, performing household duties including making food; taking care of cattle, washing legs of Mother-in-law's, waiting at house, fetching water, collecting of fire wood. <p>Married girl Living with her husband (Independent with Mother-in-law)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married girl who live with her husband independently from Mother-in-law have more freedom than that of living with Mother-in-law. She conducts household activities on her own by discussing with her husband.
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the girls move to Mother-in-law's house at early age. The Mother-in-law's teach those household duties and how to manage house and becoming good wife for her son. The community expect Mother-in-law should shape (discipline) and give household life skills to the married girl
3	Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law, husband and wife socially not accepted. The community and Mother in laws friends will gossip; insult; degrade the respect of mother in-laws.
4	Sensitivity to Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social sanction changed the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples. • The pressure of Mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After the girls matured and start to live with her husband in separate house, the married girl has freedom to engage into other income generating activities, go to market, and other social gatherings as other women discussing with her husband. The influence of Mother-in-law's on girls will be minimal.
<p>Overall synthesis: Even though married girls were married at younger age and join mother in law, they are expected to take care of household duties and waiting at home as adult. Mother in laws expected to shape and discipline the daughter in-laws by providing skill how to become a "good wife". Beside Married girls were expected to follow, respect and abide by the Mother-in-law's rules. If married girls deviated from expected role and duties, mother in law will be</p>		

exposed to social sanction. Moreover, married girl and husband also exposed to social sanction which is imposed by friends of mother in laws. The social sanction influenced the mother in laws and forced her to conduct her expected role on the married girls. However, the married girls who were living with husband alone are relatively less controlled by mother in laws compared to those who are living with the mother in laws. They can go to market, participated on income generating activities and social gatherings.

Mother in laws

3) Couple's communication and Decision Making

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mother in-law interferes on decision making process of couples specifically on having first child. • Most of Mother-in-laws believe that the girls would have to give birth to become cool, manage her house and becomes a part of husband's family. If not, she is considered as stranger; she will look outside; out of the control of husband; and not abide by husband's rules and order. • Most Mother-in-laws believe that “Giving birth considered as a tie and a means to stay girls in her marriage”
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law is influenced by her friend and community to push her son to give birth; • The Mother-in-law, a Mother-in-law's friends, and neighbors will accuse the married couple for not giving birth;
3	Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Mother-in-law, husband and wife socially not accepted. The community and her friends will gossip; insult; degrade their respect. • The Mother-in-law's friends and community group would consider the husband as impotent, lazy and controlled and guided by his wife;
4	Sensitivity to Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social sanction changed the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples. • The pressure of Mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision • The Mother-in-law will deny as her own son (she will say to her son if you do not have a child you are not my son) • The Mother-in-law will treat him to take his land away from him if he did not tell to his wife to give birth and will push and order her son by saying “tell to your wife to give birth which is like you and us” • She started to consult again her child and daughter in-law by

		<p>saying please give birth as community is not accept her</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She would change her opinion and she advise the daughter in law to give birth for a baby, mention that friends has insult and gossip about her • Mention that Mother-in-law's social life is also becoming bad, so she would not continue • She would be influenced by her friends assumption for her son to be impotent, not being able to be fertile
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the condition that the Mother-in-law unable to provide land and other resources to the couple during the marriage arrangement,
<p>Overall synthesis: Most Mother-in-laws believe that “Giving birth considered as a tie and a means to stay girls in her marriage” and a married girls are considered as part of the family if only she gives birth. Even though the couples want to delay giving birth, the mother in-laws interfere specifically for the first child. The mother in-law also influenced by her friends, neighbors and relatives to push her son to have a child otherwise she will be exposed to social sanction. Moreover, the couples and specifically the husband is exposed to social sanction. As a result the mother in-laws and couple would change their decision in fear of social sanction.</p> <p>The result revealed that the majority (82%) of the respondents stated that the mother-in-laws would not continue with her stand while only 18% mentioned that the mother-in-laws will continue with her stand of supporting the couples decision.</p> <p>However, if the mother in-laws unable to provide land and other resources to the couple during the marriage arrangement, the influence of the mother in law on couples would be relatively low.</p>		

3) SAA Group

1) Married Girl's Mobility

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most husbands in the community “beat their wives when they go out without telling them”. • “Wives are expected to inform their husband before they go out for any reason” • “The husband think something is wrong with his wife” • “The wife is considered as bad or deviant”
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colleagues and neighbors expect the husband” to have full control over his house” • Friends and neighbors expect the husband “to punish his wife, advice or discipline her”. • Friends and others advice the husband “to get divorced if such

		<p>incidence is repeated”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Husbands are expected to inform their wives when they invite guests to their house”
3	Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community consider the husband as ”a weak person who have no control over his wife” • Friends and colleagues regard him as an “incompetent person who pretend to have good house”
4	Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Friends will despise the husband”. Their future relationship gets strained. This will become very painful to the husband.
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Now days, the old culture is changing and relaxing. “Husbands are not so embarrassed for wrong doings at home and they will not be so serious when they come home alone and discover that the wife is not around” • If the husband is a matured one, he would say it is ok! She might have faced some problems and will wait patiently • Some respondents mentioned that not alone the husband even wives do not like when their husbands disappear from their farms without informing their wives. But, it is not a big deal for the husbands if she found him in such situation • "it is ok if she face a sudden incident

Overall synthesis: Most of the SAA respondents indicated that wife is expected to inform her husband to go anywhere otherwise the wife will be considered as deviant and husband would take some measures. The husbands’ friend, colleagues and neighbors will advise him to have a power on his wife. If he is reluctant to consider their advice, the husband would be considered as a weak and incompetent person to run his house. Then, his friend will despise him and their future relationship will strained. As a result, this will become painful and he will become sensitive. However, some of the participant mentioned that now days there is some changes. Husband will tend to accept the situation if it is a sudden incident without a quarrel with his wife. Most of the SAA respondents (71%) mentioned that the husbands responses would be different if he came alone (without his friends) while 29% stated the reaction would not be different.

According to the SAA, under certain conditions, it is ok for the girls to go against the norm. Such as : visiting parents monthly, fetching water and fire woods, visiting church and once the household activities done and completed she can go to school.

SAA community group

2) Married Girl's Household Roles

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Most husbands expect their wives to prepare something at home regardless of the husband providing them the resource required or not”

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Wives are not expected to go out of the house”.
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Wives are expected to take care of the household” • Friends and others expect wives to be at home and do something
3	Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends think that “the husband has made his wife so wild wife” care of her husband • “Friends tend to belittle the husband”
4	Sensitivity to Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husbands are so curious when their household issues are exposed by their colleagues
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In some cases wives may go out of home making ready meals and placing it on a table upfront • Wife may go out under emergency situations, when one relatives are sick
<p>Overall synthesis: Most of husband and husbands’ friend expected their wives to be at home and maintain the household activities. If not his friends will belittle the husband. The husband becomes curious and sensitive when the issues were exposed to others. However, the wives can be out of home if she makes ready his meal, visit her parent monthly, go to church and fetching water.</p>		

SAA Community group members

3) Couple's Communication and Decision Making

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most respondents articulated that community believe married couples to have children at younger age • Respondents stated that most community members consider children as an asset and a mechanism to keep women at home, to impart sense women’s of belongingness to the family, and an instrument to form strong family kinship.
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends and other relatives expect and even encourage married couples to have a child while they are young and discourage couples staying too long without children. • Most of the mother-in-laws in the community tend to advise to break the marriage if the couples failed to have a child as soon as they are engaged. • Friends and family think that the wife is deceiving the husband by suspending fertility
3	Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends and family members start to speak strong words that the husband is keeping and feeding a barren” mule” who cannot conceive a baby. • Friends and neighbors may consider the husband impotent

4	Sensitivity to Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents stated that people are very sensitive to critics coming from colleagues, relatives, and neighbors.
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This days the condition (resources like lands, awareness due to information and experience of the old and young) has changed • The economic challenges and due attention being given to education is now relaxing the social norm and some couples are now staying longer without having children • There is some conditions under which the friends opinion doesn't matter: • if the husband is a reasonable person who would react rationally and reasonably by listening her case/issues, it is ok to go out because he would serve himself if she put food on the table for him • " if the couples remain strong and shows good progress in their life, others will consider them as a good model. The couples will work together until their marriage get stronger. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if there is better awareness of the mothers on SRH, • if the mothers don't open the door for them..
<p>Overall synthesis: Most of the community members believed that married couples to have children at younger age. Moreover, they considered children as an asset and a mechanism to keep women at home, to have sense of belongingness to the family, and serve an instrument to form strong family kinship. Mother in-laws and her friends, husbands friends, relatives encourage the couples to have a child right after marriage, if not they will accuse the husband, insult him as impotent/ have fertility problem and also insist to make a divorce. Couples become sensitive to critics coming from colleagues, relatives, and neighbors. There are some options to break the norm due to economic reason, if the couples are strong and shows progress on their life, both the couples and mother in-laws accept the situation.</p>		

4) Married Girls

1)Married Girl's Mobility and Household roles

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility of married girls who are living with their Mother-in-law is limited. For any kind of mobility outside of the house, married girls need permission from her Mother-in-law and her husband. • Restriction on married girls mobility is mainly supervised and implemented by Mother-in-law. main reason being to isolate her from other friends and family so the husband and Mother-in-law tighten the control so she would play her 'good wife' role.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most Mother-in-laws would think this is not acceptable behavior and would expect their daughter in laws to accept their rule; limiting their mobility in the household. Married girls could not go anywhere as long as it is not permitted from her Mother-in-law. Hence, their mobility is limited in the household. • Married Girls who are living with their mother-in-laws are limited in mobility only with in household. But for those girls who are not any more living with their Mother-in-law mobility is a not limited to households, but they would still be in control of her husband
2	Normative Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Married girls need permission to go anywhere. Going outside of the household is not one of accepted role for Married Girls • Agreed and accepted role for married girls is confined at household. Having baby, serve the Mother-in-law including washing her feet, perform all household activities, washing clothes, are agreed and accepted role for married girls. • All groups have confirmed that going to school is not one of accepted roles for married girls. Most Mother-in-law do not want married girls to go to school. • Usually when marriages are arranged, mother in law families promise to send girls to school, but after a while she would be discouraged to go to school, finally they would keep her as a domestic servant. Main point is that they need to control her and from having relation with other person so they would make her have a baby so she would be loyal to them • Married girls would be allowed to visit their families once monthly. This seems only chance for them to meet other people without supervision of their Mother-in-laws and their husbands.
3	Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opinion of the reference group is very important in putting sanction over married girls. Most reference group are convinced that this is a punishable action when the norm of limited mobility is violated. Most importantly when married girls are not willing to respect agreed rules. • Physical, psychological and social punishments are put by both Mother-in-law and husbands on married girls. Girls are considered as lazy and undisciplined, living with warning, live in fear, beaten up, shouted at, kicked out of the house, their marriages are dissolved for going out of the household without permission. • These sanctions mostly affect their lives, so force them to adhere for the accepted norm • Marriage is considered as a prison for most of girls for the reason girls were not allowed to go outside home and socialize with her friends and family
4	Sensitivity to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For most of the respondents, she will not continue defending

	sanctions	<p>their decision as her reputation would be lowered among her friends</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She would change her opinion • Some of them responded the question by asking "How could she change her idea by others if she believes in it? If she agrees • She started to consult again her child and daughter in-law by saying please give birth as community is not accept her
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no reason/conditions for married girls to go out of the house without permission. Meaning, it is not acceptable for married girls to go without permission unless she decide to leave her husband and go back to her parents. • Only with some exception for girls to go out without permission would be <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Fetch water and fire wood ○ Going to local Church • Once monthly married girls visit to their family (locally known as ‘wertera’) is agreed, but it is also subjected to permission granted from husband and Mother-in-law • Life of married girls is like ‘prison’ for same reason that they would not be allowed to go anywhere, meet anyone or visit some one
<p>Overall synthesis: Mobility of married girls is very much limited to household. When the norms of married girls mobility is violated married girls exposed to physical, verbal, psychological and social punishments by both Mother-in-law and husbands. Husband and mother in laws as well as married girls are sensitive to the sanction and accept the community norm. Most of married girls consider marriage as prison not allowed to go anywhere without permission. However, there are some conditions where girls allowed to go without permission these included to fetch water, collection of wood if nearby and to attend ritual/ religious ceremony without permission.</p>		

Married girls

3) Couple communication and Decision Making

S.N	Constructs	Summary of Major Responses
1	Empirical Expectations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empirical expectation of the FGD participants on the decision making norm in the community clearly shows that households decision making is mostly done by the husbands and no discussion/communication with couples • Communication is limited among married couples, especially when married couples are living with their Mother-in-laws. • Subordination, fear and lack of discussion, and subordination governs most relation among married couple • Recent changes is also observed in improved communication

		<p>among couples, especially when they have started living by their own. However, there are some couples who does not call each others' names.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Couple would make decision in consultation with each other, given that the issue is concerning a common issue for both of them.
2	Normative Expectations	<p>Couple's Communication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication among couples who are living with Mother-in-law does not still exist. Wives are afraid to communicate with their husbands and Mother-in-laws as their relationship is at subordinate level. • It is confirmed with all three FGDs that most other wives would encourage married girls to discuss with their husband, as long as the spending is 'accepted' and for 'common purpose' • Some has indicate that there is a changing trend concerning communication among married couples. The fear of talking with couples is improving among some of respondents, most of them are no more living with Mother-in-laws. It has been seen a decreasing influence of Mother-in-laws as they have started living by their own. • It was asked during the FGDs, that the spending would not be about baby food but rather a bar of soap and hair oil for the wife, the whole story would be different, even those couples who are no more living with Mother-in-laws would not discuss about this sending. Other Wives would not advise her to discuss with husbands, as that is not possible <p>Decision making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wives have less power on issues to decide on money in marriage. • Most uneducated husband would say nutrition food is not important, would say 'feed him what you need'. Spending additional money on baby food comes as a last priority for husbands. Mostly wives would get negative response. <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision concerning household spending is mainly done by husbands, however, it was observed given the spending is for 'common' issue and 'accepted' cause, there is healthy communication among couples, there would be an agreed and mutual decision making. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most husbands would agree for the spending their earning given there is a 'good' reason such as baby food, and the discussion with his wife is done on positive note
3	Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husbands would loss respect, their masculinity and social dignity among their reference groups, friends, for listening their wives' advice. Society does not appreciate wives to dictate or tell what to do for their husbands. • In this community they would disrespect him as they consider

		<p>him inferior for listening to advise of a woman. His reference groups would not trust him for future socialization, they stop being friends with him</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sanction is as strong as losing social dignity, respect and losing his friends. To be ‘controlled’ by his wife, ‘listen to a woman’, ‘ordered by his wife’ is not acceptable behavior for husband, if not he would not have respect as a ‘man’ or his masculinity is questioned
4	Sensitivity to Sanction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All respondents have agreed that further effort to discuss on use of money for future depends how the husband would react at first time. Given that most husbands would not give positive response on money spending, at least for most reasons, married girls would not be encouraged to discuss with husbands on money spending. • Most wives will not dare to raise money issue in the future, if not she knew she would get in to fight with her husband. Wives usually are subordinate for decision making specially concerning household spending. • We could see that this affect future communication between married couples for same or different issue.
5	Norm breaking Conditions	<p>decision making would mostly be done by husbands and they would give positive response based on two reasons :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purpose of the spending, if "agreed" and "common" • based on his awareness on how nutritional food would benefit baby's growth
<p>Overall synthesis: Household’s decision making is mostly done by the husbands and no discussion/communication with couples. Communication among couples who are living with Mother-in-law does not still exist. Wives are afraid to communicate with their husbands and Mother-in-laws as their relationship is at subordinate level. Given that couples would be living independent of the influence of mother-in-law, there would be better communication and there is a tendency that decisions would be made in consultation with wives. But still the vital decision making role is for husbands. In general, most married girls respondents (81%) mentioned that the girl would not continue to raise the issue again while few respondents 3(19%) stated she would continue to discuss it in the future.</p> <p>However, there is an option of communication if the purpose of spending money is agreed and common. And if the wife gives birth, the husbands would relatively tend to become open.</p>		

Appendix III

Summary of the overall observations of the consulting team during the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs):

- The married girls, Mother in laws, Husband, SAA's groups and community in general have awareness about the negative effects of early marriage. Early marriage is still practiced by the community which shows lack of behavioral change;
- Most of girl's dropout from school after marriage because of expected role at household level. Generally, school is not considered as important by the community for girls compared to boys. Most of husbands are still illiterate or drop out from school which influences girls to drop out from school because there is a belief that the wife should not

be more educated than her husband. This is an indication not only on weak attitude on education, but also gender discrimination.

- Married girls have limited decision making power at household level which is more related to the ownership of resources in which most of married girls do not have their own resources or income. Some of the respondents stated that they support the married girls to involve in income generating activities beside the household roles.
- Giving birth considered as a tie and a means to stay girls in her marriage specifically for the first child;
- Family planning and spacing of giving birth issues are accepted by mother in-laws (elder women) after giving birth of the first child. However, married girls started family planning secretly before giving first child in fear of early pregnancy and its complication;
- The social sanction on mother-in-laws husbands and married girls is strongest around norms related to married girls mobility ;
- The social sanctions on couples communication and decision making were stronger on husbands than Mother-in-laws.

From the above observations, one can note that the social norms are so strong for all groups which demonstrate the close social networks in the rural communities.