



## Adolescence, Youth and Gender: Building Knowledge for Change

Thursday 8 September to Friday 9 September 2016  
Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford

### LIST OF ABSTRACTS (listed alphabetically by presenting author)

#### **Parental Investment and Children's Outcomes: Within and Between Family Differences**

*Alejandra Abufhele, Jere Behrman and David Bravo*

Empirical work from the last decade has emphasized the important role that early life conditions and childhood development play in later life outcomes, especially in human capital formation. Furthermore, there is evidence from siblings and twins fixed effects that shows a persistent relationship between initial health endowments and academic outcomes throughout schooling years, and parental investments acting as a mediator of this relationship (Bharadwaj et al. 2013). Accordingly, understanding parental behaviour for children *within* the same family and the factors that drive the differences *between* families are crucial to unravelling the mechanisms underlying heterogeneity in capital formation, therefore the inequality in children's outcomes and the potential effects later in life. Additionally, empirical evidence has shown that parents allocate their investments unequally among their children. However, there is mixed evidence on the type of child who receives additional resources. Do parents invest more in better-endowed children and thus reinforce differentials among their children? Or do they invest more in less-endowed children to compensate for their smaller endowments and reduce inequalities among their children? Does it depend on the children's gender?

This research provides multiple contributions related to these topics. First, we give new empirical evidence for parental investment responses to initial health endowment differences between twins within a family, thereby controlling for all observed and unobserved differences across families and, in the case of identical (monozygotic twins) in genetics at conception. Second, we look at how parental investment strategies vary between families due to differences in parental socioeconomic status. Third, we test whether the estimates differ between boys and girls, trying to understand the different parental behavior in regards to gender, and how this can influence gender pathways later in life. Finally, we also explore at what age the differential behavior from parents starts to develop, in order to understand when inequalities emerge. We use the separable earnings-transfers model developed by Behrman, Pollak and Taubman (1982) and data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey for Chile.

#### **Improving Learning Outcomes and Transition to Secondary School: Impact, Lessons Learnt and Policy Messages**

*Benta Abuya, Moses Ngware, Njora Hungi, Maurice Mutisya, G. Mahuro, N. Gichuhi and S. Mambe*

The objective of the presentation is to examine the key achievements, lessons learnt and policy messages from the implementation and evaluation of a community based intervention targeting girls in the informal settlements of Nairobi. The design of the intervention study was quasi-experimental with two treatment groups and one control in each of the sites. The intervention components included: an afterschool support program in literacy and numeracy; mentoring in life-skills; parental counselling; and a transition subsidy to enable girls make a transition to secondary school. Data comes from the end term evaluation survey conducted in Korogocho and Viwandani, in Nairobi,

Kenya in the months of June-July 2015, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Results show that for successful implementation, community ownership and perception about the project is essential. Success was achieved because of working with Community Based Organizations (CBOs) who have a presence in the respective communities. One lesson learnt from the program evaluation is that there should be a concerted effort by all stakeholders towards the support of girls' education. On transition to secondary school, the treatment groups performed better than the control by 13 and 17 percentage points respectively for Treatment 1 and Treatment 2. Moreover, among the girls who transited to secondary school, 45% transited to private secondary schools; an increase from 41% observed during the midterm evaluation a year ago. One key policy message is that the Ministry of Education should rethink the quota system of admission to secondary schools so that girls and by extension children from low cost private schools in slums have equitable opportunities. This will ensure these children get into the good quality private schools.

### **Identifying Critical Periods in Human Capital Development Beyond Early Childhood: Evidence from Rwanda**

*Jorge Aguero and Anil Deolalikar*

Recent studies in economics have shown the relevance of interventions during the early years of childhood, including in utero. Shocks early in life have long lasting consequences for adults' health and education outcomes as well as on earnings. These persistent effects are often explained due to the plasticity of the brain during this early period. However, the existence of positive gains to early childhood investments are not enough for the design of optimal public policies because the cost of reaching young children could be higher than for older ones. If the returns for interventions at later ages are positive, though smaller, there could be strong arguments for policies targeting adolescents. Thus, we need research that compares the effects of similar interventions during early childhood vis-à-vis older periods including adolescence. Our paper addresses this gap in the literature.

We use the severe and short-lived shock created by the 1994 Rwanda genocide to identify key ages in the accumulation of human capital. Using the post-genocide Demographic and Health Surveys for Rwanda and neighboring countries, we explore how exposure to the genocide affected women's health as measured by their adult height. We show that the effect of the shock decreases with age as younger girls were affected more severely. However, the effect is not zero for older ages. We find large negative impacts even for those who were between 13 and 18 at the time of the genocide. These results are robust to a large set of possible confounding factors including the possible non-random survival rates of the genocide. Our findings suggest that the sensitive periods for this aspect of human capital accumulation go well beyond early childhood and they are consistent with recent development in the neuroplasticity of the brain during adolescence. We discuss the policy implications of our findings.

### **Are Holistic Interventions Greater than the Sum of their Parts? A Multi-year Programme Targeting the Most Disadvantaged Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa**

*Ben Alcott, Ricardo Sabates and Stuart Johnson*

**Summary:** Multiple disadvantages compound one another to worsen inequality, but it is also feasible that multiple interventions can augment one another to help tackle inequality. We test this premise by evaluating the impact of a holistic intervention targeted at the most disadvantaged adolescent girls in Tanzania.

**The challenge:** School dropout, teen pregnancy and HIV rates all serve to reinforce the marginalisation of women in Tanzania, but each is especially acute in the poorest rural households. In such households, over 80% of girls have been sent home for their inability to pay school fees. Besides the sheer challenge of poverty, these girls are likely to face multiple other pressures to leave school to work and raise children, including the death of a parent, long-term illness and disability among family members, and abuse at school.

**The intervention:** The NGO Camfed has established a multi-year programme aiming to aid the education of marginalised girls by supporting them not only with the direct costs of schooling, but also the wider social and economic pressures that they face. In addition to funding uniforms, shoes, fees, and learning materials, the programme provides girls with mentors and establishes community organisations to improve school quality and child protection.

**Methods:** Data on the programme are longitudinal, have a plausible control group, and cover both observable outcomes and attitudinal responses on participating girls' broader well-being. This makes

robust evaluation methods possible. However, the multi-faceted nature of the intervention presents an interesting methodological challenge: identifying if certain components are crucial and others redundant, or whether they are multiplicative, ie in conjunction the components' impact is greater than the sum of its parts.

**Implications:** Our findings will inform debates on the potential for such multi-pronged interventions, as well as the methodological challenges that researchers face in assessing their impact.

### **School Feeding Reduces Anaemia Prevalence in Adolescent Girls and Other Vulnerable Household Members in a Cluster RCT in Uganda**

*Sarah Adelman, Daniel O. Gilligan, Joseph Konde-Lule and Harold Alderman*

**Background:** School meals and other food for education (FFE) programs are widely used to improve school participation and performance, but previous evidence suggests that the nutritional benefits of FFE programs may be small. We examined whether micronutrient-fortified food provided through FFE programs in an emergency relief and recovery setting reduced anemia prevalence of adolescent girls and other nutritionally vulnerable household members (women of reproductive age and young children).

**Methods:** Using a cluster randomized controlled trial, we compared the impacts on anemia prevalence from two FFE interventions at primary schools: a school feeding program (SFP) providing meals fortified with iron and other micronutrients and a take-home ration (THR) program providing dry rations of identical size and nutritional composition to households with children attending school. Randomization was done at the level of Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps in Northern Uganda; 31 camps (clusters) in two districts were randomly assigned to SFP, THR and control groups. Food rations were provided for 15 months at SFP and THR schools. A longitudinal (panel) survey of households with children age 6-13 years at baseline was conducted (baseline and 18 months later). Analyses were done using difference-in-differences by intent to treat, with and without controls for confounding factors. This study is registered with ClinicalTrials.gov, number NCT01261182.

**Findings:** Adolescent girls age 10-13 years in FFE schools experienced a significant 20 percentage point (95% CI -0.34 to -0.07) reduction in mild anemia prevalence (Hb<11g/dL) relative to the control group, with no difference in impact between SFP and THR. Combined, the FFE programs caused an 8 percentage point (-0.17 to <0.00) reduction in mild anemia prevalence (Hb<11g/dL) of adult women age 18 and older, with no significant difference in impact between SFP and THR. In one district where nearly all displaced households stopped receiving a separate allocation of iron- and micronutrient-fortified emergency rations during the study, FFE programs reduced moderate/severe anemia of children age 6-59 months by 18 percentage points (-0.36 to -0.01) relative to control areas. In this age group, mild and moderate/severe anemia prevalence fell 10 percentage points (-0.18 to -0.02) and 19 percentage points (-0.36 to -0.02), respectively, SFP areas compared to control, whereas THR effects were not statistically significant.

**Interpretation:** Both FFE programs were effective at reducing anemia in primary-school-age adolescent girls after 15 months of program exposure in an emergency relief context. FFE programs also reduced anemia prevalence for nutritionally vulnerable women and preschool children. Differences in impact between the two FFE programs were generally small and not statistically significant.

### **Improving Outcomes for Adolescent Girls in Rural India through Behaviour-Change Intervention**

*Alison Andrew and Sonya Krutikova*

This study presents baseline survey findings from an ongoing intervention to improve adolescent girls' outcomes in rural Rajasthan, one of the most traditional parts of India. The intervention consists of weekly group sessions for adolescent girls, as well as, in a sub-set of clusters, their carers, brothers/husbands and other community members. The sessions are run by local women, within the institutional infrastructure of the largest network of women's self-help groups in the area. The curriculum delivered through these group sessions aims to decrease the number of child marriages, improve sexual and reproductive health (SRH) practices, improve maternal health, improve girls' levels of education and increase the safety of the home and community space. While this is a popular method of intervention for improving such outcomes, evidence on its effectiveness is weak. Further, a-priori it is not obvious how sound the underlying theory of change is, especially in settings such as the study district, where girls have little say in decisions relating to key outcomes, including education and marriage.

We have designed the study, a cluster randomised controlled trial, to explicitly inform on the plausible mechanisms that underlie this approach and how this type of intervention can impact them. In our conceptual framework we consider five mechanisms by which the intervention could affect outcomes: (i) improved knowledge about SRH and education amongst girls themselves which could change subjective expected returns to decisions, (ii) changed preferences over such decisions through shifting norms, perceived norms and aspirations, (iii) increased ability of girls to negotiate, take decisions and act upon their own preferences, (iv) improved effectiveness of mothers and other community members to act as advocates for girls (through increased knowledge and empathy), and, finally, (v) reduced costs of deviating from norms and expectations of the family and wider community.

In this paper we analyse unique baseline data on over 7,000 girls, and their carers and households, that aims to capture each of these channels. For example, we have detailed measures of girls', and their primary carers', knowledge of SRH and the benefits of education. We also have a broad range of indicators of girls' attitudes and beliefs around gender and its interplay with decisions surrounding education, marriage and SRH.

### **Nutrition Trajectories over the Life-Course: Implications for Adolescents' Health and for the Next Generation** *Elisabetta Aurino, Jere Behrman, Whitney Schott*

Adolescent nutrition is high in the research and policy agenda, as adolescence provides a unique window of opportunity to address nutrition-related issues originated earlier in life, prevent or delay the onset of diet-related diseases, and break the intergenerational transmission of malnutrition. Yet, the evidence base around levels, drivers, and life-course/intergenerational repercussions of adolescent nutritional status is scant, particularly in the context of low- and middle-income countries.

By using 4 rounds of Young Lives data from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, this paper aims at: (1) describe adolescent nutritional status, and analyze gender gaps in this dimension. We will also examine differences by wealth quintiles, income quintiles, parental schooling levels, urban/rural residence and country; (2) examine how nutritional status have changed in the past decade for these children, in order to identify common nutritional trajectories, with particular attention to gender, and changes due to shocks or migration, among other mediating factors; (3) use regression analysis to examine key correlates of adolescent nutritional status, dietary quality and pubertal development – including early life and concurrent circumstances - controlling for child, household, and community characteristics; (4) characterize the impact of girls' nutritional status on birth and infant nutritional and feeding outcomes. The latter constitutes a novel contribution in the literature.

The robustness across countries and to econometrics methods (fixed effects, instrumental variables using, inter alia, community prices and services) will be examined in order to control for unobserved factors, measurement errors and right-side behavioral variables. This comparative evidence can support the development of interventions to optimize the nutritional status of adolescents for a healthy transition to adulthood and for the improved health of their offspring.

### **A Case Study on What Works for Girls and What Next: The Adolescent Girls Empowerment Program** *Karen Austrian*

For Zambian girls, social isolation, economic vulnerability, and lack of appropriate health information and services are critical problems that prevent a healthy transition from girlhood to womanhood. Girls face high rates of gender-based violence, unsafe sex that puts them at risk for unwanted pregnancy and HIV infection, school dropout, lack of economic resources and income-generating options, lack of agency and participation. Through the Adolescent Girls Empowerment Program (AGEP), the Population Council and partners are implementing and rigorously evaluating a social, health, and economic asset-building program for vulnerable adolescent girls in Zambia.

AGEP is made up of three core components: 1) weekly safe spaces – girls groups that meet once a week over the course of two years facilitated by a young woman from the same community; 2) a health voucher that enables girls to access general wellness and sexual and reproductive health services at public and private facilities; and 3) a girl-friendly savings account.

The impacts of the program are being evaluated through a randomized controlled trial. 160 clusters, half urban and half rural, were randomly assigned to one of the following study arms:

- 1) safe spaces only;
- 2) safe spaces + health voucher;
- 3) safe spaces + health voucher + savings account; or
- 4) control group.

The rich data include: social networks and gender norms; access to various services; sexual behavior; literacy and numeracy tests; anemia, HIV and HSV-2 testing; and assessments for children of respondents.

The presentation will share the study design, and initial analyses of the full intervention that indicate positive effects across a wide range of health outcomes. It will also describe program and policy recommendations for girl programming and steps to set the stage for uptake of the research findings.

### **The Adolescent Girls Empowerment Program: A Longitudinal Randomized Controlled Trial of Vulnerable Adolescent Girls in Zambia**

*Karen Austrian, Paul C. Hewett, Erica-Soler Hampeskjek, Jean Digitale, Natalie Jackson-Hachonda*

In Zambia, social isolation, gender-based violence, unsafe sex, school dropout, early pregnancy, early marriage and HIV infection are challenges that prevent girls from making a safe, healthy and productive transition through adolescence into young adulthood. The Adolescent Girls Empowerment Program (AGEP) is studying girls throughout the course of adolescence and aims to address these issues via an intervention with weekly girls group meetings (safe spaces), a health voucher and a savings account.

The short, medium and long term impacts of the intervention are being evaluated through a longitudinal, randomized controlled trial. 160 clusters, half urban and half rural, were randomly assigned to one of the following study arms: 1) safe spaces only; 2) safe spaces + health voucher; 3) safe spaces + health voucher + savings account; or 4) control. Data, collected annually, includes interview topics on socio-demographics, education, social safety nets, gender norms, livelihoods, nutrition, health services, experience of violence and sexual behavior, in addition to literacy and numeracy tests, anthropometric measurements and anemia, HIV and HSV-2 testing. The baseline was completed in 2013 (n=5,241). Two subsequent rounds of data have been collected with a response rate of over 90% in each round.

### **Gendered Socialization of Very Young Adolescents: Perceptions and Experiences of Adolescents and their Parents from a Disadvantaged Urban Community of Delhi, India**

*Sharmistha Basu and Rajib Acharya (Neelanjana Pandey presenting) (Poster presentation)*

**Background and objectives:** Although early adolescence (10 -14 years) represents one of the most critical stages of the life course it remains one of the most poorly understood. Among several markers, early adolescence is a period marked by intensification of gendered behaviours, and thus presents a unique window of opportunity for intervention before gender norms are solidified. There is a paucity of empirical evidence on early adolescence and factors that influence their gender attitudes, beliefs and subsequent behaviours in later adolescents. Drawing on qualitative data from very young adolescent boys and girls and their parents this paper attempts to unearth the main transmitters of gender norms and how does it manifest in their behaviours.

**Methods:** The study was located in one of the disadvantaged urban communities in Delhi, India. Several qualitative methodologies were used with boys and girls aged 10-14: timeline activity (8), venn diagrams (31), narratives (31). In addition, 25 parents of the interviewed adolescents were interviewed.

**Findings:** Preliminary findings revealed that boys and girls growing up in the same community took different pathways in their transition from childhood into adolescence. Both boys and girls perceived that it was largely mothers who were responsible for the persistence of gender unequal socialization among adolescent girls when they were as young as 11 years. They suggested that it was mothers who controlled the behaviours of their daughters, preparing them for life as a wife and a mother. Parent's perception corroborated these findings. Adolescents also perceived that young boys socialized mostly through their peers and other sources, such as media or teachers had limited role in

gendered socialization of adolescents. Notably, during adolescence, while new rules are imposed on girls, boys do not have any major restrictions on their lifestyle.

**Conclusion:** Adherence to gender unequal norms was evident among early adolescents calling for programmes among early adolescents for better health outcomes during later adolescents.

### **The Relationship of Maternal Nutrition and Adolescent Child-bearing with Child Development**

*Liza Benny, Paul Dornan and Andreas Georgiadis*

This paper investigates the association of maternal undernutrition and early childbearing with child stunting and cognitive development through early adolescence. We find that children of undernourished mothers who gave birth in adolescence are at higher risk of being stunted and underweight at infancy and through early adolescence, but exhibit no systematic achievement gaps during this period. We also find evidence of growth plasticity among girls after puberty suggesting that a mother's nutrition after adolescence may reflect, at least partly, changes in nutritional status in adolescence. These results suggest that there may be significant benefits for women and their children from growth- and nutrition-promoting interventions that reach adolescent girls.

### **Alternative Masculinities: Youth-Led Community Building in Guatemala and Colombia**

*Helen Berents*

This paper explores alternative responses by young men to situations of structural insecurity and violence in Colombia and Guatemala. In these contexts young men are commonly seen as inherently at risk of delinquency. Yet local organisations exist that offer youth alternative paths towards civic participation and social engagement. In the context of Latin America, the literature's focus on young men can reproduce notions of hegemonic masculinity and argues this predisposes young men towards joining gangs and otherwise opting out of social life and positive development. In response, this research builds on a growing literature that situates young men's actions in a social context and seeks nuanced framings of their identity. This paper presents research conducted with programs run by young men themselves in marginalised communities in Antigua, Guatemala and Medellin, Colombia. These programs use art, music, and educative frameworks to engage local youth and allow them to speak back to stereotypes and feel empowered to contribute to their communities. This paper argues that in building community based organisations to support young people, these young men are reformulating a dominant notion of masculinity and are demonstrating young people's capacity to influence civil society and social change.

### **Being an 'Adolescent': How Gender Shapes Risk and Consequences for Young People in Rural Uganda**

*Sarah Bernays, Dominic Bukenya, Fatuma Ssembajja, Allen Asiimwe, Claire Thompson and Janet Seeley*

The behaviour of adolescents is increasingly recognised as having substantial and long term consequences for their health, as well as shaping their social and economic futures. However, how 'adolescence' is defined at a local level warrants considerable attention for any intervention aimed at mitigating these risks to be genuinely successful.

This qualitative study used a repeat interview design with three cohorts: HIV positive young people aged 11-24 years old (n=15); young people within the same age range whose status was unknown to the research team (n=15); and the carers of both groups (n=30). These interviews were transcribed, translated and written up into interview summaries and analysed thematically.

Adolescent girls and boys are described differently in the local language (Luganda). Adolescence is described as a behavioural rather than a life course category, and an inherently dangerous one. The practices, risks and consequences of 'adolescent' behaviour is highly gendered. Adolescent boys, and the terms used to describe their behaviour, are considered to be similar to adult males. Their behaviour is socially sanctioned and deemed 'risky' only if discovered. However, 'getting caught' tends to carry limited social consequences so that any damage done to their reputation is short-term and redeemable. In contrast, 'adolescent girls' are described and considered to be morally reprehensible and their behaviour and the associated risks to have long term social, moral and economic consequences.

These local gendered constructions of adolescence are likely to have significant impact on the efficacy of interventions designed to minimise their 'risky behaviour'. Considering how gender and poverty



intersect to influence the opportunities that young people have as they grow into adulthood, as well as the timing of any interventions, are vital in order to mitigate the risks and social damage done to individuals who display 'adolescent' behaviour.

### **Challenging Gender Norms through Working with Young Adolescents in Schools: Evidence from a Programme in India**

*Pranita Achyut, Nandita Bhatla, Hemlata Verma, Gurpreet Singh and Ravi Verma*

Gender inequalities and gender based violence are reinforced and sustained in subtle and obvious ways through social institutions; and thus efforts to challenge them must begin at early ages and adopt a structural approach. ICRW and partners tested a gender transformative school-based program - Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS). It engages boys and girls of classes 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> in collective critical self-reflection through Group Education Activities to recognize and challenge inequitable norms. This, coupled with school campaign and teachers' orientation, initiates institutional discourse.

GEMS is being implemented in 80 schools in Jharkhand, India – randomized in intervention and control arms with longitudinal data at three time points. Baseline and midline surveys were conducted with 3457 students; while endline is underway. Factor analysis was used to construct attitudinal scale using 20 statements on norms and Difference-In-Differences (DiD) to assess net change in intervention arm compared to control, overtime.

Preliminary analysis shows a positive shift in gender equitable attitudes. On a scale of 20 to 80, adjusted DiD in mean scores was 4.9 (boys) and 4.7 (girls), controlling for background characteristics. Moreover, of 10 statements on gender roles/responsibilities (e.g *for women, taking care of house and children should be more important than her career*) students from intervention schools recorded a net increase in proportion disagreed or strongly disagreed to seven inequitable statements. Additional multi-level analysis is planned to assess class and school effect on the attitudinal change using three data points. Qualitative data will provide insights into the rationale and expressions of these changes.

Early results demonstrate the potential of changing attitudes towards norms within schools. It shows the feasibility of building ownership and acceptance of a systemic discourse on gender that can be institutionalization in school systems through strengthened teachers' training; and modification of curriculum, content and pedagogy.

### **Developing an Empowerment Construct for Early Adolescence in the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS)**

*Linnea Zimmerman, Caroline Moreau, Kristin Mmari and Robert Blum*

There is an increasing focus on empowerment strategies to improve the health and social outcomes especially for adolescent girls and women. Most of the programming focuses on building financial and social capital. Concurrently, there is growing interest in early adolescence and empowerment strategies are central to many interventions; however, there is neither a construct nor measure to assess empowerment in this age group and given their constrained access to financial resources using such measures is likely to be of limited utility.

The present paper reports the development of just such a measure that is currently being piloted among 10-14 year olds in 15 countries across 5 continents. The measure draws on the global literature and is comprised of three dimensions: *voice*—the extent to which one's opinions are sought and heard; *mobility*—the extent to which a young person can engage with others outside the home without continual supervision and *decision making*: the extent to which one has any control over any aspect of his/her life. Analyses will indicate the extent to which these three dimensions form a construct, the robustness of the construct across cultures and geographies as well as between genders and the correlations between the construct and a range of outcomes and behaviors of young adolescents. Additionally, the paper will report the value added of a fourth dimension of *access to and utilization of economic resources* as this dimension is seen as critical among older adolescents and adult women.

### **The Girl Effect: A Neoliberal Instrumentalisation of Gender Equality**

*Ginger Ging-Dwan Boyd*

Over the past ten years, 'The Girl Effect'—the discourse and practice of investing in third world girls' education— has ascended to the top of the international development agenda as the 'highest return investment strategy' to end poverty. This paper interrogates the trend by investigating the genealogy of 'The Girl Effect' as The Nike Foundation's flagship corporate social responsibility campaign and the theory of change it is based on. A literature analysis of The Nike Foundation's most recent intervention projects—'The Girl Effect Accelerator' and 'Girl Hub' pilot projects in Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Rwanda—will elucidate the underlying investment logic and serve as a representative sample of the broader emerging practice. While claiming to advance 'gender equality' and 'women's empowerment', I argue that The Girl Effect accomplishes the opposite by reinforcing gender inequity on both the micro and macro levels. Feminist grammars are instrumentalized as window dressing to exploit third world females as prospective (1) debtors in the expansion of credit markets, (2) exploits in the expansion of consumer markets, and (3) the 'untapped resource' for cheap labor. An epochal look at second wave feminism will show how 'The Girl Effect Paradigm' is a second wave of neoliberal exploitation—a parallel of its first female-led development era (1980s-1990s). As understudied as it is growing in hegemony, the phenomenon is insidiously displacing feminism as a political project and neutralizing the need for a truly transformational agenda. Without a counterbalance of vigilant public scrutiny and debate, we risk letting it crystallize Western-patriarchal-capitalism even more deeply in an ever-twinkling global glass ceiling.

### **Balancing School and Work with New Opportunities: Changes in Children's Gendered Time Use in Ethiopia, 2006-2013**

*Jo Boyden, Karin Heissler, Catherine Porter and Ina Zharkevich*

This paper explores trends in children's gendered time use in Ethiopia, highlighting the changing relationship between education and children's paid work. It does this by comparing the time use of two cohorts of boys and girls at the same age, 12-years, but interviewed at two different points in time, 2006 and 2013. In assessing the trend over this period we have taken three contributory dynamic factors into account; gendered norms and aspirations for children's futures; local opportunities for both schooling and work and the characteristics of schools and different kinds of work. Broad trends are identified through survey data and case studies of two rural communities that have experienced rapid economic and social transformation with associated increases in gendered opportunities for work. We find that overall there is a small reduction in the hours worked by 12-year-olds over the seven years. However, this trend is mainly in urban areas. Rural boys are found to have increased their working hours. By examining two case-study communities that have experienced increasing economic development and gendered work opportunities we find that, contrary to expectations, the increased returns to work have lowered boys' education aspirations and increased their school dropout rates relative to girls'.

### **Parenting Care and Adolescence in East and Southern Africa**

*Rachel Bray and Andy Dawes (TBC)*

### **Women's Empowerment in Action: Evidence from a Randomized Control Trial in Uganda**

*Niklas Buehren, Oriana Bandiera, Robin Burgess, Markus Goldstein, Selim Gulesci, Imran Rasul, and Munshi Sulaiman*

Women in developing countries are disempowered relative to their contemporaries in developed countries. High youth unemployment, early marriage and childbearing interact to limit human capital investment and enforce dependence on men. This study evaluates the Empowerment and Livelihood for Adolescents (ELA) intervention, implemented by BRAC, which attempts to jump-start adolescent girls' empowerment in the world's second youngest country: Uganda. The intervention relaxes the human capital constraints that adolescent girls face by simultaneously providing them vocational training and information on sex, reproduction and marriage. The ELA program operates through youth clubs in the community. Clubs are led by a female mentor selected from within the community. Key implementation challenges included gaining support from the communities, finding motivated and pro-active mentors willing to essentially volunteer and striking the balance between offering livelihood skills training that was both attractive to the girls and promised employment potential based on BRAC's market assessments.



Relative to adolescents in communities without the intervention, after two years the intervention raises the likelihood that girls engage in income generating activities by 72% (driven by increased self-employment), and raises their expenditure on private consumption goods by 38%. Teen pregnancy falls by 26%, and early entry into marriage/cohabitation falls by 58%. Strikingly, the share of girls reporting sex against their will drops from 14% to almost half that level and aspired ages at marriage and childbearing both move forward. The findings suggest that women's economic and social empowerment can be strengthened through the combined provision of hard and soft skills, in the form of vocational and life skills, and is not necessarily held back by binding constraints arising from social norms or low aspirations.

### **A Case Study of a Philanthropy's Research and Decision-making Process that Led to an Adolescent Reproductive Health Strategy, Grant Portfolio and Evaluation Programme**

*Steven Chapman*

CIFF works to transform ideas into scalable solutions to important challenges for children through funding and advocacy. In 2014, CIFF commissioned an evidence review to set priorities for the foundation's giving in adolescent reproductive health, focusing on burden of disease, gaps in programs and funding, and outcomes and their determinants. The current grant portfolio supports research on child marriage, human papilloma virus vaccination, market shaping for long acting reversible contraceptives and new delivery mechanisms for injectable contraceptives, and user centered design for service delivery and demand creation. The case study will describe the role of research in its strategy development, grant decision making, and evaluation design processes, and lessons learned to date.

### **Gender Socialisation in Schools and Communities: Enhancing the Transformative Power of Education for Peace-building in Uganda**

*Marjorie Chinen and Andrea Coombes*

Adolescents living in the impoverished, remote region of Karamoja, Uganda, are faced with cultural norms, marginalization, and inadequate infrastructure that aggravate the problem of gender inequality. Faced with a lack of resources and influenced by traditional ideas about the male breadwinner, boys and young men are pressured to prove their masculinity through cattle raiding, fueling violent fighting between clans. Girls' school attendance and attainment suffers from housework and family obligations and traditional norms around gender-based violence. In partnership with the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), UNICEF is implementing a program to encourage gender equality and positive gender socialization in Karamoja schools, using teachers as 'agents of change' in the gender socialization of children and very young adolescents. The eight-month intervention consists of teacher training in issues of gender equality and the reinforcement of positive gender socialization via SMS and is evaluated using a cluster-randomized control trial with two treatment groups and one control: Group 1 received teacher training and reinforcing text messages; Group 2 receives teacher training only; Group 3 (control) receives no intervention. A total of 916 teachers working in the 105 schools were surveyed at baseline. In this presentation we will share a new analysis of quantitative and qualitative endline data, assessing the effects of the intervention on teachers' knowledge, attitudes, and practices related to gender equality and positive gender socialization. To bring the intervention to life, we will also show a short video which illustrates the context and teachers' observations during the training about the way gender is represented in the classroom and discuss plans for upscaling the intervention in partnership with MoES.

### **Explaining Gender Discrimination in the Employment and Earnings of Engineering Graduates in India**

*Pradeep Kumar Choudhury*

In India, the female labor force participation (FLFP) has remained lower than male participation and in the recent years it has fell down further. In the economics of education literature, labor market discrimination against women is one of the most cited explanations of the gender gap in education. Some of the potential causes of the discrimination against women in the Indian labor market lie with the established argument that employers expect, on an average, better performance from men compared to women. Moreover, the issue of gender discrimination in the job market is more clearly visible in the engineering sector, where male candidates are strongly preferred than females. It is often argued that engineering and technical education is a masculine domain and hence, out of reach

for women. This paper examines the factors that are responsible for gender discrimination in the employment and earnings of engineering graduates in India. It has used the data collected in 2009-10 through a survey among the fourth year students in Delhi who have gone through the placement exercise. The author finds, among other things, that a smaller percentage of women engineering graduates than men have got job offer and it varies widely across socio-economic settings. Also, it is found that the offered earnings of women are about 54 per cent less than that of men. The results provide strong and consistent evidence that institutional factors account for a sizable portion of the employment and earnings gap between male and female graduates, with type of institution (government/private) contributing a large part of it. There is no significant difference in the employment of students by their branch of study (traditional/IT-related) but it has a role to play in the offered earnings of the graduates. The study suggests in minimizing the gender inequality in terms of employment and earnings of engineering graduates that may increase the access of females to this discipline.

### **Young Women's Household Bargaining Power in Marriage and Parenthood in Ethiopia**

*Nardos Chuta*

This paper examines factors affecting the bargaining power of young married women in marriage and parenthood in one urban and two rural Ethiopian communities. It draws on Young Lives survey and longitudinal qualitative data gathered between 2007 and 2015. The main focus of the paper is on young women's changing relations and decision-making power before and after marriage, as an aspect of gender inequality. Power structures in Ethiopia remain overwhelmingly male-dominated and patriarchal. This paper analyses what shapes young women's capacity to negotiate within these enduring structures and what challenges them. It pinpoints how a combination of urban-rural residence, educational background, economic circumstances, and social customs affect women's agency in decision-making within their marital homes and relationships. Decisions are usually made at collective level and agency at individual level is very thin. Finally, the paper recommends that policies and programs wishing to reduce gender inequality within households need to consider young women's surrounding social and material contexts in tandem, as these shape marital relations, power and decision-making more broadly.

### **Orphaned Marriage: Vulnerability and Moral Action among Young Wives in Western Kenya**

*Elizabeth Cooper*

Orphanhood can have moral reverberations through a person's life in western Kenya. Orphaned young women describe being treated as lesser persons, like 'weeds', without roots, that might be blown in any direction. This can result in particularly unsafe marriages for them and their children. Yet, it is not simply the deaths of parents that render orphaned young women morally discredited and thus vulnerable; more enduringly, it is the fragility of their connections with their natal homes and lineages. Drawing from longitudinal ethnographic research, this paper accounts for how young women seek to protect themselves, and their children, in their marriages by asserting their moral personhood through affiliations with natal kin and landholdings. Brothers are particularly powerful in this regard. Yet despite the immediate benefits of making women feel more secure in their marriages, this common strategy of drawing from the moral authority of lineal kin, and especially male kin, serves to reproduce patriarchal inequalities in western Kenya that continue to make women and girls particularly vulnerable.

### **Between Hope and a Hard Place: Boys and Young Men Negotiating Gender, Poverty and Social Worth in Ethiopia**

*Gina Crivello and Nikki van der Gaag*

The second decade of life is increasingly recognized as a crucial phase and a 'window of opportunity' for policy intervention. It is a period of social transition as young people navigate complex life choices around schooling, work, and intimate and family relationships. However, much of the attention has been on girls. This has led to a lack of gendered analysis and has also meant that adolescent boys have been largely left out of the picture.

In this presentation, we highlight key findings from a recent paper using longitudinal qualitative and survey data from *Young Lives*, an ongoing study of childhood poverty in Ethiopia, to trace the diverging trajectories of a group of adolescent boys across their second decade of life (aged 12 to 20),

from a relational gender approach that also looks at girls' experiences. The paper looks at the way poverty and gender interact in boys' and girls' lives to shape their pathways to adulthood, including their aspirations, agency, actions and changing roles and responsibilities in their intimate, family and community contexts. The presentation will focus on multiple factors affecting boys' trajectories of hope across time, and describe how, as they grow older, the failure to find work is particularly crushing of hope, and undermines their efforts to progress in life. The metaphor of being stuck 'between hope and a hard place' draws attention to the real-life struggles of boys and young men to remain hopeful, connected and productive with very few resources to draw upon.

The paper concludes by drawing out the policy implications of our findings. It calls for stronger gendered evidence on the relationship between gender inequality and childhood poverty, and an approach to gender justice that include boys and young men, as well as girls and young women, so that none are left trapped between hope and a hard place.

### **A Conceptual Framework for Adolescent Girl Empowerment**

Laurette Cucuzza and S. Sharma (Poster presentation)

Have you ever wondered what empowerment looks like in an adolescent girl? Can you see how it changes over time and within different contexts? How do various program interventions increase empowerment within and among girls? And what impact do these programs have on changing gender norms within a girl's social environment to foster her empowerment, so that she thrives as she grows into adulthood?

Adolescent girls (10-19) are the most invisible population in India, yet they are critical to breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty and propelling equity in India's growth and development. The Dasra Girl Alliance (DGA), a partnership between USAID, Kiawah Trust, Piramal Foundation and Dasra aims at building an ecosystem for adolescent girl empowerment. DGA works with implementing organizations on the ground that provide programs for girls across a spectrum of interventions, (including sport, education, sexual reproductive health rights, anti-trafficking, child protection, livelihoods, life skills, etc.). Faced with the need for a common understanding of the impact that these programs have on girls' empowerment, as well as a way to communicate and measure it, we have developed the Adolescent Girl Empowerment Conceptual Framework. The development process included literature review, expert interviews, roundtables, and vetting with on ground organizations. The resulting framework captures the overarching theme of gender through the lifecycle stages of adolescence, across the various domains of empowerment, and within the socio-ecological environment in which girls experience power, or the lack thereof, while growing up. The presentation will also explore implications for programs and policies with an expanded understanding of adolescent girl empowerment in the Indian context.

### **Grow Up Smart: Evaluation of a Programme for Early Adolescents in Rwanda**

*Nana Dagadu*

The objective of this panel is to explore best practices and tools for transforming adolescent challenges into opportunities for positive youth development. It will start with an overview of challenges in designing, implementing and evaluating strategies for early adolescents, followed by three short presentations that highlight principles of culturally appropriate, effective early adolescent interventions: using a life-course, gender relational focus; addressing puberty and gender equity issues; involving parents and communities in dialogue; and measuring with age-appropriate techniques. This paper presents GrowUp Smart, a 9-week interactive facilitator-led curriculum aimed at increasing knowledge of puberty and pregnancy risk, and promoting safe behaviors and self-efficacy among adolescents and communities in Rwanda. Evaluation of GrowUp Smart revealed significant increases in knowledge and parent communication for girls and boys, and menstrual hygiene management among girls.

### **Ensuring Gender Equality through a Sport-based Program: Identifying Alternative Norms to Increase Women's Mobility**

Madhumita Das, Shweta Bankar, Martine Collumbien and Ravi Verma

**Background:** There are conflicting views on the efficacy of sport for gender equality. Some studies have noted that a sports-based gender intervention with women enhances life skills including

communication, networking, teamwork and successfully challenge gender norms. Contrary it is also found that women in sports are targets for gender based violence and stigmatization. In India, where women are often subjected to strict gender norms, sport can play an important role in increasing women's self-confidence and mobility.

**Objective and methods:** This study tries to explore how shifting social norms through an empowerment program redefined the structure of mobility among women. Specific attention is paid to the interplay between mobility and gender norms. The study includes two rounds of in-depth case studies with 10 young women aged 20-24 years and nine focus group discussions with men from a slum community in Mumbai, India.

**Findings:** Young women involved in the sport based program as mentors have demonstrated an increase in self-confidence and were treated with more respect by their families and neighbors. This often led to an increase in mobility, as the mentors were able to assert themselves in public space and challenge gender norms of segregation. The mentors seemed to be successful in challenging norms surrounding modesty as their mobility and time spent away from the house was accepted; however, this mobility seemed to be conditional on the mentors adhering to purity norms and maintaining a good reputation. Men in the community are of the opinion that conditional mobility ensures safeguarding honor and chastity of women, and protect them from sexual harassment.

**Conclusions:** These findings are important for the feasibility for a sport based girls empowerment programs as they could indicate that modesty norms are more malleable and susceptible to change thereby indicating a possible route through which to shift notions of women's mobility in a given community.

### **Social Norms and Factors Influencing the Gendered Division of Household Care Responsibilities among Children and Adolescents**

*Lucia Rost, Imogen Davies, Leyla Karimli and Thalia Kidder*

The development sector has increasing interest in unpaid care, as heavy and unequal responsibility for domestic work and care of people is shown to constrain processes of women's empowerment. However, there is limited evidence on factors influencing the unequal gendered division of care responsibilities among children and adolescents, and the extent of care work hours for girls. This paper will investigate gender- and age-specific patterns of unpaid care among children and adolescents and related social norms. The paper uses data collected as part of Oxfam's Women's Economic Empowerment and Care (WE-Care) programme. The two data sets include: survey data from 1,100 households in rural Colombia, Ethiopia, Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe in November 2015 and qualitative data from four day-long participatory research sessions with 8 to 17 year-olds in Central Uganda in July 2016. First, the paper looks at gender- and age- based patterns of care work in the five countries. It then explores the influence of social norms and attitudes on gender inequality in unpaid care work among adolescents. It will investigate the relationship between adolescents' participation in unpaid care and their own and their parents' social norms regarding care work, including gender roles in care provision, perceptions of care work as valued or skilled, and attitudes towards care responsibilities. The findings will provide initial evidence on how progressive social norms may be associated with gender equality in children's and adolescents' participation in unpaid care, as well as enabling girls' and young women's empowerment.

### **Unconditional Cash Transfers and Schooling Outcomes in Ghana: Heterogeneous Effects for Boys and Girls in Secondary School**

*Richard de Groot, Sudhanshu Handa, Michael Park, Robert Osei Darko, Isaac Osei-Akoto, Garima Bhalla and Luigi Peter Ragno*

We use data from a quasi-experimental evaluation to estimate the impact of the Ghanaian Government's unconditional cash transfer programme on schooling outcomes. We analyse the impacts for children by various subgroups – age, gender, cognitive ability – and find consistent impacts. There are differences across gender especially on secondary schooling with enrolment significantly higher for boys 13 years or older. For girls, the effect of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) programme is to improve current attendance among those who are already enrolled in school (across all age groups). We find a significant effect on the expenditure on schooling items such as uniforms and stationary for these groups, which helps to explain the pathway of impact because these out-of-pocket costs are typically important barriers to schooling in rural Ghana and most of Africa.

## **Economic Empowerment and Children's Activities**

*Jacobus de Hoop*

Programs that empower households economically can have cascading effects on children's participation in school and work. The sign and magnitude of these effects is hard to predict theoretically. I present evidence from two programs that both economically empowered poor rural households. The first provided training and capital to women from poor rural areas in Nicaragua. The program increased children's participation in school and altered the productive activities in which children are engaged without affecting their total working hours. The second provided unconditional cash transfers to mainly female household heads in poor rural areas in Zambia. This program too increased children's participation in school and resulted in a modest increase in child labour. I compare the effects of these two programs to the rest of the literature and argue that programs that economically empower households (i) tend to increase children's school participation, (ii) tend to have only modest effects on children's engagement in productive activities. Finally, I make the case for better measurement of effects on children's economic activities in evaluations of these programs.

## **A Capability Approach to Examining Gender Norms and Economic Constraints Related to Girls' Education and Marriage in Rajasthan, India**

*Joan De Jaeghere*

This paper sets out a critical capability approach for considering the interplay of gendered social norms and economic structures related to marriage and education for young girls completing a primary education in Rajasthan India. The framework is employed in a three-year longitudinal study of a community and school based program that aims to foster life skills among primary age girls in efforts to improve their educational participation, measured in terms of completion of primary/transition to secondary and their learning outcomes. While research on girls' education has long called out attention to early marriage as a constraint to educational participation and achievement, few studies have examined how social norms and economic factors related to marriage are negotiated by young women and their families over time. Shah (2016) shows how some girls in Gujarat are able to use their knowledge and skills from education in ways that thicken their agency to negotiate future alternatives – either additional schooling, a delayed marriage, or improved marriage outcomes, but their agency is also limited or 'thin' within their later educational experiences or marriage relations. The evidence is mixed on how change in norms and economic structures happens not only at the individual level for girls, but at the level of families and communities. This paper will offer conceptual and methodological considerations for examining the interplay between norms, economic structures and behaviors.

## **'Yea, I've grown; I can't go out anymore': Perceived Risks for Girls and Boys Entering Adolescence**

*Sara de Meyer, Kristin Mmari, Susannah Gibbs, Caroline Moreau, Caroline Kabiru, Beatrice Maina, Ghada Al-Attar, Omaira El-Gibaly, Bello Bamidelle, Adesegun Fatusi, Chaohua Lou, Xiayun Zuo*

Early adolescence (ages 10-14) has been recognized as an important but understudied developmental period (Blum et al., 2014). This transitional period is a time during which adolescents' understanding and espousal of gender norms solidify and start to shape health outcomes. Gender norms and gender socialization at this age may contribute to diverging risks for boys and girls. In this panel, we draw on qualitative interviews among early adolescents and their parents from diverse urban settings across the world as part of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS). The GEAS is implemented by a collaboration of university-based and non-government institutions from 15 cities: Assiut (Egypt) Baltimore (USA), Blantyre (Malawi), Cape Town (South Africa), Cochabamba (Bolivia), Cuenca (Ecuador), Edinburgh (Scotland), Ghent (Belgium), Hanoi (Vietnam), Ile Ife (Nigeria), Kinshasa (DRC), Nairobi (Kenya), New Delhi (India), Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), and Shanghai (China). To date, a total of 894 interviews have been conducted, of which 468 have been conducted among adolescents aged 11-13 years.

In this paper, we describe the gendered risks experienced when children transition into adolescence. Overwhelming across the six sites included in this analyses (Baltimore, Shanghai, Ghent, Ile Ife, Nairobi, and Assiut), girls are perceived to face greater challenges compared to boys. Adolescent girls, for example, described that once their bodies started changing, they were no longer 'free' to live like

boys. Instead, risks related to pregnancy, sexual harassment, and rape were frequently discussed with the notion that boys could no longer be trusted around them.

### **'Boys should have the courage to ask a girl out': Gender Norms in Early Adolescent Romantic Relationships**

*Sara De Meyer, Anna Kågesten, Kristin Mmari, Juliet McEachran, Elisa Chilet, Caroline Kabiru, Beatrice Maina, Elena M. Jerves, Candace Currie, Kristien Michielsen*

**Purpose:** To explore how gender norms emerge in romantic relationships among early adolescents (EAs) living in five poor urban areas.

**Methods:** Data were collected as part of the Global Early Adolescent Study. The current research analyzed data from interviews and group exercises with 30 EAs (aged 11-13) living in five poor urban sites: Baltimore, Cuenca, Edinburgh, Ghent and Nairobi. All interviews and group exercises were recorded, transcribed and analysed in English - using Atlas.ti - focusing on how EAs experience and perceive gender norms in romantic relationships.

**Results:** Across the five sites, only a few respondents, the majority of whom were boys, described having been in love. Findings indicate that traditional gender norms about romantic relationships prevail across these cultural settings, depicting boys as romantically/sexually active and dominant, and girls as innocent with less (romantic) agency. In spite of the similarities, Nairobi was unique in that it had more respondents referring to sexual behavior and violence within EA couples. In all countries heterosexuality was perceived to be the norm. Nevertheless, there were examples of EAs supporting equality between the sexes and accepting homosexuality.

**Conclusions:** EAs seem to endorse traditional gender norms in romantic relationships. However, a few stories also illustrate gender equality. As traditional gender norms have a demonstrated negative effect on sexual and reproductive health and well-being, additional research is needed to understand which factors - at the individual, interpersonal and structural level - contribute to the socialization of these norms among EAs.

### **A Social Vaccine? HIV Infection, Fertility, and the Non-Pecuniary Returns to Secondary Schooling in Botswana**

*Jacob Bor and Jan-Walter De Neve*

Education has been hailed as a 'social vaccine' against HIV infection; but there is little causal evidence to support this claim. A 1996 policy reform in Botswana changed the grade structure of secondary school and led to sharp increases in educational attainment among affected birth cohorts. We use this 'natural experiment' to identify the effect of secondary schooling on HIV infection risk, fertility, sexual behaviors, and labor market outcomes. Data were obtained from the 2004 and 2008 Botswana AIDS Impact Surveys, nationally-representative household surveys with HIV biomarker collection. Each additional year of secondary schooling induced by the policy change decreased the probability of HIV infection by 8.1 percentage points ( $se=3.1$ ), relative to a baseline prevalence of 25.6%. Effects were particularly large among women, who also saw a 15.8% point ( $se=5.7$ ) reduction in the probability of having ever given birth. Schooling had no effect on HIV knowledge; however it influenced norms and behaviors, increasing condom use, HIV testing, and reporting that it is acceptable for women to carry condoms. For women, education delayed sexual debut and increased labor force participation. For men, education increased number of partners, but also increased literacy, and discussion about HIV with others. Supply-side measures to expand access to education in developing countries may have large health benefits. Estimates of the returns to schooling that exclude these non-pecuniary benefits may be too low.

### **Adolescent Girls' Migration in Bangladesh: Age, Gender and the Power to Choose**

*Nicoletta Del Franco*

This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork in two slums of Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh among adolescent girls who had migrated independently from rural areas in search of work opportunities in the garment industry. The paper discusses the reasons of girls and young women's migration, the complex context in which the decision to migrate arises and the part girls had in the decision making process vis a vis other members of their household of origin. It looks at what kind of agency they express in a context of strong social embeddedness characterized by age and gender hierarchies where there is apparently little scope for the expression of individual initiative and desires and it looks at how girls' sense of self-hood evolves and changes with migration and work. The immediate reasons girls give for their migration resonate with the public discourse that 'justifies' their



migration with 'obhab' (literally lack) a complex concepts that signals a lack of economic and social resources and/or with the objective to collect money to pay the dowry for their own marriage. Their life-stories show a much more complex situation and a much bigger role for girls, first in their capacity to evaluate and consider their different possibilities and negotiate them with their household members before they migrate and then to build on their own experiences as migrants and workers to make sense of their position in the *samaj* (society, moral community) and to redefine their objectives and future choices.

### **Patrilocality Norm and Household Decision-making: Does the Presence of In-laws Affect Married Women in India?**

*Aditi Dimri*

This paper sheds new light on, if and how, the cultural institution of living with parent-in-laws after marriage affects the outcomes of the daughter-in-law in the household. To isolate the causal effect of the presence of an in-law in this highly endogenous setting, I use the death of the father-in-law or mother-in-law as an event changing the household composition. Using household level panel data, I estimate a double-difference model comparing groups that experience a death and those that do not between 2005 and 2012. First, we find that the custom of eating order (ie. men eating before women) is effected by the death of the father-in-law leading to a decrease in men eating first. Further, among those households in which men were eating first we find a decrease in probability of the daughter-in-law being underweight. Second, we find an increase in the agency (measured as permission for mobility) of the daughter-in-law after death of either in-law. However, this effect depends on the relationship between the daughter-in-law and her husband (measured as talking frequency). The increase in agency is greater after the death of the father-in-law for those who talk often to their husbands. Third, I explore the allocation of household decision-making-say amongst the four members based on a framework allowing for gender spheres, generational and spousal transfers. I find that the daughter-in-law is the worst-off, however, contrary to anecdotal evidence this is not simply because of the presence of the mother-in-law.

### **Income Shocks and Marriage Quality: Cross Country Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa**

*Katherine Eriksson and Veronica Sovero*

In this paper we use Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data to examine the consequences of rainfall shocks on a woman's marital outcomes. In regions with a bride price tradition, households have an incentive to marry their daughters as a way of coping with a negative income shock. The consumption-smoothing motive could also adversely affect match quality for their daughters. We match gridded yearly rainfall data to clusters in the DHS data based on GPS coordinates in order to use rainfall as a proxy for income. In a sample of over 300,000 individuals, we find that income shocks during a woman's teenage years lead to earlier marriage (consistent with previous research) and a higher likelihood of entering a polygamous rather than monogamous marriage. We also find evidence of lower match quality. There is a larger age gap between the husband and wife in marriages induced by negative rainfall shocks. Additionally, women are less likely to report that they participate in household decision-making. These results are robust to including DHS cluster fixed effects, birth year fixed effects, and country times survey year fixed effects.

We plan to extend the analysis through a simple theoretical framework that incorporates polygamy and match quality into a model of marriage and income uncertainty. We theorize that when faced with an income shock, having the option to enter a polygamous marriage allows for an extra margin of risk sharing because a husband can take on multiple wives. We also plan to explore whether having higher ex ante income uncertainty affects marital outcomes. Preliminary results suggest that a woman is more likely to enter a polygamous marriage in her teenage years in regions where the variance of rainfall is higher.

### **Gender Differences in Youth Participation in Sexuality Education in Eastern Uganda: A Qualitative Study on the Dance4Life Programme**

*Jannemiek Evelo (Poster presentation)*

In sexuality education programmes, the concept of youth participation has gained popularity in recent years, because of its assumed positive effect on programme goals. At the same time, the conceptualisation of participation has been under discussion. Building on the right to participation,

this study focuses on youth participation in a 'broad' sense: participation in the sense of involving young people in decisions that matter to them, which is said to have an 'empowering effect'. While research has been done on effects of youth participation on programme outcomes, potential gendered differences in youth participation have not yet been studied. Given the relation between gender inequality and sexual health, this study aims to fill this particular gap by looking at different experiences of young men and women with regards to their participation in the dance4life programme, a school-based sexuality education programme in Uganda. Between October 2015 and January 2016, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with young people, peer educators, teachers, caregivers and programme staff. Results of this study indicate that participation of both young men and women in the dance4life programme is limited. Nevertheless, subtle but important differences between young men's and women's participation were found, which reflect gendered hierarchies in society. Boys are more confident to express themselves and take on leadership roles in dance4life initiatives. Based on the study, a number of recommendations to overcome gendered participation are provided, including splitting boys and girls during discussion of sensitive topics, more training of teachers and peer educators on gender, and more attention for the social environment of young people.

### **Teenage Marriage, Fertility and Well-being: Panel Evidence from India**

*Patricia Espinoza and Abhijeet Singh*

We use a unique dataset from Andhra Pradesh in India, which tracks a cohort of individuals born in 1994/95 from the ages of 8 to 19 years, to ask three key questions about teenage marriage and fertility in India. First, what predicts being married in teenage years? Second, what predicts having given birth by 19? And third, do the subjective well-being and psychosocial outcomes such as the agency, self-efficacy and self-esteem of married young women differ from their unmarried peers — and to what extent can these differences be accounted for by differing socioeconomic status and characteristics of, and investments in, the natal household? Our analysis is novel because such long-running panel data, linking backgrounds and investments in the natal household with welfare outcomes and socio-emotional measures in the marital household, have not previously been available in this setting.

### **A Family Death as a 'Vital Conjuncture': Gendered Transitions, Change and Transformations in Young People's Present Lives and Imagined Futures**

*Ruth Evans, Sophie Bowlby, Jane Ribbens McCarthy and Joséphine Wouango*

Recent research has demonstrated the highly relational, and often gendered, nature of youth transitions in Africa, which are embedded in social relations with family members, peers and others in the community. Based on cross-cultural research funded by The Leverhulme Trust (2014-15), this paper explores the extent to which the death of a relative represents a 'vital conjuncture' (Johnson-Hanks, 2002) for young people in urban Senegal that reconfigures and potentially transforms young people's gendered caring responsibilities and their imagined futures, further complicating their pathways out of 'waithood'. A total of 59 family members (2 in each family) who had experienced the death of a relative were interviewed in Dakar and Kaolack, Senegal.

In this paper, we draw predominantly on interviews with 9 children/adolescents (aged 12-17) and 21 youth (aged 18-30), and where relevant, on interviews with their relatives. We examine young people's narratives of changes in their present lives and imagined futures brought about by a family death, in terms of their caring responsibilities, education, livelihoods, residential mobility, migration and future outlook. We analyse how such changes and transformations intersect with gender, age, sibling birth order, religion, ethnicity, socio-economic status and place-based differences.

The findings suggest that young people's, particularly girls', caring and domestic responsibilities may increase following the death of a mother or older sibling, which may have detrimental impacts on their education. Poorer households who had lost the main income-earner were more likely to suffer major disruptions such as migration or residential relocation. We argue that policy and practice needs to recognise the material, emotional and social changes a family death may bring about in young people's lives. These changes may exacerbate existing gender inequalities in girls' educational outcomes, employment opportunities and their capacity to escape chronic poverty, thereby undermining efforts to achieve gender equality and the SDGs.

## **Do Dreams Come True? Aspirations and Educational Attainments of Ethiopian Boys and Girls**

*Marta Favara*

We use unique individual-level panel data from Ethiopia to investigate the role of aspirations for human capital investments. More specifically, we investigate how parental and children's aspirations form and document the relation between early aspirations and educational attainment at the age of 15 and 19. We find that aspirations are predictive of the number of year of schooling completed upon controlling for cognitive and non-cognitive skills together with a broad set of individuals and household-level characteristics. Interestingly, this correlation is stronger for boys than for girls. We find evidence of an early age pro-boys gender bias in aspirations which is diverted by age 19 when more girls than boys are still enrolled at school. Finally, we documented the transmission of aspirations from parents to children and the role played by parental non-educational expectations in explaining this gender bias.

## **The Evolution of Adolescent Outcomes in Multidimensional Poverty: Does Gender Matter?**

*Lucia Ferrone and Leah Principe*

In 2015, Tanzania and Malawi constructed national measures of child multidimensional poverty using UNICEF's methodology of Multiple Overlapping Deprivation Analysis (MODA). These measures, which cover a number of domains (education, sanitation, nutrition, and protection), were constructed using Living Standards Measurement Studies (LSMS) longitudinal surveys. A pattern emerges in both countries, where shifts in deprivation by gender start appearing after the age of five. These shifts are concentrated in the domains of school and protection. We also observe that gender differences increase during adolescence. In this paper, we investigate how these deprivations earlier in life affect adolescents' outcomes differently for each gender, and which factors can be protective of girls and boys while they transition from childhood to adolescence.

## **Identifying Windows for Intervention: On the Status and Determinants of Nutrition Status of School-age Children in Ghana**

*Aulo Gelli, Gloria Folson, Edoardo Masset, Kristie Watkins, Meena Fernandes and Elisabetta Aurino*

**Objectives:** Examine the status and determinants of nutrition status in school age children in Ghana.

**Design:** Cross-sectional survey including measures of nutritional status, dietary intake and socioeconomic status. Multilevel multiple regression models were developed to examine individual-, household-, and community-level determinants of nutrition status.

**Setting:** 116 food insecure communities across all the regions of Ghana.

**Subjects:** Population based survey of 5,656 children aged 5-15 years.

**Results:** The prevalence of moderate or severe stunting in the sample of school-age children in Ghana was 19 percent (22 percent for boys and 16 percent for girls), whilst the prevalence of severe stunting was 5 percent (6 percent for boys and 4 percent for girls). The prevalence of obesity and overweight were less than 1 and 5 percent respectively across all age groups in the survey population. Important relationships were identified between nutritional status, socioeconomic status and dietary diversity that also appeared to influence the timing of the pubertal growth spurt for adolescent girls. Contextual, community level factors accounted for approximately 5 percent of total variation in nutrition status.

**Conclusions:** The problem of malnutrition persists throughout school age in Ghana. On the short-term there is a need for continued focus on undernutrition whilst at the same time promoting improved health and nutrition practices to influence longer-term trends. Adopting a lifecycle approach to interventions can provide windows for intervention at critical stages of a child's development, particularly for adolescent girls.

## **Long-term Effects of Gender Norms, Political–Economic Situation, Community Behaviours on Improved Learning and Retention for Marginalised Girls. Findings from a Large-scale RCT in Zimbabwe**

*Elena Godfrey, Mbuso Jama and Mvelo Mjimba*

Improving Girls' Access through Transforming Education project is a 4-year prospective RCT implemented in 467 schools across Zimbabwe, reaching over 90,000 girls. The project is funded by DFID's Girls Education Challenge and aims at improving learning outcomes and retention among marginalised adolescent girls. The project started in March 2013 and completed its midline study in November 2015. The baseline study identified high enrolment rates (94%) which masked 35% of girls

being overage and poor learning outcomes. A mixed methods approach was used to measure impact, tracking longitudinally a cohort of 3,000 marginalised girls from 52 intervention and 33 control schools. The analytical approach applied tested whether the project's underpinning theory of change, which addresses key barriers to girls' education has resulted in statistically significant improvements in learning and attendance outcomes or not.

The panel will discuss:

- emerging differences on learning and attendance for marginalised rural girls at the midline
- qualitative and quantitative data, triangulated from a diverse range of information sources: caregiver and girls surveys, school records, teacher surveys, EGRA, EGMA to further understand discrepancies between expected (a targeted effect size of 0.2 SD) and observed outcomes.
- the effects of 'hard to measure' factors such as gender-based violence, girls' leadership and male engagement on the retention and learning,
- the existing body of evidence on what works in reducing gender inequality, and what effects improved learning has over the life course of marginalised girls.
- how the findings are informing changes in programming within the project and in the Zimbabwe context.

### **Migratory Trajectories of Adolescent Girls in Khartoum, Sudan: Aspirations, Desires and Being Stuck**

*Katarzyna Grabska*

This paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork among Eritrean adolescent girl migrants in Khartoum, who see Sudan as a transit place to an imagined 'better place' elsewhere. I examine how gender and age influence how place, identity and belonging are imagined in this transitory context. The 'new' mobilities paradigm has called for a mobile ontology, an understanding of the world that is inherently rooted in mobility (see Urry 2011). Yet, mobility is a scarcely distributed resource, both affected by and affecting social relations, including gender and age. Aspirations and desires of moving elsewhere shape the experiences of and the different transitions associated with one's lifecycle. The transition from adolescence to adulthood is of critical importance, where aspirations of being elsewhere and the impossibilities of achieving this goal shape the experiences of 'becoming an adult'. The lens of aspirations for mobility (and the actual experience of immobility) permits us to investigate critical questions of how personhood, identity, and belonging are transformed and constructed. How are identities, places and home experienced, (re)shaped and imagined in the context of such migration? How mobility and immobility become 'critical junctures' of possibilities of transitions to womanhood? How being stuck in transit shapes the experiences, dreams and aspirations of migrant girls' in present? Recognizing the open and relational character of place (Massey 1991, 2005) and fluid nature of identity (Anthias 2001), this paper focuses on interplay between the aspiration and desire of being elsewhere, the impossibilities of returning 'home', and the realities of being-stuck in-between.

### **Research to Help Translate Findings on Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health into Action**

*Margaret Greene and Tom Merrick [Judith Helzner to present]*

A snapshot of the current state of research on adolescent sexual and reproductive health indicates some areas of solid information to work with. With current data, we can describe the situation of some adolescents in regard to sexual and reproductive health. With our models, we can estimate the impact of increased use of contraception among adolescents in regard to birth rates, child survival, and other outcome variables. We are starting to understand the enormous cost savings associated with this investment but need to learn more in developing countries. With current data, we have a few strong leads on key intervention areas.

Where we are falling down on the job is in collecting the kind of information that is needed to learn more about how to translate our knowledge into largescale policies and programs to bring about impact at scale. The translation process is complicated by the cultural and political sensitivity of reproductive health interventions for adolescents and by unsupportive politics surrounding adolescent access to contraception and other reproductive health interventions. A number of gaps or assumptions in our research impede its translation into actions on behalf of young people. Several areas are in special need of investment to facilitate that translation of research:

- Research to support taking programs to scale.
- Research on strategies for advocacy and accountability
- We neglect specific populations, which limits our ability to work with those groups.
- We need to collect data from geographically diverse settings because of the specificity of ASRH
- We need to consider non-health interventions and structural factors and understand their impact on health.

This presentation reviews and makes suggestions regarding specific areas in which research needs to do better by adolescents.

### **Chasing a Moving Target: Migration for Schooling in Rural Ethiopia**

*Tigist Grieve*

Currently there are 58 million primary school age children globally that are out of school (UNESCO 2015) this stands in stark contrast to the world hopes and promises made in 2000 UN summit to give Education for All children by 2015 (UNESCO 2000). Despite the considerable efforts and gains made by Ethiopia's education sector the problem of low enrolment and completion remains to persist. Various scholars have attempted to explain the problems of low enrolment and high dropout from school in developing countries indicating consensus that essentially points towards inequality in its many forms. The predominant conceptualisation in a plethora of existing studies refers to the problems with reference to either supply or demand, or as an issue of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' as a way of distinguishing the provision from the decision (Buchmann and Hannum 2001). While such dichotomised concepts have value in categorising, they can also be restrictive in that they are muted about peoples own actions. Consequently rural children and their families are rarely recognised for their agentic (albeit limited) input towards schooling. Drawing on ethnographic data from rural Ethiopia this paper considers range of strategies rural children and their poor parents employ. With specific focus on active migration of rural girls in search of education the paper draws attention to structural factors including from the education system that get in the way of parental attempts to break the intergenerational disadvantage of education and the realisation of their goals.

### **Adolescents' Life Skills Education for A Sustainable Future in China**

*Margo O'Sullivan, Liu Yang and Wang Guangyu (Poster presentation)*

The concepts of sustainability are particularly important to adolescents whose lives still lie ahead of them. In contemporary China gender-based discrimination, both a cause and a consequence of broader forms of gender inequality in education and society, limits the ability of adolescents to face their future with confidence and strength. The situation is complex, because the government's efforts to broadly improve gender equity have made gender inequity less apparent than before. But its impact is still strong. Therefore, in China there is a need to help all adolescents gain a better understanding of their gender identity and overcome all kinds of social and gender discrimination and build a better future. This paper, which addresses Stream F of this conference, 'What Works', is based on experiences gained in a highly successful life skills education programme for out-of-school adolescents in China (2006-2015), which demonstrated the usefulness of life skills education in preparing children to actively participate in shaping a sustainable future for themselves and their society. A special curriculum on Life Skills for Girls was utilized, helping adolescent girls gain better self-awareness and develop necessary skills for stepping into society. Curriculum topics included gender and role models, positive communication, self-protection against harassment and violence, adapting to urban life, career and development, and sexual and reproductive health. In our paper we use findings from several participatory studies as well as other programme experience to examine the impact of gender and inequalities on adolescents, and discuss how this learning programme helped reduce gender inequality and over the longer term lowered poverty rates for adolescents.

### **Tanzanian Girls and Young Women Describe 13 Distinct Sexual Partner Types Using the ASERT Method**

*Kelly Hallman, Sara Peracca, Alison Jenkins, Neema Matee, Phillip Paul, Fatma Mrisho, Ilan Cerna-Turoff and Judith Bruce*

Despite research on age-disparate sexual relationships in Africa, few studies have explored non-age characteristics of partners or clearly articulated young females' motivations for pursuing different types of sexual partners. The Ascertain Sexual Relationship Types (ASERT) method uses

anonymous, group-based reporting to discern the diversity and range of sexual partner types, the criteria used in making partner choices, and partner-specific relationship attributes ranked by order of importance.

Based on a pilot exercise in Tanzania with young out-of-school females grouped by age, the tool revealed 13 distinct sexual partner types among adolescent girls (aged 15-19) and young women (aged 20-24), as well as the motivations for pursuing each type, ranked by order of importance. Nine partner types were common to both age groups; three were distinct to 15-19s and one to 20-24s.

The 13 varieties of sexual partners lie along an economic – socio-emotional continuum. Among the eight age-disparate types, all were primarily for financial assistance. Two were only for big money or fast money; six were for a mix of cash gifts combined with one or more of the following: parent-like care, transportation access, health care access, or freedom to have other sexual relationships. The five similar-age partner types were mainly for sexual satisfaction, social status, or love and future plans.

Results show that 15-19-year-olds named more sexual partner types (12) than did 20-24-year-olds (10), and that economic and structural barriers were more frequently described as motivations among the 15-19-year age group, possibly due in part to their out-of-school status. The findings emphasize the need for reaching young adolescent girls before such relationships start with age-adapted HIV prevention and social protection interventions that include school retention and economic strengthening. Data from this tool can allow HIV prevention programs to better understand the ranked criteria that adolescent girls and young women use in making sexual partnership choices.

### **Gender, Adolescence and Social Norms: Evidence from a Nine Country Longitudinal Cohort Study**

*Lili Harris and Feyi Rodway*

Plan International's 'Real Choices, Real Lives' qualitative, longitudinal cohort study has been tracking the development of 142 girls and their families in nine countries since 2007.<sup>1</sup> This in-depth study explores a set of intersectional themes: the lived reality of poverty, inter-generational dynamics, and gender analysis, grounded in Sen's capability approach. The purpose of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of attitudes and behaviour towards gender within families, and how this impacts on girls, through a longitudinal analysis of their everyday lives. Evidence from the study illustrates how gender roles become embedded in family life and internalised by girls, and boys, from a young age.

The girls in this study will turn ten years old this year, entering early adolescence. During this life stage in particular, expectations about their roles and responsibilities can change dramatically. The study's recent focus has therefore been on exploring the discriminatory social norms which drive expectations about girls in the different country contexts. These are considered in relation to the division of labour within households, girls' play and social capital, and girls' aspirations for their futures. The analysis exposes how girls (and their mothers) respond to gendered social norms in three ways, as *Acceptors*, *Consenters* or *Resistors* - they tend to either accept or challenge the status quo.

As the girls move into early adolescence, the study is tracking these Acceptors, Consenters, and Resistors, to understand how their own attitudes are shaped, the ways in which they can be pressured to conform, and whether they feel they can uphold their own beliefs and why. In summary this presentation will look at the construction and adoption of gendered social norms in family life in relation to girls in early adolescence.

### **Gendered Transitions over the Course of Migration for Schooling and Work: Implications for Policy and Practice**

*Karin Heissler*

With specific focus on the gendered consequences and implications for policy and practice, this paper expands on findings from a recently published article on the learning that takes place over the course of children's and young people's migration for work or schooling from and within Asian contexts. The

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<sup>1</sup> The countries are Benin, Brazil, Cambodia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Philippines, Togo, Uganda and Vietnam



literature from which the findings are derived are from a range of disciplines including anthropology, education, geography and sociology. Children (including adolescents) and young people are active contributors to social reproduction. They are directly affected by ongoing changes to rural livelihoods and the modernising process of formal education. Social reproduction takes place over geographical space and time, and for some 'poor' and disadvantaged girls and boys, migration serves as a means to achieve individual as well as collective aspirations for upward mobility. For others, particularly males, it provides a spatial and temporal means by which to remain unemployed or underemployed so as to preserve one's self-respect rather than perform 'low' status work locally. Learning occurs through multiple channels, revealing many ways by which children and young people create and negotiate their identities through structures imposed by status and through their engagement with social networks that facilitate processes of migration and through which work is secured. The ways in which young people engage with gender show both opportunities as well as limits created by migration. Whereas girls and young women may gain status at home through their income and the purchase of consumption goods, the work they undertake is considered 'low' status. While outside their home villages, they experience greater freedom and achieve a certain level of independence that is unlikely to be realised should they return home. In contrast, migrant boys and young men who succeed, including in 'low' status work have increased status at home.

### **A Practitioner's View of the Need for an Institutional Locus for Promoting Exchange on Youth Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights**

*Judith F. Helzner*

How can research and evaluation findings on adolescence, youth and gender actually be used in the formulation of policies and programs? There is a lack of political will to tackle the topic of young people's sexual and reproductive health, reducing early marriage and increasing girls' education. In order for evidence-based recommendations to be disseminated and used, especially to affect work at scale, various conditions are necessary. The need exists for an institutional home designed to: foster cross-disciplinary innovation; promote improved research, program and policy recommendations and their use; gather and share knowledge, including serving as a resource hub for everything from survey questionnaires and focus group discussion guides to project evaluations and published studies; assist advocates; build capacity; and help to mobilize additional resources to improve the lives of young people in the global South.

One concept that is given much lip service but where greater research and evaluation is necessary is 'meaningful youth participation.' Adult-led NGOs large and small may prioritize youth as staff members, program leaders, even members of their governing bodies, but little is known about 'what works.' Resources exist for involving young people in research projects (for example [a toolkit from the Netherlands](#)) but obstacles exist to making youth authentic partners in research. The effectiveness of youth-led organizations depends on those who are aging out mentoring and training the next generation, which is not always done systematically. The inclusion of this presentation in the panel will offer an opportunity for the audience to consider and make recommendations about youth engagement in research and programs, as well as to consider what ongoing mechanisms could help continue the kind of exchanges that this meeting itself is making possible on a short-term basis.

### **Reviewing the Evidence on Policy Enactments on School-Related Gender-Based Violence**

*Jo Heslop, Jenny Parkes, Freya Johnson Ross and Rosie Westerveld*

This paper reports on findings from a rigorous review of research evidence on approaches to addressing school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). The review was undertaken as part of an action research project with UNICEF, which works with policy actors in Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, Zambia and Ethiopia to reflect on and strengthen evidence-based policy enactment in the education sectors. In recent years, there has been a rapid expansion in international and national legal and policy frameworks and a plethora of local programmes linked to SRGBV around the world. Our review set out to examine the evidence on the nature and effectiveness of 'policy enactments' (Ball et al 2012), including actions and negotiations involved in putting plans into place at national, district and local levels. The methodology we used for the review illuminated regional variations in the focus, conceptualisation and methodologies used in research and interventions – with evidence using more multi-dimensional approaches to addressing violence interrelated with norms and inequalities stemming mainly from lower and middle income countries. Focusing particularly on work from these

regions, this paper considers some of the more promising approaches identified by the review and the gaps in the evidence. Although there is now a substantial body of research on SRGBV interventions, the research has been skewed towards evaluations at a moment of practice, with little long term follow up or reflection on the links to different policy ecologies, or to questions about how to sustain and institutionalise work on gender and violence in schools and communities.

### **Realising Educational Aspirations: The Role of Individual Traits, Gender Norms and Potential 'Empowerment'**

*Rozana Himaz*

The Young Lives' children had high aspirations for educational achievement in middle childhood that was not always realised as young adults, with gender and country based variations in this regard. For example, girls in India seemed to fare worse than girls in Vietnam in terms of reaching their educational aspirations. In this research I look empirically at the extent to which disparities in realising aspirations maybe in explained by (i) individual traits and household circumstances (ii) 'gender norms' and (iii) notions relating to 'empowerment'. Obtaining data for variations in individual and household characteristics over time is straightforward using the Young Lives data. But finding proxies for the two other areas is more challenging. I propose to proxy the potential strength of gender-based biases with regard to educational achievement with the use of community-level differences in the share of educational expenditure towards boys and girls. With regard to potential 'empowerment' I argue that if a child can make a positively assortative match (i.e., marry a partner who has secure economic prospects or a better social standing and networks), that this will be perceived to provide a stronger insurance for the future than accumulating an year of extra education, and thus more 'empowering' in the context of the life-cycle. This can hold for young adults of both genders. Conversely, in societies where the returns to joining the formal labour market are high, accumulating further years of formal education at young adulthood maybe seen as more empowering in the long run. The study will build a suitable index or indices for empowerment by looking at community-level probabilities of making a positively assortative match and returns to education, that will then be used in the analysis. I will be using Young Lives data for India and Vietnam for this paper and use both parametric and non-parametric methods of analysis. While the older cohort data is used for baseline analysis, the younger cohort data will be used together with the older cohort data to build proxies for gender norms and indices of potential empowerment.

### **Measuring Positive Youth Development for Gender Equality**

*Laura Hinson, Suzanne Petroni, Cassandra Jesse and Richard Catalano*

Positive youth development (PYD) programs—such as those that meaningfully engage youth to support the development of youths' agency and asset-building and enhance young people's ability to contribute positively to their communities and societies—have a long history in the Western context. In recent years, PYD programs are beginning to enter the development arena. PYD programs in the United States have been shown to successfully influence health outcomes such as sexual and reproductive health for adolescents. The challenges to working with and for youth in developing countries are unique; adolescent girls and young women face different needs and possess different assets than adolescent boys and young men. Therefore, new approaches to understanding and measuring PYD must be considered, particularly if PYD programs are to be intentionally gender-transformative. How can we best capture the evidence in this nascent field, and appropriately disaggregate and interpret the implications by gender? In this presentation, we will introduce PYD and share a framework for measuring PYD that is currently being developed for USAID's YouthPower initiative. This framework contains four key domains that link to indicators that encompass the critical elements of PYD. We will describe key considerations and challenges for measuring PYD in low and middle-income countries, specifically highlighting issues related to gender, life course, and context. We will ground this discussion in a case study, taking participants through a discussion of how PYD measurement is considered in these four domains. We will also use the case study to explore how PYD measurement converges and diverges within these domains for boys/young men and girls/young women. We will end with a discussion of next steps for measuring PYD, particularly in terms of capturing gender equality outcomes across various age and context ranges.

### **Compounding Disadvantage in Educational Access and Learning through the Life Course: The Role of Gender and Poverty**

*Sonia Ilie and Pauline Rose*

Gender inequalities in education are compounded by poverty in most low and lower-middle income countries: girls from the poorest backgrounds are least likely to begin schooling and to remain in education. As such, gaps in education emerge early and develop further during adolescence, leading to pronounced gender and wealth gaps in young people's progression to higher education. In this paper, we analyse quantitative data from all four rounds of the Young Lives longitudinal study in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam to explore the extent to which, from a very young age, gender interacts with wealth to influence school participation and learning. More specifically, we identify the implications of prior learning by wealth and gender for access to all levels of schooling, from primary school to higher education.

Our findings show that the young people who experience poverty early in their life continue to do so during adolescence. This results in wealth-driven access and learning gaps that widen during adolescence, and are compounded by gender differences. Although these gaps are observable in all four countries in our analysis, the patterns of inequality across these countries are different: this suggests that wealth and gender play different roles in shaping young people's educational outcomes in different contexts. When exploring access to higher education, we find that, for the poorest young people, only those who start school on time (or at the same time as their richer peers), and who exhibit consistently high levels of learning throughout their adolescence are likely to gain access to higher education. As we interpret this, poverty and gender interact to create compounding disadvantage from the earliest stages of young people's lives. We also explore this issue in relation to the extent to which the richest young people pull ahead in terms of their overall learning, even when convergence in learning the basics between the richest and the poorest occurs. We discuss the implications of these and other findings for research and policy initiatives aimed at closing the access and learning gaps during adolescence.

### **Risk, Rakhi and Romance: Negotiating Adolescent Sexuality in Delhi Secondary Schools**

*Padmini Iyer*

While adolescence is increasingly recognised as a 'critical phase for achieving human potential' (Patton et al 2016), it is also understood as a deeply problematic, potentially disruptive period within the context of secondary education. Based on mixed-method research carried out in three Delhi secondary schools in 2013-14 through an ESRC-funded doctoral studentship, this paper will explore the ways in which adolescence is problematized by institutional practices within schools. The paper will also examine middle-class young people's own understandings of adolescent sexuality, and their responses to institutional and wider socio-cultural anxieties about adolescent sexuality in contemporary India.

The paper will explore heterosocial dynamics in school peer cultures as a key site within which young women and men negotiate and challenge the problematisation of adolescent sexuality. This involves playing with definitions of platonic 'rakhi' (brother-sister) relationships, and forming less restrictive heterosocial friendships which leave open the possibility of romance. Risk-based narratives of sexuality are importantly undermined and redefined within peer romances, and while reinforcing heterosexual and caste boundaries, peer romances also play a key role in enabling young people to understand adolescent sexuality in alternative, more positive ways. Overall, it will be argued that interventions targeted at 'adolescents' must take into account both the constraints and freedoms experienced by young women and men, as well as the effects of competing narratives of 'appropriate' gendered and sexual behaviour on young people's everyday lives.

### **'Good Girls' and 'Grandes Dames': How Do Adolescent Girls and Young Women Understand 'Empowerment' in Kinshasa?**

*Anny Modi, Jessica Jacobson and Lyndsay McLean*

The European words *empowerment* and *autonomisation* are commonly used in international development, but rarely explicitly defined. These terms (which in fact have slightly different meanings) are in practice usually taken to describe a process whereby an individual gains social, economic or political autonomy, agency and decision-making power. It is rare for development agencies to explore what these ideas might mean in a specific context, and as a result interventions designed to empower 'local people' may be ineffective, or at worst, harmful.

Using qualitative data from a participatory girl-led peer-to-peer study undertaken by the DFID-funded *La Pépinière* programme in the DRC, this presentation explores what ‘empowerment’ means for adolescent girls and young women in Kinshasa today. This is a context where adolescent girls have high aspirations and big dreams, yet live closely monitored lives regulated by strict gender norms about what ‘good girls’ can and cannot do. Elements of ‘empowerment’ are bound up in a myriad of French and Lingala terms, such as: *mwasi malonga* (evokes value, respect, social and economic success, conformity); *grande dame* (evokes high status, admiration and value); and *elombe mwasi* (evokes dynamism, physical power, capability, and non-conformity). Critically, these terms imply varying degrees of autonomy, supporting others and integration into society which it is critical to understand to work in this context.

This presentation outlines the rationale for and process of girl-led research and summarises findings around the understandings and aspirations adolescent girls have around ‘empowerment’. This will be supported by short video clips of girl researchers reflecting on the research process as a transformative process in and of itself. We will show how *La Pépinière* has come to frame its understanding of ‘empowerment’ in this context, and how any notion of ‘empowerment’ cannot be decoupled from understandings of familial obligations, gender norms and aspirations.

### **Double Standards Shaping Romantic Relationships: A Qualitative Study on Experiences of Ecuadorian Adolescents**

*Elena Jerves, Lucia De Haene, Ana Cevallos, Peter Rober and Paul Enzlin [Sara de Meyer to present] (Poster presentation)*

While in western cultures the establishment of romantic relationships is considered a socio-affective developmental milestone during adolescence, their socially constructed feature raises the need for a contextual approach in their study.

**Aim:** To understand how romantic relationships are experienced by adolescents in Ecuador, a country in South America where the economic and social inequality and gender inequity are important elements of the cultural context.

**Methods:** This qualitative study was based on in-depth interviews conducted with 20 adolescents (10= male, 10= female) in Cuenca-Ecuador.

**Results:** The findings reveal how family and society continually promote and reinforce conceptions marked by a strong allocation of gender roles and a double standard for men and women. Thus, while romantic relationships are socially accepted during adolescence, the experiences of participants showed how their families restrict girls for romantic involvement while promoting an early romantic initiation for boys. In this sense, the views of adolescents reflected sexist social expectations that associate female roles with submission, passivity and purity, while male roles are associated with dominance, virility and aggressiveness. In connection, dating violence emerged as a central theme in the adolescents’ experiences, in a context where jealousy and control are considered as love expressions. In turn, dating violence is compounded by a communicational gap with family members, as well as by a social normalization of violence within a relationship.

**Conclusions:** The findings of this study underscore the need for the implementation of educational programs for the affection and relationships that would allow the development of healthy relationships from this stage.

### **Gender Socialisation in Adolescence: A Theoretical Framework of Influences in Low- and Middle-income Countries**

*Neetu John, Kirsten Stoebenau, Samantha Ritter and Jeffrey Edmeades*

We first examine the concept of gender socialization across multiple disciplines and over time and how it pertains to adolescents in low and middle income countries in particular, before moving on to explore the different factors that influence the process during adolescence. In order to capture both the meaning of gender socialization and how the process unfolds across different contexts and spheres of influence, we consider multi-disciplinary contributions and different levels of influence (structural, socio-relational, individual). In contrast to earlier research that suggested that socialization processes are effectively completed before adolescence, more recent research within psychology and biological sciences have indicated the importance of pre-adolescence and adolescence as critical periods where there is acute sensitivity to social norms and peer influences, including around gender. To examine the interplay between norms, political-economic structures and

individual behaviours we end by discussing examples of the structural changes as well as smaller interventions that have impacted on gender socialization processes in different contexts and time periods across the globe.

### **'I am a girl so I cannot go anywhere': Gender Differences in Managing Life as a Young 'Illegal Migrant' on the Thailand-Myanmar Border**

*Derina Johnson and Robbie Gilligan (Poster presentation)*

This paper reports on selected early findings from a qualitative PhD study which investigates young migrants' perspectives on growing up with precarious legal documentation on the Thailand-Myanmar border. Decades of civil war and economic destitution in Myanmar (Burma) have driven millions of people across the border into neighbouring Thailand seeking safety and opportunity. There, restrictive immigration policies often render them and their children 'illegal migrants', resulting in lives characterised by poverty and insecurity (Green, Jacobsen and Pyne, 2008).

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with over 35 young migrants (men and women, aged 18-25) who either came to Thailand from Myanmar as children, or were born in Thailand to irregular migrant parents. The interviews explore their lives both in the present and growing up, and their negotiation of multiple challenges in their lives arising from their limited legal status in the areas of education, health, protection, work and identity. Early findings reveal differences in how young undocumented men and women attempt to manage the precariousness of their lives and lift themselves and their families out of poverty. Findings also reveal how gender differences in cultural and social norms can restrict young migrant women's access to educational opportunities and wider social networks, both of which may be key in improving the prospects of the young migrants.

At a time of unprecedented global irregular migration particularly in non-western contexts, this study is a timely reminder of the importance of detailed research that investigates the factors which can impede the attainment of gender equality in such contexts. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for relevant policy and programming efforts. The study is based on 10 months' immersion in fieldwork on the Thailand-Myanmar border, and builds upon the researcher's prior 3 years working with young migrants there.

### **Hesitating at the Door: Learning from Young Peer Educators about Gender, Discrimination and Youth Sexual Rights**

*Vicky Johnson*

Case study research was carried out in Benin, Kenya, Nepal and Nicaragua to explore what were the enabling factors for realising youth sexual rights in a range of political and cultural global contexts. The research, commissioned by the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), included youth-led research with interactive methods such as photo narratives. This approach helped us to understand what being young meant for young men, women and youth of the third gender. Such insight included gaining a deeper appreciation of how gender norms and issues of exclusion and discrimination influenced attitudes towards loving and sexual relationships and sexual and reproductive health.

Young peer educators engaged in the research were from marginalised communities where different strategies of empowerment had been employed, from including peer education and comprehensive sexuality education in schools, making services more youth friendly, to supporting local and national advocacy. In this paper, stories and detailed analysis will be shared from the mountainous region of Kaski in Nepal where young researchers, who led the research, identified research themes such as religious and traditional beliefs, gender violence and exclusion of transgendered and third gender youth. Starting from youth perspectives, their analysis was presented at national, regional and global levels, and analysed alongside other case study evidence from adults in communities, service providers and staff. For IPPF, this has led to a reconceptualisation of youth centredness in achieving youth sexual rights that has been incorporated into the current IPPF global strategy.

### **In Search of Education: Childhood and Youth Transitions among Refugees at the Thai-Myanmar Border**

*Pia Jolliffe*

This presentation examines youth transitions within a context of forced migration including rural areas in Eastern Myanmar and temporary shelters for displaced persons at the Thai-Myanmar border, as well as a Jesuit education project in Chiang Mai province. The study is informed by a life course approach that emphasizes the interlinkage between individual biographies and socio-political developments. Drawing on qualitative research methods such as participant observation, participatory research methods, essay writing and informal interviews, research data highlight the pivotal role of formal education even in a context of war and displacement.

Making the vertical transition from one school stage to the next gives meaning and structure to the lives of the displaced youth who participated in this study and shapes their horizontal transitions between different geographical and social spaces along the Thai-Myanmar border. In this respect the study suggests that within the continuum of displacement at the Thai-Myanmar border ethnicity and citizenship status, coupled with social relations and individual skills for institutional networking, predominantly shape young Karen women's and men's pursuit for education, as well as their decisions to interrupt their studies for transition to work.

### **Segmented Policy, Segmented Outcomes? Young People's Schooling and Long-term Poverty Reduction in Brazil's Bolsa Família Programme**

*Hayley Jones*

Conditional cash transfers (CCTs) have become a central feature of the social policy landscape across Latin America and increasingly other parts of the developing world. On the one hand, these programmes have incorporated large portions of the population previously excluded from social welfare systems, and in many ways, from the benefits and rights of citizenship. On the other hand, CCTs represent a highly segmented approach to social policy, in terms of both social service provision and the conceptualisation of poverty embodied in such programmes. This paper argues that such a segmented approach to social policy appears to reinforce segmented outcomes among beneficiaries. Based on qualitative research with young beneficiaries of Brazil's Bolsa Família programme, this paper offers evidence of persistent segmentation in schooling. Despite modest increases in school enrolment and attendance rates, (timely) progression and completion of the basic education cycle remains problematic among beneficiary youth. Moreover, the quality of schooling accessed by beneficiaries appears incompatible with the necessary human capital formation to alter young people's labour market and life trajectories. The findings suggest that the highly segmented education system into which young beneficiary are inserted may serve to reinforce their limited opportunities over the long-term. This fundamentally challenges the notion that CCTs' can facilitate their aim of long-term, intergenerational poverty reduction through improved schooling and in turn altered life trajectories and outcomes. The findings also suggest the need to consider the ways in which CCTs may or may not contribute to more inclusionary social welfare systems.

### **Understanding Factors that Shape Gender Attitudes in Early Adolescence: A Mixed-methods Systematic Review**

*Anna Kågesten, Susannah Gibbs, Robert Blum, Caroline Moreau, Venkatraman Chandra-Mouli, Ann Herbert and Avni Amin*

**Background:** Early adolescence (ages 10-14) is a period of increased expectations for boys and girls to adhere to socially constructed gender norms. While we know that gender inequalities are closely linked to adolescent sexual and reproductive health outcomes, little is known about the factors that influence young adolescents' attitudes about gender and gender inequality globally.

**Objective:** To provide an overview of the factors that shape gender attitudes in early adolescence across different cultural settings globally, focusing on how young adolescents learn about and construct gender attitudes in relation to their social environments (e.g. parents, peers, media, community).

**Methods:** We conducted a mixed-methods systematic review of the peer-reviewed literature in 12 databases between 1984 and 2014. Three reviewers screened the title and abstracts of articles; full text articles were reviewed in duplicate using standardized templates for data extraction and quality assessment. Thematic analysis was used to synthesize quantitative and qualitative data, respectively, organized by the ecological framework (individual, interpersonal and community/societal factors).

**Results:** We screened 14312 articles and out of these 82 studies (46 quantitative, 31 qualitative, 5 mixed-methods) spanning 29 countries (51 North America and 23 Western Europe) met all inclusion



criteria. Our review findings indicate that young adolescents commonly endorse inequitable gender attitudes that perpetuate unequal power relations between men and women, and such attitudes vary by individual factors (sex, race/ethnicity and immigration, social class, and age). Findings highlight that interpersonal influences (family and peers) are central influences on young adolescents' construction of gender attitudes, and these gender socialization processes differ for boys and girls. The role of community factors (e.g. media) is less clear though there is some evidence that schools reinforce stereotypical gender attitudes among young adolescents.

**Implications for interventions:** The findings from this review suggest that interventions to promote egalitarian gender attitudes need to target not just individuals, but their interpersonal environments. Such interventions need to be tailored to the unique needs of sub-populations of young adolescent boys and girls.

### **Adolescent Girls' Infant and Young Child Nutrition Knowledge Sources Differ among Rural and Urban Samples in Bangladesh**

*John Hoddinott, Naureen Karachiwalla, Natasha Ledlie and Shalini Roy*

In many low-income countries, girls marry early and have children very soon after marriage. Although conveying infant and young child nutrition (IYCN) knowledge to adolescent girls in time is important to ensure the well-being of their children, little is known about the best ways to convey these messages. This study examines the extent of, and sources from which adolescent girls derive IYCN knowledge in order to inform the design of programs that convey such information. Data on adolescent girls aged 12-18 was collected in 2013 in 140 clusters of villages in rural areas (n = 436), and 70 clusters of slums in urban areas (n = 345) in Bangladesh. Data were analysed using multivariable Poisson regression models. In both the urban and rural samples, girls' schooling is positively and significantly associated with IYCN knowledge ( $P < 0.01$  and  $P < 0.10$ , respectively). IYCN knowledge of adolescent girls' mothers is also associated with adolescents' IYCN knowledge in both urban and rural samples, but the magnitude of association in the urban sample is only half that of the rural sample ( $P < 0.01$  and  $P < 0.10$ , respectively). In Bangladesh, efforts to improve knowledge regarding IYCN is typically focused on mothers of young children. Only some of this knowledge is passed onto adolescent girls living in the same household. As other messaging efforts directed towards mothers have only small, or no association with adolescent girls' knowledge of IYCN, improving adolescent girls' IYCN knowledge may require information and messaging specifically directed towards them.

### **Adolescent Boys and Young Men: Engaging them as Supporters of Gender Equality and Health and Understanding their Vulnerabilities**

*Jane Kato-Wallace*

Reaching gender equality must, and has, involved efforts to understand the vulnerabilities and risks that adolescent girls and young women face every day – but how much do we know about the realities of adolescent boys and young men? In this presentation on the findings from the report, [\*Adolescent Boys and Young Men: Engaging Them as Supporters of Gender Equality and Health and Understanding their Vulnerabilities\*](#), we take a deeper look at the daily lives of adolescent boys and young men around the world, and how they can join the movement towards improved health and gender equality.

Exploring global research, the report reveals boys' and young men's specific risks and realities in relation to health in general, sexual and reproductive health in particular, sexuality, media violence, sexual exploitation, and other vulnerabilities. It analyses the implications of these risks and realities not only for boys, but also on the lives of women and girls. The presentation will emphasize that a holistic approach to advancing gender equality and sexual and reproductive health must include both adolescent girls and boys. It will also highlight the need to engage adolescent boys and young men as allies to achieve gender equality and as supporters of women's empowerment, as well as the importance of addressing the specific health and social development needs of boys themselves.

### **The Performances of Masculinity among Street-associated Youth in Yogyakarta, Indonesia**

*Paul J. Kellner*

Drawing upon more than one year of ethnographic fieldwork in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, the paper will explore the performed masculinity of the street-associated young men. The research focused on the

continuities and discontinuities of how young people perform their identities between home, work, and leisure contexts. Observation and interviews have yielded the insight that when some of the research subjects experience feeling vulnerable, in particular in their work settings, they often lean upon more overt expressions of their masculinity. For instance, being perceived as strong, disinterested, stoic, or capable of committing violence are all characteristics that both observation and interviews have shown to be connected to their concept of masculinity and more prominent in work settings. Moreover, when spending time with the same subjects in their home contexts, there has often been a clear discontinuity between their public and private identities. The value of performing masculinity in different ways in different contexts from the perspective of the subjects will be a central theme of the paper. Lastly, I will extend these commentaries by discussing my observations on how this performed masculinity may shape young men's political-economic life, with particular focus on relationships with community-based social service providers, employers, the police, and the government institutions.

### **The Gender Roles, Equality and Transformations (GREAT) Project in Northern Uganda**

*Brad Kerner*

The objective of this panel is to explore best practices and tools for transforming adolescent challenges into opportunities for positive youth development. It will start with an overview of challenges in designing, implementing and evaluating strategies for early adolescents, followed by three short presentations that highlight principles of culturally appropriate, effective early adolescent interventions: using a life-course, gender relational focus; addressing puberty and gender equity issues; involving parents and communities in dialogue; and measuring with age-appropriate techniques. This paper describes the Gender Roles, Equality, and Transformations (GREAT) project, a gender/puberty education intervention composed of a radio drama, community mobilization, health service linkages, and a toolkit for group discussions which sought to facilitate gender equality, reduce GBV, and improve SRH among adolescents and communities in Northern Uganda. GREAT results included significant improvements in attitudes and behaviors related to household role sharing, partner communication, contraceptive behaviors, and violence across life stages.

### **Whose Turn to Wash the Dishes? Evaluation of a Multi-level Intervention to Shift Gender Norms among Very Young Adolescents**

*Brad Kerner, Soni Pradhan, Rafatullah Khan and Sarah Burgess (Poster presentation)*

In the Terai region of Nepal, girls face discrimination due to their sex, caste, and ethnicity, are exposed to various forms of violence and are unable to fully participate in school, family life and community activities. Early intervention provides a window of opportunity to formulate positive gender attitudes, behaviors and norms as a pathway to improve future opportunities, before inequitable norms become entrenched. Evidence suggests it is most effective to intervene at multiple levels in order to make a lasting impact on gender equity. Since 2009, Save the Children has sought to improve gender equity among Very Young Adolescents (VYAs), those 10 to 14 years old, through multi-level interventions targeting VYA, their parents and community members.

In the context of extreme poverty and inequality, a 2010 mixed method evaluation of the VYA intervention CHOICES, showed statistically significant differences in gender attitudes and behaviors after participation. Since that evaluation, Choices has been expanded to 7 developing countries and two additional interventions have been developed targeting parents, called Voices, and community members, called Promises. This paper will describe this multi-level approach and present evaluation results, quantitative and qualitative, to determine if there are greater changes in gender attitudes and behaviors among VYA when working with the family and community as well as the adolescents themselves. This study was designed to test the hypothesis that an ecological approach would be more effective than intervening only with VYA. Few studies have tested application of the ecological model to influence gender and social norms change among girls and boys of this age.

### **Child Labour and Child Cognitive Development: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam**

*Michael Keane and Sonya Krutikova*

In this paper we estimate the effect of child labour on child cognitive development in four lower and middle income countries across multiple childhood stages, between the ages of 5 and 19. A key weakness in this literature is the omission of controls for other aspects of child time-use. We argue

that it is difficult to interpret even robust estimates of child labour effects without reference to what they would be doing with their time otherwise. This paper makes two main contributions: (a) we estimate the effect of child labour while controlling for all other aspects of child time-use and so are able to evaluate its impact separately relative to each of the other types of child time-use; (b) we use Item Response Theory (IRT) to generate the estimates of cognitive skills that are comparable over time and across countries so that we can directly compare the magnitudes of estimates at different ages and at the same age across different contexts; (c) we utilise a long panel for two cohorts of children and are uniquely able to look at how effects of child labour vary with age; (d) we estimate an extended version of the Value Added model which requires fewer assumptions for identification to hold. Our results clearly suggest that shifting time out of child labour into schooling would enhance children's cognitive development (in terms of their verbal and math skills) at all ages. This result holds across the four countries. We further show that omission of controls for other aspects of child time-use would lead to an under-estimation of the detrimental effect that working instead of going to school/studying has on child development.

### **Women's Empowerment and Gender Inequalities in Adolescent Nutritional Status: Evidence from the Indonesian Family Life Survey**

*Yohanes Sondang Kunto and Hilde Bras*

Recent studies show that women's empowerment is a key factor in improving child nutrition. However, in contrast to the extensive knowledge on children under-five, the relation between mother's position and adolescent nutritional status, including possible gender inequalities therein, is less well-known. Well-educated mothers are thought to have better knowledge about nutrition, more economic resources, and higher bargaining power for the benefit of their adolescent child. Empowered mothers are also thought to be more able to compensate gender biases in intra-household food allocation. We examined associations between women's empowerment and gender inequality in adolescent nutrition using data from the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS) over the period 1993 to 2015. Our pooled sample consists of 13,877 observations of 10,420 adolescents belonging to 4,948 mothers. We use mother's number of years of completed education, mother's decision-making power, and mother's labour force participation as empowerment indicators. We analyse relationships of these three indicators with adolescent's height-for-age and BMI-for-age. Our results show gender differences in BMI-for-age but not in height-for-age. We find boys are on average thinner than girls. Our random-effect models show that in general, women's empowerment have significant positive associations with height-for-age. However, only the mother's labour force participation holds positive associations with BMI-for-age. Our fixed-effects models comparing nutritional status of boys and girls of the same household show smaller gender gaps in BMI-for-age of those whose mothers are more educated. Further analysis reveals that boys of more educated mothers consume significantly more instant noodles and carbonated beverages compared to girls. This result indicates well-educated mothers are able to compensate boys' thinness, but not always in healthy ways. The fact that similar differences do not exist between boys and girls of less-educated mothers may be evidence of gender bias in new disguise.

### **Cognitive Ability, Risk Preferences and Impatience: Evidence from Experimental Outcomes and Field-Behaviour in Developing Countries**

*Oliver Exton and Pramila Krishnan*

This paper investigates the relationship between cognitive ability, risk preferences and impatience using experimental data of 6,000 children and adolescents from the Young Lives data set. This paper is the first to analyse the relationship between cognitive ability, risk aversion and impatience for children and adolescents and in a developing country context. This work builds on previous work on these relationships for adults (Dohmen et al., 2010) and adolescents (Sutter et al., 2013, Benjamin et al., 2013) in developed country contexts. In contrast to these studies, this paper finds significant heterogeneity in both levels of risk preferences and impatience, and uniquely in the relationships between cognitive and non-cognitive abilities, across the four developing countries.

The paper investigates gender differences in preferences towards risk and impatience in these developing countries. Further work will be conducted looking at how differences in the association between cognitive ability and non-cognitive preferences compare between genders and how gender

differences in these preferences influence later life outcomes, in particular completion and continuation of education.

Experimental measures of cognitive ability, risk preferences and impatience are also found to predict 'risky' field-behaviours and education outcomes. Higher cognitive ability and experimentally measured risk aversion and patience are associated with less risky behaviours (smoking and drinking alcohol), increased likelihood of continuing education and increased completion of education certificates.

The paper concludes that existing theories of the relationship between cognitive ability and risk preferences, seen experimentally in developed countries, are not seen for adolescents in developing countries. Instead higher cognitive ability is associated with greater self-control abilities reflected in greater patience and less risky behaviour (with mixed evidence experimentally but stronger relationship in field behaviour). The paper further concludes that this evidence supports policy interventions that target improving early adolescent cognitive abilities to improve later outcomes for adolescents in developing countries.

### **Namoro and Noviazgo: Adolescent Dating Violence in Brazil and Honduras**

Alice Taylor and Giovanna Lauro

Evidence shows that adolescent dating violence can lead to adult intimate partner violence (IPV). Research and interventions addressing violence among adolescents, however, are limited compared to those focused on adult IPV – especially in Latin American countries compared to those in the Global North. As a result, policies and programs in the region miss out on significant prevention opportunities. To contribute to addressing this gap, Promundo led a qualitative research study on risk and protective factors related to adolescent IPV. Fieldwork was conducted in urban and rural sites in Brazil and Honduras. The teams conducted focus groups and in-depth interviews among girls/young women and boys/young men aged 14 to 24 years, capturing trends from younger adolescents' recent dating experiences, to young adults' reflection of past relationships. The findings offer insights into how adolescents challenge relationship paradigms, and how they 'test' and recognize (or not) diverse forms of violence including controlling behaviors that prevail in everyday in-person and on-line interactions. They also demonstrate how inequalities emerge across different dimensions (gender, race, ethnicity, urban/rural), and how risk and protection factors overlap – in contexts where adolescents have scarce opportunities to discuss intimate relationships.

### **'She Goes With Me in My Boat': Child and Adolescent Marriage in Brazil**

Giovanna Lauro and Alice Taylor (Poster presentation)

Brazil is the fourth country in the world in terms of absolute numbers of child and adolescent marriage, but - despite the relatively high prevalence the practice (with more than 38% of girls married by the age of 18) - the topic has been absent from global discussions and actions around the practice, which largely focus on sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. This mixed-methods study – the first of its kind in Brazil – explores attitudes and practices around child and adolescent marriage in the capitals of Pará and Maranhão. It looks at both formal and informal unions, as the latter are common and hold similar implications. The study found five intersecting motivations leading up to marriage, and analyzes these causes and consequences of the practice.

This research highlights the ways in which child and adolescent marriage may create or exacerbate risk factors for girls - such as health risks, educational setbacks, restricted mobility, exposure to intimate partner violence, and lower employment prospects - while often being perceived by girls or their family members as offering stability in settings of economic insecurity and limited opportunities. It also explores the ways in which the interplay between gender norms supporting the practice and high-unemployment rates affect boys, considered to be undesirable partners if compared to older men. The findings of this study challenge existing conceptualizations of child marriage and urge us to consider the ways in which the meaning of agency changes for young people across contexts – especially in settings of urban violence with limited educational and employment opportunities. They serve as a foundation for future research, policy, and programming to protect child and adolescent rights not only in Brazil, but in also in other Latin American settings.

## **Developing Participatory Approaches to Assess Changes in Gendered Attitudes, Norms and Behaviours**

*Rebecka Lundgren*

The objective of this panel is to explore best practices and tools for transforming adolescent challenges into opportunities for positive youth development. It will start with an overview of challenges in designing, implementing and evaluating strategies for early adolescents, followed by three short presentations that highlight principles of culturally appropriate, effective early adolescent interventions: using a life-course, gender relational focus; addressing puberty and gender equity issues; involving parents and communities in dialogue; and measuring with age-appropriate techniques. This paper presents promising practices for developmentally appropriate, participatory approaches such as card games, storytelling and visualization to operationalize and assess changes in gendered attitudes, norms and behaviors, including self-efficacy, voice and empowerment.

## **Learning To Be Gendered: Gender Socialisation Process and Forces in Early Adolescence in Delhi, India and Shanghai, China**

*Sharmistha Basu, Xianyun Zuo, Chauhua Lou, Rajib Acharya and Rebecka Lundgren*

**Purpose:** To understand the gender socialization process in early adolescence.

**Methods:** The study was located in two disadvantaged urban communities in Delhi, India and Shanghai, China and was part of the multi-country Global Early Adolescent Study. Qualitative methodologies were used with boys and girls aged 11-13, including 16 group-based timeline exercises and 65 narrative interviews. In addition, 58 parents of participating adolescents were interviewed. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, translated and uploaded into Atlas.ti for coding and thematic analysis.

**Results:** Boys and girls growing up in the same community took different pathways in their transition from early to late adolescence. Both adolescents and parents in both sites identified mothers as the primary agent socializing adolescents into how to dress and behave and what roles to play according to gender, although fathers were also mentioned as influential. Opposite sex interactions were restricted, and violations enforced by physical violence. In Delhi, gender roles and mobility were more strictly enforced for boys than girls. Restrictions on opposite sex interactions were rigid for both boys and girls in Delhi and Shanghai. Sanctions, including beating, for violating norms about boy-girl relationships were more punitive than those related to dress and demeanour, especially in Delhi. Education and career expectations were notably more equitable in Shanghai.

**Conclusions:** Parents teach their children to adhere to inequitable gender norms in both Delhi and Shanghai. However education and career expectations for boys and girls in the two sites differed. This underscores the influence of culture on gender identity, as well as that importance of macro-level factors such as political and economic systems. There is a need for gender transformative programs for adolescents and parents, the dominant socialization force, to lay the groundwork for better health and economic well-being in later life.

## **Understanding Interlocking Processes of Change in Gender, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Violence in Northern Uganda**

*Sarah Burgess, Rebecka Lundgren, Nana Dagadu and Paul Bukuluki*

Gendered behavior, attitudes and norms develop over the course of adolescence, and are strongly impacted by social influence. Adolescents in Northern Uganda are embedded in a complex system, compelled by their own hopes and expectations, and those of their communities and social institutions. Within this system, they navigate multiple and contradictory norms about gender, sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and violence. This paper will explore how gender is negotiated, embodied and transformed through: chores and work; romantic/sexual relationships; conflict resolution and leadership roles.

The Gender Roles, Equality and Transformations (GREAT) Project, led by the Institute for Reproductive Health, promotes gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors among adolescents (ages 10-19) and their communities, aiming to reduce gender-based violence and improve SRH. To better understand intervention impacts, and participants' contexts, the project collected longitudinal data, following a cohort of 60 very young, older, and newly married or parenting adolescents (males and females) over two years. Through in-depth interviews, participants shared details about their life histories, their relationships, their attitudes, and changes experienced due to the intervention and other factors. Interactive interview methods (including projective techniques and drawing) generated rich data.

Drawing on a life-course approach, analysis examined journeys of change in gender, violence, and SRH. Participants were classified into groups according to behaviors and attitudes in each domain. Analysis compared those participants who became more gender-equitable, connected to SRH services, and non-violent with those participants who did not change, or who regressed.

Data show that cultural norms about gender are in flux; and that gender develops over adolescence, and is strongly influenced by socio-cultural and structural contexts. Social influence can both impede and support adolescents in making progress towards equitable gender attitudes and behavior. Educational opportunities, national discourse, personal experience, and exposure to GREAT also play important roles in adolescent development.

### **Child Marriage in Zambia: Challenging the Stereotypes**

*Gillian Mann*

This paper explores the heterogeneity of child marriage in six districts of Zambia and the challenges and potential implications that these differences pose for policy and practice in-country and more broadly. It draws on a largely qualitative study conducted in 2014-15 and ongoing research with participating communities. It explores the myriad motivations of girls, boys/young men and their families and the multiple manifestations of the practice both within and between communities. In so doing, it highlights the contradiction, conflict and compromise that characterise children's paths to social adulthood and the risks and benefits they weigh as they take on the roles of spouse, parent, and daughter- and son-in-law.

### **Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya**

*Celeste Marin, Muzabel Welongo and Meriwether Beatty*

While refugees entering Europe make headlines, the vast majority of displaced people live in developing countries. With half of refugees under 18, this represents millions of young people spending much of their lives displaced. Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya houses over 180,000 refugees from 9 countries. Adolescents comprise one-fifth of the population. Many were born there. In 2013-2014, JSI Research and Training Institute supported one Kenyan and three refugee-run organizations to implement a reproductive health (RH) education program for adolescent girls. We conducted two cross-sectional surveys (n=628) to assess the program and document existing needs. Responses showed the conflicting social norms and realities adolescent girls face. Girls got most of their information about adolescence and sex from adult relatives but reported often feeling bad after these conversations. Youth-friendly services are nonexistent; RH education primarily consists of encouraging girls to be abstinent and stay in school. The median expected age of first sex and marriage were 25, yet one girl in five was sexually active and two in three thought most girls and boys her age were sexually active. More than half thought their friends would exchange sex for money or gifts. Myths about contraception were widespread: half said contraception was more dangerous for adolescents than pregnancy. Adolescent girls in humanitarian settings are especially vulnerable to coercive sex. They may have consensual sex but want to protect themselves from infection and early pregnancy. Teaching girls to be abstinent or even to negotiate condom use while neglecting their male partners is ineffective and unfair. Programs in refugee settings should provide comprehensive RH information and services for all adolescents, and work with parents and other community members to create environments where adolescents truly have choices and understand their implications. Failure to do so is a missed opportunity to reach this captive audience.

### **The Multi Country Study on the Drivers of Violence: Learning from Children's Experiences**

*Mary Catherine Maternowska and Alina Potts*

In 2015, UNICEF Office of Research—Innocenti (UNICEF OoR) and Oxford University's *Young Lives* longitudinal study joined forces to explore what drives violence affecting children and what can be done to prevent it, as part of a *Multi Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children* (VaC). The Study, led by UNICEF OoR with the participation of UNICEF COs and government ministries in Italy, Peru, Zimbabwe and Viet Nam, has generated evidence-informed understandings of the drivers of violence. The findings have already contributed to improved policy and planning. Likewise the study has unveiled new understandings of the interactions between the drivers of violence—or the



conditions that make children vulnerable to violence—and risk factors. The panel will share learning from Stage 1 of the Study, based on context-specific understandings of VaC discovered through secondary analyses of 11 national data sets, including Young Lives quantitative and qualitative data, and over 450 research studies analyzed across the 4 countries. Maternowska and Potts will show how first, most understandings of violence do not address the inter-sectionality of structural issues at the macro and meso levels of society and the subsequent interaction with risk factors typically measured and centred in communities, households and among individuals; and second, how understandings of violence often overlook the extraordinary implications of age and its nexus with gender and power: children grow and their capacities and vulnerabilities evolve and change.

### **Economic Empowerment for Chronically Poor Adolescent Girls: Addressing Intersecting Inequalities and Identifying Opportunities for Change**

*Anna Mdee and Vidya Diwakar*

Considerable emphasis in current policy development and research is given to the economic empowerment of women and girls; however, much of this is not disaggregated by the intersecting inequalities that magnify poverty and inequality. Moreover, adolescents remain strikingly absent from the discourse. For example, policies focusing on anti-discrimination legislation, secondary education and vocational training do not quickly change conditions for chronically poor adolescent girls in practice due to their structural and social exclusion. Chronically poor girls often have fewer opportunities to access secondary education and vocational training. They are likely to have more domestic and care responsibilities and may be forced into exploitative informal employment such as domestic service or daily labour (Kabeer 2012).

This paper will investigate critical barriers to economic empowerment that are experienced by adolescent girls in chronic or extreme poverty, and assess institutional reform and policy measures that can promote economic empowerment. Intersecting inequalities (primarily age and gender) that adolescent girls face will in particular be examined in an effort to better understand how to address economic exclusion and exploitation.

The paper is based on a rigorous review of the evidence base in relation to adolescent girl's economic empowerment and chronic poverty. It includes analysis of policies and programmes, and legislation with a focus on identifying barriers that prevent chronically poor adolescent girls from being economically empowered, and to identify any evidence on what has worked in addressing these barriers. Policy analysis is combined with quantitative and qualitative data analysis: the OECD Social Institutions and Gender Inequality (SIGI) index is used to select countries for case studies which fit different categories of discrimination- from low to very high. Household panel datasets and qualitative interviews from selected countries are used to disaggregate poverty dynamics for chronically poor adolescent girls, where possible. This mixed methods analysis will work towards informing broader discussions, policies, and programmes on 'getting to zero' in terms of global poverty and reducing gender inequality.

### **Tracing Affective Inequality among Boys and Girls in Ethiopia: Caring Work at the Bend in Well-being**

*Vachel Miller (Poster presentation)*

To what extent do Ethiopian boys and girls experience *affective inequality*? As articulated by Lynch and Baker (2005), the notion of 'affective equality' refers to equality in relations of love, care, and solidarity. Among other conditions that enable equal chances for a good life, Lynch (2007) argues that 'affective equality'—equal access to the experience of both being cared for and providing care—is fundamental to human flourishing and social justice.

This paper employs the Young Lives data from the Older Cohort of boys and girls in Ethiopia to explore the gendered experience of affective inequality as children mature. Specifically, the paper traces the trajectories of caring work across the spectrum of children's well-being in different rural/urban locations, building on previous research (i.e., Camfield, 2012; Morrow, Tafere, and Vennam, 2014). Preliminary analysis suggests that girls at both low and high levels of well-being engage in the most intensive caring work. Surprisingly, caring work is particularly pronounced among those girls who experience the highest level of well-being. In contrast, boys who experience higher levels of well-being seem to engage in less care work than those with moderate well-being. In terms of

affective inequality, this analysis considers how boys may learn to become what Lynch (2007) calls 'care commanders' with increasing freedom from caring work. This paper will supplement analysis of affective equality in children's time use with insights from the 2012 School Survey regarding students' experience of affective equality within the school setting. Analysis of quantitative data will also be complimented, if possible, with analysis of qualitative data gathered in focus group discussions in Ethiopia. Such data can help contextualize how the demands and rewards for caring work change for boys and girls. The paper will conclude with consideration of how notions of affective equality might be incorporated into development policy.

### **Challenges and Opportunities in Supporting Gender-Sensitive Youth Livelihood Development: A Case Study from Egypt**

*Sarah Moorcroft, Maha Akrouk and Nikhit D'Sa (Poster presentation)*

As a minimum standard, Save the Children's (SC) programs adopt a gender-sensitive approach, ensuring that 'the different needs, abilities, and opportunities of boys and girls, and men and women, are identified, considered and accounted for.' One SC program working to adopt this approach is Youth in Action (YIA): a six-year youth education and livelihood development project in Burkina Faso, Egypt, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Uganda. YIA aims to improve the socioeconomic status of rural out-of-school adolescent girls and boys 12-18 by supporting adolescents to identify and explore mixed livelihoods opportunities through a combination of non-formal educational and practice-oriented learning experiences.

After three years of program implementation, country teams have recognized challenges to addressing access and engagement for boys and girls, for example: safety, differing social standards, family responsibilities, early marriage, and gender-based discrimination. This poster will exhibit a case study from Egypt focusing on the opportunities and challenges for adopting a gender-sensitive approach in YIA. We draw on qualitative and quantitative data from two youth participatory studies. The case study focuses on (a) how gender inequalities manifest in adolescent programs, (b) how gender sensitivity is conceptualized in a programmatic theory of change, and (c) the operationalization of gender-sensitive activities and the internal and external obstacles to implementation. YIA Egypt has pioneered gender-sensitive strategies, including home visits with trained community facilitators, securing birth certificates, conducting gender-specific activities, including adolescent sexual and reproductive health information, ensuring geographical safety of learning centres, hiring significant numbers of female facilitators, and ensuring that adolescents have opportunities to explore varied gender-sensitive livelihood options. The poster will display these strategies and highlight the implications of implementing gender-sensitive practices for adolescent programs during implementation and the strategies that programmers and policy makers could adopt to facilitate the process.

### **Development and validation of cross-cultural gender norms scales for early adolescents**

**Caroline Moreau**

The Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) is the first international study to focus on gender norms in early adolescence and its relation to adolescent health in disadvantaged urban environments globally. As part of the formative research of the GEAS, we developed a cross-cultural gender norms scales about masculinities and femininities. The current study explores the psychometric properties of the cross-cultural gender norms scales. The development of the scales was grounded in qualitative interviews conducted with 30 early adolescents and a primary caregiver in each of 15 urban poor communities spanned across five continents. From the adolescent interviews an initial set of 3000 gender codes were generated and further clustered around emerging themes of masculinities and femininities that were common across sites. A total of 57 items were populated to develop the initial masculinity scale and 65 items were populated for the initial femininity scale.

To assess the psychometric properties of the cross-cultural gender norms scales, a pilot survey was conducted among 120 adolescents aged between 10-14 years in each of the 15 sites. An exploratory factor analysis using common factor analysis is performed on half of the sample (900 adolescents) to identify underlying sub-dimensions of the scales. Results also guide the selection of items that load on the identified factors. Psychometric criteria (Eigenvalues, Scree test) are used to determine the number of factors to retain in the final scales and their interpretation using an oblique rotation. Based

on the other half of the sample (900 adolescents), confirmatory factor analyses is performed using a structural equation modeling to test the factor structure based on results from exploratory factor analysis. The best-fitted model is selected based on absolute and predictive fit indices to finalize the instruments.

### **Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, India: Evidence from Young Lives**

*Virginia Morrow and Renu Singh*

This presentation explores children's accounts of violence in Andhra Pradesh, India, and the ways in which factors at the individual, family, community, institutional and society levels affect children's experiences of violence. The paper analyses cross-sectional survey data, and case studies from longitudinal qualitative data gathered over a seven year period. We find that large proportions of children experience violence (mostly physical punishment and emotional abuse) within their families, at school and, to some extent, within their communities; children's experiences of violence change with age; gender differences in this dynamic process are very distinct; attitudes at a young age do not necessarily get transformed into behaviour at a later age; and more promisingly, children describe strategies through which to protect themselves from violence and the threat of violence. We conclude with some suggestions for policy, programming and practice.

### **Widening Gender Inequity in Secondary Education: Evidence from a Longitudinal Study in India**

*Renu Singh and Protap Mukherjee*

Using panel data from Young Lives in Andhra Pradesh, this paper finds gender differential close to 11% favouring boys in completion of secondary education. The analysis from multivariate probit regression models performed separately for boys and girls shows that while a few significant predicting factors were common for both boys and girls, there also exist differing factors. While birth-order, mothers' education, paid work status at age 12, and early reading skills at age 8 were important factors for both genders, there are also unique additional factors like household wealth index and hours spent in domestic chores at age 12 which affect significantly girls' completion of secondary education. Unless we are able to realise the goals of access with equity and quality by addressing all the factors at household, school and societal level, universalisation of secondary education will remain a distant dream.

### **Addressing the Grand Challenge of Adolescent Pregnancies through Enhanced Domestic Accountability**

*Agness Mumba*

The rise in adolescent girls' unintended pregnancies and child marriages amidst affirmative gender policies remains a global grand challenge. Gender intersects with many interlocked social categories which limit adolescent girls' lifestyle choices. In Zambia, the period 2010-2014 saw a total of 77, 448 school girls' pregnancies. About 86% occurred in rural areas among Grades 1-9 girls (MoE: ESB, 2014). UNFPA (2014) asserts that 15.1% females aged 15-49 and 11.3% males aged 15-49 contributed to the national overall HIV prevalence rate of 13.3%. With support from UNICEF and the Joint UNDP/GRZ GBV programme, our Domestic Accountability Model emboldens collective demands, which is critical for social change and the promotion of social justice and equality. Awareness of affirmative gender policies, dialogue activities and information campaigns serve as catalysts to gain momentum and public outreach. Socially, the model creates increased demand for greater accountability from duty bearers for improved services aimed at retaining girls in school even after falling pregnant. Community members are engaged to question negative social norms that put adolescent girls at risk of adopting unhealthy lifestyle choices. In an inclusive and consensus manner, action plans are drawn, posted on notice boards for tracking progress. Community members are capacity built with basic psycho social skills to support adolescent learners, provide counselling to pregnant girls to commence early antenatal care and teen mothers are tracked to facilitate re-admission after giving birth. A total of 985 learners including 153 teen mothers have since been retrieved and re-entered into the schooling system between 2013-to-date. The model has earned FAWE-Zambia the recognition of being a reputable organization in demonstrating gender justice interventions including, being invited to speaking engagements on behalf of FAWE-Africa, at International forums such as the 2015 UNAIDS Girls Symposium in Washington DC, to share best practices.

## **The Adolescent Girls Initiative – Kenya: A Randomized Controlled Trial Testing Multi-Sectoral Interventions for Young Adolescent Girls in Kenya**

*Karen Austrian, Eunice Muthengi, Joyce Mumah, Erica Soler-Hampejsek, Caroline Kabiru, Benta Abuya, John Maluccio*

Early adolescence provides a critical window of opportunity to intervene at a time when girls are experiencing many challenges, but before those challenges have resulted in deleterious outcomes that may be irreversible. The Adolescent Girls Initiative – Kenya (AGI-K) is built on these insights and designed to address these risks for young adolescent girls. AGI-K consists of effectiveness of nested combinations of different single-sector interventions (violence prevention, education, health, and wealth creation). It is delivering interventions to over 6,000 girls between the ages of 11 and 14 years in two marginalized areas of Kenya: 1) Kibera in Nairobi and 2) Wajir County in North-eastern Kenya.

The program uses a combination of girl-, household- and community-level interventions. The violence prevention intervention will use community conversations and planning focused on enhancing the value of girls in the community. The educational intervention includes a cash transfer to the household conditioned on school enrolment and attendance. The health intervention is culturally relevant, age-appropriate sexual and reproductive health education delivered in a group setting once a week over the course of two years. Lastly, the wealth creation intervention provides savings and financial education, as well as start-up savings. A randomized trial will be used to compare the impact of four different packages of interventions, in order to assess if and how intervening in early adolescence improves girls' lives after four years. AGI-K will provide critical evidence on the most effective ways to combine interventions for marginalized adolescent girls across sectors, and which packages of interventions are most cost-effective. The presentation will focus on the theory of change and the vulnerabilities of girls in each site by sector. Implementation challenges will be discussed, including recruitment and retention of facilitators, monitoring the quality of the interventions and measure to reduce opportunities for fraud for cash incentives and transfers.

## **The Nutrition and Health Needs of Adolescents: Insights from a Survey of Pregnant and Recently Delivered Adolescents in Bangladesh**

*Tina Sanghvi, Phuong Hong Nguyen, Kaosar Afsana, Zeba Mahmud, Bachera Aktar, Raisul Haque, Ellen Piowz, Jean Baker, Rahul Rawat and Purnima Menon*

Little is known about the delivery of nutrition services for pregnant adolescents who require adequate nutrition for their own growth and for meeting the demands of pregnancy. This study examines differences in micronutrient supplement coverage and dietary diversity between pregnant and recently delivered adolescents as compared with women above 20 years. A cross-sectional survey was carried out in 20 sub-districts where a large-scale Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health (MNCH) program is being implemented. Recently delivered adolescent mothers weighed significantly less than adult women (44.5 vs 48.1 kg,  $p=0.001$ ), and their BMI was significantly lower (19.8 vs 21.2,  $p=0.001$ ). Infants of adolescent mothers had significant lower weight for age z-score (-1.23 vs -1.07,  $p=0.020$ ) and higher underweight prevalence (22.0% vs 17.9%,  $p=0.043$ ) compared to infants of adult women. Adolescents recovered later and with greater difficulty after childbirth. Although their awareness of IFA and calcium supplementation protocols and importance of dietary diversity were high, half the adolescents and women actually practiced the desired behaviors. Fewer families delegated decision-making to pregnant adolescents on critical health and nutrition topics. However, husbands of adolescents offered more support during pregnancy as compared with husbands of older mothers. There was a high prevalence of mental stress and violence among both age groups. The program and policy recommendations for MNCH programs are to address constraints during prenatal contacts that are underlying the poor nutrition practices leading to low body weight of adolescent mothers and their infants, actively engaging family members especially husbands to provide support to adolescents during pregnancy and in the postpartum period, reduce stress and violence, and delegate more decision-making to adolescent mothers.

## **Intergenerational Dynamics: FGM/C Experiences in Kenya**

*David Gathara, Carolyn Njue, Jacinta Muteshi and Bettina Shell-Duncan*

**Background:** The social dynamics surrounding FGM/C are complex, intergenerational and deeply embedded. Reliable estimates on FGM/C are important for evidence-based policies.

**Objective:** This study looks at the dynamics in the practice of female genital cutting, routine practice and how it changes.

**Methodology:** Multivariate analyses of the most recent DHS data from several countries. We will synthesize what we know from these countries and sift through datasets to describe trends across generations. We focus our paper on the 15-19 age group, and compare how rates of FGM/C have changed in comparison to older age cohorts. Reliable data on girls 10-14 years of age are not consistently available for many countries, and the analysis of prevalence in this age group is complex because the statistics need to account for censoring. We will pay special attention to adolescents subjected to FGM/C, out of all who are potentially at risk, and to the view of groups that practice and those that don't practice.

**Expected outcomes:** Having a comparative perspective will be really useful for making broader statements about the dynamics of the structural changes (educational opportunities, rising Socio-economic status, gender relations, employment opportunities for women, global flow of ideas) that are taking place than previously anticipated.

### **Impact Evaluation of a Tanzanian Conditional Cash Transfer on Youth Well-being and the Transition to Adulthood. Baseline Results and Future Plans**

*Tia Palermo*

Cash transfer programs are a key tool in social protection for combating chronic poverty and hunger and increasing investment in human capital. Having rapidly expanded across sub-Saharan Africa, the programs are motivated by the premise that income poverty has highly damaging impacts on human development and that cash empowers families living in poverty to make their own decisions on how to improve their lives. Cash transfer programs also have the potential to impact a broader range of outcomes and help facilitate safe transitions to adulthood. Pathways through which household-level cash transfers can impact outcomes among youth include increased economic security and school attendance, and decreases in stress and related improvements in mental health. Because men and women often face different barriers to health, schooling and productive livelihoods, gender may moderate cash transfer impacts on youth, particularly those downstream from economic insecurity and schooling. In particular, girls may face increased vulnerabilities and may be at higher risk of violence and HIV. Emerging evidence from the Transfer Project – a community of research, donor and implementing partners who focus on coordination in efforts and uptake of results – demonstrates that government cash transfer programs in Africa have facilitated safe transitions by delaying sexual debut and pregnancy, which have implications for HIV risk. Preliminary evidence also suggests that cash transfers may reduce sexual violence and transactional sex. In this panel, we will review evidence from the Transfer Project on how cash transfers in Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have facilitated safer transitions to adulthood, as well as differential impacts by gender. We will present a brief overview of a new evaluation in Tanzania, and efforts to link government cash transfers with other services (often called 'cash plus' models) in an effort to provide synergies between programs targeted to poor households and vulnerable adolescents.

### **What Works to Change Gender-Role Attitudes and Attitudes toward Violence among Boys: Evidence from a Life Skills and Sports Training Programme in Youth Clubs in Rural Bihar, India**

*Shireen Jejeebhoy, K.G. Santhya, Rajib Acharya, Aparajita Gogoi, Madhu Joshi, Neelanjana Pandey and Santosh K. Singh*

**Background and objectives:** Gender disparities are wide in Bihar, including among the young, and violence against women among the most widespread in the country. A number of interventions have attempted to change gender roles and notions of masculinity among boys; few have been rigorously evaluated. Drawing on data from an evaluation of a life skills and sports programme conducted among boys aged 13-21 who were members of government-sponsored youth clubs, this paper presents evidence on the impact of this programme on boys' notions of masculinity and about violence against women and girls.

**Methods:** The 18-month intervention was implemented among boys of 15 clubs in 15 villages, and comprised 42 weekly life skills education sessions led by youth club peer mentors using modules specifically prepared for the programme, followed by weekly cricket coaching/practice sessions and youth club led community events to raise awareness about these issues. We used a cluster randomised trial with panel surveys of all club members ages 13-21 prior to the implementation of the intervention (N=1149) and at its conclusion (N=1033) in 15 intervention and 15 control clubs. In-



depth interviews were also held with selected boys who reported at the baseline survey very gendered, somewhat gendered and egalitarian attitudes.

**Findings:** The intervention was successful in making boys' attitudes more egalitarian. Boys in intervention clubs were significantly more likely than those in comparison clubs to reject traditional gender role attitudes as well as the right of men and boys to perpetrate violence against women and girls, and to control the actions of women and girls. In-depth interviews corroborate these changes in attitudes.

**Conclusions:** Exposure to a life skills intervention that integrates gender transformative strategies and sports coaching suggests promise for changing traditional notions of masculinity among boys in patriarchal settings such as Bihar.

### **Making Research on Violence Affecting Children Useful: The Experience of Policy Engagement with Multiple Stakeholders in Ethiopia**

*Alula Pankhurst, Nathan Negussie, and Emebet Mulugeta*

This presentation explores children's accounts of everyday violence in Ethiopia, drawing on analysis of four rounds of longitudinal qualitative data gathered over seven years, complemented with analysis of cross-sectional survey data from Young Lives. Violence affecting children - which in the scope of this work mostly focused on physical punishment and emotional abuse - is widespread, accepted, and normalized. Differing economic activities affect family dynamics and the likelihood of children experiencing violence, and violence is often linked to the challenges of poverty and the expectation that children will contribute to the household economy. The paper contributes to knowledge about the nature and experiences of violence affecting children of different ages and genders in resource-poor settings in home, community and school contexts. The presentation will focus on the process underway in Ethiopia, funded by the OAK foundation, to link research evidence to policy and practice, involving key government, international and civil society stakeholders in Ethiopia.

### **Staying Safe between Tradition and Modernity: Girls' Reflections on Transactional Sex and Sexual Violence**

*Jenny Parkes*

This presentation examines girls' positioning in relation to multiple, shifting discourses on gender, sexual relationships and sexual violence. It focuses particularly on the influence of a tradition-modernity dichotomy, and how this dichotomy is deployed in ways that represent girls in rural African communities as helpless victims. The presentation traces how features of 'modernisation' and 'tradition' both protect from and exacerbate forms of sexual violence. Drawing on data collected during a qualitative longitudinal study for ActionAid's Stop Violence Against Girls project (2008-2013), our analysis explores how, in their discussions about transactional sex, sexual relationships and violence, girls in three mainly rural districts of Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique tended to invoke the dichotomy. However, resisting victimhood positions, they actively positioned themselves *between* tradition and modernity, while positioning others at the extreme poles. The presentation explores how this positioning varied between communities and over time, and reflects on the influence of norms and structures in schools, communities and an NGO intervention. It concludes by considering the implications for girls' safety.

### **Power, Agency and Support: Building the Evidence-base on Rights-based Abortion Care for Young Women in Developing Countries**

*Karah F. Pedersen, Evelina Borjesson, and Tracy Di Tucci*

**Background:** Young women and girls face unique barriers to healthcare due to their age, gender and stigma relate to youth sexuality and abortion. Public health indicators as along with human rights justifications call for abortion-related care to be designed and delivered in ways that address these barriers and facilitate adolescent and young women's access to safe appropriate abortion care, yet limited evidence exists to inform the design and delivery of such care.

**Methods:** Ipas conducted pilots for delivering abortion care for young women in multiple countries, including Nepal, India, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia, and Sierra Leone. These pilots ranged from six months to 1.5 years and were assessed by conducting in-depth interviews, reviewing service delivery data and results, and completing a literature review on global guidance and tools related to youth and abortion. The data from this assessment was used to develop an evidence-based model for rights-based, youth-centred abortion care that can be more widely adapted in public and private health systems.



**Results:** Data from interviews and the evidence review suggest all youth pilots resulted in improved quality of care for adolescent and young women, and some pilots resulted in positive service use trends. Results suggest that rights-based approaches modeled around the principles of equity, non-discrimination and equality, participation and empowerment, and sustainability are necessary characteristics to include in the design and delivery of abortion-related care for youth.

**Conclusions:** Ipas' youth-centred comprehensive abortion care model accounts for an adolescent or young woman's individual physical and emotional health needs and circumstances, and her ability to access care. When abortion-related services are equitable, effective and high-quality, accessible, affordable and participatory, they become acceptable to all adolescent and young women.

### **Mind the Gap: Understanding How the Dynamics of Time and Place Shape Violence Affecting Children and Young People**

*Kirrily Pells, Catherine Maternowska, Alina Potts and Virginia Morrow*

This presentation synthesizes findings from the seven Young Lives papers commissioned by UNICEF, on corporal punishment, bullying, children's experiences of violence in all four countries, and sources of support. We use a socio-ecological approach to critique a number of key gaps in research on violence affecting children, focusing on how structural violence in the form of inequalities are often neglected, and emphasising how power operates through economic, political, institutional, community and interpersonal relationships to shape patterns of violence. Synthesising from the papers, the analysis will explore the following key themes: inter-dependencies between the differing levels of a socio-ecological model and differing forms of violence (physical, emotional, gender-based); intergenerational relationships and patterns of violence over time, in contexts that are themselves in flux and intersectionality of age, gender, and other markers of difference. The paper suggests that violence in children's lives is the outcome of complex interactions occurring at multiple levels, in contexts that are themselves undergoing rapid economic and social changes that create pressures on children and families. Conceptually, we suggest that this involves shifting the focus away from individual children at risk, to understanding the intersections with wider environments, and leading to a more dynamic theory to understand and respond to violence.

### **Gender, Sibship Size, and Unpaid Care Work: Assessing Heterogeneous Treatment Effects of a Cash Transfer for Education on School Progression**

*Luca Maria Pesando*

This paper capitalizes on a large randomized experiment conducted by Benhassine et al. (2015) in rural Morocco between 2007 and 2010 that provided parents of school-age children with a cash transfer explicitly labelled as an educational support program though not conditional on attendance. I examine whether this intervention, found to boost students' participation and reduce dropout rates, might also affect age-grade distortions, an umbrella term accounting for both delayed school entry and grade repetition. Given sharp gender inequalities in Morocco, I further investigate whether the effect of the treatment varies by student gender, number of siblings, and minutes per day the student reports spending on unpaid care work in the home prior to intervention implementation. Preliminary tabulations suggest a differential effect by gender only is unlikely to emerge. However, I hypothesize that I will find significant heterogeneous treatment effects after interacting gender with number of siblings or burden of unpaid care work, in line with the idea of intersectionality embraced in gender research. Key findings will shed light on whether promoting gender equitable opportunities within the household might enable children to follow a more regular school path.

### **Poor Social Protection? Impacts of Ethiopia's Safety Net on Child Cognitive Achievement**

*Marta Favara, Catherine Porter and Tassew Woldehanna*

We provide new estimates of the impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in Ethiopia on child cognitive achievement in the medium term. The programme is the second largest in Africa, and has been rolled out to almost 10 million beneficiaries since 2005. We exploit four rounds of panel data spanning 2002-2013 to analyse the impact of the safety net on child cognitive and non-cognitive skills. The longer panel allows us to estimate a dynamic model of child human capital development using lagged levels of achievement as instruments. We also examine whether the safety net has been successful in mitigating drought impacts. We further examine the impacts of

'graduation' from the scheme, and find that children in households that graduated do in fact have higher cognitive achievement than those remaining in the programme.

### **Sex, Power and Resistance: Teenage Girls in Rural Tanzania Repoliticising Sexual Agency**

*Kate Pincock*

This paper reflects on the limitations for international development work with teenage girls of thinking about their sexual agency in terms of 'empowerment'. Based on ten months of ethnographic and participatory research with teenage girls in Tanzania, I suggest that the depoliticisation of the discourse of 'empowerment', and the normative measures of behaviour by which it is instrumentalised within international development, act to limit its transformative potential as a framework for interventions with girls. I argue that it is important for international development organisations to affirm girls' sexual agency in a way which acknowledges both subjectivity and social context, without buying into the limited and depoliticised notion of choice made available through neoliberal discourse. I draw on observations, experiences and accounts of girls' everyday subversive acts in my field site to suggest that in order to do this we might instead conceptualise girls' sexual agency in terms of resistance. I suggest that paying attention to the disruption of norms around sexuality rather than the 'empowerment' of individual girls also creates space for development interventions which are less judgmental and more pragmatic about the realities of girls lives.

### **Gender Equality through the Life-course: Implications of Neglecting Adolescent Boys**

*Amit Mitra and Nitya Rao*

The growing global attention on adolescent girls as a pathway to break the intergenerational transmission of poverty has been accompanied by a neglect of adolescent boys in both policy and research, especially in South Asia. This paper explores the implications of this neglect on the sustainability of poverty reduction measures, which tend to enhance girls' and womens' responsibilities and work burdens. The conceptualisations of adolescence, especially in poor households, are interrogated based on the understanding that intra-household relations are both individualistic and shared, within and across generations. Primary data, quantitative (including anthropometric surveys) and qualitative, was collected as part of ongoing research by LANSA (Leveraging Agriculture for Nutrition in South Asia) in two rural, rain-fed communities, situated in different agro-ecological systems in India. This paper, with a particular focus on nutrition, explores the causal factors of malnourishment differentially impacting girls and boys, and its implications for their future lives.

The baseline nutritional data suggests that adolescent male undernutrition is a matter of concern and needs attention in both sites, as it affects the distribution of work and the ability to 'provide' for the next generation. Qualitative insights demonstrate the importance of examining the nutritional histories of adolescents, both boys and girls, in the context of their family and the larger environment including birth order, age at marriage of mother/father, educational provision, access to health services and clean drinking water and sanitation. Variations across ethnic and caste groups point to the fallacy of generalising across populations. Through a disaggregated analysis of individuals and households across social groups, the paper draws out the working of power relations in mediating nutritional and larger well-being outcomes in the specific locales. The analysis presented has policy implications for nutritional security, health and education, highlighting the importance of context-specific policies, implementation as well as research methodologies.

### **Getting it Right When it Matters the Most: Adolescents in Emergencies**

*Omar Robles and Amy Spindler (Poster presentation)*

Adolescence is a critical time in which young people navigate dramatic and diverse transitions that can set them on positive or negative life paths. For adolescents displaced by conflict, the risks and needs of boys and girls are heightened and also diverge in numerous ways because of social and gender norms. For girls, these norms often thwart their development, compromise their health and infringe upon their abilities to fully realize their rights and potential. For boys, the learned ideals of hyper-masculinities associated with harmful outcomes for both women and men begin to take root as they transition from childhood to adulthood. Recognizing that these norms travel with adolescents when crises displace them from their homes, the Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) and Mercy Corps (MC) have piloted a new operational approach and mobile-based tools in several crisis-affected

communities across three countries: Turkey, Iraq and Nigeria. Grounded in the belief that conflict amplifies humanitarians' obligations to be responsive to adolescent girls' and boys' unique needs and risks, this paper summarizes why passive, status-quo humanitarian practice sidestep adolescent girls and then outlines key findings from its field pilots. In all pilot communities, WRC and MC have found that the unique vulnerability-capacity profiles of adolescents—young and old, female and male—challenge preconceived assumptions about adolescents' gender-based needs, vulnerabilities and experiences. Additionally, the implementation process itself has spill-over benefits for not only humanitarian staff, service-delivery and reporting, but also for adolescents themselves. Drawing upon this action-research, the paper proposes three key shifts in humanitarian practice and outlines three policy considerations.

### **Transforming Relationships: An Overlooked Leverage Point in Addressing Transitions in the Second Decade of Life?**

*Eugene Roehlkepartain and Teresa Wallace*

Despite extensive research underscoring the power of relationships during youth and adolescence, strengthening relationships is too rarely operationalised as a critical focus for research, policy, or practice. Too often a focus on individual capacities misses – or even undermines – the powerful role that relationships play in resilience, well-being and thriving. As the research, policy and practice communities refocus on transitions in the second decade of life as a critical window of opportunity for reducing poverty and inequality, we must struggle with how we understand, measure, and actively nurture the kinds of relationships young people need to guide and sustain them through the transitions of adolescence.

This presentation will introduce Search Institute's framework of developmental relationships, which is currently being operationalised in new survey measures that examine parent-youth relationships, mentor/other adult relationships, peer relationships and teacher-student relationships. In addition, we will present data from studies using the Developmental Assets Profile (DAP) in 31 developing countries involving more than 25,000 young people that show promise for quantitative measures focused on relationships. This measurement focus intersects with the emerging policy and practice emphasis at World Vision International on transforming relationships. World Vision's on-the-ground experience of a relational focus in programming crystallises the issues at play. Building on a long partnership in measuring youth well-being with the DAP, leaders in the two organisations will 'explore out loud' with conference participants the opportunities and challenges of emphasising relationships as a foundational strategy for addressing transitions during the second decade of life.

### **Understanding Children's Experiences of Violence at Home in Peru: Qualitative Evidence from Young Lives**

*Vanessa Rojas and Gabriela Guerrero*

This presentation describes children's experiences of violence at home in Peru, using a life-course approach. Violence against children at home tended to increase with age, as children took on more chores (especially in rural areas), and spent more time away from home (in some cases, in urban areas). The chances of being hit by parents increased when children failed in their responsibilities; spending more time away from home also presented potential dangers for children (e.g., being robbed in the community, joining a gang, etc.), and so violence was used as a means to protect them and to prevent them from being led astray. We discuss how living in poverty affects relationships between parents and children. Meeting the basic economic needs of a family is the priority for parents, who then have limited time, energy and resources to devote to their children. We also found that children exposed to violence in the home are also frequently exposed to corporal punishment at school. Parents are often aware of this situation and support teachers to punish their children, because it is considered critical for children's learning and education. Addressing violence affecting children requires a multi-level approach that incorporates not only measures to address the manifestations of violence affecting children, but also the underlying factors driving that violence.

### **Aspirations and Human Capital Investment: Evidence from Indian Adolescents**

*Phillip H. Ross*

The education and occupation aspirations of adolescents play an important role in their human capital investment decisions. Using a sample of adolescents in India, I show new empirical evidence for the theoretical prediction that the relationship between their aspirations gap and the level of

human capital investment has an inverse-U shape. I quantify the aspirations gap as the distance between an adolescent's aspiration level and their household's current state. Their aspiration level is defined as the average wage associated with their aspired occupation and education level and their household's current state is the average wage associated with the occupation and education level of the primary economic earner. An aspirations gap at the 99th percentile at age 12, when compared with a moderate gap, is associated with 0.6 to 0.8 fewer years of education, scoring 0.17 standard deviations lower on a math test, 0.17 standard deviations lower on an English test and 0.13 standard deviations lower on a Telugu test at age 19. These effects are identified conditional on a rich set of controls and community fixed effects and are robust to a check for omitted variable bias.

### **Young People's Social Norms and Decision-making in Relation to Care Work in Northern Uganda**

*Lucia Rost*

Care responsibilities have increasingly been identified as restricting women's and girls' opportunities and status, yet there is limited evidence on determinants of gender- and age-based patterns of care work. This paper investigates social norms and decision-making in relation to young people's care responsibilities. It uses primary data from a household survey on young people's time use, decision-making and social norms conducted in Northern Uganda in collaboration with Oxfam's Women's Economic Empowerment and Care (WE-Care) programme. 564 young people aged 8 to 18 of the households surveyed by Oxfam were interviewed in November 2015. First, the paper looks at gender- and age-based differences in time use. It also compares time use reported by children themselves and by their mothers. The second part examines decision-making related to care work. Lastly, the paper investigates young people's social norms, including perceptions of and preferences for different activities, their pride in their work and views on different ways of dividing tasks. The findings encourage further research on the interplay of young people's decision-making, social norms and gendered time use.

### **Patterns and Social Norms among Children and Adolescents regarding the Gendered Division of Household Care Responsibilities**

*Lucia Rost, Imogen Davies, Leyla Karimli and Thalia Kidder*

The development sector has increasing interest in unpaid care, as heavy and unequal responsibility for domestic work and care of people is shown to constrain processes of women's empowerment. However, there is limited evidence on factors influencing the unequal gendered division of care responsibilities among children and adolescents, and the extent of care work hours for girls. This paper will investigate gender- and age-specific patterns of unpaid care among children and adolescents and related social norms. The paper uses data collected as part of Oxfam's Women's Economic Empowerment and Care (WE-Care) programme. The three data sets include: survey data from 1,100 households in rural Colombia, Ethiopia, Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe in November 2015; survey data from 564 young people aged 8 to 18 in Northern Uganda in November 2015; and qualitative data from four day-long participatory research sessions with 8 to 17 year-olds in Central Uganda in July 2016. First, the paper looks at gender- and age- based patterns of care work in the five countries. It then explores the influence of social norms and attitudes on gender inequality in unpaid care work among adolescents in the two studied areas in Uganda. It will investigate the relationship between adolescents' participation in unpaid care and their own and their parents' social norms regarding care work, including gender roles in care provision, perceptions of care work as valued or skilled, and attitudes towards care responsibilities. The findings will provide initial evidence on how progressive social norms may be associated with gender equality in children's and adolescents' participation in unpaid care, as well as enabling girls' and young women's empowerment.

### **Psychosocial Competencies and Risky Behaviours in Peru**

*Marta Favara and Alan Sanchez*

We use a unique longitudinal dataset from Peru to investigate the relationship between psychosocial competencies related to the concepts of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and aspirations, and a number of risky behaviours at a crucial transition period between adolescence and early adulthood. First of all, we document a high prevalence of risky behaviours with 1 out of 2 individuals engaging in at least one risky activity by the age 19 with a dramatic increase between age 15 and 19. Second, we find a pronounced pro-male bias and some differences by area of residence particularly in drinking habits which are more prevalent in urban areas. Third, we find a negative correlation between early self-

esteem and later risky behaviours which is robust to a number of specifications. Further, aspiring to higher education at the age of 15 is correlated to a lower probability of drinking and of engaging in criminal behaviours at the age of 19. Similarly, aspirations protect girls from risky sexual behaviours.

### **Starting Together, Growing Apart: Gender Gaps in Learning from Pre-school to Adulthood in Four Developing Countries**

*Sonya Krutikova and Abhijeet Singh*

This paper studies gender gaps in multiple learning domains – quantitative skills, vocabulary and reading – for children from the age of 5 to 19 years of age using unique panel data from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam on two cohorts of children with linked test scores and detailed household-based information. To the best of our knowledge, this is the most extensive comparable panel-based investigation of this question over a long age range, covering multiple countries and test domains, and with extensive background information to enable an investigation of the sources of observed gaps. In all countries, both for math and receptive vocabulary, we find that there are no gender gaps prior to school entry (5 years); these gaps emerge later, widening particularly between the ages of 12 and 15 years, favouring boys in Ethiopia and India and favouring girls in Vietnam; subsequently, these learning gaps appear to mostly persist until early adulthood. Our analysis, both cross-sectional and over time, pays special attention to issues arising from selective enrolment, from the ordinality of test outcomes, and from the issue of decay in test scores. Finally, we investigate the sources of divergence between 12-15 years using panel-based value-added models with a rich set of covariates including past achievement, child health, time use, parental education and wealth, and the quality of schooling. In our most extensive specifications, we can explain between half and two-thirds of the cross-sectional gender gap in test scores but a substantial unexplained portion remains.

### **Investing in Adolescent Girls Critical to Building Drought Resilience**

*Beza Tesfaye, Sandrine Chetail and Greg Scarborough [Amy Spindler to present]*

Mercy Corps' study conducted in Turkana County, Kenya finds that girls' contribution to household and community food security is critical and grows during times of crisis. The study uncovers how adolescent girls have long been overlooked as potential agents of change in pastoralist communities. Yet for pastoralist communities to be more resilient to reoccurring crises such as drought, the barriers and opportunities adolescent girls face as care takers, income providers and future wives and mothers must be well understood and addressed. The study advises the development community to evaluate the role adolescent girls play in strengthening their communities and adjust programming to meet the needs of this key demographic.

The panel presentation will share the findings and highlight lessons from this study to broader contexts. Based on focus group discussions and interviews in 20 communities in Turkana with boys, girls, parents and community leaders, the report makes recommendations for additional research and program adjustment, including:

- Understand the risks and vulnerabilities girls face at each stage of development, and harness the capacities and resources they have to confront them.
- Reinforce pastoralist girls' capacities to diversify their sources of food and income during crisis to help them make safer and more lucrative decisions.
- Address the social and economic drivers behind early marriage
- Establish and promote adaptive basic social service provision models more compatible with the pastoralist lifestyle.

### **Reducing Child Marriage in India: A Model to Scale Up Results**

*Dhuwarakha Sriram and Joachim Theis*

The report reviews the drivers of change in child marriage and develops a strategic framework for scaled-up programmes to reduce child marriage in India. It is based on the district-level statistical analysis of current trends and patterns of child marriage in India. The reduction in child marriage has started to accelerate in India since 2005. Three phases in the reduction in child marriage can be identified and each phase requires a different approach to promoting its reduction.

**Areas where child marriage is highly prevalent and a deeply entrenched social norm**, require (a) broad-based social policy, media and advocacy initiatives to build an agenda and create public opinion against child marriage; (b) targeting specific constituencies, such as religious leaders, parliamentarians, etc.; (c) using mass media to raise awareness and project alternative role models for adolescent girls; (d) safe and affordable access to upper primary and secondary education; (e) incentivizing change, i.e. through cash transfers; and (f) forming adolescent groups for empowerment and engaging with women and men.

In **communities where child marriage rates have begun to decline more rapidly**, and where families are investing more in education for girls, more intensive work is needed to amplify and accelerate the transition by (a) broadening opportunities for education, training and livelihoods for adolescent girls; (b) promoting girls' empowerment and a change in gender norms and expectations; and (c) publicly identifying, rewarding and celebrating child-marriage-free communities.

Where **change has occurred and child marriage is regarded as a deviation from the new social norms**, support targeted interventions in pockets of high prevalence and strengthen governance and accountability through (a) strict vigilance and law enforcement; (b) public identification and censoring of child marriage; (c) public identification and celebration of child-marriage-free communities; and (d) intensive engagement with 'closed' communities that are resisting social change.

### **Making the Invisible Visible: Using a Social Norms Approach to Understand What Drives Behaviors Related to Empowering Married Adolescent Girls in Rural Ethiopia**

*Alem Agazi, Theresa Hwang and Leigh Stefanik*

This paper focuses on six years of implementation and research on empowering highly marginalized and excluded married adolescent girls in Amhara, Ethiopia. Amhara has high rates of child marriage, low educational achievement by girls, and high rates of gender-based violence and food insecurity. Little is known about the conditions of recently married adolescents and how best to empower them. The paper focuses on two phases of an implementer's journey learning and adaptation for working with highly marginalized adolescent girls since 2010:

- 1) mixed methods findings and insight from a promising intervention model that relies on peer-education (girls) in small groups modeled on CARE's village savings and loans approach, and Social Analysis and Action community groups who meet monthly to discuss how to support girls and how to reach out to the broader community. Both dialogue-based interventions focus on key social and gender norms that continue to restrict girls' empowerment and specific outcomes related to economic empowerment and sexual and reproductive health.
- 2) current innovations in measuring how social change happens at a community level, using a social norms theory-based approach. CARE's qualitative tool reveals key insight into the critical role husbands and mother-in-laws can play in creating an empowering space for married girls. The tool seeks to understand the broader community norms and influence on behaviors of husbands, mother-in laws, and girls by analyzing the degree of influence reference groups hold, severity and sensitivity of sanctions, and what conditions would create acceptable exceptions to the norm – each of these aspects of social norms interact with specific behaviors that are critical for girls' to be truly empowered.

The latter phase has provided key insights into understanding where to focus interventions to leverage broader scale social change that will make a difference for a largely invisible group of adolescent married girls.

### **What Do Tree Rings Have in Common with the Past, Present and Future of an Adolescent's Development? A Research Partnership Evaluating Program Efficacy on Stress and Cognition among Adolescent Syrian Refugees in Jordan**

*Matt Streng, Rana Dajani, Alastair Ager, Catherine Panter-Brick, Mark Eggerman, Van Uum, Amelia Sancilio, Noura Shahed, Natasha Schawarib and Jane MacPhail*

In situations of adversity and crisis – when the adolescent brain can literally be sculpted by toxic stress – adolescence risks becoming a decade of diminishing opportunities that reinforces poverty and inequality. This presentation reports on a partnership between academics and humanitarians to evaluate an intervention to alleviate stress in refugee adolescents (13-17 years). The evaluation



strategy, measuring the extent to which stress impacts short- and long-term physiological responses and cognitive function, represents a significant methodological and conceptual innovation.

To date, adolescent-focused programmatic interventions in humanitarian settings have not measured stress 'under the skin' or the toxic effects of stress on the brain; relying exclusively on self-reported data solicited from program participants. This presentation informs efforts to leverage child and adolescent stress research to design and conduct robust evaluations of programs that seek to promote safety and psychosocial support for displaced and refugee adolescents. The presentation includes recommendations for strengthening the evidence base for programs that target toxic stress alleviation, in order to better understand their effectiveness and to inform potential scale-up strategies. Challenges and learning that will support academic and humanitarian actors to make informed choices around innovative methods for project evaluation will be shared.

### **Young Girls as Domestic Workers in Delhi: Individual and Structural Barriers to their Health and Well-being** *Jenny Svensson, Cathy Zimmerman and Ana Maria Buller (Poster presentation)*

Domestic workers who work in private households are commonly isolated, seemingly invisible. In India, primarily migrant or economically disadvantaged women and girls carry out domestic work. Private domestic work operates as an informal, unregulated sector. Despite the low wages and job insecurity, domestic work is increasingly the employment choice for millions of women and girls in India because of the high unemployment rates among young girls aged 15 to 29, especially those from poor backgrounds with limited education. In 2011, the International Labour Organization identified child domestic work as hazardous work that poses serious health risks. Yet, evidence remains limited on the health and well-being of girl domestic workers and the individual and structural barriers to greater safety and well-being. This paper uses a gender-informed perspective to explore the interplay of multiple individual and structural factors that affect the health and well-being of girl domestic workers.

Data were collected from January to December 2015 in the National Capital Territory of Delhi. The study used a mixed, child-centred methodology based on participatory research approaches and critical ethnography. Methods included observations, group sessions and in-depth interviews with 29 girl-domestic workers, aged 12 to 20. Nine interviews were conducted with parents and three with employers. Preliminary findings suggest that the main influences on girls' health and well-being include: age; perceptions of appropriate girl life trajectory; level of personal agency; low work status and job recognition. Consequently, intersecting social, economic and political factors contribute to marginalization and disempowerment. Placing gender equity firmly within the domestic work agenda will encourage better health and well-being for many poor girls in India. I will outline the findings of the data analysis followed by key individual and structural barriers to health and well-being, using slides.

### **Educational Trajectories from Childhood to Early Adulthood: Aspiration, Gender and Poverty**

*Yisak Tafere*

This paper investigates the educational pathways of children in Ethiopia. Using a life-course perspective, the paper traces children's schooling trajectories from age 12 to age 19. It draws on survey data from children in 20 Ethiopian sites and qualitative longitudinal data from a sub-set of 30 children (in two age cohorts) in five of those sites.

The evidence suggests that poverty creates difficulties for children's pursuit of schooling, and in their transitions to early adulthood. Girls report relatively better school attendance than boys who are more likely to experience intermittent absence from school on account of the need for them to become engaged in different types of work inside and outside the household which are incompatible with their school schedules. Moreover, cultural practices and family circumstances influence gender differences in schooling trajectories. At later ages, girls generally seem to be more disadvantaged, mainly due to the pressures to marry young. The research findings offer policy insights at two levels: First, they call for well-timed interventions to support children's schooling across childhood; for example, boys being protected from work that affects their attendance and girls protected from early marriage. Secondly, as adulthood outcomes are the cumulative result of multiple circumstances over

the life-course of children, it is important to adopt comprehensive and long-term interventions that address both their childhood trajectories and their transition to adult life. The Young Lives data is uniquely placed to bring both dimensions of time and breadth.

### **Intergenerational Transmission of Caregiver Gender Norms and Adolescent Girl's Well-being and Exposure to Violence in Humanitarian Settings**

*Kathryn Falb, Sophie Tanner, Pamela Mallinga, Nadine Rudahindwa, Marni Sommer and Lindsay Stark*

Gender inequalities are driven by a range of interacting and complex factors at the social, community, family and individual level. Particularly in humanitarian settings, extreme inequalities can manifest in discrimination, oppression and violence against women and girls. This paper will examine the gendered attitudes of parents and caregivers of adolescent girls in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo, and how these are inter-generationally transmitted to girls' themselves, in terms of their own gender norms and attitudes, their self-esteem and hope for their future, and their experiences of violence.

As part of the DFID-funded COMPASS (Creating Opportunities through Mentorship, Parenting and Safe Spaces) programme which seeks to prevent and respond to violence against adolescent girls in humanitarian settings, Columbia University led quantitative and qualitative research in the DRC in June-July 2015. Baseline data were collected via Computer Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPIS) and Audio Computer Assisted Self Interviews (ACASIs) with 869 10-14 year old girls and 764 caregivers in 14 villages in South Kivu, alongside in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. This paper will assess how parental or caregiver gendered attitudes and norms are associated with outcomes of interest at the girl level, including physical violence, sexual violence, early marriage, gender norms, and emotional well-being. Implications for engaging and working with caregivers to improve the well-being of girls in this context will be discussed.

### **Street Youth Masculinities: Exploring Gendered Identities, Relations and the Impact on Girls in Three African Cities**

*Lorraine van Blerk and Wayne Shand*

Gutierrez and Hopkins (2015) suggest that a sustained focus on girls' lives from a gendered perspective has been related to the influence of feminist perspectives in the development of sociology of childhood/ children's geographies. Research on young people's masculinities has therefore received less attention over the years, although a recent body of work is now beginning to address this imbalance. Similarly, the gendered nature of street life has received some attention in the literature, but this has also tended to focus on girls and their particular experiences of the street (see Beazley, 2002). In part this has been due to the larger proportion of boys on the streets and their experiences being considered typical, with girls' lived experiences positioned as more marginalised, because they are closely connected to issues of sexual exploitation, sex work and parenting (Shand et al. 2016; van Blerk, 2016). However, in order to fully understand girls' lived experiences, a gendered perspective needs to address the intersections between youth, street and masculinities/femininities for understanding the power relations involved in young people's daily lives.

This paper seeks to address this gap in knowledge by drawing on findings from the Growing up on the Streets longitudinal research, which has engaged approximately 200 young people from three African cities through participatory ethnographic methods. Through focusing on the interactions with girls (including exploitation and violence) from the perspectives of young men, this paper will add to knowledge around how and why young people's street identities and practices are constructed in relation to powerful gendered discourses and consider the implications of this for policy and practice.

### **From Adolescence to Early Adulthood: A Case Study of Gendered Trajectories through School in India**

Anuradha Komanduri, Jen Roest and Uma Vennam

In this paper we attempt to understand when gender inequality begins to open up in childhood; in which domains, how and why gender disparities persist across adolescence and into early adulthood; and whether and how gendered norms, values and practices impact on children's trajectories. We use qualitative longitudinal data gathered from 23 young people and their parents in Andhra Pradesh, and descriptive survey statistics. A case study approach was used to analyse a selection of young people's narratives, exploring the intersecting factors at individual, household and community level that

explain their changing trajectories over time. Early disadvantages resulting from poverty, family death, debt or illness play a key role in framing these trajectories, as do gender norms that influence the different roles, responsibilities, opportunities and social risks that girls and boys are exposed to. The data presented in this paper suggest that gendered differences in girls' and boys' trajectories through education still exist despite the implementation of a number of state programmes and efforts to address these gaps, with differences emerging most conspicuously at the point at which poverty and gendered social norms intersect.

### **Masculinity, Intimate Partner Violence and Son Preference in India**

*Ravi Verma and Abhishek Gautam*

In-depth research on gender, power and masculinity and various programmatic efforts to engage men have made it abundantly clear that men and boys must be an integral part of efforts to promote gender equality. At same time it is critical to understand that not all men and boys are the same and their behaviours and attitudes are influenced by external factors. This is especially relevant in India, where caste, class and linguistic ethnicity have tremendous influence on how men and boys construct their sense of masculinity and define what it means to be a 'real man' or what is expected of them. Recent research suggests that men's attitudes and more broadly, masculinity, perpetuate son preference and to some extent, intimate partner violence in India, affecting different men in different ways. Aiming to examine these issues and find effective approaches to address them, we surveyed 9,205 men and 3,158 women, including adolescents, in seven states of India: Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra. In this presentation, we will outline the main findings, emphasizing that in India, masculinity - i.e. men's controlling behaviour and gender inequitable attitudes - strongly determines men's preference for sons over daughters. This relationship is influenced by multiple factors including social status, economic burden, and religious beliefs, which manifest in gender inequality and are also related to intimate partner violence (IPV). Masculine control in women's lives affects their own experiences of IPV and preference for sons. To eliminate son preference and IPV in India, it is critical to develop and implement national policies and programs that involve men and adolescent boys in promoting gender equality and diminishing socio-cultural and religious practices that reinforce gender discrimination. These policies need to target different men and adolescent boys in different ways.

### **Secondary School as a Contraceptive: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Burundi**

*Philip Verwimp*

It is well-known that more educated women have their first child at later age compared to less educated women. The causality of this relationship and the mechanisms behind it however are another matter. In this paper we use a regression discontinuity design to infer the causal effect of prolonged schooling on the timing of the first child as well as the drivers of the effect. We tracked and interviewed 375 young Burundian women who took part in their countries 'Concours National', a nationwide test taken at age 15.5 on average that decides whether or not someone can continue their education. Failure or success in this test strongly affects age at first child. As a lot of girls manage to circumvent the test score cut-off point set by the Ministry of Education, we employ a fuzzy method whereby the assignment into treatment serves as an instrumental variable for effective treatment. We find an ITT of -13 and a LATE of -54 percentage points on the probability to have had a pregnancy four years after the test and of -27 before age 20. An additional year of secondary school reduces the probability to become pregnant by 8 percentage points. We also find evidence for several channels raised in the literature to explain the finding (incarceration, knowledge and modernization). The results are robust to alternative specifications.

### **Early Fertility and Labor Market Segmentation: Evidence from Madagascar**

*Catalina Herrera, David E. Sahn and Kira M. Villa*

Women represent the majority of informal sector workers in developing countries. This is especially true in Sub-Saharan Africa where teenage pregnancy rates are still high. However, to date, there is little empirical evidence on the role of early fertility in female labor force participation in the informal sector. We analyse the effect of young women's timing of first birth on her entry into the labor market and selection into different types of employment. Using a panel survey in Madagascar, designed to capture the transition from adolescence to adulthood, we estimate a multinomial logit model to capture the effect of early childbearing on selection into four employment categories: non-

participation, informal, formal, and student. To address the endogeneity of fertility and labor market outcomes, we instrument the timing of the first birth using young women's community-level access/exposure to family planning. Our results suggest that early childbearing increases the probability of employment for young women. However, women whose first birth occurred during adolescence largely select into low-quality informal jobs. This effect is partially, but not entirely, mediated by the effect of adolescent pregnancy on schooling.

### **Why Do Rural Girls Migrate to Urban Secondary Schools? Learning from the Perspectives of Rural Girls in Southern Ethiopia**

*Louise Yorke and Robbie Gilligan*

Girls' secondary education is said to bring many benefits for girls and their families, especially those living in poverty. However, inequalities across gender, region, socio-economic status and urban-rural divide mean that access to secondary education is particularly challenging for many girls in rural Ethiopia. On the supply side, the lack of available secondary schools coupled with the low quality of education creates specific challenges for those wishing to access secondary school. On the demand side, poverty, restrictive traditional and cultural expectations and practices, heavy domestic work burdens and the low value placed on girls' education by their families make accessing secondary education difficult for rural girls in particular. Migration provides rural girls with an opportunity to attend urban secondary schools. Nonetheless, migration is not an option for all rural girls who wish to access secondary school, while there are also many rural girls who migrate to urban areas but fail to enter or do not remain in secondary school. This study explores the accounts of rural girls' regarding their migration for secondary school and will address the gap in our understandings of their perspectives. First it explores rural girls' educational aspirations and the value that they believe secondary education can bring for themselves and their families. Secondly it explores rural girls' decision to migrate and the unique set of factors that make their educational migration possible. A combination of participatory video, group discussions and life story interviews are used to help rural girls to tell their stories. A particular advantage of the study is its ability to make connections across issues of rural poverty, gender, migration and education. The findings have particular relevance for efforts to increase girls' participation in secondary education in Ethiopia, and also contribute to the wider debate on the role of girls' secondary education in development.

### **The Risks of Not Following the Crowd: What Happens When Adolescents Demonstrate Atypical Gender Roles**

*Chunyan Yu*

Early adolescence (ages 10-14) has been recognized as an important but understudied developmental period (Blum et al., 2014). This transitional period is a time during which adolescents' understanding and espousal of gender norms solidify and start to shape health outcomes. Gender norms and gender socialization at this age may contribute to diverging risks for boys and girls. In this panel, we draw on qualitative interviews among early adolescents and their parents from diverse urban settings across the world as part of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS). The GEAS is implemented by a collaboration of university-based and non-government institutions from 15 cities: Assiut (Egypt) Baltimore (USA), Blantyre (Malawi), Cape Town (South Africa), Cochabamba (Bolivia), Cuenca (Ecuador), Edinburgh (Scotland), Ghent (Belgium), Hanoi (Vietnam), Ile Ife (Nigeria), Kinshasa (DRC), Nairobi (Kenya), New Delhi (India), Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), and Shanghai (China). To date, a total of 894 interviews have been conducted, of which 468 have been conducted among adolescents aged 11-13 years.

In this paper, data from four sites (Baltimore, Shanghai, Ghent, and New Delhi) are analyzed to describe the risks specifically related to when boys and girls act out of their 'normal' gender roles. Across sites, while it was more acceptable for girls to exhibit masculine traits, when boys displayed feminine characteristics, they were frequently bullied and teased, suggesting that even in early adolescence, masculinity is dominant.

### **The Impact of Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Norms on Early Adolescents' Healthy Sexuality** *Chaohua Lou, Chunyan Yu, Xiayun Zuo and Qiguo Lian (Poster presentation)*

**Purpose:** To compare the consistencies and conflicts of gender norm proposed by the parents and their children in early adolescence in dyad and to explore the impact of inter-generational transmission of gender norms on adolescents' healthy sexuality.

**Methods:** A total of 68 parents and adolescents living in the urban poor area of Shanghai, China were interviewed using a narrative approach to collect their stories and opinions on gender norms. The conversations were audio recorded, transcribed and translated into scripts. Scripts were carefully read and coded in Atlas.ti 7.5 for analysis. Gender norms were reflected by asking both parent and adolescent 'what are the rules a boy/girl should follow' and 'what would happen if one doesn't obey the rules' as well as 'the ideal mate in future marriage or family composition'. Assessment of healthy sexuality was based on extractions from adolescents' interviews showing their friendships with peers, romantic relationships and their feelings of possessing present or opposite gender.

**Results:** Though parents expressed that there are distinct differences between boys and girls biologically and psychologically, it is not that obvious in adolescents' eyes. Most parents living in urban poor environment are inclined to traditional, male-dominated gender norms. They tend to raise their boys more free and girls more obedient. Therefore as early adolescents, girls were ashamed of losing elegance, and boys of lacking strength, which in turn may cause difficulties for adolescents seeking conformity from their families, peers or societies in their present and future lives.

**Conclusion:** The society and parents need to create a gender neutral environment for the children to grow up, so that boys and girls would respect each other and at the meantime won't be hostile to people don't behave like them.

### **Enhancing Agency and Changing Gender Role Attitudes of Adolescent Girls and Boys: Evidence from a Safe Spaces Programme in Rural India**

*K.G. Santhya, Rajesh R. Singh, Vandana Nair and A.J. Francis Xavier*

**Background and objectives:** Gender role attitudes remain traditional and agency remains limited among adolescent girls and boys in India. Interventions to help adolescents adopt gender egalitarian attitudes and exercise agency have focussed primarily on girls, neglecting those who influence their lives. Moreover, most interventions have not been rigorously evaluated. Drawing on data from an evaluation of an intervention that targeted adolescent girls, their brothers, husbands and other family members, this paper presents evidence on what works to help adolescent girls and boys adhere to egalitarian gender norms and exercise agency.

**Methods:** The six-month intervention comprised formation of adolescent girls' groups, provision of life-skills education, and linking girls with existing vocational training programmes, employment schemes and health services. Activities were also organized for their unmarried adolescent brothers and husbands. The intervention was implemented in over 800 villages in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. We used a quasi-experimental design, with cross-sectional baseline and endline surveys in intervention and comparison arms and post-survey in-depth interviews in the intervention arm. Study participants included unmarried girls (15-19 years), married girls (15-21 years), and their unmarried brothers (15-19 years) and husbands (15-24 years). We used the difference-in-difference method to ascertain project impact.

**Findings:** The reach of the intervention was highest among unmarried girls and lowest among unmarried brothers and husbands. The intervention contributed to improving unmarried and married girls' agency as measured by their self-efficacy, decision-making autonomy and freedom of movement. It had little effect in improving unmarried brothers' and husbands' agency, except in improving their decision-making autonomy. Gender role attitudes became more egalitarian among unmarried girls; no such effect was observed among married girls and unmarried brothers and husbands.

### **The Role of Training Programs for Youth Employment: Quasi-experimental Evidence from Nepal**

*Juliane Zenker, Mattias Lundberg, Plamen Nikolov and Shubha Chakravarty*

The youth unemployment rate is exceptionally high in the developing world. Because quality of education is arguably one of the most important determinants of youth's labor force participation, governments worldwide have responded by creating job training and placement services programs. Despite the rapid expansion of skill-enhancement employment programs across the world and the long history of training program evaluations, debates about the causal impact of training based labor market policies on employment outcomes still persist. Using a quasi-experimental approach, this paper presents the short-run effects of skills training and employment placement services in Nepal.

Launched in 2009, the intervention provided skills training and employment placement services for over 40,000 Nepalese youth over a three-year period, including a specialized adolescent girls' initiative that reached 4,410 women aged 16 to 24. We find, after three years of the program, the EF intervention positively improved employment outcomes. EF training program participation generated an increase in non-farm employment of 15 to 16 percentage points for an overall gain of about 50 percent. The program also generated an average monthly earnings gain by about 72 percent. We find significantly larger employment impacts for women than for men, but younger women aged 16 to 24 experienced the same improvements as older females. These employment estimates are comparable, though somewhat higher, than other recent experimental interventions in developing countries. We also find strong impacts of EF training programs on economic and psychological empowerment. Trainees had more control over economic resources and stronger self-assessed self-confidence. In contrast to the findings on employment and empowerment outcomes, we find limited evidence of impacts on reproductive health or household level outcomes.