

Engaging boys and male youth in building child marriage free communities in Ethiopia

Influences on gender equal perceptions and practices of intimate/
marital relationships

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ADAA	African Development Aid Association
AISSR	Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BICDO	Birhan Integrated Community Development Organization
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CM	Child marriage
CSE	Comprehensive Sexuality Education
DEC	Development Expertise Centre
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FSC(E)	Forum of Sustainable Child Empowerment
GEIMR	Gender Equality in Intimate/Marital Relationships
GNB	Girls Not Brides
HC	Her Choice
HRC	Human Rights Centre
HTP	Harmful Traditional Practice
ICDI	International Child Development Initiatives
ICRW	International Centre for Research on Women
LIAE	Love in Action Ethiopia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODWACE	Organisation for Development of Women and Children
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
R	Software environment for statistical computing and graphics

SKN	Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
THP	The Hunger Project
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UvA	University of Amsterdam
WCAT	Wabe Children's Aid and Training
WaSH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
(Rutgers) WPF	World Population Foundation
WSWM	The World Starts With Me
YFS	Youth Friendly Services

Abstract

While it were women who put the issue of gender equality on the political agenda, it are men who also need to be included in the process of empowerment and behavioural change. Research shows that when boys and men hold more equitable values and are more committed to equality in their relationships and within institutional structures, an enabling environment for women's empowerment is created. However, little is known about how to engage boys and male youth to strive towards gender equality in several life domains and what the consequences of this engagement are. Hence, this thesis asks what the effects are of the engagement of boys and male youth in building child marriage free communities, on their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate and marital relationships. Mixed-method primary data collection was conducted in Debre Tabor, Ethiopia in collaboration with a local non-governmental organization amongst boys participating in a community wide child marriage sensitisation and training programme, their educators and programme staff, compared to a control group of boys non-participating. Secondary data analysis was conducted on programme documents. Overall quantitative results show a positive relation between the programme and gender equal perceptions and practices in intimate and marital relationships of boys and male youth. More specifically, the programme is shown most effective when boys are in secondary education and engaged in at least two forms of engagement. Findings support that final perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships are dependent on the influence of one's social and non-social beliefs. Insights in the processes that maintain and shape these perceptions and practices can be used to change dominant perceptions and practices. The effect of one's social beliefs can differ, depending on one's level of autonomy. This thesis concludes that positive behavioural and attitudinal change towards gender equality in intimate/martial relationships is found once boys and male youth are engaged. Furthermore can perceptions and practices be influenced by either changing their underlying motives or by changing the process that maintain and shape these perceptions and practices. Based on these findings, I argue for the need to include sexual and reproductive health and rights programmes in the standard curriculum and to increase boys and male youth's autonomy.

Keywords: male engagement; gender equality; Ethiopia; child marriage; sexual and reproductive health and rights; community wide programming

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Child marriage (from now on referred to as CM) occurs in both the developed and the developing world, making CM a worldwide problem. CM affects millions of children and only recently has found a place on the international agenda (Hodgkinson, Koster, & Miedema, 2016). Despite the near universal commitment to end child marriage, rates of CM remain consistently high with 12 million girls each year (Girls Not Brides, n.d.). Worldwide, more than 650 million women, and over 150 million men have already endured the consequences of CM (Girls not Brides, n.d.). CM rates however vary drastically both within and across countries (Hodgkinson, Koster, & Miedema, 2016).

Although it is difficult to determine what reasons constitute the biggest factor influencing child marriage, Hodgkinson, Koster and Miedema (2016, p. 18) note that unequal gender norms and gender hierarchies are suggested to be the overarching reason in literature (e.g. Ghimire & Samuels, 2014; Harper et al, 2014) for the existence and persistence of child marriage. The second biggest reason, often described as deeply connected with norms and gender hierarchies (Harper et al, 2014), is economic context, which includes income poverty (Yarrow et al, 2015) and the economic dependency of girls (Ghimire & Samuels, 2014). Other reasons mentioned are the lack of alternatives (Yarrow et al, 2015), religion (Walker, 2012; Sah, 2008) and securing honour (Samuels & Ghimire, 2014), often closely linked to religious norms. Although research often separates different reasons behind CM quite distinctly, it is evident throughout literature that the causes of CM can be seen as an interplay of these reasons combined. However, some reasons are more overt, whilst others are more hidden.

The path towards gender equality is a path mainly explored by and for women (Connell, 2003). Over the past 20 years, however, an increasing consensus to challenge and transform dominant forms of masculinity and to engage boys and men in the process towards gender equality to achieve sustainable gender transformation efforts has arisen (Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015; Esplen, 2006; Connell, 2003). While women put the issue of gender equality on the policy agenda, as they are the ones who are disadvantaged most by gender inequality, men also need to be included in the process of empowerment and behavioural change. Men

benefit from gender equality, by what more equitable families and societies have to offer (ICRW, 2018). Connell (2005, p. 1801) argues that gender inequalities are ingrained in the multidimensional relationship between men and women, a relationship prevalent at every level of human experience. Examples she mentions are economic arrangements, culture and the state, but also interpersonal relationships and individual emotions. Since moving towards a gender-equal society involves great social, structural and institutional changes, widespread social support is required. Thus, the inclusion of boys and men benefits both the process and the men.

1.2 Problem statement

Although the transformation of dominant masculinities and the inclusion of men and boys in working towards gender equality is increasingly agreed upon (Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2015; Esplen, 2006; Connell, 2003), the 'sweeping change' everyone is hoping for has stayed out (Ratele, 2015). As Ratele (2015, p. 144) puts it: "The turn to boys, men and masculinities has not gone without resistance, contestation and contradictions". There is still relatively little known about how to engage boys and men to achieve gender equality in different life domains and what its consequences are. Dominant masculinities are deeply rooted in existing patriarchal structures and although change is proven possible, the process towards engaging boys and men is a challenge (Ibid). The lack of knowledge surrounding the multifaceted struggle of engaging boys and men is an area where a lot of significant steps can and have to be made.

The International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) (2018, p. 13) points out that the transformation of perceptions and practices of boys and men can lead to more gender-responsive laws and policies which create opportunity for girls and women to participate, speak up and engage in decision making processes. It is thus important to gain more insights in the way perceptions and practices of boys and men can be transformed. A knowledge gap exists regarding how more equitable values are obtained. No research has addressed the impact that programmes engaging men in building child marriage free communities (from now on referred to as BCMFC) have, on their perceptions and practices of gender equality. A research gap this thesis addresses by exploring the different ways boys and male youth are engaged in the HC programme, how these forms of engagement affect their perceptions

and practices of GEIMR and by exploring the relationship to the underlying motives of these perceptions and practices.

Unequal gender norms and gender hierarchies are the main drives of CM, if these can be transformed, they can help build CM free communities. By studying the effects of the engagement of boys and male youth in BCMFC on their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships (from now on referred to as GEIMR), more insight in the processes behind the changes of these perceptions and practices are obtained. These insights can bring us closer to meet one of the sustainable development goals; gender equality, a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world (UN, n.d.).

This thesis looks specifically at Ethiopia, one of the countries in which a community wide CM sensitisation and training programme is implemented. In Ethiopia, two in every five girls are married before the age of 18 and almost one in five girls is married before the age of 15 (GNB, n.d.). Prevalence rates differ per region, with the Amhara region, the place this research is conducted, having the highest rate of CM with nearly 45 percent of girls married before the age of 18 (Girls not Brides, n.d.). This thesis focuses on the engagement of boys and male youth in BCMFC in Ethiopia as a case study that uncovers the gender inequalities in place. More specifically, this thesis looks at the influence that the engagement of boys and male youth in BCMFC has on their perceptions and practices of gender inequality in intimate/marital relationships. This is done by answering the two main research questions: (1) How does engagement of boys and male youth in building CM free communities in Ethiopia affect their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships? and (2) What are the underlying motives that affect their practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships?

1.3 Research approach

A convergent design within a mixed methodology was conducted based on a critical realist rationale, in which the quantitative and qualitative data was collected alongside each other. Fieldwork was conducted in Debre Tabor, Ethiopia, between mid-September and December 2018.

This research is conducted in conjunction with Her Choice (from here on referred to as HC), a Dutch alliance that strives towards BCMFC in 11 countries, by implementing a community wide CM sensitisation and training programme. The programme is developed by HC, and implemented, amongst others, by HC's local implementing partner, Wabe Children's Aid and Training (WCAT). WCAT assisted in the realization of this field study. This study has taken place in South Gondar Zone, Amhara regional state; one of WCAT's intervention sites.

The purpose of this thesis is first and foremost filling the observed knowledge gap and study the effect of engaging boys and male youth in BCMFC on their perceptions and practices of GEIMR. From the knowledge gained, theoretical and practical lessons can be obtained. This can benefit further development of programmes engaging boys and male youth in gender equality or more specifically in BCMFC.

1.4 Thesis outline

This thesis encompasses eight chapters. Firstly, the theoretical framework in Chapter 2 discusses the topics child marriage, gender equality, (hegemonic-/) femininity and masculinity, and engaging boys and male youth, along with recent debates surrounding these topics. Chapter 3 elaborates on the research framework in which the research questions, conceptualization, operationalization, epistemology, methods of data collection and ethics are discussed. Chapter 4 describes the research location, HC, WCAT and the community wide CM sensitisation and training programme. Chapter 5, 6, 7, and 8 elaborate on the results of this thesis, in which Chapter 5 explains the specific way boys and male youth are engaged in BCMFC. Chapter 6 looks into the effect the HC programme has, by discussing the perceptions and practices of GEIMR amongst boys and male youth and the role of HC in shaping these perceptions and practices. Chapter 7 elaborates on underlying motives and hegemonic masculinity and femininity present in Amharic culture. Chapter 8 is the final result chapter and discusses the implications and limitations of gender transformative work. Lastly, Chapter 9 entails the conclusion of this thesis in which the main research questions are answered, followed by a critical reflection of the theoretical framework, methodology and implications for further research and policy.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of all major concepts, theories and previous research that underpin this thesis. Major theories that are discussed include the Theory of Gender and Power, the Equity Model of Sexuality, and Hegemonic Masculinity and Hegemonic Femininity and a general framework around child marriage. In Section 2.2, the concept of CM is discussed, in which CM is defined, and prevalent theories and their contradictions are reviewed. Section 2.3 explores the concept of gender equality, moving from the broad definition of gender equality on to perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Section 2.4 elaborates on the concepts of femininities and masculinities, and subsequently presents an alternative model. Section 2.5 discusses the engagement of boys and male youth, in which three different frameworks are presented, to understand the role of boys and men in gender equality and women's empowerment. Section 2.6 provides a conceptualization of key concepts and their relationships are explored. Lastly, Section 2.7 concludes by connecting all concepts that are used to frame this research.

2.2 Child marriage

This section provides an overview of the concept of child marriage. A general definition is provided, followed by drivers of CM and its consequences. Subsequently, a general framework is presented in which all drivers can be placed.

The specific term CM is chosen instead of the term early marriage due to its more concrete definition. Where 'early marriage' remains quite vague, 'child marriage' is a definition defined by many international organizations, such as UNICEF, Save the Children, UNFPA, HC, and the international community more generally (e.g. UN and African Union), as "marriage entered into when one or both spouses are under the age of 18" (Hodgkinson, Koster & Miedema, 2016. p. 7). This definition however, can differ on a national level, depending on the country's legal marital age. In Ethiopia, the law states the legal age of marriage is 18, therefore holding the same definition of CM as the international community (Kedir, 2016).

2.2.2 Drivers of child marriage

There is an abundance of literature debating the reasons behind child marriage. Although most factors are displayed quite distinctly, it is also seen throughout literature that CM involves an interplay of social norms, economics, structures and familial motivations (Hodgkinson, Koster, & Miedema, 2016). Hodgkinson, Koster and Miedema (2016) provide two main economic factors behind child marriage. Firstly, marrying one's daughter can be seen as the primary way of securing the future of their daughter. Secondly, the daughter can be seen as a financial burden to the family which they can relieve themselves of by marrying her for profit. However, most literature suggests that gender inequality is the main factor for the existence of CM (Ghimire, Samuels, Adhikari, 2014; Harper, Jones, Presler-Marshall & Walker, 2014; Watson, 2014). The ruling norms and hierarchies place power into the hands of men, enabling them to exercise power over many important decision-making processes. "In terms of fathers, therefore, (child) marriage can be seen as a way of transferring their patriarchal rights to their daughter over to another man" (Hodgkinson, Koster, & Miedema, 2016, p. 18). This process in turn secures the fathers' social status as dominant male and protects their property from being obtained by a female (Walker, 2012).

2.2.3 Consequences of child marriage

The consequences of CM are, like the driving factors, plentiful and vary depending on the child's age. Generally, the cost of CM for the health, education and well-being of a child are higher the earlier a child marries (Bicchieri, Jiang, & Lindemans, 2014, p. 399). While it is not proven whether CM causes school dropout or the other way around, CM often means the end of a girl's education (Girls not Brides, n.d.). Practical and legal obstacles make it difficult for married girls to go back to school (e.g. stigma of pregnancy, children to look after) (Ibid). Lack of education, in turn, traps a child in a cycle of poverty. Without any education, girls are less likely to earn an income to break this cycle (Ibid). CM furthermore negatively affects a child's health. CM encourages the initiation of sexual activity when the children's bodies are often still developing and they know little about SRHR (Ibid). The well-being of the child is also at risk. Girls not Brides (n.d.) states that child marriages expose girls to intimate partner violence, including sexual, physical, psychological and emotional violence. Next to the physical and emotional costs, are trade-offs made with social and financial costs. Costs and gains can be opposite on different levels, making CM a complex phenomenon.

2.2.4 An all-encompassing framework on child marriage

There is a lot of empirical and theoretical research about CM and its origin. Moreover, many different monitoring and evaluation processes have been developed. However, Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014, p. 2) identified three problems in the existing research: (1) there are too many explanations of child marriage, while it is not clear how these explanations fit together, (2) explanations of CM often lack theoretical rigor, and (3) the measurement tools available for monitoring and evaluation also lack theoretical backing.

Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014) propose a framework named ‘a general framework’. This framework is based on insights into how individuals make decisions, taking into account that this behaviour is often influenced by what other people do and think. The framework explains the behaviour of individuals in terms of the preferences and options they have and the beliefs (non-social and social) about these options they hold. Non-social and social beliefs are differentiated by the belief being about other people (social) or not (non-social). Normative beliefs are guided by norms either set by yourself or by others, while non-normative beliefs do not conform to a certain norm. Table 2.1 and 2.2 provide an overview of the different kind of beliefs with corresponding examples. A normative social belief (normative expectation) is thus a belief about what other people think one should do, while a non-normative social belief (empirical expectation) is a belief about what people actually do. Furthermore is a normative non-social belief (personal normative belief) a belief about what one should do, while a non-normative, non-social belief (factual belief) is a belief about reality other than about people’s behaviour and thought.

Table 2. 1 Non-social, social, non-normative and normative beliefs

	Non-social beliefs	Social beliefs/expectations
Non-normative beliefs	Factual beliefs	Empirical expectations
Normative beliefs	Personal normative beliefs	Normative expectations

Source: Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014, p. 9

Table 2. 2 Different kinds of beliefs with examples

	Definition	Examples
Factual beliefs	Beliefs about reality other than about people’s	An older girl will not find a good husband.

	behaviour and thought	
Personal normative beliefs	Beliefs about what one should do	I should marry my daughter as soon as she reaches puberty.
Empirical expectations	Beliefs about what people do	All my neighbours marry their daughters as soon as they reach puberty.
Normative expectations	Beliefs about what other people think one should do	My neighbours think that one should marry one's daughter as soon as she reaches puberty.

Source: Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014, p. 9

This thesis adheres to the general framework proposed by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014). This framework is used and adapted to analyse how gender roles and hegemonic femininity and masculinity are kept in place or broken, and with this, perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

2.3 Gender equality

This section first defines gender equality, followed by an in-depth elaboration on relevant theories and current debates regarding gender equality and the perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

2.3.1 Defining gender equality

Most research on gender equality-related topics, fails to define gender equality. Definitions found, mainly in (non-/) governmental organisations' documents/websites, share the same overall main definition, but differ in the amount of specification.

This thesis adheres mainly to the definition of gender equality given by UNICEF (2017):

“The concept that women and men, girls and boys have equal conditions, treatment and opportunities for realizing their full potential, human rights and dignity, and for contributing to (and benefitting from) economic, social, cultural and political development. Gender equality is, therefore, the equal valuing by society of the similarities and the differences of men and women, and the roles they play. It is based on women and men being full partners in the home, community and society. [...] Gender equality implies that the interests, needs

and priorities of both women and men and girls and boys are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups and that all human beings are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes and prejudices about gender roles.”¹

This specific definition is chosen due to its comprehensive nature and its inclusion of not only male and female, but also the roles they play. Another reason this definition is chosen is its emphasis on women and men being full partners, thus covering explicitly the topic of this research.

This thesis however, adds a component of the shared definition of gender equality by the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women, n.d.) and the European Institute for Gender Equality (n.d.), from its online glossary of gender mainstreaming concepts and definitions. Namely that; “Gender equality is not a women’s issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women”. This part is added due to its importance to this research as one of the fundamental pillars this thesis is built upon.

2.3.2 Theory of gender and power

This section elaborates on the theory of gender and power, originally developed by Robert Connell (1987). The theory of gender and power states that the gendered relationships between men and women are characterized by three major structures; (1) the sexual division of labour, examining economic inequalities favouring males; (2) the sexual division of power, examining inequalities and abuse of authority and control in relationships and institutions favouring males; and (3) cathexis, examining social norms and affective attachments. These three major structures serve to explain the gender roles assumed by men and women (Wingood, DiClemente, DiClemente, Crosby, & Kegler, 2002).

The three major structures operate on two different levels; societal and institutional. The highest level is the societal level, which sees society through numerous historical and socio-political forces, that on the basis of gender-determined roles, consistently segregate power and ascribe certain social norms (Wingood et al. 2002). The lower level is the institutional level in which social structures are evident in schools, works sites and industries, families,

¹ It is important to note that the categories of ‘men’, ‘women’, ‘girls’, and ‘boys’ in this definition refer to the biological sex of one’s person.

relationships, religious institutions, etc. Through, for example, unequal pay and discriminatory practices, the three structures (mentioned in the previous paragraph) are maintained within institutions (Wingood et al. 2002).

The three major structures in the theory of gender and power are used as pillars to analyse the gendered relationships between men and women in this thesis as they form a framework that serves to explain, identify and analyse the gender roles assumed and acted upon. Overall structures are analysed mainly within the institutional level. However, the societal level will be taken into account as the overarching structure the institutional level manifests itself in.

2.3.3 Intersectionality

While the theory of gender and power is useful for analytical purposes of this thesis, it is important to also look beyond gender inequality alone. Intersectionality is a theory rooted in black feminism and critical race theory and followed as a critique to western feminism that only focused on gender differences (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays & Tomlinson, 2014). Intersectionality can be seen as a work-in-progress and moves in relation to shifting subjects. More broadly, intersectionality links and engages scholarly subfields and research methodologies (Ibid). McCall (2008, p. 1771) defines intersectionality as “the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations”.

When engaging African black men in gender equality and BCMFC, it is important to recognize the other structural inequalities they face. Roberts and Jesudason (2013) argue that an intersectional lens can identify both privilege and victimhood, creating a connection around shared experiences. Intersectionality is thus a useful tool that can facilitate cross-movement building, by promoting commonalities and acknowledging differences. A necessary approach when dealing with a complex phenomenon such as child marriage. This thesis therefore includes an intersectionality framework, looking beyond only issues regarding gender equality.

2.3.4 Perception and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships

The next section elaborates more specifically on the perceptions and practices of GEIMR. This is done to demarcate and define this otherwise abstract concept and place the concept within the theoretical framework.

The sexual double standard is a theory that states that men and women hold different standards of sexual behaviour in which men are rewarded and women socially derogated for sexual activity (Marks, & Fraley, 2005). Although there is no theoretical or empirical support for this model (Marks, & Fraley, 2005; McCarthy, & Bodnar, 2007), mainstream theories still recognize and include the traditional male-female double standard (McCarthy, & Bodnar, 2007). McCarthy and Bodnar (2007) however, state that the contrary might even be true as there is increasing evidence of more similarities than differences among women and men, including sexual capacities, responses and values.

McCarthy and Bodnar (2007) introduce the equity model of sexuality. The equity model of sexuality provides a comprehensive framework with clear guidelines (see Box 2.1) that promote individual as well as cultural flexibility (McCarthy & Bodnar, 2005. p. 229). One of the core themes in these guidelines is the establishment of male-female roles, that promote healthy psychological, relational and sexual functioning and satisfaction.

Box 2.1 The equity model of sexuality

1. Base relationships between men and women on respectful attitudes that promote, and even demand, equity.
2. Maintain open and flexible attitudes toward female – male roles.
3. Work toward an acceptance and security about yourself and your femininity/masculinity so that you do not need the approval of the opposite sex nor are you intimidated by same-sex peer pressure.
4. Be aware that intellectually, behaviourally, emotionally and sexually there are more similarities than differences between women and men.
5. Encourage personal and/or professional friendships with the other sex, but resist the pressure to sexualize these relationships.
6. Be comfortable and confident in your femininity or masculinity so that activities or interests that have been labelled as belonging to the other sex can be integrated into your life.
7. Understand that an intimate sexual relationship will be more satisfying if both the woman and man can initiate, say no, request and enjoy a range of sexual pleasures.
8. Acknowledge that conception, contraception and children are as much the responsibility of men as women.
9. Cultivate a marriage based on respect, equity, trust and intimacy, which increase satisfaction for both women and men.
10. Promote a communicative, sharing and caring relationship for emotional and sexual satisfaction.

Source: McCarthy & Bodnar, 2005. p. 228-229

The equity model of sexuality is one of the few models looking specifically at gender equality within sexual relationships and thus is also one of the few models that encompasses GEIMR specifically. Next to this model, there is a lack of theoretical frameworks providing structural support to analyse GEIMR. Due to the nature of this model to guide, rather than set rigid rules, this model is used in an exploratory way as a tool to conceptualize GEIMR. The model is said to be sensitive to cultural, religious and class preferences while at the same time taking into account and respecting individual differences (McCarthy & Bodnar, 2005. p. 229). Therefore, making this model applicable to Ethiopian context.

2.4 Femininity and masculinity

In order to study the perceptions and practices of GEIMR, it is also of high importance to study the possible motivations behind these perceptions and practices. For this reason, I explore the concepts of femininity and masculinity.

The field of men and masculinities studies views gender as relational and structural, where emphasis is put on the changing nature of understanding men and masculinities in social and historical context. This field sets out to understand how masculinities are socially constructed, taking into account the constant interaction with women (Kimmel, 1987). This perspective sees masculinities as changeable (Levtov, Barker, Contreras-Urbina, Heilman & Verma, 2014), a perspective also adhered to by this thesis.

Stets and Burke (2002) define femininity and masculinity or one's gender identity as the degree to which persons see themselves as masculine or feminine given what it means to be a man or woman in society. Emphasis is put on the social (one's gender) rather than the biological (one's sex). Members of society collectively decide what being male or female means. As Stets and Burke (2002, p. 1) rightfully point out, it is important to distinguish gender identity as described above, from gender roles, which are "shared expectations of behaviour given one's gender".

This thesis follows Stets and Burke (2002), in putting emphasis on the social, rather than the biological. Researching change in perceptions and practices of GEIMR, it is important to

define and understand the social dynamics that shape gender roles and identities. Since harmful gender roles and identities are a cause of gender inequalities in the first place.

2.4.1 Hegemonic masculinity

This paragraph introduces and elaborates on the concept of hegemonic masculinity and presents its main critique, followed by an alternative in the next section.

Hegemonic masculinity is understood as a pattern of practices that enabled men's dominance over women. Hegemonic masculinity can be distinguished from other masculinities (especially subordinate masculinities) as hegemonic masculinity is normative. "It embodied the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Although the concept of hegemonic masculinities is widely used in gender studies, femininity is still decidedly under-theorized.

This thesis shares the same critique as stated above. While the concept of hegemonic masculinity is highly relevant, the theory is incomplete, and therefore not used on its own in this thesis. Rather, this thesis adheres to an alternative model created by Schippers (2007), including the concept of hegemonic masculinity, but broadening the framework and overcoming its main critiques. The alternative model created by Schippers (2007) is further elaborated on in the next section.

2.4.2 Hegemonic femininity and hegemonic masculinity – an alternative model

Due to the critique on hegemonic masculinity as explained in the previous paragraph, Schippers (2007, p. 89) proposes an alternative model of which the goal is to "reclaim and re-work Connell's theory of masculinities and gender hegemony in a way that 1) offers a conceptualization that does not reduce masculinities to the behaviour of boys and men or femininity to the behaviour of girls and women, 2) provides a definition of femininity that situates femininity, along with masculinity, in gender hegemony and allows for multiple configurations, and 3) is empirically useful for identifying how masculinity and femininity ensure men's dominance over women as a group locally, regionally, and globally, and how they legitimate and perpetuate race, class, ethnic, and sexual inequality."

Schippers (2007) argues, against Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), that we find the hegemonic significance of masculinity and femininity in the idealized quality content of the categories “men” and “women”. In a society where systems are built upon recurring patterns of social practices, the quality content of masculinity and femininity is not just restricted to gender identities or gender displays of individuals. Rather, this quality content becomes a collective iteration displayed through culture, social structure and social organization (Schippers, 2007, p. 91). Seeing these idealized features as hierarchical and complementary supports a rationale for social relations embedded in all levels of social organization. Individuals, groups, and societies justify and shape their actions through masculinity and femininity. By collectively doing so on a recurring basis in different settings and levels of institutions, gender differences and the implicit relation between these gender differences shift to a taken-for-granted feature in interpersonal relationships, cultures and social structures (Schippers, 2007, p. 91).

Schippers’ (2007) alternative model focuses on relationality when looking at masculinity and femininity and their role in gender hegemony. Focusing on relationality is highly relevant and necessary when looking at GEIMR as is its empirical usefulness for identifying how masculinity and femininity ensure men’s dominance over women. Therefore this thesis will adhere to the theoretical framework Schippers (2007) proposes.

2.5 Engaging boys and male youth

This section discusses the concept of engaging boys and male youth in gender equality, by presenting the theories and current debates that shape this research.

Overall three major frameworks can be distinguished when it comes to the role of boys and men in gender equality and women’s empowerment programmes: (1) as gatekeepers, (2) as allies or partners and (3) as stakeholders and co-beneficiaries. The ICRW (2018, p. 23) states that seeing men as gatekeepers holding power in society recognizes “that men hold the vast majority of positions of power and have, to date, largely upheld inequitable patriarchal norms and protected their traditional prerogatives rather than seek more universally beneficial standards of equality”. Seeing men as allies or partners in the battle for gender equality is a more inclusive framework and envisions boys and men as having a positive and culturally transformed role. This framework however mainly focuses on how it can benefit women’s empowerment without a compelling narrative in which boys and men achieving

gender equality would lead to an improvement in the lives of men and boys themselves. The last and most current framework sees men and boys as stakeholders or co-beneficiaries. This framework conceptualizes men as “participants and promoters in the process of creating progressively increasing standards of gender equality and equity” (ICRW, 2018, p. 11). This framework also encompasses men as benefitting from this process by what more equitable families and societies have to offer.

Although this last framework is not explicitly used as a tool for analysis, this framework does function as an underlying foundation of this thesis. Furthermore, it is this framework that led to the increasing focus to include boys and men in the HC programme.

2.6 Conceptual framework

This section elaborates on the key concepts within this thesis and their interplay derived from secondary literature. These interrelations of the key concepts are visualised in a conceptual scheme, displayed in Figure 1.

Perceptions and practices of GEIMR are displayed in the middle due to their predominant position in this study. Masculinity, femininity, their interrelatedness and their role in gender hegemony affect the perceptions and practices of GEIMR. The engagement of boys and male youth in BCMFC affect their perceptions and practices of GEIMR. However, this relation is, next to a direct relation, also mediated through gender hegemony. All key concepts in turn, directly and indirectly influence the prevalence of child marriage.

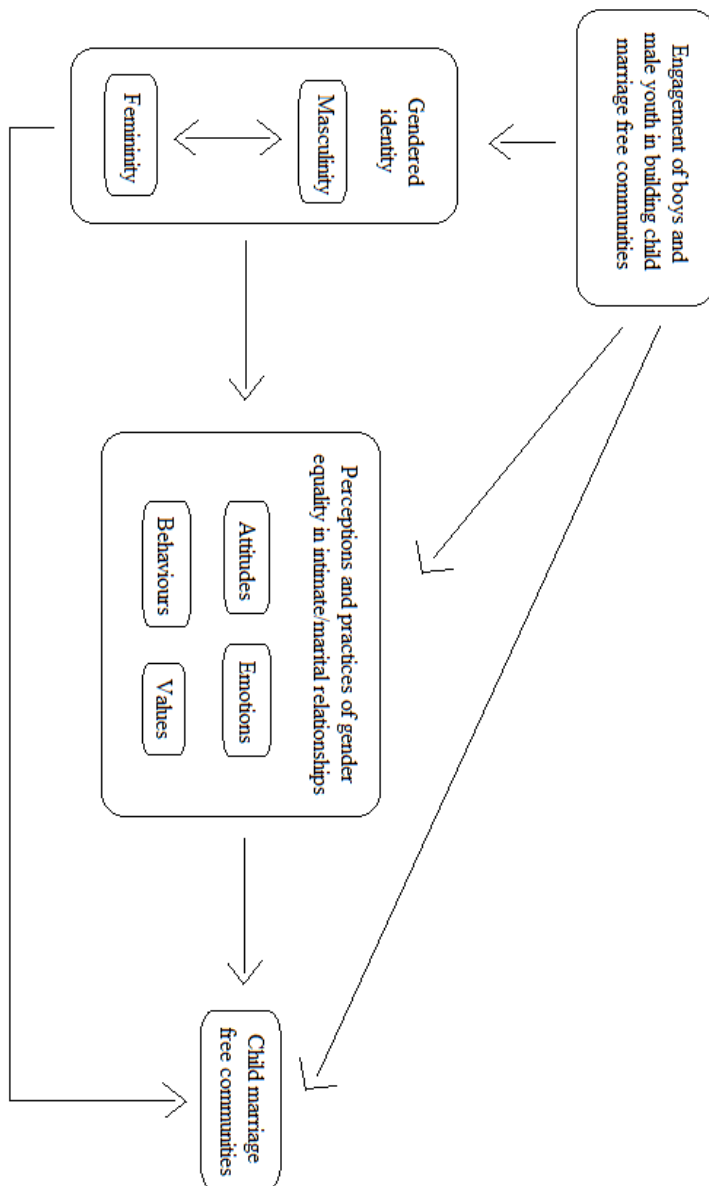


Figure 2. 1 Conceptual Scheme

Source: Constructed by Pijnenburg, based on secondary literature

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework that forms the foundation of this thesis. The general framework proposed by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans, originally developed to understand child marriage, serves to explain how gender roles are shaped and reinforced, shaping expectations of how men and women are supposed to behave according to their gender. These gender roles are analysed in this thesis using the theory of gender and power as a framework, distinguishing the sexual division of labour, the sexual division of power and cathexis.

These gender roles, combined with the processes that reinforce these gender roles, form expectations of certain behaviour. These expectations shape what it means to be a man or a woman. Hegemonic masculinity and femininity in turn is the degree to which a person sees him/herself as masculine or feminine, given what it means to be a man or woman in society. Emphasis is put on gender hegemony. Focusing on relationality is highly relevant and necessary when looking at GEIMR as is its empirical usefulness for identifying how masculinity and femininity ensure men's dominance over women. Schippers' (2007) proposed alternative model is therefore used to analyse the underlying motives of GEIMR.

While the framework of seeing men and boys as stakeholders and co-beneficiaries is not directly used for analytic purposes, it is important to note that this framework is one of the underlying assumptions that this thesis builds upon. Likewise, it is this framework where the growing inclusion of boys in the HC programme is grounded in.

3 Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research questions, research methodology and limitations. Section 3.2 elaborates on the ontological and epistemological assumptions that form the foundation of this research. Section 3.3 presents the research questions, followed by the operationalization of concepts in Section 3.4. Section 3.5 offers an overview of the research methodology, followed by the sampling methods and research population in Section 3.6. Section 3.7 consequently describes the quantitative strand of this research, alongside the qualitative strand in Section 3.8. This chapter furthermore discusses its ethical considerations in Section 3.9, and the limitations of this thesis in Section 3.10. This chapter concludes in Section 3.11 by giving an overview of the research methodology.

3.2 Epistemology and theoretical perspective

This section elaborates on the epistemological assumptions underlying this research and how they align with the purpose of the research and the research questions.

Critical realism is the philosophical approach that underpins and guides this research. McEvoy and Richards (2006, p. 69) explain that critical realists distinguish three different ontological domains of reality; “the empirical (those aspects of reality that can be experienced either directly or indirectly); the actual (those aspects of reality that occur, but may not necessarily be experienced); and the real or ‘deep’ structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena”. As our perspectives change, our view on reality changes. “Our knowledge of the world is always mediated by the discourses available to us, but we can get empirical feedback from those aspects of the world that are accessible” (Sayer in McEvoy, & Richards, 2006, p. 69). By distinguishing three different ontological domains, critical realists aim to develop a deeper level of understanding and explanation (McEvoy & Richards, 2006). which is the exact goal of this research.

Retroduction is the logic that underpins critical realism and this research. Retroduction involves moving from the observational level and lived experiences to speculate about the possible underlying structures and mechanisms (McEvoy & Richards, 2006, p.69). This is also displayed in the two main research questions of this thesis. The first research question aims

to observe an actual empirical phenomenon, while the second aims to understand the underlying motives and structures that affect the observation of the first question.

Critical realism suggests that the choice of methods should be dictated by the nature of the research problem, which, like in this research, is often the combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The strength of the quantitative strand can be found in its ability to develop reliable descriptions and provide accurate comparisons, while the qualitative strand enables for open ended questions, allowing themes to emerge that could not have been anticipated (McEvoy & Richards, 2006, p. 69). Due to the exploratory nature of this research, the qualitative strand enables to further explore and support the overarching mechanisms detected through the quantitative strand.

Furthermore, elements of a transformative approach are adopted in the methodology, to understand and at the same time facilitate social change. In a transformative approach, the method should support people to contribute to their society. A photo voice method is used to actively engage boys to research perceptions of GEIMR of their own and of the community. This allows for participants to acquire new knowledge and develop a critical awareness of their community (Budig et al. 2018).

3.3 Research questions

3.3.1 Main research questions

The main research questions are:

1. How does engagement of boys and male youth in building child marriage free communities in Ethiopia affect their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships?
2. What are the underlying motives that affect their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships?

3.3.2 Subsidiary research questions

The five subsidiary research questions that serve to unpack the two main research questions are:

1. How are boys and male youth currently engaged in building child marriage free communities by Her Choice?
2. How do boys and male youth perceive gender equality in intimate/marital relations and how does this translate into practice?
3. Did the 'engagement' in the programme influence the perceptions and practices of boys and male youth thus far?
4. How do underlying motives of perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships relate to hegemonic masculinity and femininity?
5. What are the implications on gender transformative work when aiming to build child marriage free communities?

3.4 Key concepts and operationalization

This section elaborates on the key concepts used within this thesis, derived from the theoretical framework. The leading concepts were operationalised in a table (see Annex 1).

Engagement in Building Child Marriage Free Communities

Male engagement is difficult to define. The word “engagement” in itself is similar to that of participation or involvement. Male engagement however gets more complicated. The fact that boys and men play multiple roles in the lives of women and girls but also in society makes that only by unpacking and identifying these roles and looking at the power relations between different roles we can conceptualise and understand male engagement. The ICRW (2018, p. 10) states that “making these power dynamics explicit—not only to women and girls through empowerment processes, but also to men and boys through male engagement—is a first step to understanding how power dynamics guided by gender norms can be transformed to become progressively more equitable and equal”. The different roles combined with the different possibilities of involvement in BCMFC within these roles creates the definition of male engagement in BCMFC.

The HC programme addresses men in all different levels and domains and thus in the different roles they portray. Since this thesis focuses on boys and male youth, this thesis looks at the specific strategies that involve these boys and male youth. Engagement in

BCMFC in this thesis means first and foremost participation in the HC programme. When boys and male youth are part of the HC programme, they are considered engaged in BCMFC and form the treatment group. When they are not part of the HC programme, they are considered not engaged in BCMFC and thus form the control group.

Perceptions and practices of GEIMR

Gender equality, as defined in Section 2.2.2, is conceptualized through the equity model of sexuality (see Section 3.2.4). This model originally provides guidelines by which couples can successfully navigate and negotiate the similarities and differences between male and female sexual behaviour, roles and values. However, by converting the advices into themes, the equity model of sexuality is used as “a base to examine the attitudes, behaviours, emotions and values which facilitate adult sexuality” (McCarthy & Bodnar 2007, p. 229). The themes extracted from the equity model of sexuality are: attitudes, behaviours, emotions, values and motives. Combined, these themes aim to map one’s perceptions and practices of gender equal intimate and marital relationships.

Masculinity and femininity

This thesis subscribes to Schippers’ (2007, p. 102) definition of hegemonic masculinity; “Hegemonic masculinity is the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women”. Schippers (Ibid) also constructed a definition of hegemonic femininity, which this thesis also will adhere to: “Hegemonic femininity consists of the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women”. These conceptualizations articulate a complementary and hierarchical relationship to each other, which “offers conceptual and empirical space to identify idealized gender characteristics that do not perpetuate male dominance and therefore can be viewed as positive and valuable” (Schippers, 2007, p. 97).

3.5 Research methodology

This study implements a mixed methodology with a critical realist rationale for the same reasons embedded in its definition by Johnson et al (2007. P. 123), namely, a type of

research in which elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches are combined for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. Mixed method data collection is considered to be a subset of multi-method research (Axinn & Pearce, 2006). More specifically, a fixed mixed method approach is followed in this study. The qualitative and quantitative methods are known from the start of the research process and the research design is implemented as planned (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017).

Critical realism suggests that the choice of methods should be adjusted to the research problem. In this case the research problem is best addressed in a fixed mixed method approach. The quantitative strand is able to provide reliable descriptions and provide accurate comparisons. The key strengths of the qualitative strand, according to critical realism, is that the qualitative strand is open-ended, allowing unexpected themes to come up that otherwise would not have been included. The qualitative strand is also capable of illuminating complex concepts and relationships that would not have been captured by categories or the quantitative strand (McEvoy & Richards, 2006).

One of the main reasons for a mixed method research is the ability to triangulate (Torrance, 2012). Triangulation is used for confirmation as triangulation uses a combination of methods to counteract biases that are associated with single-method studies. Qualitative and quantitative findings can corroborate and support each other to form a more robust conclusion (Risjord et al in McEvoy, & Richards, 2006, p. 72). Therefore, mixed-methods enhance the reliability and validity. Triangulation is also used for completeness, by obtaining more or complementary perspectives. In this study this is done by asking the boys and male youth themselves what their perceptions and practices are, while at the same time asking their teachers about the boys/male youths' practices. Another example is where document analysis about the programme is complemented with interviews with key-stakeholders who have knowledge and experience in the programme, to form a coherent and complete overview of the programme.

Within a fixed mixed method design, a convergent design is conducted. The convergent design brings together the results of the quantitative and qualitative data analysis so they can be compared to obtain a more complete understanding of the perceptions and practices of GEIMR. A convergent design enables both types of data to be collected during one phase

of the research and enables the researcher to give voice to participants as well as report statistical trends (Maiyo, 2018).

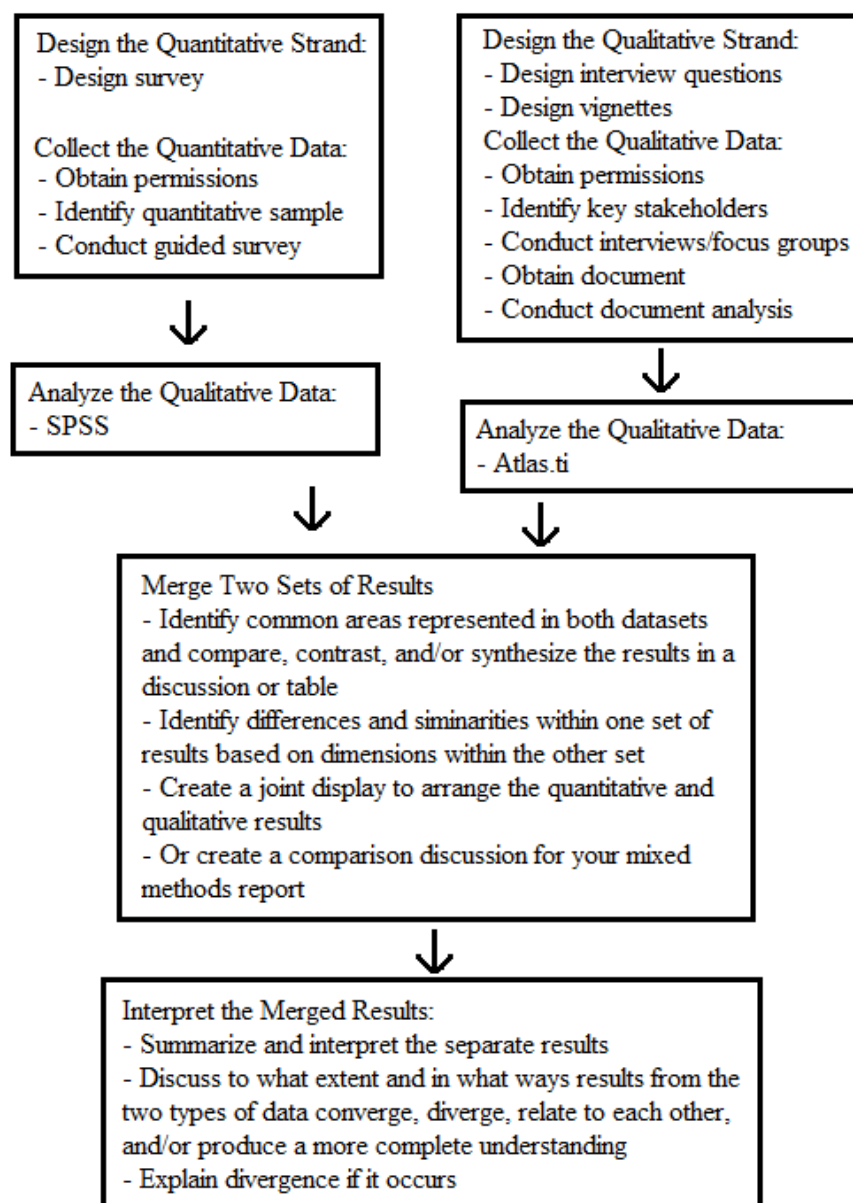


Figure 3. 1 Convergent design

Source: Made by Pijnenburg drawing on Creswell (2013)

3.6 Sampling and research population

3.6.1 Sampling

HC, more specifically Stichting Kinderpostzegels and the UvA within the HC alliance, provided contact with WCAT, a local implementing partner organization. Through contact with the deputy director access was gained to the Debre Tabor based intervention site in

Amhara region. The HC project coordinator of the WCAT Debre Tabor coordination office in turn provided contact with the participants in collaboration with the designated schools' CSE trainer/SRH club coordinator.

Selection was based on gender, grade² and involvement in the HC programme. The transition from grade 8 to 9 means a change of school for most students, who often come from far. This means most students in grade 9 have not been part of the HC programme. The lower limit of grade 6 was based on the programme itself. The programme starts in grade 5, however the fieldwork was conducted at the beginning of the school year, meaning that grade 5 had not yet started the HC programme.

As part of a scale up effort in the intervention site, more schools were included in June 2018. Students in these scale up schools did not yet start the HC programme, making these schools suitable as control group. Since there was no high school included in the scale up effort, the control group for Fert High School was sampled in the same school as the treatment group. Students for the control group were selected by the CSE trainer/club coordinator based on the criteria that they were not involved in the HC programme. The possibility of a spill over effect is rather small but is further discussed in Section 3.10. An overview of all schools is displayed in Table 3.1, followed by an overview of participants according to grade in Table 3.2.

Table 3. 1 Overview schools (N = 262)

Woreda	School Name	Education	Treatment or Control	Grade	N
Fogera	Alembor	Primary Education	Treatment	Grade 6	13
				Grade 7	15
				Grade 8	10
	Avuana Kokit	Primary Education	Control	Grade 6	10
				Grade 7	10
				Grade 8	10
Farta	Selamco	Primary Education	Treatment	Grade 6	20
				Grade 7	22

² Grade 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12

	Maynet	Primary Education	Control	Grade 6	10
				Grade 7	10
				Grade 8	10
	Fert	Secondary Education	Treatment	Grade 10	22
				Grade 11	22
				Grade 12	17
			Control	Grade 10	20
				Grade 11	20
				Grade 12	21
Total					262

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Table 3. 2 Participants according to grade and group (N = 262)

	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Total
Treatment	33	37	10	22	22	17	141
Control	20	20	20	20	20	21	121
Total	53	57	30	42	42	38	262

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Key-stakeholder interviews were conducted with WCAT staff members, the HC project coordinator of Stichting Kinderpostzegels Nederland (SKN), and the boys' and male youths' teachers. Overall, nine key-stakeholder interviews were conducted (see Annex 3).

Participation was voluntary and based on a purposive expert method of sampling. The purposive sampling technique is used when the choice of an informant is based on the qualities or knowledge this informant possesses (Tongco, 2007, p. 147). The researcher decides what information is needed and tries to find experts who can and are willing to provide the information needed. In this case the staff members and teachers were experts of the HC programme. Due to the sensitivity of the topic, an overall selective sampling ("gut feeling") was taken into account as the relationship between myself, the translator and the participant needed to be a safe space. If there was any tension, this could affect the reliability of the data.

FGDs were aimed to consist of six participants per group. Exceptions included FGDs where a student was either sick or late. Another exception was made in the photo voice FGDs. Since going through all the pictures and discussing them was time-consuming, it was decided to divide these FGDs in two subsets of three.

The average sample size of six was chosen based on numerous articles (Carlsen & Glenton, 2011; McLafferty, 2004; Fern, 1982), where six covered a safe middle ground. Groups too large can be unwieldy or can preclude adequate participations by most members. Too small can fail to provide substantially greater coverage than that of an individual interview (McLafferty, 2004). The maximum amount of FGDs was based on the available time of the WCAT project coordinator, the translator, and the students combined with a possible point of saturation. In total, eight FGDs were conducted. A FGD overview can be found in Annex 4.

3.6.2 Participants

Participants in this study can be subdivided in three categories. The first and main group of participants consist of boys and male youth in grade 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12 (aged 11 till 24) both in the HC programme (treatment group, n = 141) and not in the HC programme (control group n = 121). Grade 9 is excluded as explained in Section 3.6.1.

Although most engagement programmes have focused on adult men, research proves that “reaching out to male youth is an especially productive investment because they are more responsive to health information and to opportunities to view gender relations differently” (UNFPA, 2013). For this reason, boys and male youth, instead of adult men, were chosen as participants of this study.

The second group of participants are the boys’ and male youth’s CSE trainers/SRH club coordinators. Per school, four teachers are trained to give CSE training. One out of these four teachers is also the SRH Club coordinator of the school. Teachers that were both CSE trainers and the SRH club coordinators, were selected at each school. A total of three teachers from three different schools were interviewed, all female.

The last group of participants consist of the WCAT staff members. Multiple levels in the organizations were interviewed; two social workers (one female, one male), two project coordinators (both male), and the deputy director (male). Additionally, an interview was held with the HC project coordinator of SKN.

3.7 Quantitative methods

3.7.1 Data collection

This section discusses the data collection method used in the quantitative strand of this research with the accessory sub question the data seeks to answer. Although each sub-question has a main data collection method that answers the majority of the sub question, all data collected is triangulated wherever possible to crosscheck results. All data is also used as complementary data for other sub questions to make the answers as elaborate and complete as possible.

Survey data aim to answer sub-question three: “Did the ‘engagement’ in the program influence the perceptions and practices of boys and male youth thus far?” The survey was developed in English (Annex 18) and later translated to Amharic (Annex 19). The survey consisted of demographic questions³, questions concerning possible previous SRHR education, statements concerning GEIMR, and questions to measure the engagement in the HC programme.

The survey was conducted hardcopy. Answers were later manually inserted in Excel, after which transferred to SPSS for data cleaning and analysis. The completed hard copy surveys (N = 322) are kept for a year in the WCAT Debre Tabor coordination office for traceability purposes.

Surveys were conducted amongst both boys and male youth in a treatment and control group to measure programme effects through mean difference. Originally, it was planned to conduct the surveys one-by-one, in an interview manner. However, the pilot test of the survey concluded that the students were more comfortable filling in the questions themselves, with support of the instructor still reading out these questions. In this way the students could hear the question while at the same time being able to read with the question and noting down the answer themselves. When each student finished the question, the next question followed.

3.7.2 Data analysis

In SPSS, the data was analysed using syntax to ensure traceability and reliability. After digitalizing the data, the data was cleaned. All the variables were run through descriptions,

³ e.g. age, grade, school, religion, ethnicity etc.

frequencies and crosstabs to check if the data was correctly digitalised and to look for ‘weird’ outliers, missing data, etc. A Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was conducted in R, to check for any possible dimensions within the variable GEIMR. A Factorial Between Groups Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted in SPSS to map the effect of the HC programme and level of education on the boys’ and male youth’s perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Furthermore a one-way ANOVA was conducted to look at the effect of different levels of engagement on GEIMR.

Table 3. 3 Descriptive statistics

Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
GEIMR	262	.377	.944	.717	.109
Engagement in building child marriage free communities (binary)	262	0	1	.46	.499
Levels (4) of engagement in building child marriage free communities	257	0	3	1.28	1.352
Education	262	0	1	.47	.500

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Engagement in building child marriage free communities

The variable *engagement in building child marriage free communities* is binary, where boys who are part of the HC programme are considered ‘engaged’ (treatment group), and boys and male youth not part of the HC programme are considered ‘not engaged’ (control group). Descriptive information of this variable and the other used variables are displayed in Table 3.3.

Next to the overarching binary division between engaged and not engaged, a subdivision was made within the treatment group. Three specific ways of engagement could be distinguished. The first form of engagement was measured by the boys’ and male youths’ participation in Comprehensive Sexual Education (CSE) training. The second form of engagement was measured according to their engagement in the Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH)/Girls’ clubs (from now on referred to as SRH clubs). The third form of engagement was based on their participation in peer education. All forms of engagement were measured binary, where participants were either engaged in a specific sub-form of

engagement or not. Engagement in multiple forms of engagement was possible. What the specific engagement in each sub form of engagement entails is elaborated on in Section 5.2.

Education

Education is a binary variable where boys in grade 6, 7 and 8 form the 'primary education' group of education, and boys in grade 10, 11 and 12 the 'secondary education' group of education.

GEIMR

The dependent variable *perceptions of GEIMR* was computed according to the operationalisation table found in Annex 1. The operationalization table was derived from the literature, where GEIMR could be subdivided in four dimension, that in turn could be subdivided over 15 variables. Statements representing these 15 variables were made and used in the survey to measure perceptions of GEIMR. Annex 2 displays the adjusted operationalization table in which the theoretical operationalisation is tied to the survey statements, forming a total of 36 indicators. These 36 indicators are all binary statements (see Annex 18), where participants could either agree or disagree (recoded 0 for gender unequal, and 1 for gender equal).

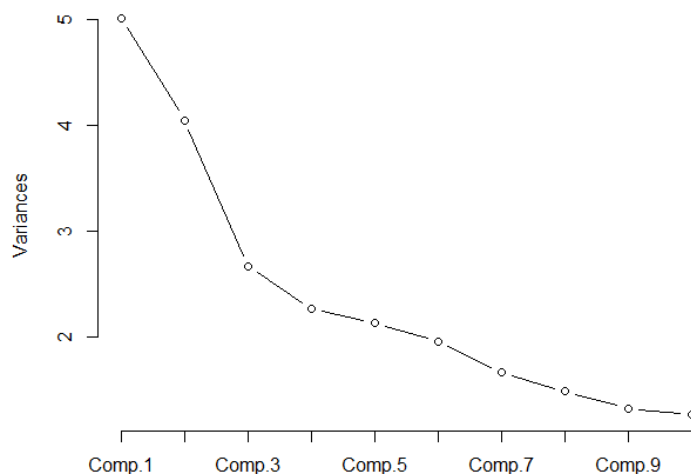
The specific SPSS syntax used to calculate GEIMR is displayed in Annex 6. If a value was missing, this specific way of calculating would still calculates a mean, but then based on the remaining values. Other ways of calculating would result in a high amount of missing values due to the list wise deletion default setting of SPSS. In total, 109 out of 9432 (1.16%) cells related to GEIMR (Q9.1.1 till Q9.15.2) were missing.

3.7.3 Principal Component Analysis (PCA)

GEIMR is a very broad construct. Looking at the dependent variable in this thesis (engagement in BCMFC), we can see that some dimensions in both concepts are closer related to each other than others. It thus is possible that the dependent variable affects different dimensions within GEIMR in different ways. An exploratory PCA was conducted to see if the construct GEIMR developed in this survey, consisted of different coherent dimensions. The PCA also functioned to gain a better understanding of the concept GEIMR and the possible options for data reduction.

One of the assumptions of a PCA is that the variables should be continuous⁴. Due to the binary nature of the statements, a normal PCA was not possible since this assumption is violated. The solution is to compute a tetrachoric correlation⁵ matrix based on the binary variables. This tetrachoric correlation matrix can then be used as an input correlation matrix in the standard PCA package, instead of using the binary data directly from the dataset. Computing a tetrachoric correlation matrix is beyond the capabilities of SPSS, and therefore further analysis of the PCA was done in R. The code used to conduct a PCA in R is displayed in Annex 7.

The screeplot (see Figure 3.2) output of the PCA displays a steep curve followed by a 'bend' at the third component, suggesting three dimensions. These three dimensions together explain 35.5% of the total variance.



Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Figure 3. 2 PCA Screeplot in R

The loadings matrix (see Annex 8) however, shows that the statements load relatively low on the dimensions and also load quite evenly. Thus, while there might be some dimensions present, they do not form good coherent dimensions. Therefore, GEIMR is used as one dimension, without further subclassification.

⁴ Interval or ratio

⁵ The tetrachoric correlation coefficient is a measure of a bivariate normal correlation when only data from a 2 x 2 cross-classification is available (Olsson, 1979, p. 445). Tetrachoric correlations are a special case of polychoric correlations, which are used for ordered-category data (Uebersax, 2006, p. 2).

3.7.4 Reliability

To get insight in the reliability of the data, statements in the survey that were very close to each other were compared to see if the answers to the questions matched. This was done with the two statements 'It is the task of the women to raise the kids and cook for her family' (Q9.1.1) and 'Both men and women can work and raise the children' (Q9.1.2). Out of 260⁶ participants evaluated, 215 agreed with one statement while disagreeing with the other, showing consistency in their answers. 39 participants agreed with both statements and six disagreed with both statements. The same comparison was done with the two statements 'Only the man can initiate sex' (Q9.5) and 'Women can ask for sex if they want to' (Q9.7). 260⁷ cases were analysed. A total of 214 cases show consistent perceptions, while 46⁸ cases show inconsistent answers.

3.7.5 Assumption check factorial between groups ANOVA

A factorial between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the average score on perceptions and practices of GEIMR for four groups of participants: (1) primary educated boys in the treatment group, (2) secondary educated male youth in the treatment group, (3) primary educated boys in the control group, and (4) secondary educated male youth in the control group.

The Shapiro-Wilk test confirmed a normal distribution of GEIMR scores within the primary educated group ($p > .05$) and the treatment group ($p > .05$), however the hypothesis of normality was rejected in the distribution of GEIMR scores within the secondary education group ($p < .001$) and the control group ($p = .03$) as visually displayed in Annex 9. Levene's test for equality of error variances is significant ($p = .03$) and thus showed that the variances of GEIMR is not equal across groups, violating the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

While outliers are preferred to stay included in the data, in this case, most outliers correspond with the sample (group 4) in which the circumstances of data collection were not optimal (see Section 9.4), and thus this data might be less reliable.

⁶ N = 262, 2 missing

⁷ N = 262, 2 missing

⁸ 16 cases agree to both statements and 30 cases disagree to both statements

First, all outliers⁹ as displayed in Figure 3.3. The Shapiro-Wilk test now confirmed a normal distribution of GEIMR scores within the primary education group ($p > .05$), the treatment group ($p > .05$) and the control group ($p > .05$), confirming a normal distribution. However, Although decreased, the secondary educated group still showed a significant effect ($p = .02$) (see Annex 10). Levene's test for equality of error variances is not significant ($p > .05$) anymore and thus equal variances of GEIMR across groups is assumed, confirming the assumption of homogeneity of variance.

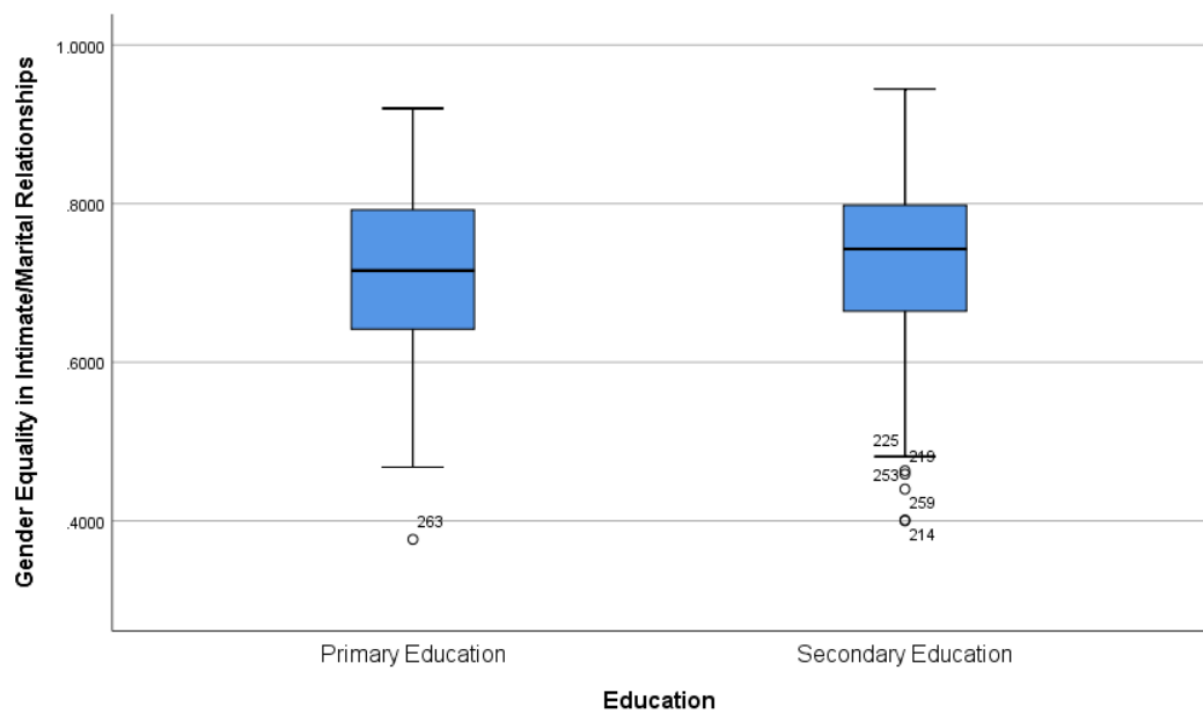


Figure 3. 3 Boxplot: Education * GEIMR

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Again, the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance were checked. This time excluding group 4 entirely. The Shapiro-Wilk test ($p > .05$) now confirmed a normal distribution of GEIMR scores in all groups as visually displayed in Annex 11. Levene's test for equality of error variances is again significant ($p = .04$)¹⁰.

While deleting group 4 would improve the normal distribution, this would mean losing valuable data. Removing only outliers that fall within this sample already improves the

⁹ cases 214, 219, 225, 253, 259

¹⁰ O' Brien (1978, p. 328) points out that unequal subset sizes can produce artificial differences among cells which can influence the heterogeneity of variance

normal distribution of all groups, and meets the assumption of homogeneity. While the assumption of normality is violated in one group, the ANOVA is considered robust against slight violations of the normality assumption (Chiarotti, 2004. p. 166), and thus is decided to continue with the Factorial ANOVA.

3.8 Qualitative methods

This section discusses the data collection methods used in the qualitative strand of this research with the accessory sub questions the data seek to answer. Furthermore, this section elaborates on the data analysis.

3.8.1 Documents

HC and WCAT documents were gathered to primarily answer the first sub question: “How are boys and male youth currently engaged in building CM free communities by Her Choice?” Documents were obtained in agreement with HC and WCAT and selected based on the necessary programme details. Some documents were retrieved from the HC website. However, the majority of documents were accessed through personal contact, informing both HC and WCAT of the reasons behind obtaining these documents. An overview of the documents can be found in Annex 5.

3.8.2 Interviews

Semi-structured key-stakeholder interviews with teachers and programme staff were conducted to answer the fourth: “How do underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR relate to hegemonic masculinity and femininity?” and last sub question: “What are the implications on gender transformative work when aiming to build child marriage free communities?”

Semi-structured interviews are a form of interviews whereby the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, however uses this as a guidance rather than a fixed instruction. Room is left for the interview to unfold in a conversational manner that offers the participants the chance to explore issues they regard as important (Longhurst, 2003, p. 103).

The data gained from the semi-structured key-stakeholder interviews allowed insights on how teachers and programme staff experience gender transformative work and what the implications are they run into. Key-stakeholder interviews with teachers about boys’ and male youths’ perceptions and practices of GEIMR were also conducted as a form of

triangulation to increase reliability and to cover subjects that were not included in the survey or not possible to measure by self-reflection only. Other topics discussed were amongst others hegemonic masculinity and femininity, alongside culture, religion and their influences.

3.8.3 Focus group discussions

Sub-question two: “How do boys and male youth perceive gender equality in intimate/marital relations and how does this translate into practice?” is mainly answered using FGD data. Three different methods of data collection were used within the FGDs (vignettes, photo voice and mind maps), which are explained below.

3.8.3.1 Vignettes

Vignettes are short stories of a person or a social situation which contains references to important factors in the decision-making or judgement-making process of respondents (Alsxander & Becker, 1978). Rather than asking direct and abstract questions, detailed additional information is provided. This information enables respondents to share their opinion on the discussed topics in relation to the story, rather than having to think about these things in an abstract matter.

Due to the sensitivity of this research and the age of some boys, vignettes representing realistic stories were used as a way to relate and talk about the topic without getting too personal. Most opinions about particular issues are reliant on the participants’ recollection of feelings and/or their spontaneous reaction to an issue they might not yet be fully knowledgeable about (Naylor, Maye, Ilbery, Enticott & Kirwan, 2014). Vignettes provide a stimulus that can trigger more thoughts/perceptions than would have been the case if the participants had to come up with these thoughts/perceptions themselves. Vignettes allows for a better understanding as they can be used to represent a real-life decision-, or judgement making situation rather than simply discussing potentially abstract social interactions (Naylor et al, 2014). The outline of the vignette FGD is presented in Annex 12.

3.8.3.2 Photo voice

Vignettes were used to get access to information that the participants were not fully knowledgeable about until they were actively ‘pushed’ into thinking about this information. Photo voice on the other hand was used as a way to portray the perceptions of GEIMR that were already clear for the participants. The process of photovoice has many benefits. This

method for example enables the recording of different social and behavioural settings that might not be accessible for the researcher herself. Another benefit is that the photovoice not only brings in the participants own perceptions, but also enables participants to capture the explanations, ideas and stories of other community members (Wang & Burris, 1997). This enables the participant to position himself in relation to the picture and the community's behaviour that was captured in the picture. Photo voice is a playful way of collecting data. This method makes data collection more fun for the participants - especially given their young age -, while at the same time reflecting their, and the community's perceptions and practices of GEIMR without making the participants uncomfortable due to the sensitivity of the topic. Photo voice and vignettes provide an effective and 'light' opening to start the focus group, in which the participants have control over the course of the conversation.

The photo voice FGDs existed out of two sessions. The first session was used to hand out the camera's, explain how they worked and to explain the assignment. The participants were asked to take pictures in the community of 'how men and women should behave/act in intimate/marital relationships'. The second session of the photo voice FGD was held a week after the first session, giving the participants a week to collect pictures in the community. The first few minutes of the second session was used to briefly talk about what they thought of the assignment and if everything went the way they wanted it to go (e.g. camera usage, battery life, etc). The rest of the FGD was used to view all the pictures and discuss why they took these pictures, giving an opening to their perceptions and practices of GEIMR. An outline of the photo voice FGD is displayed in Annex 14.

Potential ethical threats regarding participatory visual research include consent issues, data anonymity, confidentiality of subjects and visual data use and distribution (Hannes, & Parylo, 2014, p. 256). Although explicit oral consent was given by participants to include pictures in this thesis, the use of the actual pictures in this thesis was narrowed down to the bare minimum. The main goal of the photo voice was to use it as a tool to understand and discuss perceptions and practices of GEIRM. The actual pictures thus form only a by-product.

3.8.3.3 *Mind maps*

Next to the vignettes and photo voice method, mind maps were used in FGDs to map the boys' perceptions and practices of intimate/marital relationships of both control-, and treatment group. A mind map is a diagram in which concepts, ideas and/or tasks are linked to a central key word in the middle of the diagram. A mind map has the ability to reflect our natural thinking patterns which tend to be non-linear (Burgess-Allen & Owen-Smith, 2010). Mind maps functioned as a good tool to map ruling perceptions. The facilitator gives minimum input, and thus does not steer the participants in certain directions. Mind maps also create an overview of the topics most associated with the key word/sentence. The order in which answers are given, the details the answers contain, and sometimes also answers that are not given, give great insights in the general perceptions and practices of GEIMR and functioned as a good starting point to uncover these perceptions and practices.

Mind maps were made around the topics 'Gender equality in intimate/marital relationships', 'Tasks/behaviour of boys/men in relationships', and 'Tasks/behaviour of girls/women in relationships'. An outline of the mind map FGD is displayed in Annex 15.

3.8.4 *Data analysis*

Interviews and FGDs were held in Amharic but translated in the moment. This allowed me to transcribe the interviews and FGD myself.

The qualitative data were analysed using ATLAS.ti qualitative data management software. A multistep approach was followed where first key thematic codes were identified. After the identification of key themes, transcripts were coded according to the codebook and inconsistencies were resolved by possible recoding of the key themes. The last phase consisted of analysing the coded data for thematic patterns (e.g. frequency of themes, unanticipated themes, differences between focus groups etc.).

The data were analysed using retroduction. "Retroduction makes possible a research process that is characterized by the linking of evidence (induction) and social theory (deduction) in a continually evolving, dynamic process" (Sæther, 1998, p. 245). Retroduction can find theoretical patterns or structures that can help conceptualize the empirical and deductive patterns observed (Sæther, 1998).

Document analysis was guided by the steps proposed by O’Leary (2014). First relevant documents were gathered through the internet and provided by the partner organization. Copies of the originals are made for the purpose of annotation and possible biases are taken into account. After consciously taking into account the type of document, the date of publication and the authors, the content was explored to map how boys and male youth are engaged in BCMFC.

3.9 Ethical considerations

It was made very clear to the participants that this study is based on voluntary participation and that they can stop participation at any given moment. Participants were made aware that they were allowed to get their data deleted, also if this was requested after data collection. Participants were encouraged to ask questions if anything throughout the data collection process was unclear. Participants were also informed that they were not obligated to answer questions if they did not want to or did not feel comfortable to do so. It was made clear that the collected data is anonymous and cannot be traced back to the original participant. This was done through giving codes, instead of using actual names when conducting the survey and during the transcription of the interviews and FGDs.

This study also adhered to the HC strategy of “opting in” rather than “opting out” and using verbal consent rather than written consent, since the signing of a formal consent document can cause discomfort (Koster, Miedema, Hodgkinson, Pouw & Meyer, 2017). My personal, and local supervisors’ contact information was provided to the schools, so if there was anything they wanted to discuss with me, they were able to do so.

The fact that I am Western and white should be mentioned, since it could influence the answers given. The negative effects of this were minimized by introducing a control group. In case this bias is present, the bias is present in both groups and therefore eliminated in comparison. Furthermore this was taken into account by not expressing my personal views, and staying objective.

The sensitive topic of this thesis was taken very seriously and taken into account when developing and conducting research. One of the choices that was mainly based around the sensitivity of the topic is the choice to use vignettes and photovoice, to both stimulate and explore common thought processes by creating a safe and creative space to express

emotions. Interviews with teachers were conducted without the presence of the HC project coordinator, so possible limitations could freely be discussed.

3.10 Limitations thesis

First and foremost it is important to recognize that this research is only a snapshot. Longitudinal data is needed to see if perceptions and practices of GEIRM transform social institutions over time. Furthermore it is important to recognize that although I am an independent researcher, WCAT and HC enabled the realization of my field study. While respondents were informed about the fact that I am independent, they might have been hesitant to discuss some limitations or results of the programme with me, due to my links with the HC programme. This limitation also could have resulted in socially expected answers. The introduction of a control group however minimized this bias in the final research.

Another limitation in this study is the chance, however relatively small, of a spill over effect of the treatment group in the control group in Fert High School. The schools that were part of the scale-up initiative functioned as control group. There was however no other high school present in the scale-up initiative or research area. Therefore, only students who were not in the programme within Fert High School were eligible to function as control group. Because the treatment group and the control group were sampled in the same high school, it is possible that a spill-over effect has taken place, where perceptions and practices of students in the control group could have been influenced by students in the programme due to intergroup contact. The teacher (Respondent 7) however estimated this chance to be rather small, looking at the relative big size of the school.

A final limitation is found in the study's language(s). Polkinghorne (2007) states that qualitative research is considered most valid when the distance between the meaning as experienced by the participants and the meanings as interpreted in the findings are as close as possible. Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg (2010) also take the reader into account by stating that "the findings should be communicated in such a way that the reader of the publication understands the meaning as it was expressed in the findings, originating from data in the source language". The mother tongue of all participants, staff members and the translator was Amharic. My own mother tongue is Dutch and the overarching study

language and communication was English. An optional 4th language is present when the reader's mother tongue does not consist of one of the three languages already present. All these languages combined allowed for data and meanings to get lost in translation. This was tried to overcome by clear communication in the moment of data collection itself and afterwards by double-checking the transcripts if any translations were missed in the moment.

3.11 Conclusion

This thesis adheres to a critical realist epistemology. With the assumption that reality is constructed by many different structures, in an open system perspective, a mixed method approach was considered best suitable for the purpose of this thesis. The quantitative strand is able to provide reliable descriptions and accurate comparisons while the qualitative strand is open-ended, allowing for unexpected themes to come up that otherwise would not have been included. By using a variety of mixed methods, multiple viewpoints are combined, and thus the perceptual limitations present in this research are reduced to a minimum. The first research question addresses the empirical, after which the second research question aims to move beyond the observational level embedded in the empirical, and onto speculating about the possible underlying structures and mechanisms embedded in the actual and real using retrodution.

4. Research context

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the geographic, socio-economic and legislative context this research is situated in. Section 4.2 provides demographic information and Ethiopia's general context. Section 4.3 consequently goes more in-depth regarding laws, regulations and the lived reality regarding gender equality, followed by Section 4.4 that zooms in on Debre Tabor's local context. Section 4.5 elaborates on the HC Alliance and WCAT, one of its local implementing partner organizations that enabled the realization of this research at their intervention site. Section 4.6 furthermore provides an all-encompassing conclusion regarding the research context.

4.2 Demographics and general context

Ethiopia, formerly known as "Abyssinia" is a landlocked country located in the eastern part of Africa (Horn of Africa) bordering Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya, and Eritrea. Ethiopia covers a total area of 1.194.300 square kilometres with a mean elevation of 1330 meters. Its capital and largest city is Addis Ababa. Ethiopia is the oldest independent African country and has a population of around 103 million people. Despite the Italian occupation from 1936 until 1941 during the war, Ethiopia does not have a colonial past unlike all other African countries (CIA, 2018). The constitution created in 1994, with its first elections in 1995, established Ethiopia as an ethnic federalist state, which it remained until today. This state consists of nine regional states based on the predominant ethnic groups. These states are in turn divided in 85 zones, which are again divided in 800 woredas¹¹ and 15.000 kebeles¹² (UNICEF, 2016).

Ethiopia is a country that is inherently multilingual, multi-ethnic and culturally pluralistic. A total of around 85 languages are spoken. Lanza and Woldenmariam (2008) note that in multilingual countries, a single language comes to dominate the nation's written language. In Ethiopia this written language is Amharic, also referred to as "the working language". Of all foreign languages, English is the most widely spoken one in Ethiopia (Kumar & Quisumbing, 2015). Next to multiple languages, Ethiopia also consists of a variety of

¹¹ Third-level administrative division of Ethiopia, also known as district.

¹² The smallest administrative division of Ethiopia, similar to a neighbourhood or ward.

religions. The Orthodox church remains the biggest one and is mainly prominent in the north. The east and the west consist mainly of Sunni Muslims and protestants recently converted the south, where also Animist beliefs can also be found (Ibid). To this day the country struggles with conflict between the two major religions Christianity and Islam, and between the division of religion and state. Religion is claimed to play a unifying role among the different ethnic communities, but is also stated to be responsible for inter-ethnic and inter-religious mistrust, rivalries and contempt (Karbo, 2013). Ethiopia consists of 77 different ethnic groups. The largest ethnic group is the Oromo, who cover 40 percent. Amhara takes the second place with 25 percent and Tigray with 7 percent follows third (Lanza & Woldermariam, 2008).

4.3 Laws, regulations and the reality

This section is structured according to the 2019 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) that gives a detailed country profile regarding laws, social norms and practices related to four sub-indicators discussed below.

4.3.1 Discrimination in the family

Overall laws on family/household level can be considered equal. Marriage is based on free and full consent of both men and women¹³, and both have the same rights when entering into marriage¹⁴ (OECD, 2019). The legal age of marriage in Ethiopia is 18, therefore holding the same definition and legislation of CM as the international community (Kedir, 2016). CM is prohibited and punishable by imprisonment¹⁵ (OECD, 2019). Women and men furthermore have the same rights to be recognised as the head of household¹⁶ and to be legal guardians of their children during marriage¹⁷ and after divorce¹⁸. Moreover, women and men share the same rights to initiate divorce¹⁹ and the same requirements to finalize divorce²⁰ (Ibid).

While the Family Code of 2000 encompasses gender equal principles, the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discriminations against Women (CADEW) Committee highlights

¹³ Family Code, art. 6

¹⁴ Family Code, art. 12 & Constitution, art. 34

¹⁵ Criminal Code, art. 648

¹⁶ Family Code, art 40 & 50

¹⁷ Family Code, art. 219 & Constitution, art. 27

¹⁸ Family Code, art. 221 & 113

¹⁹ Family Code, art. 76

²⁰ Family Code, art. 81

that some regions still enforce outdated discriminatory laws (Ibid). The Family Code clearly states that marriage shall be dissolved when the marriage regards child marriage. However, The Family Code also provided that this marriage shall not be dissolved if the required minimum age is met during the application of invalidation²¹ (Kedir, 2016). Additionally, proving a child is underage or CM has occurred, is difficult. Until recently, no functional national or regional system was in place to register births, deaths, marriages, and divorces (Girls not Brides, n.d.). In recent years the law progressed by giving each child born in a hospital a birth certificate, however in rural areas births are common at home, and thus still lack birth certificates (Respondent 3).

4.3.2 Restricted physical integrity

There are no laws regarding violence against women with regards to investigation, prosecution or punishment of the perpetrator, nor laws regarding the protection and support for victims (OECD, 2019). However, the Ethiopian Government did implement several measures aiming at prosecution and punishment of perpetrators. Furthermore, domestic violence is a criminal offense²² by law, and so is rape²³. This however only considers rape outside wedlock. Marital rape is not criminalised (Ibid). Discriminatory practices such as marrying one's victim in case of marriage by abduction to avoid punishment is repealed by the law²⁴ (Ibid). Additionally, sexual harassment is addressed²⁵, however does not include civil remedies nor is there a national action plan. An abortion is illegal²⁶, unless authorised by a medical institution in case of rape or incest²⁷. FGM²⁸ and trafficking of women and children²⁹ are furthermore classified as a criminal offence (Ibid).

With no laws, there are also no mandated organs for protection, report or control of problems arising from gender-based violence, nor are there any remedies for victims such as a custody order, residence order, shelter or medical benefits (Fite, 2014). While sexual

²¹ Family Code, art. 31

²² Criminal Code, art. 564

²³ Criminal Code, art. 620 & 621

²⁴ Criminal Code, art. 587

²⁵ Criminal Code, art. 625

²⁶ Criminal Code, art. 545

²⁷ Criminal Code, art. 551

²⁸ Criminal Code, art. 565-566

²⁹ Criminal Code, art. 597

harassment is addressed, this only covers the workplace, educational establishments, and public places. Excluding sporting establishments and cyber harassment.

Lack of effective management/coordination between different actors, lack of knowledge regarding laws, lack of trust in the legal system, and cultural taboos, make gender-based violence underreported (OECD, 2019). Domestic violence is seldom reported to police due to a culture of silence surrounding the topic. However, women sometimes do report domestic violence to family, local elders or religious leaders (Ibid).

Sexual violence remains prevalent, with (attempted-) rape, physical and verbal harassment and forced sexual initiation being the main forms. Often, perpetrators include men known by the victim (Tora, 2013). While overall FGM rates have reduced in urban areas, FGM still remains prevalent in rural areas.

4.3.3 Restricted access to productive and financial resources

The law states that unmarried³⁰, married³¹ and divorced³² men and women have the same rights to own, use as and make decisions regarding land property and other non-land assets (OECD, 2019). Furthermore, men and women share the same rights to obtain credit³³ and have the same workplace rights (Ibid).

Despite gender equal laws in place regarding financial resources, the CEDAW Committee notes that in rural areas, women depend on men for economic support. Customary norms regarding women's access to land and resources differ across country and are often based on patriarchal rules (Ibid). Due to their limited access to own land or property, women continue to face barriers securing or accessing credit (Ibid).

4.3.4 Restricted civil liberties

Women and men have the same rights regarding voting³⁴, citizenship/nationality (e.g. acquiring, changing or retaining)³⁵, and political participation³⁶. Increased economic empowerment of women and improved access to education, as well as affirmative action

³⁰ Constitution, art. 35

³¹ Family Code, art. 57, 58 & 59

³² Family Code, art. 85 & 90

³³ Family Code, art 70 & Constitution, art. 35

³⁴ Constitution, art 38

³⁵ Nationality Proclamation, art. 4, 6, 16, 19 & 22

³⁶ Constitution, art. 38, 54, 70 & 81

(e.g. 30% of women candidates in ruling party) resulted in a constant increase since 1995 in women's representation in Federal Parliament (Ibid).

Nonetheless, women remain unrepresented in the judiciary, diplomatic services and in the Governments' senior positions (Ibid). Barriers include amongst others negative cultural attitudes, reservations regarding women's leadership and still a lack of affirmative action (Ibid). Additionally, women face barriers to access justice due to family pressure or cultural influences, in which it is common for community elders to settle disputes through traditional justice systems. Within these traditional justice systems, women are not allowed to participate (Ibid).

4.4 Local context – Debre Tabor

This section elaborates on the local context of this research. First we zoom in from national level to Amhara region, one of the nine regional states, located in the northern part of Ethiopia. This is followed by the context of Debre Tabor, located within Amhara region, the centre from which the fieldwork was conducted.

Amhara region covers an estimated area of 154,708,69 square kilometres with a total population of 21,134,988 of which an estimated 88 percent lives in rural areas. Amharic is the mother tongue of the state as well as the working language of the nation (Kumar & Quisumbing, 2015). According to the 2007 census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (2007) 82.2 percent of the Amhara Region identify as Ethiopian Orthodox, 17.2 percent Muslim and 0.2 percent Protestant. According to the 2004 census by the CSA (2004), overall demographics include a literacy rate of 54 percent for men and 25.1 percent for women, access to safe drinking water by 28 percent (of whom an estimated 80 percent are urban inhabitants and 20 percent rural) of the total (Amharic) population and an infant mortality rate of 94 deaths per 1000 live births, exceeding the nationwide average of 77.

Data for this study was collected in both Farta and Fogera woreda. Both woredas are located in the South Gondar Zone in Amhara Regional State. Debre Tabor (Town), a neighbouring woreda of Farta and Fogera, was home to myself and the WCAT Debre Tabor coordination office. Debre Tabor functioned as a central point from where the fieldwork was conducted (see Figure 4.1).



Figure 4. 1 Map of Ethiopia

Source: Made by Pijnenburg drawing on mapchart.net

4.5 The Her Choice Alliance

This research was conducted in conjunction with the HC Alliance. Data was collected in collaboration with one of HC's local implementing partners; WCAT. Although this research and its results are independent from the HC Alliance and WCAT, it is important to situate this research in the context that enabled the realization of this research.

4.5.1 Her Choice

“Her Choice aims to build child marriage free communities where each girl is free to decide if, when and whom she marries. Where this will be HER CHOICE” (Her Choice, 2007).

HC is one out of three SRHR alliances working in the field of CM in partnership with the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The HC alliance exists of four Netherlands-based organisations that aim to work towards creating child-marriage free communities and reducing female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C). The HC Alliance's consists of main applicant SKN and co-applicants The Hunger Project (THP), International Child Development Initiatives (ICDI) and the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research/University of

Amsterdam (AISSR/UvA). The HC programme is implemented by a total of 30 local implementing partner organizations in 10 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Senegal and Uganda) and South Asia (Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nepal) (Koster et al., 2019).

HC follows six intervention strategies (see Box 4.1) that are implemented in 81 communities across the 10 HC programme countries to reduce CM (Koster et al., 2017, p. 1). The six intervention strategies are grounded in research and evidence that shows that community mobilisation in combination with fostering information, skills and networks for girls show the most consistent results of targeting child marriages (Her Choice, 2007). How these strategies were developed is elaborated on further in Section 4.3.2.

Box 4.1 Six Her Choice intervention strategies

Increasing girls' control in decision-making

1. **Invest in girls**, their knowledge, skills related to SRHR and participation in society.
2. **Keeping girls in school**: improve access to formal education for girls by supporting girl-friendly schools and building knowledge through schooling in general, and in SRHR in particular.
3. **Improving access to youth-friendly SRHR services for girls**: improving health services and by actively referring girls to health workers.

Mobilising relevant community actors

4. **Strengthening the economic security of girls and their families**: creating and supporting women's self-help groups with training and access to (financial) resources.
5. **Transforming social norms and traditional practices**: mobilising and supporting communities, including boys, men, women, leaders to promote girls' rights and gender equity, to achieve gender equity in education, decision-making, and access to services.
6. **Creating an enabling legal and policy environment on preventing child marriage**: supporting traditional leaders and (local) authorities to enforce national policies on preventing child marriage.

Source: Her Choice website: <http://www.her-choice.org/en/her-choice/programme/>

This thesis is written under supervision of the AISSR/UvA, HC's research partner. Measuring and examining the impact of the six HC intervention strategies (see Box 4.1) in relation to the prevention and reduction of the prevalence of CM in the 10 different implementing countries is the central task of the AISSR/UvA. In 2016 a mixed method baseline study was

conducted, followed by a midline assessment in 2018. The endline report is planned to be carried out in 2020 (Koster et al., 2017, p. 2).

4.5.2 HC background

The HC project coordinator of SKN (Respondent 6) explained in an interview how different lessons were learned by previous evaluations on different programmes implemented by SKN. These lessons later formed the foundation of the six HC strategies.

Evaluations demonstrated the importance of including religious leaders. Raising awareness amongst religious leaders enables collaboration instead of collision, which is an important aspect due to the deep-rootedness of some harmful traditional practices (HTP) in culture and tradition. Furthermore is the inclusion of women's organisations important, as they form a voice addressing the same problems. The third lesson is the inclusion of youth, as they form the future of the community. Thus, a multi-strategy, multi-actor and multi-sectoral approach is needed. Further evaluation of programmes later pointed out the deep-rootedness of the problem and the time it takes to create change. Thus, repetition over time was needed. To keep participants interested in the programme, repetition was combined with the inclusion of other related topics.

With their experience and knowledge, SKN applied to a call from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, offering 12 months financial aid for CM that got approved. One of the requirements for this fund was that the applicant should be an alliance, resulting in the inclusion of The Hunger Project (THP) and International Child Development Initiatives (ICDI). In 2015 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that CM would be included in the overall SRH programme, including new criteria for financing in the period 2015-2020. A new aspect of the criteria was the inclusion of a knowledge partner, resulting in the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research from the University of Amsterdam (AISSR/UvA) joining the alliance. It was this alliance (SKN, THP, ICDI and AISSR/UvA) that formulated the HC programme, which got approved and implemented starting in 2016.

4.5.3 Wabe Children's Aid and Training (WCAT)

'Wabe' is an Amharic word, which can be translated as guardian, protector, or an entity taking care of, and protecting vulnerable groups such as children (Respondent 5). WCAT is an Ethiopian resident charity organization that was established in 1993 under registration

number 0541 with the goal to alleviate the socio-economic problems of vulnerable children, youth, women and elderly people (Document 7) WCAT is mainly active in Amhara and Oromia and Addis Ababa regional states and has since its establishment implemented various development programs, with a main focus on education, health, livelihood, water sanitation and hygiene (WaSH) and social accountability (Document 8). WCAT's vision is "to see the lives of children from marginalized families and community groups improved to become productive and responsible citizens free from ignorance, poverty and disease" which they try to achieve through education and skills training based integrated development approaches (WCAT, n.d.). In the last 20 years WCAT shifted its approach towards development by engaging youth in economic empowerment and training them in vocational skills.

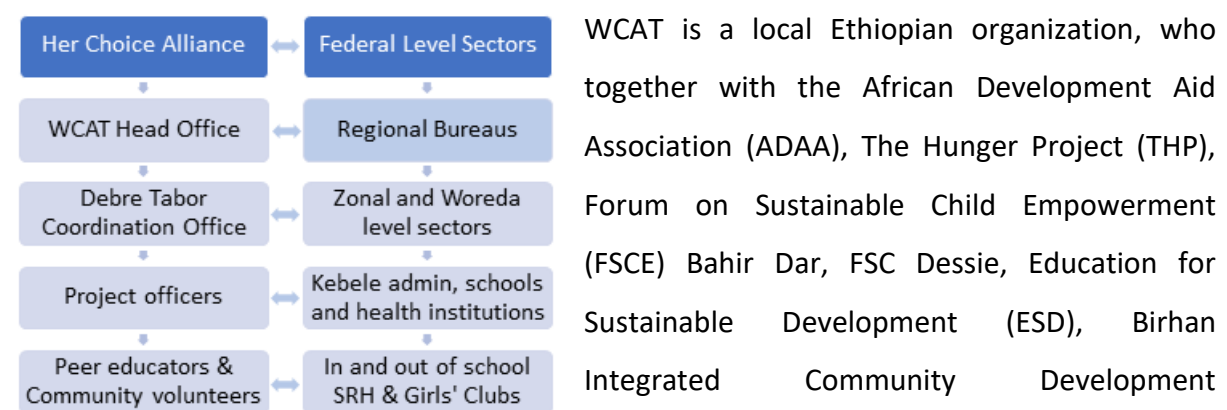


Figure 4. 2 Project management overview

Source: WCAT Debre Tabor coordination office

WCAT is a local Ethiopian organization, who together with the African Development Aid Association (ADAA), The Hunger Project (THP), Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE) Bahir Dar, FSC Dessie, Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), Birhan Integrated Community Development Organization (BICDO), Organisation for Development of Women And Children in Ethiopia (ODWaCE) and Love In Action (LIAE), form the nine local Ethiopian implementing partners of the HC programme (Document 1 + 2). WCAT head office is located in Addis Ababa with a coordination office located in Debre Tabor.

The HC project targets school girls and boys, community members and leaders (Document 7). The HC programme has been implemented by WCAT in three woredas in South Gondar Zone, namely Farta, Fogera and Lay Gayint, under the project title: "HC; Addressing Sexual and Reproductive Health Needs for in school and out of school Girls and Young women in South Gondar Zone, Amhara National Regional State". Starting in July 2016, the target kebeles included Wewa Magera, Weybla Selamko and Fert in Farta woreda, Alemba, Adis Betekrstian and Chalmana Dimu in Fogera woreda and Guna Gedeba, Mekuabia and

Hagregenet in Lay Gayint woreda. Starting from July 2018, multiple kebeles have been included in the HC programme as part of a scale up effort. Maynet, Soras and Medeb Gubda have been added to Farta woreda, Mintura and Avuana Kokit have been added to Fogera woreda and Checheho and Titira Damot are included in Lay Gayint woreda (Document 8).

The direct participants of the HC programme are 11.500 women and young people including teachers, 9000 adolescent girls in primary schools and 7500 girls in secondary schools. The indirect beneficiaries include 15.000 targets of which 7500 community members in 16 kebeles, 3750 adolescent girls and 3750 adolescent boys (Document 8).

4.6 Concluding remarks

Ethiopia is a country that is inherently multilingual, multi-ethnic and culturally pluralistic. With over 85 languages, a variety of religions, and 77 different ethnic groups, Ethiopia is a diverse country. Although there is a relatively good legal framework in place, Ethiopia still faces widespread discrimination against women, based on their gender. Lack in regulation and enforcement, alongside traditions and other factors, causes women to still be strongly disadvantaged in various areas including education, health, literacy, livelihoods and basic human rights.

5. Results: Engaging boys and male youth

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to answer subsidiary question 1: “How are boys and male youth currently engaged in building child marriage free communities by Her Choice?” This question is answered based on key-stakeholder interviews and personal experience gained through field visits. This chapter explores in detail the way boys and male youth are engaged in the HC programme; a community wide CM sensitisation and training programme.

This chapter starts by elaborating on CSE training, the most structured and predominant form of engagement of boys and male youth in the HC programme in Section 5.2.1. Section 5.2.2 elaborates on the SRH clubs, followed by Section 5.2.3 that discusses peer education within the HC programme. Section 5.3 then links the current strategies to the history of SKN and their theory of change. Finally, Section 5.4 concludes by answering the subsidiary question.

5.2 Engaging boys and male youth in building child marriage free communities

Strong efforts have been utilized at grass root level with key stakeholders in target kebeles schools and health institutions to realize the objective of the HC project, following the six HC strategies (Document 7). Although there are six strategies (see Box 4.1), boys and male youth are mainly engaged in strategy one: ‘Invest in girls, their knowledge, skills related to SRHR and participation in society’, and two: ‘Keeping girls in school: improve access to formal education for girls by supporting girl-friendly schools and building knowledge through schooling in general, and in SRHR in particular’. While the formulation of the strategies and the HC programme itself is mainly directed towards girls, there is a growing recognition of the importance of engaging boys in the programme (Respondent 6) and the interest of the boys and male youth themselves to participate (Respondent 1).

This thesis focuses on three main activities that are implemented as part of strategy one and two, namely peer education, SRH clubs and Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE). These are the three parts of the programme that reaches boys and male youth at schools and thus the three forms of engagement looked at in this research. There are other ways in which

men are engaged in BCMFC as a part of the HC programme, however, this engagement is outside of school context and therefore not part of this research.

5.2.1 Meharebe training

Meharebe training, also known as CSE training, is the most prevalent and structured form of engagement in the HC programme for boys and male youth. Participation is on a voluntary basis.

CSE training started out as a computer-based programme titled *The World Starts With Me* (WSWM). WSWM targeted in- and out-of-school youth aged 12 till 19 and combined SRHR education, creative expression and IT skills. The programme was developed in close collaboration with Rutgers WPF³⁷, Butterfly Works³⁸, SchoolNet Uganda³⁹ and students and teachers of pilot schools (Vanwesenbeeck et al, 2015).

The programme aims to increase people's knowledge and self-esteem, develop their attitudes and expand their skills regarding SRH related topics, to empower them to make responsible choices. The programme is learner-centred and rights-based, in which youth involvement is the main focus of the programme's development and implementation. Their active participation would empower them to represent themselves and make their own decisions. Instead of just teaching content, teachers are supported to facilitate this empowerment process (Ibid). The lessons are aimed to not only educate, but also mobilize young people "to take action and advocate for a supportive environment regarding sexual and reproductive health and rights for young people in their families and in their community" (Ibid). The last session consists of an exhibition where students show the results of the class efforts (e.g. slogans, posters, role/action play) to fellow students, parents and community (Ibid).

The programme was originally designed and implemented for secondary school students in Uganda in 2003. Based on this model, the Development Expertise Centre (DEC) in Ethiopia later developed its own hardcopy version of this manual, also called 'Meharebe'. As part of their larger strategy to promote the CSE programme in both in and out-of-school settings,

³⁷ A Dutch centre of expertise on sexuality and SRHR, now known as Rutgers

³⁸ A social design studio pioneering the use of co-creation and design thinking in international development

³⁹ A program that works in collaboration with Ugandan Education institutions to set up Information Communication Technology (ICT) facilities to enhance teaching and learning.

they adapted the WSWM manual to be culturally sensitive and age appropriate for Ethiopian context. Lessons that were added specifically for Ethiopian context were based around topics as child marriage, gender-based violence and FGM (Vanwesenbeeck et al. 2015). The already established partnership between SKN and DEC regarding active-learning workshops, now expanded to include CSE training, given to all HC partners in Ethiopia (Ibid).

CSE training includes a total of 15 lessons as displayed in Box 5.1 (Respondent 1). DEC certified trainers train teachers and peer educators on SHR and CSE basic principles and facilitation skills of the manuals (Respondent 6). The CSE training for teachers consists of five consecutive days and refresher trainings are given to refresh teachers' facilitation skills on CSE and SRH education (Document 5). Teachers are selected based on their interactive skills and their desire to closely work with young people. CSE training itself is given two times a year. Each school has four CSE teachers, of which one also functions as the SRH club leader.

CSE's active engagement of boys is very prevalent in the different lessons. Lesson 8 (see Box 5.1) for example entails the message that pregnancy is both for females and males, where, if a female gets pregnant, the pregnancy and child are the responsibility of both. Another lesson explains the reproductive system, including the menstrual cycle. It is in this lesson where boys are thought not to make fun of girls who are on their period, but to support them where necessary (Respondent 6).

Box 5.1 15 lessons of CSE training

1. World starts with me
2. Emotional ups & downs
3. Body change
4. Sex & gender
5. Friendship & relationship
6. Culture and HTPs
7. Entitlement on SRH
8. Pregnancy for male and female
9. Love does not hurt
10. My responsibility to prevent HIV/AIDS
11. STI/disease and HIV/AIDS
12. SRH and drug/addiction
13. My future plan
14. Peer book (preparation)
15. Exhibition

Source: Respondent 1

5.2.2 SRH club

The SRH clubs have been part of previous SKN's programmes targeting FGM, which, proven to be effective, were later implemented in the HC programme. Existing clubs were used and in places where no such club existed, one was established (Respondent 1).

One teacher, trained to give CSE training, is also the SRH club coordinator of the school. The SRH club is organised around their regular curriculum and participation is voluntary. The SRH club prepares different awareness raising activities and social mobilization efforts that are entertaining and educational at the same time: edutainment. Through drama, poems, literature and various dialogues, important issues related to SRH are discussed (Document 5). These clubs also contain very practical lessons, such as making their own menstrual pads from affordable and reusable materials, taught to both boys and girls.

Although SRH clubs, also known as girls' clubs, are aimed mainly at girls, boys are also voluntary active members of these clubs and show a natural interest in the information provided in the SRH clubs (Respondent 1).

5.2.3 Peer education

Another form of engagement in BCMFC is through planned but informal peer education. Peer education is also a form of engagement that is proven efficient, based on SKN's history with FGM-programmes, and was therefore implemented in the HC programme (Respondent 6).

Trained educators teach their peers once per week on various SRH problems and life skill training. Peer educators also have knowledge on youth friendly services (YFS) and ways they offer the service, so they can inform their peers. Additionally, they facilitate social mobilization through drama, poetry and various dialogues to enhance awareness of students and their parents (Document 4). Just like the SRH club leaders, peer educators also received skill training on homemade hygiene and sanitary materials, which they in turn, can teach to other girls and boys in school.

Peer educators themselves are always girls below 18 years old within the HC programme. However, boys can partake in peer education as receivers of peer education, and actively do so. Although not officially peer educators themselves, boys and male youth who receiving peer education often in turn teach their peers (Respondent 1).

5.3 Theory of change

The above mentioned forms of engagement are all based on, and further developed through, the experience of SKN and their partners in previous programmes. Lessons were learned, further developed and polished through years of experience, reflection, feedback and research (Respondent 6). While a lot of lessons were learned, they were never summarised or visualised in an all-compassing theory. Although the current HC programme and its strategies are not based on the Theory of Change (see Annex 16), the theory is very similar and therefore functions as a good way to visualize the HC programme. The only thing new for HC, learned from the Theory of Change (GNB, n.d.), was the engagement of youth friendly health services: ‘Increase access to health services for both married and unmarried adolescent girls and establish protocols on identifying the warning signs and addressing the risks of CM for health and education services’ (see Annex 16). This lesson, learned from GNB, was translated to strategy three of the six HC strategies: “Improving access to youth-friendly SRHR services for girls: improving health services and by actively referring girls to health workers” (see Box 4.1).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter answered subsidiary question 1 ‘How are boys and male youth currently engaged in building child marriage free communities by Her Choice?’ Boys and male youth can be engaged in BCMFC by Her Choice in three different ways, namely, CSE training, SRH clubs and peer education. Participation in all forms of engagement are completely voluntary and it is possible to participate in only one or multiple forms of engagement. Thus, within engagement, subdivisions can be made based on ‘how much’ boys and male youth are engaged. Boys or male youth who participate in one form of engagement, are considered engaged, however, they are considered ‘less engaged’ than boys or male youth who are engaged in all three forms of engagement. This ranking is taken into account when further analysing the data.

6. Results: Perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships

6.1 Introduction

This chapter answers two subsidiary questions, namely: (2) ‘How do boys and male youth perceive gender equality in intimate/marital relations and how does this translate into practice?’, and (3) ‘Did the ‘engagement’ in the programme influence the perceptions and practices of boys and male youth thus far?’ Based on photovoice-, mind maps-, and vignette FGDs, the perceptions and practices of GEIMR of boys and male youth are mapped (Section 6.2). This is followed by a more in-depth analysis of the role of HC in shaping these perceptions using survey data in Section 6.3 and practices using teacher interviews in Section 6.4. Section 6.5 concludes by answering the subsidiary questions.

6.2 Perceptions of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships

This section discusses the perceptions of GEIMR amongst boys and male youth through FGDs (vignettes, mind maps and photo voice) and survey data. These perceptions are structured and analysed using the theory of gender and power as a framework. This framework distinguishes three different structures that characterizes the gendered relationship between men and women; (1) the sexual division of labour, (2) the sexual division of power, and (3) cathexis (see Section 2.3.2).

Answers to the survey statements are displayed in Table 6.4. Answers regarding the mind map FGDs are displayed in Table 6.1 (primary educated, treatment group), 6.2 (primary educated, control group) and 6.3 (secondary educated treatment group) and colour coded according to the theory of gender and power. Answers related to the sexual division of labour are colour coded blue, the sexual division of power red, and cathexis green⁴⁰.

Table 6. 1 Mind map outcomes primary educated treatment group (FGD 3)

Gender equality in a relationship	How females should behave/act towards men in a relationship	How men should behave/act towards women in a relationship

⁴⁰ It is important to note that although these structures are different, they are not separate. They are inevitably interwoven (Maharaj, 1995. p. 61), and thus the colour codes only display a rough division.

Females are not inferior to men	Help men by their potential	Equal decision making in marriage
Male and female are naturally equal	Females should not consider tasks as 'task of men'	Having discussion
No division of tasks for male and female	Sharing of tasks	Keep out/protect women from HTPs
We should see men and women equal	Females should advice when men creates problem	Provide advice
Men and female are equal	They have to live in love and unity	No violence/harassment
Men should not marginalize females in any way	Support each other by ideas	Encourage females to participate in different tasks
Females and males work equal tasks	Prepare food on time	See with equal eyes
Sexual relationship	Female can say no to anything, however, relationship in general should be based on common understanding, mutual consent	Share ideas/thinking
		Do not discriminate/marginalize
		We should not insult
		Support in idea
		Help in work

Source: Fieldwork 2018, Debre Tabor

Table 6. 2 Mind map outcomes primary educated control group (FGD 7)

Gender equality in a relationship	How females should behave/act towards men in a relationship	How men should behave/act towards women in a relationship
We should not blame females when they do the tasks of men	Help each other	Help each other/respect
Females are equal with men	Work together	Men have to do the tasks of females
We have to eliminate backwardness and bring equality	Show peace and love	Do tasks properly

Female has to do what men can do	Respect her husband	Lead family together
Men has to do what females do	She has to treat her husband	Love and peace
Work together	When the husband went ploughing, the wife has to wash his legs and clean the house/take care of the children	Discuss issues
		Shared responsibility

Source: Fieldwork 2018, Debre Tabor

Table 6. 3 Mind map outcomes secondary educated treatment group (FGD 4)

Gender equality in a relationship	How females should behave/act towards men in a relationship	How men should behave/act towards women in a relationship
Females should not undermine or underestimate themselves	Advice	We should eliminate superior attitude
Respect female rights just like men's rights	Tolerance/kindness/honesty	Political equality
Community has to work to sustain equality	Share secrets and problems	Let her express her feelings (e.g. in a meeting/conference)
Reduce the job burden of females	She should not undermine herself	Provide love and advice
No division of tasks based on gender	Equal responsibilities	No division of tasks
Political, social, economic equal participation	Respect her husband	Look after wife during pregnancy
Encourage men to do the tasks of females	Work together and cooperate	Listen to each other
Acceptance of equal potential	Listen and trust	Solving problems together
Not discourage females when they do tasks of men	We have to teach 'good'	Equal responsibility (e.g. raising the family)
Work together and bring	Females should advise men	Believe in equality

change		
We have to accept equality of men and women	Lead family together with husband	Use money/resources equally
	Females should not undermine themselves. Not think she is inferior and he is superior.	Accountability and understanding problems

Source: Fieldwork 2018, Debre Tabor

6.2.1 Sexual division of labour

The division of labour (colour coded blue) is the structure that was overall most discussed in the FGDs. Within the societal level, this division refers to the allocation of men and women to certain occupations (Wingood & DiClemente, 2000. p. 542). In Table 6.3 we see that the secondary educated treatment group specifically addressed this societal level: ‘Political, social, economic equal participation’. Boys in primary education only seemed to focus on the institutional level.

Boys both in the programme and in the control group generally agreed that there should be no task division based on gender and that tasks should be equally divided. These perceptions are in line with survey data that showed agreement (100 percent in the treatment group, and 93.4 percent in the control group) to the statement “Both men and women can work and raise the children”. However, two specific answers given during FGD 3 and FGD 7, reinforce the sexual division of labour. A primary educated boy in the treatment group (Table 6.1) mentioned that females should make sure the food is prepared on time. This answers was followed by laughter from the rest of the participants. A boy in primary education in the control group (Table 6.2) mentioned how the female is responsible for cleaning the house, taking care of the children and to wash the legs of her husband when he comes home from ploughing. Survey data (Table 6.4) show that this perception (“It is the task of the women to raise the kids and cook for her family”) is present in 10.6 percent of the treatment group, and 21.5 percent of the control group.

Next to the overall agreement and general statements that tasks should be equally divided, secondary educated boys in the programme went more in-depth, by specifically mentioning that the job burden of females should be reduced. They furthermore distinguished

themselves from primary educated boys both in the control group and treatment group by specifying how men and women should use money and resources equally. Similarly, they addressed the problem of financial dependency on men that is often a result of the sexual division of labour (Wingood & DiClemente, 2000, p.542).

Table 6. 4 Overview of statements regarding GEIMR (N = 262)

Statement	Treatment group (N=141)		Control group (N=121)		N valid cases
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
It is the task of the women to raise the kids and cook for her family*	10.6%	89.4%	21.5%	78.5%	262
Men should be head of the household	34.6%	65.4%	28.3%	71.7%	256
Men should be the source of income for the household	54.3%	45.7%	55.5%	44.5%	257
Both men and women can work and raise the children**	100%	0%	93.4%	3.1%	260
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	48.6%	51.4%	55.8%	44.2%	260
If a woman gets pregnant unwanted, it is her own fault	37.5%	62.5%	47.1%	52.9%	260
A women can suggest using condoms just like a man can	87.1%	12.9%	87.5%	12.5%	260
A couple should decide together if they want to have children***	94.3%	5.7%	73.1%	26.9%	259
If a guy gets a women pregnant, the child is the responsibility of both	98.6%	1.4%	95%	5%	258
Men and women are equally smart**	82%	18%	65.3%	34.7%	260
Men and women have the same feelings/emotions	33.8%	66.2%	27.7%	72.3%	258
I follow other males in their behaviour towards women	34.6%	65.4%	31.1%	68.9%	255
I want the approval of other males for my behaviour towards women	62.2%	37.8%	52.5%	47.5%	253
I care about what other men think of me**	81.4%	18.6%	65.8%	34.2%	260
Only the man can initiate sex	10.8%	89.2%	7.4%	92.6%	260

It is okay for a women to say no to sex	52.5%	47.5%	51.7%	48.3%	261
Women can ask for sex if they want to**	91.4%	8.6%	78.5%	21.5%	261
Women and men can equally enjoy sex	80.1%	19.9%	72.7%	27.3%	262
It is okay for a man to be feminine	49.6%	50.4%	38%	62%	258
It is okay for a man to be sensitive**	88.7%	11.3%	73.6%	26.4%	262
It is okay for a women to be masculine*	58%	42%	44.4%	55.6%	255
It is okay for a women to be physically strong*	79.4%	20.6%	67.5%	32.5%	261
Women should have limited interaction with men outside of their household	35.7%	64.3%	42.5%	57.5%	260
Women and men can be friends (without this being sexualised)*	88.4%	11.6%	77.5%	22.5%	258
You should talk about your emotions and feelings in a relationship/marriage	81.3%	18.7%	73.9%	26.1%	258
There are times when a women deserves to be beaten	49.3%	50.7%	50.4%	49.6%	261
A women should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	88.2%	11.8%	81.7%	18.3%	256
Women should be treated with respect	93.6%	6.4%	91.6%	8.4%	259
A man should have the final word about decisions in his home	47.1%	52.9%	54.2%	45.8%	260
Women and men are equal*	91.4%	8.6%	82.6%	17.4%	260
Women and men have equal rights in a marriage	92.9%	7.1%	93.3%	6.7%	260
Trust is important in a relationship/marriage*	97.1%	2.9%	89.9%	10.1%	259
Intimacy/being close is important in a relationship/marriage	87.7%	12.3%	85.7%	14.3%	257
A man should know what his partner likes during sex	95%	5%	86.7%	13.3%	261

p-value < .05* <.01** <.001***

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Table 6. 5 Overview statements regarding cheating

Statement	Treatment				Control group				N
	M	F	Both	None	M	F	Both	None	
Who is allowed to cheat in a relationship?*	1.4%	2.2%	17.4%	79%	8.3%	5.8%	19%	66.9%	259
Who is allowed to cheat in a marriage?**	1.4%	1.4%	12.1%	85%	10.8%	2.5%	19.2%	67.5%	260

p-value < .05* <.01** <.001***

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

6.2.2 Sexual division of power

Besides the overall statement in all mind maps that men and women are equal, the societal level of the sexual division of power (colour coded red) was only addressed amongst boys participating in the HC programme. Both Table 6.1 and Table 6.3 address how women are not inferior to men. Table 6.3 goes more in-depth about how the superior attitude in men should be eliminated and that females should not undermine themselves.

The sexual division of power at the institutional level is addressed in all mind maps, but overall least mentioned amongst primary educated boys in the control group (Table 6.2). The two related statements remain broad and only address that the family should be led together and that issues need to be discussed. Boys in the treatment group, both in primary education (Table 6.1) and secondary education (Table 6.3), added more nuances (e.g. 'Equal decision making in marriage', 'respect female rights just like men's rights') and also addressed harmful practices (e.g. 'No violence/harassment', 'We should eliminate superior attitude'). These more elaborated answers might be due to their introduction to these specific topics in the HC programme (see Box 5.1).

Answers to the survey statement 'There are times when a women deserves to be beaten' (see Table 6.4) were divergent in both the control (50.4 percent agrees) and treatment group (49.3 percent agrees). Due to this divergence, the topic was included in the first vignette (see Box 6.1). Respondents (secondary educated control group) all agreed that Abebech did not deserve to be beaten in the vignette context, but rather, should be cared for (FGD 8). When asked if there are other situations in which it is justified to beat females,

the following examples were mentioned: “[sic]⁴¹ If she is his girlfriend and she cheats with someone else, he will immediately beat her” (Ibid). “If he asks for love, or for a relationship and if she says no, and let’s say, she accepts the offer from another guy, then there might be a situation where he is going to beat her because he is strong. So if they say no that is” (Ibid). They said that although violence is not allowed, violence does happen in reality. I am uncertain if this statement refers to the boy’s perception or their reflection on what happens in the community, and whether these are the same or differ.

Box 6.1 Vignettes

Vignette 1:

Abebech is 17 years old and has an 18 year old boyfriend named Mulugeta. They are not married yet, but they did sleep together and she got pregnant unexpected. She was afraid to tell this to her boyfriend but there was no other option but to tell him since he would find out anyways. When she told him she was pregnant, he got angry with her. He beat/hit her and told her that she should have used birth control and blamed her for the pregnancy.

Vignette 2:

A husband (Berhanu) and wife (Tsihay) are always very busy working since they have 5 kids to support who all go to school. Since they are working so much Tsihay is very tired. Some evenings the man initiates sex, and although she sometimes says yes, she also sometimes says no because she is very tired and she really needs her sleep as well. Berhanu gets frustrated and when he is away for a week for work he cheats with another girls on Tsihay.

Vignette 3:

Banchalem is the wife of Muluken, she treats him in a very well manner. She supports him in outdoor working/activity, like ploughing. But Muluken is not interested to support her in the baking of Injera, cooking of wot and other household activities, because even if he wants to support his wife, he is afraid of the judgement from the community.

Source: Fieldwork 2018, Debre Tabor

6.2.3 Cathexis

Topics regarding cathexis (colour coded green) were mentioned almost the same amount as topics regarding the sexual division of power in all mind maps. Just like the sexual division of

⁴¹ Throughout this thesis, grammar errors were removed from the original quotes

power, were also topics regarding cathexis least mentioned by the primary educated control group (Table 6.2).

The societal level was touched upon in all mind map FGDs, however remained vague by only mentioning the need for general equality. Table 6.2 furthermore mentions the elimination of 'backward' thinking, however this, combined with general equality was all this table included regarding cathexis.

The topic of cathexis was most touched upon at the institutional level. Boys in the HC programme, both in primary education (Table 6.1), and secondary education (Table 6.3), mentioned detailed answers. Table 6.1 specifies for example that HTPs need to be kept out and that females can say no to anything, but this answer should be based on common understanding and mutual consent. Secondary educated boys in the programme (Table 6.3) gave most detailed answers and also put more emphasis on the emotional aspect of gender equality in relationships. They mentioned for example the importance of tolerance, kindness, honesty, and sharing problems and secrets.

This trend was also present in the survey data, where around 75 percent of all boys in primary education agreed to the statement 'you should talk about your emotions and feelings in a relationship'. When boys were in the programme in secondary education, this percentage increased to 90 percent. This percentage dropped to 72.1 percent when boys were in secondary education and not in the programme (see Annex 17). While boys generally agreed that sharing feelings and emotions is important, boys in primary education were divided regarding if boys and girls have the same feelings and emotions. When boys are in secondary education, this percentage dropped from an agreement of 43.8 percent to 15.9 percent (see Annex 17).

Survey data showed a general disagreement on the topic of contraceptives, and thus this topic was included in the vignette FGD. A FGD amongst boys in the control group (FGD 8) showed that there are different layers of responsibility. In general they agreed that boys are responsible to inform the girl about the use of contraceptives, while the girl herself is responsible of arranging and taking these contraceptives (FGD 8). This whole discussion revolved around the assumption that the female has to take the contraceptives. Male contraceptives were not mentioned as an option. When asked about which forms of male

contraceptives exist, the first male contraceptive mentioned was a vasectomy. After some thinking, condoms were also mentioned as a contraceptive.

Around 61 percent of all boys in primary education thought it is okay for women to say no to intercourse⁴². This percentage dropped to 41 percent when boys are in secondary education. During FGD 8 it became apparent that this statement also works the other way around. Boys also should not say no when the women initiates intercourse in a relationship. Although it is culturally not accepted that females initiate intercourse (Respondent 4), survey data showed that 91.4 percent of the treatment group and 78.5 percent of the control group thought it is okay for women to ask for intercourse if they want to. FGD 8 showed that the underlying motive for not rejecting intercourse is the fear of cheating of the partner; “She should not say no because like he is highly interested to have sex with her, and if she says no, definitely he is going to cheat with someone else and at the end, if she knows that he is cheating, then divorce might happen. Children will face all these problems related to divorce”. Although the practice of cheating might occur if intercourse is rejected, the majority of both boys in the treatment group (85 percent) and control group (67.5 percent) did not think cheating is allowed when in a marriage.

6.2.4 Conclusion

Overall, general perceptions of GEIMR of boys in the control group mainly involve resolving the sexual division of labour. Boys in the treatment group, both primary and secondary educated, focused more equally on all structures of the theory of gender and power, and thus, hold more all-encompassing perceptions of GEIMR. Boys in the programme in secondary education distinguished themselves from boys in the programme in primary education by also highlighting the importance of emotional aspects of intimate/marital relationships and overall giving more in-depth examples. Boys in the HC programme furthermore distinguished themselves from the control group because they also addressed the societal level within the theory of gender and power, whereas the control group only addressed the institutional level. While thus indicating more all-encompassing perceptions in the treatment group, the specific mind maps focused on gender roles and gender equality within a relationship, and thus focus specifically on the institutional level. However, these two levels are interlinked, and although less emphasis should be put on the societal level, it

⁴² To their partner when they are in an intimate/marital relationship

should be taken into account. Within the institutional level, it can be concluded that boys and male youth in the programme hold more all-encompassing perceptions of GEIMR.

6.3 Her Choice's role in shaping perceptions

If the boys'- and male youth's perceptions and practices of GEIMR changed after the HC programme, was measured in multiple ways to enable triangulation. One way of measurement was through self-reflection. Boys in the treatment group (n = 141) were asked about their perceptions through the question 'Do you think the programme changed the way you think about these issues'⁴³. 123 participants in the HC programme answered yes, while only 17 participants answered no, indicating that 87.9 percent⁴⁴ noticed a change in their own perceptions. Another question measured change in practices: 'Did the way you act towards girls/women change because of the programme?'. 121 participants answered yes, while 20 participants answered no, indicating that 86.4 percent noticed a change in their own practices. Results show almost no difference in the amount of self-reflective change between perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

6.3.1 Effect of engagement in building child marriage free communities

A Factorial Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted to compare the main effects of education (primary/secondary) and the HC programme (treatment/control), and their interaction effect on boys' and male youth's perceptions⁴⁵ of GEIMR. Results are displayed in Table 6.6.

Table 6. 6 Factorial ANOVA: test of between subjects effects (N = 252)

Predictor	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial η^2
(Intercept)	131.434	1	131.43	12324.69	.000	.982
Education	.024	1	.024	2.442	.119	.010
Programme	.127	1	.127	13.022	.000	.049
Education *	.041	1	.041	4.202	.041	.016

⁴³ referring to issues related to GEIMR

⁴⁴1 missing

⁴⁵ Although likely related to practices of GEIMR, it is important to note that these effects concern specifically the perceptions of GEIMR.

Programme

Error	2.477	253	.010
Total	136.755	257	

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

The factorial ANOVA shows that the main effect of the HC programme on perceptions of GEIMR is statistically significant, $F(1, 253) = 13.02$, $p < .001$, with participants in the treatment group ($M = .74$, $SD = .09$) scoring significantly higher on perceptions of GEIMR than participants in control group ($M = .70$, $SD = .11$). Partial eta-squared (η^2) for this effect is .049, which is considered a large effect (Richardson, 2011).

The main effect of education on perceptions of GEIMR is not statistically significant, $F(1, 253) = 2.44$, $p = .119$, partial $\eta^2 = .010$. Participants in secondary education ($M = .71$, $SD = .10$) thus do not score significantly higher on perceptions of GEIMR than participants in primary education ($M = .73$, $SD = .10$).

There is an interaction effect between education and the HC programme on perceptions of GEIMR, $F(1, 253) = 4.20$, $p = .041$, of which a visual representation is displayed in Figure 6.1. Partial η^2 for this effect is .016.

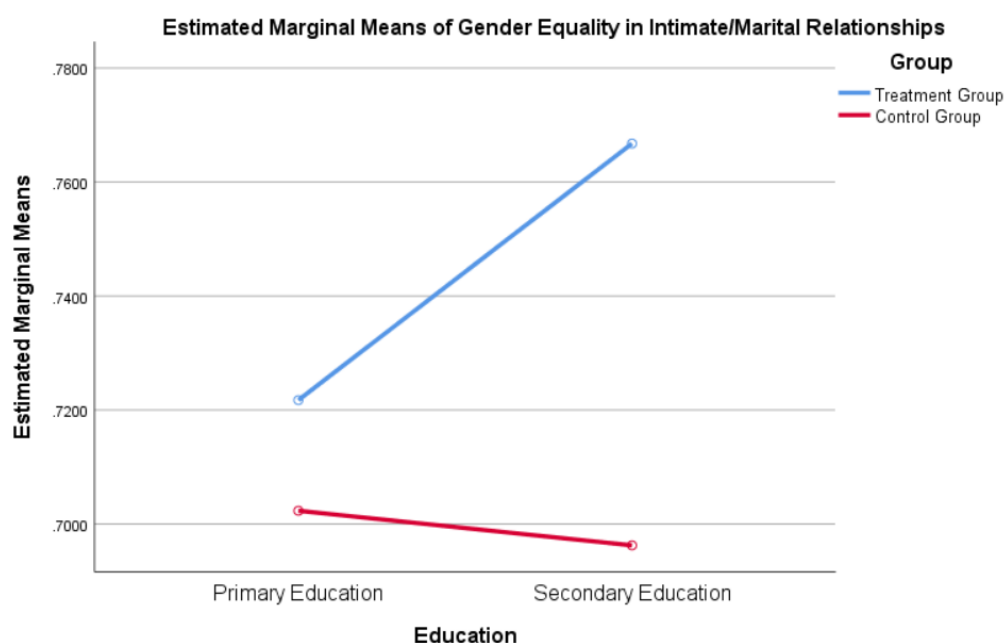


Figure 6. 1 Interaction effect: GEIMR x education (N = 252)

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

To further explore this significant interaction effect, an effect analysis was conducted that looked into the effect of the independent variable (HC programme) on the dependent variable (perceptions of GEIMR) at each level of the second independent variable (education). The datafile was spit to compare groups based on education, followed by a one-Way ANOVA. To interpret the output of the ANOVA, a few changes had to be made (Allen, & Bennett, 2012): The within groups sum of squares, *df* and mean square values for each ANOVA was replaced with the error type III sum of squares, *df* and the mean square from the test of between subjects effects from Table 6.6 (output Factorial ANOVA)⁴⁶.

After adjustments, the ANOVA table is as follows:

Table 6. 7 Adjusted ANOVA (N = 252)

	Education	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	F
Primary Education	Between groups	.013	1	.013	1.3
	Within Groups	2.477	253	.010	
	Total	1.486	139		
Secondary Education	Between Groups	.145	1	.145	14.5
	Within Groups	2.477	253	.010	
	Total	1.149	116		

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Field (2013, p. 895) reports F_{critical} for $df = (1, 253)$ at $\alpha = .01$ as 6.72. Consequently, the HC programme has no significant effect on boys' and male youths' perceptions of GEIMR when in primary education, $F(1,253) = 1.3$, *ns*. However, the HC programme does have a significant effect on boys' and male youth's perceptions of GEIMR when in secondary education, $F(1,253) = 14.5$, $p < .01$.

⁴⁶ The F for each ANOVA was recalculated by the following formula: $F = \frac{MS_{\text{Between}}}{MS_{\text{Within}}}$

A possible explanation for this effect might be found in the general framework proposed by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014) (see Section 2.2.4) that highlight the importance of beliefs (social and non-social). The programme influences one's non-social beliefs. However, social beliefs, and especially social beliefs regarding peers, also affect one's behaviour. Autonomy in turn affects the amount of influence these social beliefs have on one's behaviour.

In the survey, the statement 'I care about what other men think of me', is closest related to autonomy. Although the statement does not cover all aspects of the concept, the data was used in an exploratory way to reveal possible underlying relationships that might be present, based on the interaction effect found between group and education.

A cross tabulation displayed in Table 6.4, shows a significant relationship between the survey statement "I care about what other men think of me" and the HC programme, $X^2 (1, N = 260) = 8.216, p = .004$, where boys in the HC programme care significantly more about what other men think of them than boys not in the HC programme. A possible explanation for this result might be that boys in the programme are more often confronted with a divergence between their factual beliefs and personal normative beliefs versus their empirical and normative expectations, due to the HC programme's influence. Since they might be more confronted with this dichotomy, they might be more aware of social pressure.

However, to explain the interaction effect found between group and education, answers to the statement 'I care about what men think of me' were further explored by dividing it based on education. This subdivision was introduced because it could be that one's resistance to peer influence is linked to one's age, and thus also indirectly to their level of education. Steinberg and Monahan (2009) for example found a linear increase in resistance to peer influences between the ages of 14 and 18.

A cross tabulation (Table 6.8) reveals that the apparent relationship between the HC programme and the statement 'I care about what other men think of me', is an artefact of the underlying relationship between education and group. The apparent relationship between group and the statement is only apparent when in primary education $X^2 (1, N =$

260) = 17.159, $p < .001$, but disappears when in secondary education $X^2 (1, N = 260) = .045$, $p > .05$.

Table 6. 8 Crosstabulation 'I care about what other men think of me' by group and education (N = 260)

	Treatment Group		Control Group	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Primary Education	86.1%	13.9%	54.2%	45.8%
Secondary Education	75.4%	24.6%	77.0%	23.0%

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

This result could suggest that the HC programme only has a significant effect on boys in secondary education due to the fact that they developed a better resistance to peer influence caused by their age. A better resistance to peer influence lowers the effects of one's social beliefs, and increases the effects of one's non-social beliefs on one's final perceptions and practices of GEIMR. In turn, increasing the influence of the HC programme. Boys in the programme in primary education have a lower resistance to peer influence. Thus, the importance of social beliefs are high, and therefore the influence of non-social beliefs low. Since the HC programme influences primarily one's non-social beliefs, the effects of the programme might be overruled by the effects of one's social beliefs. This result however, is exploratory and needs further research as suggested in Section 9.5.1.

6.3.2 Effect of level of engagement

To further explore the relationship between the HC programme and perceptions of GEIMR, a one-way ANOVA was used to examine whether students engaged in none, one, two, or three forms of engagement differ with respect to their perceptions of GEIMR. The independent variable represents four different levels of engagement: (0) not engaged, (1) engaged in one out of three forms of engagement, (2) engaged in two out of three forms of engagement, and (3) engaged in three out of three forms of engagement. The dependent variable is the average score on GEIMR, measured on an interval level. The means and standard deviation for each group are displayed in Table 6.9. Cases in which the engagement measured zero, while the boys or male youths were in fact engaged in the

programme (n = 5), were excluded from analysis since these cases contain a measurement error.

Table 6. 9 Means and standard deviations of GEIMR by level of engagement (N = 252)

Engagement level	<i>n</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
0	121	.688	.117
1	14	.686	.084
2	35	.743	.105
3	82	.754	.088
Total	252	.717	.109

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Inspection of the skewness, kurtosis and Shapiro-Wilk statistics indicate that the assumption of normality was supported for three out of four levels of engagement. The Shapiro-Wilk test was significant ($p = .028$) in the group where people were not engaged, therefore violating the assumption of normality. Levene's statistic was significant, $F(3, 248) = .42$, and thus the assumption of homogeneity of variance is violated. Although an ANOVA is quite robust for a violation of the normality assumption (Allen & Bennet, 2012, p. 78), the assumption of homogeneity of variance was also violated, and thus was decided to opt for the Welch statistic.

A one-way ANOVA shows a statistically significant main effect, *Welch's* $F(3, 52.69) = 8.191$, $p < .001$, indicating that boys' and male youth's perceptions of GEIMR differ depending on their level of engagement.

Since the Welch's F test was used, the adjusted omega squared was used as a measure of effect size according to the formula below (Oak, n.d., p. 3):

$$\omega^2 \frac{df_{between}(F - 1)}{df_{between}(F - 1) + N_T} = \frac{3(8.191 - 1)}{3(8.191 - 1) + 60} = .264$$

The estimated omega squared ($\omega^2 = .264$) indicates that approximately 26.4 percent of the total variance in average score on perceptions of GEIMR can be attributed to the differences between the four levels of engagement.

A post hoc procedure was used to see how the four different levels of engagement differ. A visual representation of means can be found in Figure 6.2.

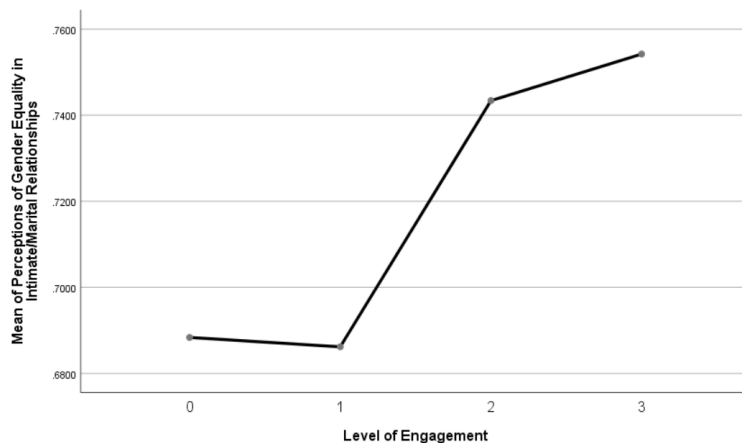


Figure 6. 2 Levels of engagement of perceptions of GEIMR

Source: Fieldsurvey 2018, Debre Tabor

Since the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not met, a Games-Howell post hoc procedure was used (Oak, n.d, p. 3). The results, as displayed in Table 6.10, indicate that boys and male youth engaged in two forms of engagement ($M = .734$, $SD = .105$) score significantly higher on perceptions of GEIMR than boys and male youth who are not engaged ($M = .688$, $SD = .117$). Additionally, boys and male youth engaged in three forms of engagement ($M = .754$, $SD = .088$) score significantly higher on perceptions of GEIMR than boys and male youth who are not engaged ($M = .688$, $SD = .117$).

Table 6. 10 Post hoc results of GEIMR by level of engagement (N = 252)

Level of Engagement	Mean	Mean Differences			
		(Effect Sizes are indicated in parentheses)			
		0	1	2	3
0 (not engaged)	.688	--			
1	.686	-.002	--		

2	.743	.055*	.057	--	
		(.49)			
3 (fully engaged)	.754	.066***	.068	0.11	--
		(6.16)			

* $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Source: Fieldwork 2018, Debre Tabor

Cohen's d effect sizes for these two significant effects are .49 and 6.16, respectively, and were calculated according to the following formula (Oak, n.d., p. 4):

$$Cohen's\ d = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\sigma_{pooled}} \quad where \quad \sigma_{pooled} = \sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2}{2}} \quad and \quad (Std.Deviation)^2 = \sigma^2$$

6.4 Her Choice's role in shaping practices

Next to the survey data confirming change in the perceptions of GEIMR, teachers (N = 3) also confirmed change in practices of gender equality in boys and male youth in the HC programme as compared to boys and male youth not participating in the programme. Boys in the programme were overall described to be more 'ethical' (Respondent 7). When asked for further clarification, examples were mentioned that boys participating in the programme showed up in time for class more often (Respondent 8), were respectful towards their teachers and more voluntary to accept tasks given by teachers (Respondent 7). The teachers also mentioned academic improvement and an improvement in the boys' focus on their education (Respondent 8 + 9). After receiving education on topics like gender equality and SRH, students told their teacher that they were doing tasks at home without the division of tasks that is culturally inherited (Respondent 7). This finding is in line with the photo voice project, where students who were in the programme showed pictures in which they were making coffee or injera, culturally defined as female tasks.

Teachers also pointed out an increased observation of male and female collaboration in their classrooms, with a decrease in the sexualisation of this interaction when boys participated in the programme:

“Students within the club are treating those girls well and their relationship with girls is not attached to sexuality, it is just to do some tasks together. It might be to work on some sort of academic stuff. But boys outside the club, basically harass. They take mobile phones of girls, or exercise books. Those students within the club, try to even solve problems related to harassment. They try to get those cell phones or exercise books back. If they [boys not in the programme] saw boys and girls together, they attach things to sexual intercourse. Many of the boys within the club are more ethical. They try to work to solve issues related to harassment, violence or females, so they are good students in comparison” (Respondent 4).

This finding is confirmed by survey results in which a significant larger amount ($p = .019$) of boys in the programme answered yes (88.4 percent) to the statement “Women and men can be friends (without this being sexualised)”, as compared to boys in the control group (77.5 percent) (Table 6.4). A teacher (Respondent 9) explained then boys and girls take that first step of actually collaborating, they get the chance to experience the similarities. While if they remain divided, more emphasis is put on the differences:

“If you do it [academic work] together that means you have some common understanding or you have common knowledge. What she knows, he know, or what he knows, she knows, that is why you call it common knowledge. So that is the advantage. But those boys who are not engaged in the programme did not prefer to sit with girls in the beginning. If you are not sitting together, that means you are not doing things in common” (Respondent 9).

The contact hypothesis, originally developed in 1954 by Allport, has now developed into a “full-blown theory of considerable complexity” named the intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011, p. 272). A meta-analysis (Ibid) shows that intergroup contact typically reduces prejudice and increase intergroup friendships. Since this theory and its effects are found to be remarkably universal, this theory can function as an explanation and further elaboration to results found in this study. Furthermore can this theory function to describe a possible way in which hegemonic femininity and masculinity can be broken or reduced as is further discussed in Section 7.5.

Where the theory originally only focuses on the negative correlation between prejudice and intergroup contact, more recent studies (Harmon-Jones, & Allen, 2001; Lee, 2001) suggest new ways of thinking about the likely effects of intergroup contact. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) pointed out the underlying reason behind this correlation is the tendency for familiarity to breed liking. One of the teachers interviewed also seemed to notice this process in her students, as she explained in a quote mentioned above. The HC programme brings girls and boys in the classroom together, where boys in the programme are more likely to collaborate with girls. This contact in itself can, according to the theory, result in the breeding of liking towards the opposite sex and reduce prejudice in turn. Boys not in the programme, who tend to often avoid contact with the girls in the classroom and also sexualize this relationship, have less contact with girls. This lack of contact can in turn keep prejudice intact, which can explain their behaviour.

Where on one hand teachers mentioned the positive benefits of the programme, on the other hand they mentioned negative behaviours of boys who are not participating in the programme. Overall teachers received more complaints about the behaviour of boys and male youth not participating in the programme, than they did of boys and male youth participating in the programme. Complaints ranged from stupidity and teasing to actual harassment of girls.

Boys not in the programme are described to develop practices that are similar to those dominant in the community (see Chapter 7), practices that are often gender unequal; “There is a very clear difference between boys which are engaged in the programme and which are not engaged in the programme. Those who are in the programme are highly changing their behaviour towards girls, however those who are not, basically develop many of the things from the community and this awareness and all these attitudes still will not change” (Respondent 9).

As already discussed in Section 6.3.1, the HC programme affects mainly one’s non-social beliefs. The HC programme also increases intergroup contact between boys and girls which in turn breeds liking. Contact can prove possible ‘false’ beliefs about the other group wrong, or create new non-social beliefs. Thus, it is possible the HC programme directly and indirectly affects one’s non-social beliefs and consequently, one’s perceptions and practices of GEIMR as displayed in Figure 6.3.

This explanation also fits to the results of the survey statement ‘Men and women are equally smart’, where 82 percent of the treatment group, and 65.3 percent of the control group answered yes ($n=260$), $p = .002$. This is a topic not directly discussed in the HC programme (see Box 5.1), and thus the difference between the treatment group and control group is likely due to an indirect effect of the HC programme. Increased contact, especially while working together on academic tasks, might reject the possibly present ‘false’ belief that girls are considered dumb, which is a dominant notion in the community (see Section 7.3). On the other hand, when people are not engaged in the HC programme, possible ‘false’ beliefs might stay in place, which in turn can sustain collective ‘gender unequal’ practices (Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014, p. 3).

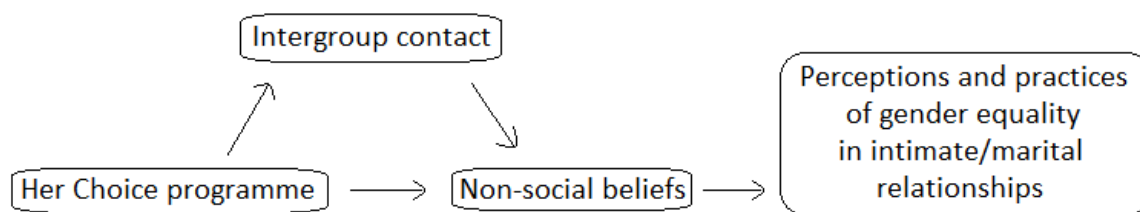


Figure 6. 3 Possible intergroup contact moderation effect

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to answer sub question 2: ‘How do boys and male youth perceive gender equality in intimate/marital relations and how does this translate into practice?’ and 3: ‘Did the ‘engagement’ in the programme influence the perceptions and practices of boys and male youth thus far?’

Boys and male youth in the control group focused mostly on the sexual division of labour when discussing GEIMR. Boys and male youth participating in the HC programme included more topics regarding the sexual division of power and cathexis, therefore holding more all-encompassing perceptions of GEIMR. The engagement in the programme does influence boys’ and male youth’s perceptions and practices of GEIMR. An interaction effect showed that the engagement in the HC programme is only effective when boys are in secondary education. A possible explanation can be found in the decrease of peer influence during adolescence, allowing the influence of non-social beliefs to increase in the decision making process, while social-beliefs decrease in influence. An indirect effect of the HC programme is increased contact between the boys and girls, which in turn can affect one’s non-social

beliefs and consequently, one's perceptions and practices of GEIMR. The HC programme also is most effective when boys and male youth are engaged in at least two forms of engagement. The measured change in perceptions is in line with the teachers observations regarding change in practices.

7. Underlying motives and hegemonic masculinity and femininity

7.1 Introduction

This chapter answers subsidiary question 4: ‘How do underlying motives of perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships relate to hegemonic masculinity and femininity?’ This is done, by exploring underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR in Section 7.2, followed by an exploration of hegemonic masculinity and femininity in Ethiopia in Section 7.3. Section 7.4 then elaborates on how hegemonic masculinity and femininity are maintained, followed by Section 7.5 that discusses how hegemonic masculinity and femininity can and are being broken⁴⁷. Section 7.6 concludes by answering the subsidiary question discussed in this chapter.

7.2 Underlying motives of perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships

This section elaborates on the main underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR mentioned by participants. Culture was mentioned in most interviews as the underlying motive of most perceptions and practices in the community and can thus be regarded as one of the current most predominant underlying motives. A social worker (Respondent 4) referred to culture as nature: “(...) trained, like in a community, there are some perceptions that there are some sort of tasks left for females and there are some sort of tasks left for boys or man, and this is by nature”. Culture is defined by Lederach (1005, p. 9) as “the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them”. Culture is inherited over generations and shapes dominant perceptions and practices of the community. Respondent 5 elaborated further:

“When people say ‘culture’ is the factor, it [culture] also justifies traditional and harmful practices including attitudinal and behavioural change problems. They have negative attitude towards gender equality. The cultural factors include providing low value to girls education, fear of pre-marital sex and pregnancy,

⁴⁷ It is important to note that the underlying motives and hegemonic masculinity and femininity discussed in this chapter, are prevalent in the specific research context of this thesis, namely, rural Amhara region. Hegemonic masculinity and femininity might differ in other regions.

loss of virginity, gender based violence (domestic violence), rape, abduction, harmful social norms (need prestige, fame, good relationship), access to comprehensive SRH services. They perceive that gender equality is affected by the exposure of females to SRH problems.”

Religion is another factor that can affect one’s perceptions and practices. Culture however, compared to religion, is the most dominant in shaping perceptions and practices (Respondent 2). Survey data concluded that 97.7 percent of the students are Ethiopian Orthodox, and 1.5 percent Muslim⁴⁸. While culture was an underlying motive extensively discussed, religion was something respondents could not much elaborate on. Things that were mentioned, were that religious leaders are often used to mediate when couples cannot resolve conflict (FGD 2), and, based on the bible, they allow marriage at the age of 15 for girls (Respondent 1). Religion also dictates how husbands and wives should behave. Females are for example not allowed to initiate/ask for sex (Respondent 4 + FGD 8). Overall, boys concluded that religion dictates ‘gender equal’ behaviour, in which you should respect, love, and help your partner (FGD 3, 4, + 7).

Laws and regulations can also influence one’s perceptions and practices. However, impact and influence can differ per underlying motive. One respondent put emphasis on the importance of culture over law: “It was their grandfather, grandmother, it [culture] comes from their ancestors, so they accept it [culture] is good. It [culture] is deep rooted, so even if they know the legal issue, they could not respect it [the law]” (Respondent 1). “They know it [CM] is prohibited by law, but they arranged the marriage plan, by hiding, in a secret way” (Ibid). Laws are often known (Ibid) and in place; “It is stated in the constitution of the country, the federal democracy republic of Ethiopia constitution stated that all persons are equal without any discriminations, sex, culture, colour, and other variables” (Respondent 2). However, the reinforcement of these laws are lacking (Respondent 1), resulting in no significant change at ground level: “Still there is a significance difference between men and women in terms of gender aspects on ground level” (Respondent 2). Corresponding with Chapter 4.

⁴⁸ 0.8 percent is missing data

Education and awareness are another underlying motive that can shape one's perceptions and practices. By knowing for example all the positive and negative effects of HTPs and other gender equality related practices, one can make an informed decision. Awareness and education are both given through governmental and non-governmental programmes (Respondent 1). In rural areas, it is often this generation that is the first of the family to receive education. It is this difference in education that participants mentioned as the cause of the differences in perceptions and practices (FGD 5).

Another underlying motive mentioned is globalization, which brings international influences to Ethiopia through different media platforms. "Different mass media, such as television programmes, promote the quality of gender and equalities" (Respondent 2). A teacher also explained how media helped students to accept certain topics discussed in the HC programme: "all of them accept all those issues related to the training. They heard from different medias, so they basically take it [those issues] as positive" (Respondent 5). While internet access is limited in rural Ethiopia, its availability is growing and thus its influence should be taken into account.

While it is difficult to prove causality, participants mention economic dependency as an underlying motive of perceptions and practices of gender equality (Respondent 4). While women often have a work burden, it is the man who earns the income and thus he is often in charge of the money:

"She did many things, but it is difficult to express in monetary terms how much they basically generate as an equal. If someone else comes and does the task, they get paid for it [the task] and you know how much contributions they have for the family. But in Ethiopia or in the context of rural community they do many things inside and outside of home and it is believed that the source of income is the man, even if they are like doing the same thing. I mean she is his wife" (Respondent 4).

Respondent 4 continued by saying how this economic dependency puts females in an inferior position compared to males. Where both the female will reinforce this position on herself, since she is dependent on the man, and the man will reinforce this position on her and treat her as lower:

“There is dependency, all the time you are going to put yourself in the lower row, so that males will treat you based on economic dependency, you are just.. it is possible for him to do everything, in a sense that, females will be underestimated and females consider themselves as inferior as compared with males” (Respondent 4).

Intergroup contact is another way addressed by teachers that can change perceptions and practices, as already elaborated on in Section 6.4.

7.3 Hegemonic femininity and masculinity

Although not the same, gender roles influence hegemonic masculinity and femininity. Thus, it is important to unpack dominant gender roles to get a better understanding of hegemonic masculinity and femininity. This is done through examining the gender roles assumed by men and women according to the theory of gender and power, that distinguishes three major structures that characterize the gendered relationships between men and women; (1) the sexual division of labour, (2) the sexual vision of power, and (3) cathexis (see Section 2.3.2). These gender roles, combined with the processes that reinforce these gender roles, form expectations of certain behaviour. These expectations shape what it means to be a man or a woman in society. Hegemonic masculinity and femininity in turn is the degree to which a person sees him/herself as masculine or feminine, given what it means to be a man or woman in society (Stets and Burke, 2002).

It is important to note that the hegemonic masculinity and femininity discussed, regard mostly ruling gender roles in the rural community, rather than the urban context or the boys' generation within this study.

7.3.1 The sexual division of labour

The sexual division of labour is present in the dominant notions regarding education; “Girls education is very poor. There are no positive attitudes towards girls educations, but they are positive towards boys education. Because the culture has told girls are weak” (Respondent 2). Boys are often encouraged to go to school, while girls are not: “The rural community might sell their cows or their wealth or assets, to educate their boys or male students. Where there might be perceptions that females might get married early, and they might interrupt their school or education” (Respondent 3). These dominant notions however are

slowly changing, where the value of girls education is starting to increase (Respondent 2). The sexual division of labour is also noticeable in the task division within a household. The dominant notion is that the man is responsible to generate an income, and is thus responsible for most outdoor activities, such as agricultural tasks (Respondent 4). The woman on the other hand is perceived to be responsible for most indoor activities. She is for example responsible to cook, and wash the legs of her husband when he comes home from agricultural activities (Ibid). As already elaborated on in Section 7.2, the sexual division of labour creates economic dependency of females on males.

7.3.2 The sexual division of power

The sexual division of power and the abuse that keeps this division in place is also visible in gender roles. When asked why females are inferior to men, the first answer mentioned was: “They [women] are not physically fit, they [men] are physically strong, they [women] can easily [be] beaten by men” (FGD 5). The general perception is that a man should be strong (Respondent 3). Candidates for leadership positions for example are chosen mainly based on physical strength instead of, for example, education (Ibid). A man should be proud, proud of the fact that he is a man. He should feel that he can do everything he wants (Respondent 4). A man should be the decision maker. He should consider himself as a leader. This finding is in line with the statement “A man should have the final word about decisions”, where 54.2 percent of the control group agreed, compared to 47.1 percent of the treatment group (N = 260).

The woman on the other hand is expected to listen to what her husband proposes (Ibid), since he provides the income. Women have less property rights and less decision making opportunities in marriage (Respondent 5). The physical difference in strength is sometimes misused to keep this division in place; “If he asks for love, or for a relationship and if she says no, and let’s say, she accepts the offer from another guy, then there might be a situation that he is strong and is going to beat her. Yeah if she say no that means” (FGD 8).

The sexual division of power is linked to the sexual division of labour; “it is believed that males are a bit stronger than females and it is expected that they will do this task [ploughing]” (Ibid). The sexual division of power and the sexual division of labour seem to reinforce each other, where the sexual division of power directs certain divisions of labour, allowing men to be the main source of income and thus hold the power. While women are

often engaged in productive and reproductive roles, women are least engaged in social and political roles⁴⁹ (Respondent 5, Chapter 4). This division allows for gatekeeping of the sexual division of power, enabling exclusion as well as controlling the distribution of resources and opportunities (Niemann, n.d.).

7.3.3 Cathexis

Cathexis examines affective attachments and social norms. Dominant gender roles include the responsibility of the man to propose for marriage and initiate intercourse. Females on the other hand are not supposed to initiate intercourse, and also should not say no to intercourse when initiated by the husband. This expected behaviour is embedded in the fear the husband will cheat (Respondent 4). While females are allowed to enjoy intercourse, this is often not relevant; “She might not enjoy sex in a sense that, if she is not interested from the very beginning, having sex with him might not give her some good feeling. Men might do whatever they feel, they will enjoy it [intercourse], but in reverse, the female will not enjoy it” (Respondent 4).

A female should also be decent and wise. She should always be calm in the way she behaves. She should spend much time at home (Respondent 3). Girls are expected not to speak up, often resulting in shy behaviour when the teacher asks them to answer certain questions. In turn, this behaviour can lead men to believe girls are dumb. This perception is in line with the survey statement “men and women are equally smart”, where 34.7 percent of the control group disagreed, compared to 18 percent of the treatment group (see Table 6.4).

A man should not show a ‘feminine’ character. He should not do tasks that are left for females (see Section 7.3.2). This finding is in line with the survey statement ‘It is okay for a man to be feminine’, where 62 percent of the boys in the control group, and 50.4 percent of the treatment group disagreed with (N = 258). On the other hand, females are also not allowed to have traits that are masculine. She should not wear trousers or have a “boys’ haircut” (FGD 8 + Respondent 3), and also should not shout or be loud. She should not play football around the roads like men do, and she also should not go out to, for example, clubs

⁴⁹ This regards rural areas. In urban areas, women have more balanced roles and engage more in social and political spheres, depending on socio-cultural contexts such as education and attitudinal factors (Respondent 5).

(Respondent 3). This perception is in line with the survey statement “It is okay for a women to be masculine”, where 55.6 percent of the control group disagreed.

7.4 How hegemonic masculinity and femininity are maintained

The data revealed several ways in which hegemonic masculinity and femininity are maintained. This section first explains how different kind of beliefs proposed by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014) themselves maintain hegemonic masculinity and femininity. The second section then elaborates on how the reinforcement of these beliefs form another way to maintain dominant notions of masculinity and femininity.

7.4.1 Different forms of beliefs

Respondent 6 mentioned that there is a ruling belief in the community that uncircumcised women are not full-fledged women, won’t find partners, are not good mothers and are outcast. A man can follow up on this belief by thus not marrying a girl who is uncircumcised. A parent can follow up on this belief by thus circumcising their daughter. As explained in Section 2.2.4, this belief can be categorized as a factual belief⁵⁰, following the general framework proposed by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014).

Another example is mentioned by a teacher (Respondent 9), who explained how girls sometimes are afraid to answer questions in class because they are shy. A staff member (Respondent 4) explained how there is a ruling perception that girls should not speak up. If a girl thinks she should not speak up, this belief can be regarded as a personal normative belief⁵¹. In turn, this perception can lead to the actual corresponding practice where a girl does not speak up, as confirmed by the teacher.

As explained in Section 7.3.3, this dominant notion in hegemonic femininity that girls should not speak up, in turn can lead to the factual belief that girls are dumb. A staff member (Respondent 9) explained how economic dependency can be a cause of the underestimation of females by males and by themselves in other areas such as in education.

“Females are most of the time dependent on men. [...] There is dependency all the time. You [females] are going to put yourself in the lower row. Males will treat you based on economic dependency. You are just.. [...] In a sense that

⁵⁰ Beliefs about reality other than about people’s behaviour and thought (Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014)

⁵¹ Beliefs about what one should do (Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014)

females will be underestimated and females themselves consider themselves as inferior as compared to males. As a result of this, when you see academic performance or educational achievements, there isn't any filter they are competent enough with males, so there is two way in a sense that, male underestimate them, and females themselves also"

Although not touched upon by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014), this examples shows how beliefs can reinforce and change each other. In this example, we see how a personal normative belief of someone else, can be internalized and shape one's factual belief. Economic dependency can lead men to think females should be undermined. When females are treated and thought of as inferior, they can in turn internalize this personal normative belief of someone else, and start to believe themselves that they are indeed inferior. If girls themselves think they are inferior, the internalized factual normative belief has become a factual belief.

Furthermore the community displays a visual image of how men and women should act. In the community you for example mainly see men doing agricultural activities while women prepare coffee (FGD 2, 4, 5 + 6). These examples can be regarded as empirical expectations⁵². Empirical expectations are created when individuals see in their close surroundings how men and women should act and how they treat each other. If everyone around you shows certain behaviour, you are likely to conform to this behaviour.

A staff member (Respondent 1) gave another example, showing the importance of religious leaders. Religious leaders (before the intervention) believed one was allowed to marry at the age of 15. Since religious leaders are regarded as important individuals within the community, people are likely to adhere to their perceptions (Respondent 1). This example can be regarded as a normative expectation⁵³.

All examples mentioned by respondents seem to fit in the general framework proposed by Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014), who distinguish four different beliefs that all influence one's behaviour. Beliefs can maintain dominant notions of masculinity and femininity by affecting the choices people make. The four beliefs introduced by Bicchieri,

⁵² Beliefs about what people do (Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014)

⁵³ Beliefs about what other people think one should do (Bicchieri, Jiang & Lindemans, 2014)

Jiang and Lindemans (2014) collectively shape what it means to be a man or a woman. Hegemonic masculinity and femininity in turn is the degree to which a person sees him/herself as masculine or feminine, given what it means to be a man or woman in society (Stets and Burke, 2002). By identifying as female, you are likely to internalize behaviours that are considered female. More specifically, behaviours attached to hegemonic femininity, since these form the ruling beliefs that in turn affect behaviour. Likewise, by identifying as male, you are likely to internalize behaviours attached to hegemonic masculinity.

7.4.2 Negative reinforcement

Next to these beliefs themselves reinforcing hegemonic femininity and masculinity, negative reinforcement from the community if one diverts from certain hegemonic masculinity or femininity, also affects one's perceptions and practices of GEIMR. If a female for example shows a 'masculine' character, people might not talk to her (Respondent 3). If a man shows a 'feminine' character, he might be undermined or marginalized by the community (Respondent 4 + FGD 2). Another example was mentioned where if females would go out, and they would experience some form of assault (e.g. rape, abduction etc), this assault is regarded as her own fault (FGD 5) because hegemonic femininity dictates that girls should not go out.

Another example, mentioned by a staff member (Respondent 3), revealed this negative reinforcement on an even deeper level.

"These teachers are living here in town, and every time they go back to their home after school, they [community members] warn them. It [warning] might not be physically beating, but some sort of harassment. They also throw stones at their homes" (Respondent 3).

This case presents not just negative reinforcement regarding deviant perceptions and practices itself, but negative reinforcement of teachings of what could sometimes be understood as deviant from hegemonic masculinity and femininity.

Negative reinforcement over time can furthermore result in conformity to hegemonic masculinity and femininity out of fear of this negative reinforcement. "Many of the females are not ploughing, it is not because they are all weak, rather, the judgement, they are afraid the judgement of the community, so she cannot plough" (FGD 8). Expectations of

punishment are according to Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014, p. 8) also normative expectations and have an obvious impact on people's behaviour, as FGD 8 confirms.

7.5 How hegemonic masculinity and femininity are broken

There are several ways these beliefs, and in turn, hegemonic masculinity and femininity, can be broken or changed. A distinction can be made between two levels of change. One way to change hegemonic masculinity and femininity is to change the mentioned beliefs themselves, by changing the balance of the underlying motives that shape these beliefs. The second level in which change can occur is by affecting the influences these beliefs have on one's perceptions and practices. These two levels are often interlinked.

7.5.1 Changing different forms of beliefs

If the structures as explained in Section 7.4 and supported by this research hold true, these structures can also be used to break dominant notions of masculinity and femininity. The beliefs discussed in Section 7.4 are often shaped by underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR. However, if these underlying motives shape hegemonic masculinity and femininity and social beliefs, these underlying motives can also be used to change social beliefs and hegemonic masculinity and femininity.

As we have already seen in Section 6.4, increased intergroup contact (female/male) can breed liking and reduce prejudice towards the opposite sex. Contact can for example counteract one's factual beliefs. If someone holds the factual belief that girls are not smart, working together in class assignments might prove the opposite and thus change one's factual belief. This effect was also present in survey data, as elaborated on in Section 6.4.

Just like contact, are there other underlying motives that, depending on their weight compared to the other underlying motives, affect beliefs. Laws are currently less influential than culture (Respondent 1). As elaborated on in Chapter 4, these laws are often little reinforced. Thus, if laws are in place, but regulation lacks behind, then there is also no negative consequence if one decides to break this law. Hence, laws would have little weight in a cost-benefit calculation. Stronger regulation of these laws likely result in a higher obedience of these laws since the regulations would put weight on the cost side of the cost-benefit calculation.

Awareness and education are also underlying motives that can affect beliefs and with this, hegemonic masculinity and femininity. Respondent 6 gave the example in which a role model husband spoke in public about how his wife is uncircumcised, but still a good mother and wife, who did not cheat and also did not break all the pots and pans. The original factual belief one could hold that uncircumcised women are no good wives and mothers, is now proven wrong through education/awareness. The original factual belief might then change into the new factual belief that uncircumcised women can be good wives and mothers. In this example, education has the power to change one's factual belief. Education furthermore can directly change one's personal normative beliefs, and indirectly change one's empirical and normative expectations. The latter would be the case if others received this education or awareness as well, changing the perceptions and practices of the reference group and with this, hegemonic masculinity and femininity in general.

Another example was given by a staff member, in which a legend tells the story of the first creature Adam, who was created as 30 years old. He was married to a girl who was 15 years old, and thus religious leaders assumed that a girl thus could marry at age 15. Staff members informed religious leaders that they in fact started a relationship after seven years in heaven. Religious leaders accepted this idea and started teaching this idea to their followers (Respondent 1). Thus, awareness resulted in a change of perceptions surrounding minimum marital age amongst religious leaders.

Awareness also interacts with culture. HTPs are often executed with good intentions (Respondent 6), since often the negative consequences are not known: "They do not have any full information, full knowledge, good attitude, because they do not know the negative effect of child marriage" (Respondent 1). Educating people about the negative consequences of HTPs can lead to a more informed decision and thus to the termination of certain practices.

In turn, education can change patterns of negative reinforcement. A teacher named an example where boys who were in the programme encouraged girls to speak up, when they were too shy to answer a question in class;

"But those students who are in the programme try to help those girls. They try to encourage them. While the others do the opposite. They try to discourage,

rather than supporting, or encouraging those girls. The clear difference is that boys who are engaged in the programme basically support, helps, or encourage girls, basically to perform well in school, while the opposite doesn't hold true."(Respondent 9)

Where dominant social beliefs dictate that females should be shy and not speak up, boys in the programme actively went against these beliefs and encouraged girls to do the opposite. By eliminating a part of the negative reinforcement otherwise present, girls in turn are more likely to break dominant notions of femininity.

Furthermore can different forms of beliefs, influenced by different underlying motives, contradict. A boy mentioned the example where there is a division of labour present in his family. However, he believed that "[the family] should work together, there should not be a division of labour" (FGD 5). Here, a difference is created between his factual beliefs and empirical expectations. A cost-benefit calculation of the different present underlying motives and beliefs in turn seem to results in a certain outcome.

7.5.2 Changing influence of social beliefs

The second level in which change can occur is by affecting the influence of the processes that maintain these hegemonic masculinity and femininity. Since this is already elaborated on in previous chapters, this section only functions as a quick recap.

Beliefs can be divided in non-social and social beliefs (Bicchieri, Jiang, & Lindemans, 2014). The first option to change the final perceptions and practices of GEIMR, is to change one's non-social beliefs. This is what the HC programme mainly aims to do. Furthermore you can change one's social beliefs. This is more difficult since this regard the dominant beliefs in the community, however not impossible.

Another way to change the final perceptions and practices of GEIMR, is by changing the effect the social and non-social beliefs have. As evident throughout previous chapters, the influence of one's social beliefs⁵⁴ on one's perceptions and practices is dependent on one's level of autonomy. Bicchieri, Jiang and Lindemans (2014, p. 11) point out that by increasing one's autonomy, one can better make their own choices and reflect on what they might want. Thus, by changing one's level of autonomy, one could lower the influence of one's

⁵⁴ Empirical expectations and normative expectations

social beliefs. By lowering the influence of one's social beliefs, the influence of one's non-social beliefs rises. The HC programme mainly affects one's non-social beliefs. Thus, it could be that increasing one's autonomy, while simultaneously changing their non-social beliefs through for example education, leads to more change in perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to answer subsidiary question 4: 'How do underlying motives of perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships relate to hegemonic masculinity and femininity?' Underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR shape different forms of beliefs. These beliefs, combined with the reinforcement of these beliefs shape and maintain hegemonic masculinity and femininity. In turn, hegemonic masculinity and femininity shape dominant perceptions and practices of GEIMR. The output of the model changes when the input of the model changes. Thus, by changing underlying motives, one can indirectly change perceptions and practices of GEIMR. The HC programme affects underlying motives that change one's non-social beliefs, in turn changing ones perceptions and practices of GEIMR. This influence might be increased by lowering the influence of one's social beliefs on one's perceptions and practices of GEIMR, by increasing one's level of autonomy.

8. Results: Implications of gender transformative work

8.1 Introduction

While most aspects of the programme bring positive change, gender transformative work is by any means not without a struggle. This chapter seeks to map the implications that arise when doing gender transformative work by answering sub question 5: “What are the implications of gender transformative work when aiming to build child marriage free communities?” After discussing the implications of the HC programme itself in Section 8.2, this chapter elaborates on the limitations of gender transformative work in general in Section 8.3.

8.2 Implications of the Her Choice programme

This section elaborates on the implications that arise specifically in the Her Choice programme.

8.2.1 Institutional implications

The current Ethiopian government has many laws enforcing gender equality in many aspects. However, there are still several implications that arise due to the lack of laws or regulations. As already discussed in Chapter 4, one of the limitations of the law is the lack of birth certificates in mainly rural areas. Staff-members confirmed this to be one of the direct implications of the programme (Respondent 1 & 3) and resolving CM in general. Staff-members (Ibid) explain that births were not registered until five years ago. Therefore, there is no documentation of age for girls older than five years old. Since five years, a child gets a birth certificate when he/she is born in a hospital. This new law solves most of the problem in urban areas. However, in rural areas, where CM rates are generally higher, most births still take place at home. Thus, in rural areas, most children born still lacks a birth certificate and therefore lack documentation of age.

To determine the age, a health worker will examine the child and determines the age by his/her physical appearance. This examination however is a very rough estimation and can easily differ two or more years from the actual age of the child, resulting in possible child marriages (Respondent 3). One of WCAT staff members (Respondent 1) told the following story:

“I have one case; her age is 16. She knows her family wants her to marry and she informed the school director and club leader. Then the school teacher and the school director informed the kebele administration and lastly they decide to check her age in the hospital and the health centre. The health centre professional said she was 18 years old. So she can marry. This body said she can marry if she has 18 years old. This is a challenge for us, because we are investing many to abort such issues. But because of this [no birth certificate], it [preventing CM] is difficult.”

In this case the age difference is around two years, there are however even more extreme cases. A teacher (Respondent 8) told a story where she experienced the same problem with a girl estimated at 14 years old, who by the health officials was estimated at 18 and thus could marry. The health officials’ determination of age is stated as the official age and therefore the programme can no longer intervene.

Another challenge Respondent 1 addresses, is that even if they know a child is under the age of 18, they often arrange the marriage in secret, bypassing the law (see Chapter 4). Although laws are in place criminalizing child marriage, lack of regulations, combined with importance of culture and tradition result in the arrangement of child marriage. As explained in Chapter 7, the cost-benefit calculation for CM would have a low costs, due to lack of regulations of the law, and thus lack of consequences if one would involve in child marriage. There is room for improvement regarding the regulation of laws. These institutional implications however are difficult for an NGO to overcome, and remain a challenge.

8.2.2 Incentives

One of the programme wide implications are the different incentives that different stakeholders participating in the intervention have. An example is given where government officials do not give priority to the programme since they have other formal tasks they prioritize even though a contract is set up outlining the tasks they are expected to fulfil (Respondent 1). Teachers also have limited time since the CSE training and the SRH club activities are given outside of their already full work schedule. Because the programme is

not integrated in the school system but requires extra time, the programme can have reduced commitment amongst teachers.

Most of the interventions of the programme are related to awareness raising which translates into mostly trainings (see Chapter 5). The trainings that are given to for example teachers to train them in CSE, or to the wider community on issues related to for example SRHR, ask for the participants' free time. This in combination with the low economic status of most participants as elaborated on in Chapter 4, and the ruling perception that NGOs have enough funding (Respondent 1) creates certain expectations. Mostly participants expect to receive some sort of incentive to compensate for the time they spent attending the training (e.g. payment). Since the payment or other incentives (e.g. travel reimbursement, refreshers during the training) they receive are often less than they expect due to the limited fund of the programme, participants are less likely to participate in the next training. Government officials and other stakeholders who collaborate in the programme sometimes have this same expectation. This problem is recognised and addressed through discussion.

8.2.3 Logistics

Implementing programmes in poor, rural areas also brings a lot of implications. Regarding logistic implications, a lack of available classrooms is often mentioned (Respondent 7). Since the programme is not part of the standard curriculum, the programme does not have a standard schedule. The CSE trainer/Club leader is responsible for planning the trainings and arranging classrooms. Sometimes all classrooms are already taken up by the regular schedule and that leaves the CSE trainings to be given in the laboratory room (Ibid).

Another limitation is the reachability of schools. Due to the rural locations of most schools, it takes WCAT staff members a long time to reach their location, where often the last part is not reachable by car but has to be done on foot through rough terrain. This makes it difficult for the staff to monitor and closely follow up on the programme (Respondent 4).

Another logistic, but easily solvable limitation of the programme mentioned by one of the CSE teachers is the timing they receive the CSE teacher training/refresher training. They received this training in January, leaving only one semester to still give the training. The

teacher noted that if this training would be given at the start of every new school year, they have a longer period of time to provide the training to the students (Respondent 8).

8.3 Limitations and challenges of gender transformative work

The main limitation of gender transformative work when aiming to build CM free communities is the initial engagement of boys and male youth. Although positive change is seen when boys and male youth are engaged, and the boys show enthusiasm towards the programme once engaged, it is difficult to engage the boys in the first place. The underlying reason for this lack of initial engagement mentioned by teachers (Respondent 5 + 7), is that the boys consider all issues discussed, as 'female issues'. Boys believe the issues discussed are not 'their' issues to solve or discuss. Once in the programme, boys learn more about the topics and realize that the issues discussed are not 'female issues' but that the programme also addresses issues that are very relevant for them (Ibid). Thus, once boys and male youth are engaged in the first place, staying engaged goes relatively smoothly.

If the programme is only unattractive for boys and male youth in the beginning, when they are introduced to the topics, but do not fully understand specifically what the topics entails, the problem can be found in the first round of information they receive. If their enthusiasm for the programme increases once they know more about the programme, it means that the information they receive in the beginning, is not representative of the programme as a whole. The terminology surrounding SRHR related issues is framed in such a way that this frame creates the assumption that these issues are 'female issues'. There is a need to reframe terminology surrounding SRHR to make this terminology more inclusive for boys and men.

Another challenge of gender transformative work is its intersection with other problems (poverty, race, class etc.). CM is a deep rooted and complex problem, making its solution also very complex. Drawing back on the intersectionality framework discussed in Section 2.3.3 and Dworkin's work (2015), it is important to acknowledge and include a host of other macro-economic and social trends when engaging boys and men in gender transformative work.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter answered subsidiary question 5: “What are the implications on gender transformative work when aiming to build child marriage free communities?” Teachers reported implications in the first step of engaging boys and male youth in BCMFC. The main reason for this lack of interest was the idea that SRHR issues are ‘female issues’. This perceptions changed when boys were engaged, and thus the problem can be traced back to terminology surrounding SRHR. Furthermore can institutional implications lead to implications for the programme. The lack of birth certificates for example make it difficult to prove a girl is underage. The lack of reinforcement of certain laws additionally counteract efforts made by the HC programme. Furthermore does a poor rural context contribute to a host of other limitations, including lack of classrooms, and expectations of incentives. Programmes engaging men in gender transformative work furthermore should take the intersection of other issues into account, specifically in a poor rural context. Structural support is necessary to engage men in gender transformative work, alongside addressing other important issues.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This final chapter firstly answers the two main research questions in Section 9.2. Section 9.3 furthermore reflects on the theoretical framework used in this thesis, and Section 9.4 reflects on the methodology. Section 9.5 provides recommendations for further research and policy.

9.2 Answering main research questions

(1) How does engagement of boys and male youth in building child marriage free communities in Ethiopia affect their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships?

Boys and male youth can be engaged in BCMFC in three different ways, namely, CSE training, SRH clubs and peer education. Participation in all forms of engagement is completely voluntary and it is possible to participate in only one or multiple forms of engagement.

When looking at general perceptions of GEIMR, boys engaged in the HC programme seemed to have more all-encompassing perceptions of GEIMR. Boys in the programme included topics regarding the sexual division of labour, the sexual division of power and cathexis, while boys in the control group tended to specifically focus on topics regarding labour and task division. A factorial ANOVA confirmed that the engagement in the programme influences boys' and male youth's perceptions and practices of GEIMR, where participants in the treatment group score significantly higher on perceptions of GEIMR than participants in the control group.

An interaction effect showed that the engagement in the HC programme only significantly affects perceptions of GEIMR when boys are in secondary education. A possible explanation can be found in the decrease of peer influence during adolescence, allowing the influence of non-social beliefs to increase in the decision making process, while social-beliefs decrease in influence. An indirect effect of the HC programme is increased contact between the boys and girls, which in turn can affect one's non-social beliefs. Consequently, these non-social beliefs affects one's perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

The HC programme is furthermore most effective when boys and male youth are engaged in at least two forms of engagement. The overall measured change in perceptions is in line with the teachers observations regarding change in practices. Teachers confirmed behavioural change in ethical, academic and gender related spheres.

(2) What are the underlying motives that affect their perceptions and practices of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships?

The underlying motives that affect boys' and male youth's perceptions and practices of GEIMR are manifold and interrelated and are amongst others culture, poverty, awareness/education, laws, and the regulation of these laws. Underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR shape different forms of beliefs. These beliefs, combined with the reinforcement of these beliefs shape and maintain hegemonic masculinity and femininity. In turn, hegemonic masculinity and femininity shape dominant perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Underlying motives can enhance or contradict each other, and a cost-benefit calculation defines the final perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

The output of the model (Figure 9.1) changes when the input of the model changes. Thus, by changing underlying motives, one can indirectly change perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Perceptions and practices of GEIMR can change, depending on the combination, influence and prevalence of the underlying motives (see Figure 9.1). Education for example can teach about the negative consequences of HTPs, where culture mainly teaches the benefits. This new information creates a more informed decision, and might thus affect the outcome decision. While there are laws in place criminalizing child marriage, lack of regulation can on the other hand decrease the importance these laws have on the final decision regarding practices of GEIMR.

Next to changing the underlying motives, and with this the different beliefs, is it also possible to change the influence these beliefs have. Decisions people make are based on the both their social and non-social beliefs. Social beliefs are influences by dominant gender roles and hegemonic masculinity and femininity. One's level of autonomy affects the amount of influence social and non-social beliefs have. By increasing one's autonomy, the influence of one's social beliefs are decreased, while at the same time increasing the influence of one's non-social beliefs. The HC programme mainly affects one's non-social

beliefs. Thus, by increasing one's autonomy, the influence of the HC programme can be increased.

9.3 Reflection theoretical framework

Two knowledge gaps were identified in this thesis; (1) a lack of knowledge regarding the influence of programmes engaging men in BCMFC on boys' and male youths' perceptions and practices of gender equality and (2), how exactly more equitable values can be obtained. This thesis has addressed the first knowledge gap by gaining more insights in the influence programmes engaging men in BCMFC have on the perceptions of GEIMR of boys and male youth. Furthermore did this thesis address the second knowledge gap by exploring how underlying motives of perceptions and practices of GEIMR relate to hegemonic masculinity and femininity. By exploring this relation, insights were gained regarding the processes that shape and maintain hegemonic masculinity and femininity and in turn perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Insights in these underlying processes that maintain and shape these perceptions and practices of GEIMR, can in turn be used to change perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Figure 9.1 provides an overview of the processes that affect one's perceptions and practices of GEIMR.

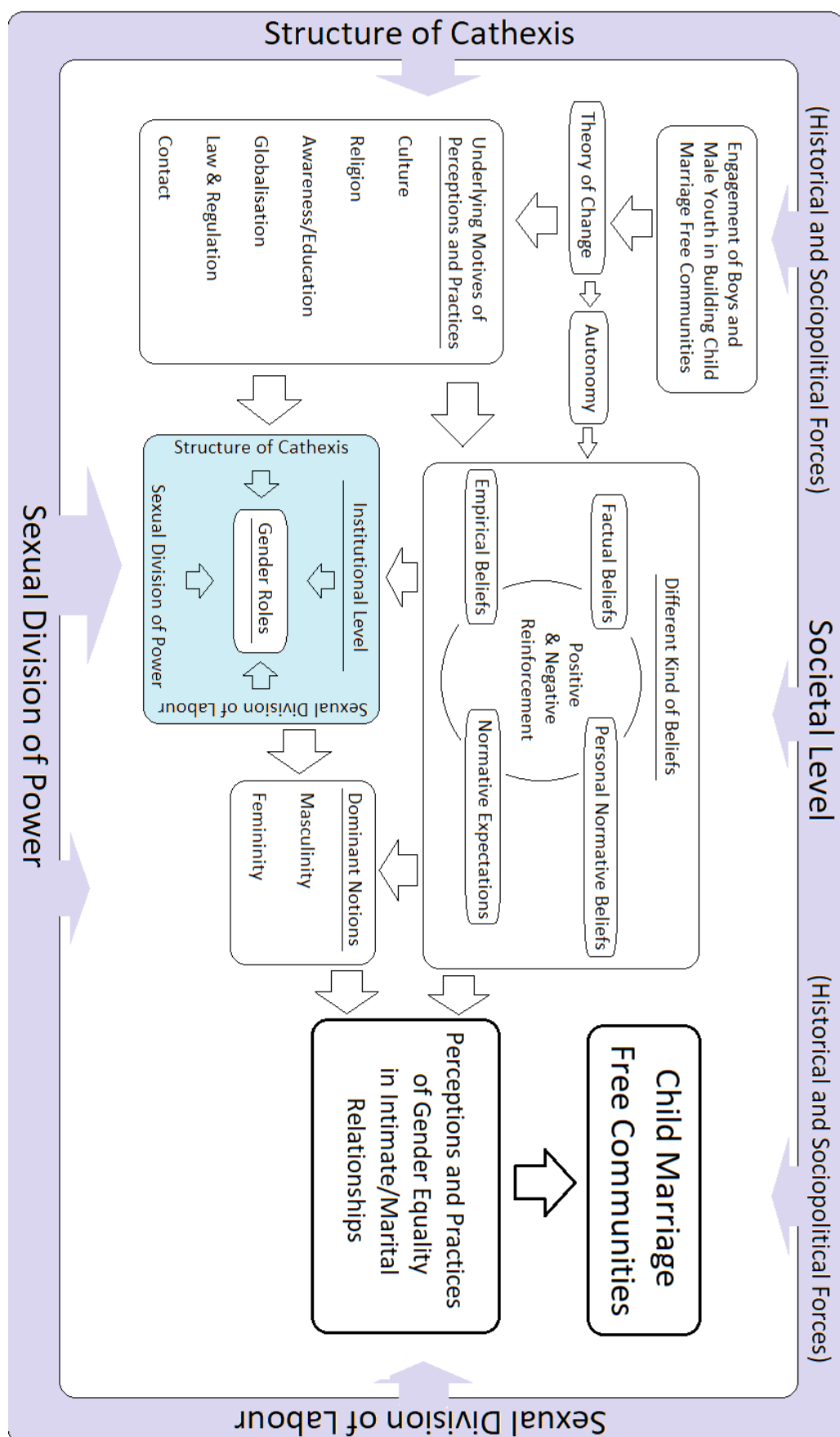


Figure 9. 1 Adjusted conceptual scheme

9.4 Methodological reflection

A mixed method approach suited the exploratory nature of this research. The qualitative strand was able to explain results of the quantitative strand and at the same time explore emerging topics during interviews and FGDs. The quantitative strand in turn was able to observe trends that would not be visible through qualitative data only. The use of vignettes was proven to be a very effective method to discuss sensitive topics with male youth, and provided very insightful information to explain results found in the survey. The photo voice project was also very useful in exploring perceptions and practices. The photo voice allowed for comparison with the community. With the community as reference point, it was easier for the boys to reflect on their own perceptions. Photovoice and vignettes also proved to be efficient tools to address sensitive topics amongst boys. One limitation of the photo voice FGDs, was that they naturally steered the conversation towards topics regarding the sexual division of labour, since this is the most visible pillar within gender roles. This in itself is not a problem, but has to be taken into account so other methods are included to cover the other pillars. In this case vignettes and mind maps were able to do so.

Circumstances allowed for only one vignette FGD to take place, and three mind map FGDs. The lack of a vignette FGD amongst boys in the programme and a mind map FGD amongst the secondary educated control group, limited the ability to compare results between groups in FGD data. While not planned, circumstances resulted furthermore in less reliable, and not normal distributed data amongst the secondary educated control group. A lack of classrooms available, miscommunication, and students who had to be in time for class resulted in conducting surveys in a group of 60 students in one big classroom, with 4 instructors.

Finally, quantitative data was very useful to examine the overall impact of the Her Choice programme. However, a lack of theoretical frameworks regarding GEIMR specifically, made it difficult to transform GEIMR to a measurable construct. While as a whole, GEIMR functioned as an acceptable construct, the used construct lacked any useful dimensions that would be expected in reality.

9.5 Recommendations for further research and policy

Supported by findings of this research, this thesis has several recommendations for further research and policy. This section will first elaborate on recommendations for further research, followed by recommendations for further policy.

9.5.1 Recommendations for further research

First and foremost there is a need for further research regarding the overall engagement of boys and men in gender related topics. This includes the need for further research regarding how to engage boys and men, and its effects.

A second recommendation for further research is the need for longitudinal data on GEIMR in general, to observe possible trends and to enhance the theoretical framework regarding GEIMR. In extend of this research, a longitudinal study measuring the effects of the Her Choice programme over time would give more insights in the effects of the programme over time. Thus far, it is unclear whether boys who participated in the Her Choice programme in primary education go on to develop more 'gender equal' perceptions when they are in secondary education, or if the programme only has significant effect when engaged in, in secondary education. Policy would also benefit from longitudinal data, regarding exactly which forms and which combination of forms of engagement achieve the most results, to achieve the best cost/benefit combination. Furthermore would longitudinal data gain insights in how these perceptions and practices of GEIMR develop over time, creating a better picture if the programme is sustainable and creates lasting change.

Additionally, it could be that the programme is not effective in primary education due to them having a lower level of autonomy, and thus higher influence of one's social beliefs on one's perceptions and practices of GEIMR. Rejection or confirmation of this speculation, could reveal specific targets for programmes to make them more beneficial. If this speculation holds true for example, programmes regarding gender transformative work could start focusing on increasing one's autonomy alongside the programme. This would increase the effect one's non-social beliefs have on one's perceptions and practices, and thus increase the effect of the programme, since this targets mainly one's non-social beliefs.

Furthermore it would benefit future policy/programmes if more insights were gained regarding the relation between perceptions and practices. CM is a social norm and therefore

influenced by social structures. It is thus possible that perceptions and practices differ based on social norms and the reinforcement of these norms. Looking at the interrelation between perceptions and practices, how they affect each other, in which aspects and length they differ, might create better insights to make gender equality related programmes more efficient.

9.5.2 Recommendations for policy and practice

This study shows that the first step of engaging boys and male youth in BCMFC remains difficult. Boys and male youth are not interested due to the training being about 'women's issues'. However, once boys and male youth are engaged and gain more knowledge about these issues, they acknowledge these 'issues' as also their own. Thus, the problem of engaging boys and male youth can be found in the first interaction with SRHR related topics. If their first thoughts around SRHR related topics are that these topics entails only women's issues, there is a need to reframe SRHR to make SRHR more inclusive for boys and men.

Just like the Human Rights Centre (HRC) (Freccero, & Whiting, 2018), this thesis also recommends for policy to include CSE or other SRHR related programmes in the standard curriculum. This research showed how the HC mainly affected perceptions of GEIMR when boys were in secondary education. However, affecting perceptions and practices of GEIMR is only one specific aspect the programme influences. The programme is beneficial on many other aspects and thus is recommended to already include CSE training or other SRHR related programmes in the standard curriculum of primary education.

If CM is a social norm, as this thesis assumes, change is most likely when occurred collectively. This, combined with peers being the most important reference group, makes the inclusion of CSE in the standard curriculum the most effective way to achieve change. Including CSE in the standard curriculum would furthermore solve some of the limitations that are currently in place. Including CSE in the standard curriculum would for example avoid a lack of classrooms and account for teachers' time, since schedules will be set from the start.

One of the findings of this thesis is that boys in primary education in the Her Choice programme seem to care more about what other men think of them than boys and male youth in the control group, and male youth in the programme in secondary education.

Bicchieri, Jiang, and Lindemans (2014, p. 11) put emphasis on the importance of increasing one's autonomy to abandon harmful social norms and perhaps even take the lead in the collective process of change. While most programmes already aims to empower girls, it might also be good to put emphasis on increasing the boys' autonomy in regard to their sensitivity to social pressure from peers. So they, as well, can abandon harmful social norms more easily. This however, needs more research.

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Annex 1. Operationalization

Concept	Dimension	Variable
Engagement	Individual	Attitudes
		Actions
	Community	Charity
		Social norms/expectations
	Institutional	Education
		Government
		Religion
	Judicial	Law
		Law in practice/enforcement
Gender equality in relationships	Attitudes	Open+ flexible attitudes
		Contraception responsibility
		Focus on similarities
		Acceptance/security
	Behaviours	Initiate
		Say no
		Request
		Enjoyment
		Comfortable/confident
		Encourage personal and/or professional friendships with the other sex, but resist the pressure to sexualize these relationships.
	Emotions	Emotional satisfaction
	Values	Respect
		Equity
		Trust
		Intimacy
Masculinity &	Assumed gender roles	the sexual division of labour

Femininity	in own behaviour	The sexual division of power
		Cathexis
	Expected gender roles on behaviour of others	the sexual division of labour
		the sexual division of power
		Cathexis

Annex 2. Adjusted operationalization table of GEIMR

Concept	Dimension	Variable explanation	Variable name	Indicator
GEIMR	Attitudes	Open+ flexible attitudes	A1	Q9.1.1, Q9.1.2, Q9.1.3, Q9.1.4
		Contraception responsibility	A2	Q9.2.1, Q9.2.2, Q9.2.3, Q9.2.4, Q9.2.5
		Focus on similarities	A3	Q9.3.1, Q9.3.2
		Acceptance/security	A4	Q9.4.1, Q9.4.2, Q9.4.3
	Behaviours	Initiate	B1	Q9.5
		Say no	B2	Q9.6
		Request	B3	Q9.7
		Enjoyment	B4	Q9.8
		Comfortable/confident	B5	Q9.9.1, Q9.9.2, Q9.9.3, Q9.9.4
		Encourage friendships with the other sex, without sexualizing these relationships.	B6	Q9.10.1, Q9.10.2
	Emotions	Emotional satisfaction	C1	Q9.11
	Values	Respect	D1	Q9.12.1, Q9.12.2, Q9.12.3
		Equity	D2	Q9.13.1, Q9.13.2, Q9.13.3
		Trust	D3	Q9.14.1, Q9.14.2, Q9.14.3
		Intimacy	D4	Q9.15.1, Q9.15.2

Annex 3. Overview key-stakeholder interviews

Respondent ID	Function	Organisation	Gender	Location Interview	Date Interview
Respondent 1	Project Coordinator HC WCAT	WCAT- Debre Tabor Office	Male	Debre Tabor	01.10.18, 19.10.18
Respondent 2	Project Coordinator WCAT	WCAT- Debre Tabor Office	Male	Debre Tabor	21.10.18
Respondent 3	Social worker/nurse	WCAT- Debre Tabor Office	Male	Debre Tabor	08.11.18
Respondent 4	Social worker	WCAT- Debre Tabor Office	Female	Debre Tabor	09.11.18
Respondent 5	Deputy Director WCAT	WCAT- Addis Ababa Head Office	Male	Email	07.02.19
Respondent 6	Project Coordinator HC	SKN	Male	Amsterdam	05.06.19
Respondent 7	CSE teacher/SRH Club Coordinator	Fert High School	Female	Debre Tabor	09.11.18
Respondent 8	CSE teacher/SRH Club Coordinator	Selamco School	Female	Debre Tabor	09.11.18
Respondent 9	CSE teacher/SRH Club Coordinator	Alember School	Female	Debre Tabor	23.10.18

Annex 4. Overview FGD

FGD ID	# boys	Grade	School	Woreda	Treatment or Control	Type	Location	Date
FGD 1	4	2 x grade 6 2 x grade 7	Alember	Fogera	Treatment	Photo voice	Alember	31.10.18
FGD 2	2	Grade 8	Alember	Fogera	Treatment	Photo voice	Alember	31.10.18
FGD 3	6	3 x grade 6 3 x grade 7	Salamco	Farta	Treatment	Mind maps	Salamco	25.10.18
FGD 4	6	3 x grade 11 3 x grade 12	Fert	Farta	Treatment	Mind maps	Fert	30.10.18
FGD 5	3	2 x grade 6 1x grade 7	Avuana Kokit	Fogera	Control	Photo voice	Avuana Kokit	25.11.18
FGD 6	3	1 x grade 7 2 x grade 8	Avuna Kokit	Fogera	Control	Photo voice	Avuana Kokit	25.11.18
FGD 7	6	2 x grade 6 2 x grade 7 2 x grade 8	Maynet	Farta	Control	Mind map	Maynet	08.11.18
FGD 8	5	Grade 10, 11, 12	Fert	Farta	Control	Vignettes	Debre Tabor	27.11.18

Annex 5. Overview documents

Document #	Document name	Authors	Retrieved from	Date
1	HC Baseline Study. Synthesis Report	Koster, Miedema, Hodgkinson, Pouw & Meyer	Her Choice website	August 2017
2	HC Midline Evaluation. Synthesis Report	Koster, Miedema, Sotirova, Pouw & Meyer	Personal email correspondence Esther Miedema	January 2019
3	HC Annual progress report WCAT	WCAT	In correspondence with WCAT	January-December 2017
4	HC Biannual progress report WCAT	WCAT	In correspondence with WCAT	January-June 2018
5	Monitoring activities form for impact evaluation WCAT	WCAT	In correspondence with WCAT	January-December 2017
6	Annual Narrative report 2017	WCAT	In correspondence with WCAT	December 2017
7	Narrative bi annual report 2018	WCAT	In correspondence with WCAT	July 2018
8	WCAT Overview presentation (Powerpoint)	WCAT	In correspondence with WCAT	October 2018

Annex 6. Calculation GEIMR in SPSS syntax

```
RECODE Q9.1.4 Q9.2.3 Q9.2.4 Q9.2.5 Q9.3.1 Q9.3.2 Q9.6 Q9.7 Q9.8 Q9.9.1 Q9.9.2 Q9.9.3  
Q9.9.4 Q9.10.2 Q9.11 Q9.12.3 Q9.13.2 Q9.13.3 Q9.14.1 Q9.15.1 Q9.15.2 (0=1) (1=0) (77=77)  
(99=99)
```

```
INTO RQ9.1.4 RQ9.2.3 RQ9.2.4 RQ9.2.5 RQ9.3.1 RQ9.3.2 RQ9.6 RQ9.7 RQ9.8 RQ9.9.1  
RQ9.9.2 RQ9.9.3 RQ9.9.4 RQ9.10.2 RQ9.11 RQ9.12.3 RQ9.13.2 RQ9.13.3 RQ9.14.1 RQ9.15.1  
RQ9.15.2.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE A1 = MEAN(Q9.1.1, Q9.1.2, Q9.1.3, RQ9.1.4).
```

```
COMPUTE A2 = MEAN(Q9.2.1, Q9.2.2, RQ9.2.3, RQ9.2.4, RQ9.2.5).
```

```
COMPUTE A3 = MEAN(RQ9.3.1, RQ9.3.2).
```

```
COMPUTE A4 = MEAN(Q9.4.1, Q9.4.2, Q9.4.3).
```

```
COMPUTE B5 = MEAN(RQ9.9.1, RQ9.9.2, RQ9.9.3, RQ9.9.4).
```

```
COMPUTE B6 = MEAN(Q9.10.1, RQ9.10.2).
```

```
COMPUTE D1 = MEAN(Q9.12.1, Q9.12.2, RQ9.12.3).
```

```
COMPUTE D2 = MEAN(Q9.13.1, RQ9.13.2, RQ9.13.3).
```

```
COMPUTE D3 = MEAN(RQ9.14.1, Q9.14.2, Q9.14.3).
```

```
COMPUTE D4 = MEAN(RQ9.15.1, RQ9.15.2).
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```
RENAME VARIABLES (Q9.5=B1) (RQ9.6=B2) (RQ9.7=B3) (RQ9.8=B4) (RQ9.11=C1).
```

```
COMPUTE GEIMR = MEAN(A1, A2, A3, A4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, C1, D1, D2, D3, D4).
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

Annex 7. PCA code in R

```
install.packages("haven")
install.packages("psych")
library(dplyr)
library(haven)
filename <- "RESMA IDS/Thesis/SPSS file - WERKBESTAND.sav"
data <- read_sav(filename)
library(tidyr)
data1 <- data %>%
  filter(School > 1) %>%
  select(Q9.1.1:Q9.14.1, Q9.15.1, Q9.15.2, -Q9.2.5) %>% drop_na()
options(max.print=10000)
data2 <- data1 - 1
data3 <- sapply(data2, as.factor)
library(polycor)
data4 <- hetcor(data3)$cor
pc.cr <- princomp(x = data4, covmat = data4, na.action = na.exclude)
summary(pc.cr)
plot(pc.cr, type = 'lines')
loadings(pc.cr)
sdev <- pc.cr$sdev
screeplot(pc.cr, type = )
```

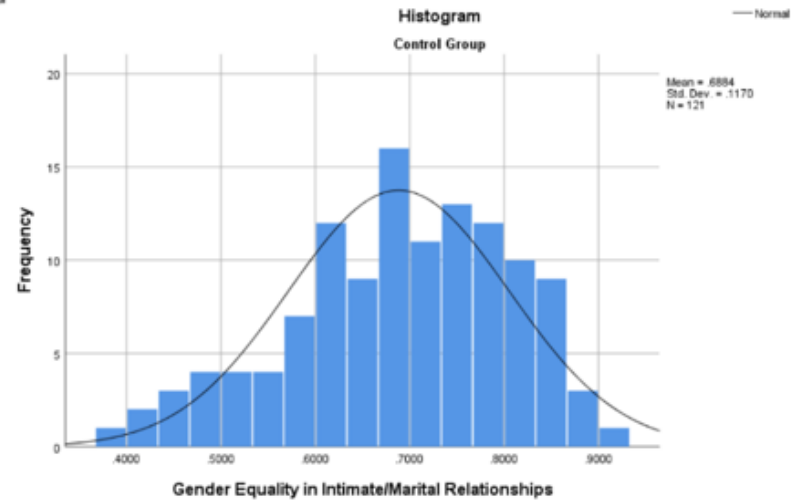
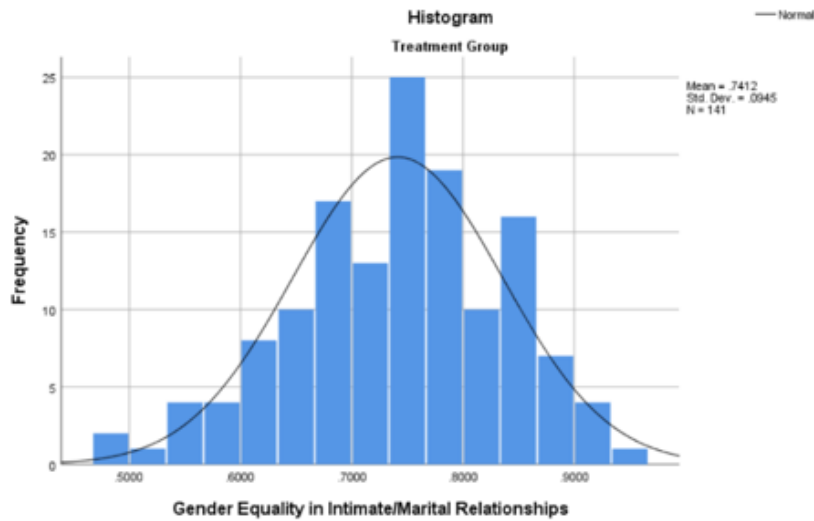
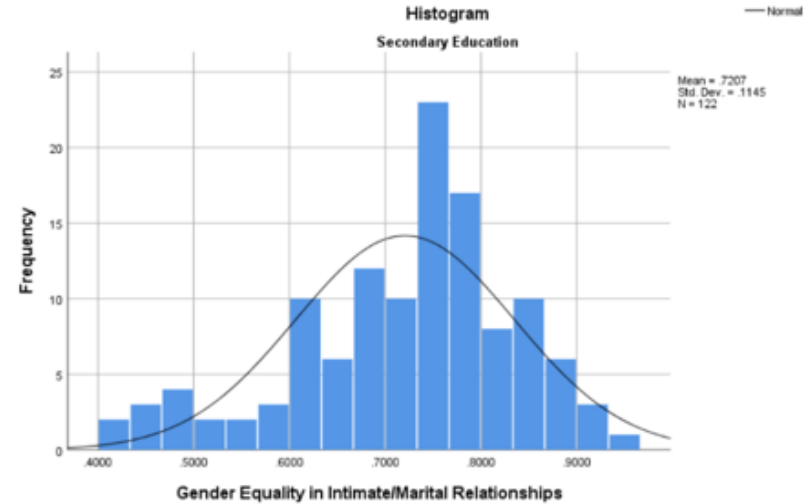
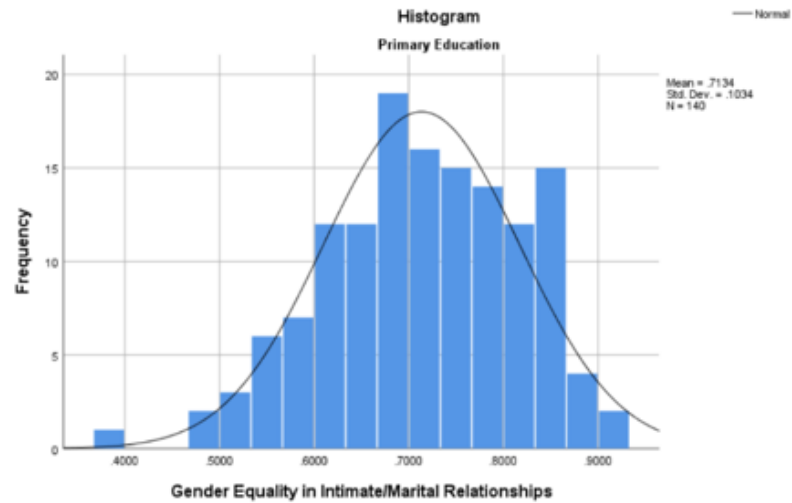
Annex 8. PCA loadings matrix

Loadings:

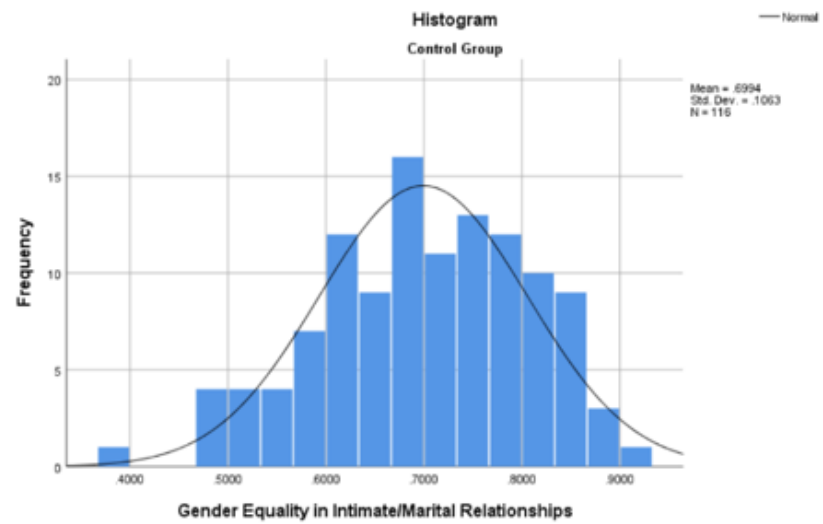
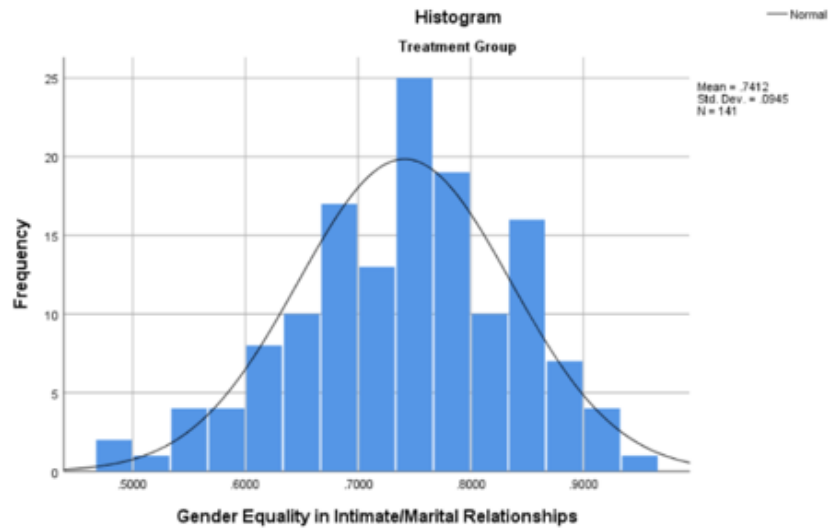
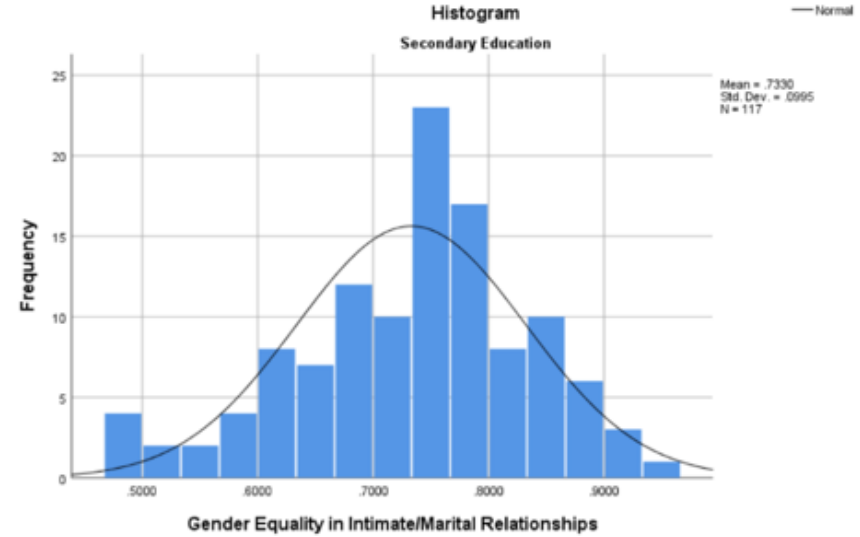
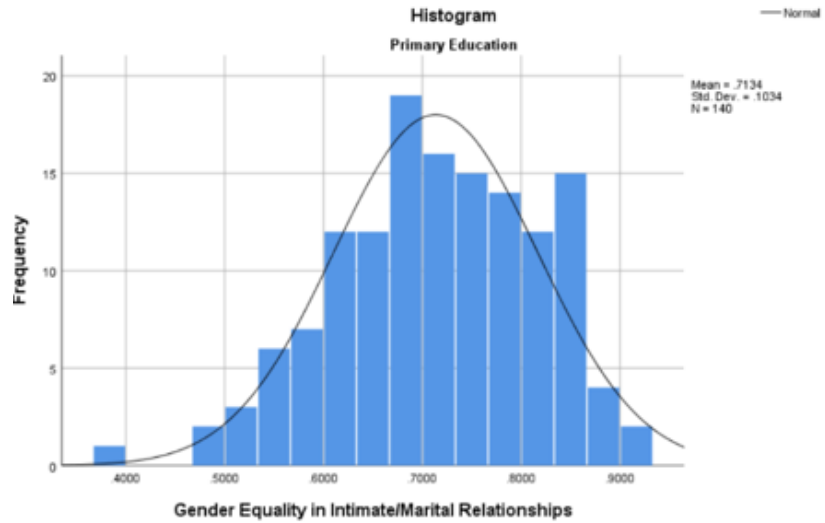
	Comp.1	Comp.2	Comp.3	Comp.4	Comp.5	Comp.6	Comp.7	Comp.8	Comp.9	Comp.10	Comp.11	Comp.12	Comp.13	Comp.14	Comp.15	Comp.16	Comp.17	Comp.18
Q9.1.1	0.140	0.289	0.121			0.253	0.319		0.127			0.233		0.123		0.207		
Q9.1.2		0.257	0.253				0.278		-0.158	-0.309		-0.312			0.111		-0.114	-0.191
Q9.1.3		0.250	0.332				0.156		-0.246	-0.196					-0.129	-0.110	0.179	0.281
Q9.1.4		-0.164	0.504	-0.190			-0.176								0.136			
Q9.2.1	0.172	0.205	0.102	-0.209	-0.141	0.196		0.268		0.169	0.164					-0.326		0.368
Q9.2.2	0.204	0.277			-0.258				0.154	-0.160		0.117	0.165		0.182			
Q9.2.3	-0.277	0.110				-0.149	0.261		0.114		-0.139		0.239	0.214	0.304		0.300	
Q9.2.4	-0.159	0.170			0.210	-0.184			0.377			-0.121	-0.104	-0.171		-0.501	-0.342	0.129
Q9.3.1			-0.143		0.153	0.283	-0.185	0.150	-0.434			-0.383		0.374			-0.249	
Q9.3.2		0.280	-0.220			0.238	-0.322		-0.159					-0.126		-0.206	0.274	-0.144
Q9.4.1		0.356	-0.250									0.258	-0.327	-0.163			-0.133	-0.126
Q9.4.2	-0.135	0.247			-0.269		-0.102		0.288		-0.115		-0.417	0.275	-0.196	0.189	0.151	-0.109
Q9.4.3	-0.101	0.105	0.231	0.162			-0.415			-0.269	-0.378			-0.139	-0.161	-0.114	0.170	-0.126
Q9.5		0.122		-0.367	-0.444	-0.205	-0.111			0.105		-0.217	0.121					
Q9.6	-0.193	0.194		0.226				0.264	0.143	0.237				-0.156	0.446	0.145		0.106
Q9.7	-0.229		-0.289	0.263	0.135					-0.257		0.223	0.205	-0.191	-0.108			
Q9.8	-0.194				-0.170			-0.379	0.125	-0.224	0.445			0.139	0.240		-0.127	-0.161
Q9.9.1		0.111	-0.142	-0.249	0.193			-0.310	0.274	0.136	-0.201	-0.197	0.278		-0.214		-0.192	
Q9.9.2		0.136		-0.360	0.188		-0.134	-0.182	-0.202	-0.153	-0.198	0.342	0.118		0.297			0.145
Q9.9.3	-0.130	0.165		-0.322	0.282	0.112		-0.128	0.148			-0.122			-0.222	0.232	0.282	0.282
Q9.9.4	-0.110	0.163		-0.163	0.175		0.272	-0.263	0.360	0.142		-0.110	-0.233			-0.124	0.240	-0.400
Q9.10.1						-0.163		-0.457	-0.214	0.266	-0.239	0.273	-0.217	0.346	0.128	-0.282		
Q9.10.2	-0.216	0.112	-0.197	0.268		-0.319		0.112				-0.162		0.297	-0.168	-0.117		0.188
Q9.11	-0.205			-0.256		-0.212	0.122		-0.202	-0.278	0.311		-0.210	-0.220	-0.148			
Q9.12.1		0.229				-0.363	-0.170	0.155	-0.227	0.249		0.223	0.170	-0.114	-0.162	0.274	-0.243	
Q9.12.2	0.166	0.155	0.194		0.382	-0.190	-0.229				0.248					0.277		-0.125
Q9.12.3	-0.217		0.231	0.258	-0.111		-0.188	-0.284		0.254		-0.155	-0.179	-0.213				0.117
Q9.13.1		0.211	0.176	0.170	-0.160	0.213	0.159	-0.235		0.184	-0.108		0.291		-0.169	0.191	-0.328	
Q9.13.2	-0.348					0.261	-0.179				0.144				0.218	0.167	-0.118	0.180
Q9.13.3	-0.319	-0.119			-0.139	0.307	0.192				-0.122		-0.113					0.262
Q9.14.1	-0.345			-0.188	-0.289				-0.106		-0.141		0.131	-0.105				-0.109
Q9.15.1	-0.192		0.199								0.386	0.296	0.381	0.232	-0.328	-0.237	0.224	
Q9.15.2	-0.227		0.157		0.168			0.346		0.195	-0.104	0.164	-0.122	0.262	-0.116		-0.262	-0.394

	Comp. 19	Comp. 20	Comp. 21	Comp. 22	Comp. 23	Comp. 24	Comp. 25	Comp. 26	Comp. 27	Comp. 28	Comp. 29	Comp. 30	Comp. 31	Comp. 32	Comp. 33
Q9.1.1		0.341				0.108			0.297					0.517	0.241
Q9.1.2		0.125	0.192	-0.408		0.273	-0.118	-0.229			0.152			-0.289	
Q9.1.3	0.354	-0.108		0.424	0.107	-0.125	0.258	0.200	-0.134	-0.152		-0.118		-0.125	
Q9.1.4								-0.158	-0.362		0.271	0.496		0.293	-0.109
Q9.2.1	-0.217	-0.143	0.144		-0.490	0.116				0.227	-0.107		-0.116		0.105
Q9.2.2		-0.278	-0.319	0.230	0.449		-0.338	-0.255		0.118					
Q9.2.3	-0.377	0.124	-0.263			0.313			-0.263		-0.250				-0.138
Q9.2.4		0.113	-0.101	-0.202	0.257	-0.114	0.130	0.261	0.117						
Q9.3.1			-0.157		0.151			0.230	-0.261					0.225	
Q9.3.2		0.269	0.309		0.242	-0.106	0.281	-0.229		0.117	-0.133	0.219	0.192		
Q9.4.1		0.121	-0.191		-0.242			-0.158	-0.344	-0.385	0.313	-0.176			
Q9.4.2	0.133			-0.123			-0.110	0.298	-0.109	0.319	-0.168	0.232	-0.149	-0.123	
Q9.4.3	-0.213		-0.177		-0.217	0.114	-0.153		0.356	-0.188	-0.168			0.148	
Q9.5								0.191	0.269		0.448	-0.181	0.112	0.200	-0.289
Q9.6	0.113		0.346	0.122			-0.425	0.231	-0.116	-0.152					
Q9.7	-0.117	-0.212				0.189	0.115	0.170		0.478	0.362		-0.145	0.107	
Q9.8	0.138	-0.345			-0.271	0.116	0.178		0.106	-0.202	-0.126		0.147	0.132	
Q9.9.1	0.272	0.237		0.276	-0.191	0.261	-0.103		-0.118	0.116	-0.128	-0.164			
Q9.9.2	0.178			-0.267	-0.118	-0.430	-0.107		0.112	0.151	-0.121	-0.104			
Q9.9.3	-0.225	-0.336	0.168	-0.174	0.199	0.100		-0.146		-0.268	0.153	0.200			
Q9.9.4	0.109	-0.144	-0.366				-0.190	0.133	0.148			0.144	-0.107		
Q9.10.1	-0.233		0.129	0.112		0.288	-0.110				0.124				0.125
Q9.10.2	0.111		-0.118	0.114	-0.190	-0.285	-0.172	-0.444	0.126		0.100	0.273		0.135	
Q9.11	-0.301	0.289	0.220	0.283			-0.271				-0.260				-0.136
Q9.12.1	0.161		-0.160	-0.160		0.351	0.209				-0.244	0.225			
Q9.12.2	-0.161			0.183	-0.119					0.313	0.203	-0.114	0.375	-0.215	0.255
Q9.12.3			-0.222	0.112				-0.258	-0.126	0.183		-0.431	-0.179	0.279	
Q9.13.1	-0.353		0.101			-0.432		0.142				0.188		-0.114	
Q9.13.2		0.239	-0.166	0.119					0.367		0.158		-0.415	-0.388	
Q9.13.3	0.124		-0.163			0.113				0.176			0.676	-0.139	-0.134
Q9.14.1															0.795
Q9.15.1		0.172		-0.253			-0.245	0.131	-0.118	-0.111	0.105	-0.165		-0.120	
Q9.15.2		-0.288	0.298	0.140	0.134		0.137	-0.205				-0.214			-0.155

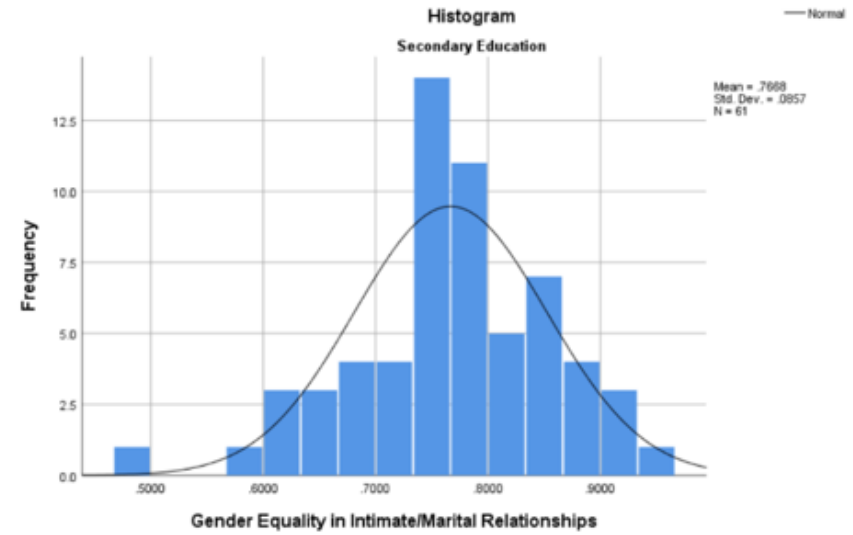
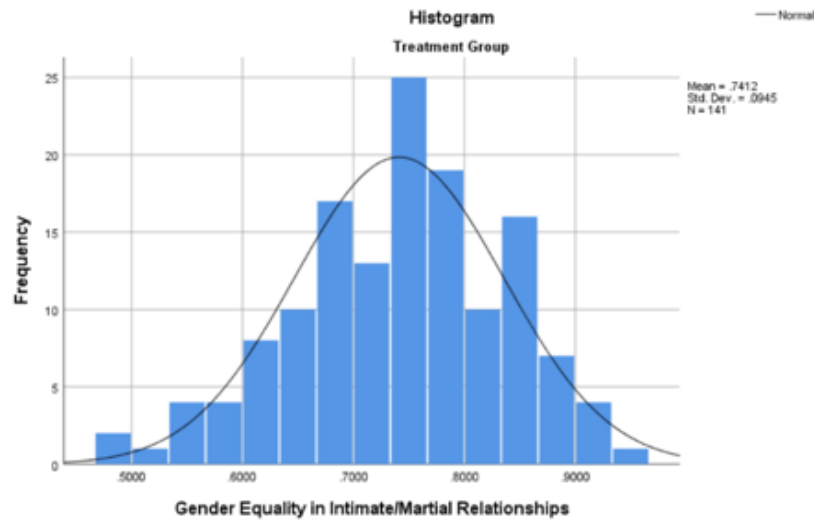
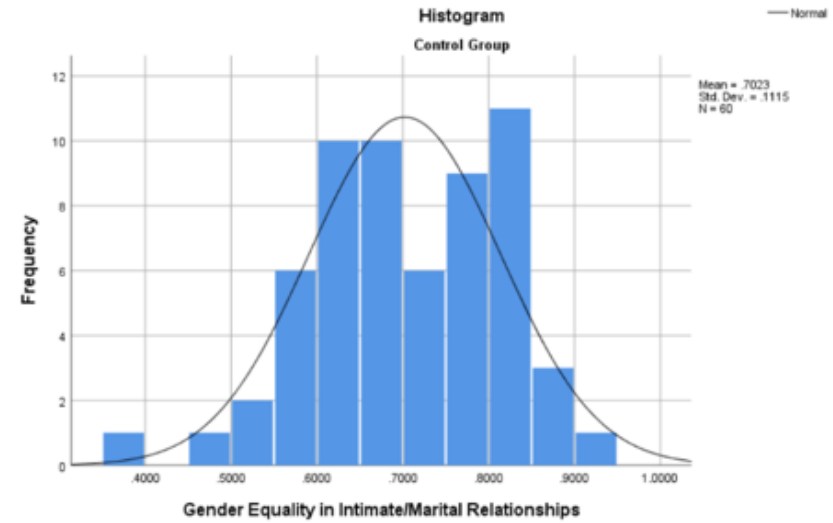
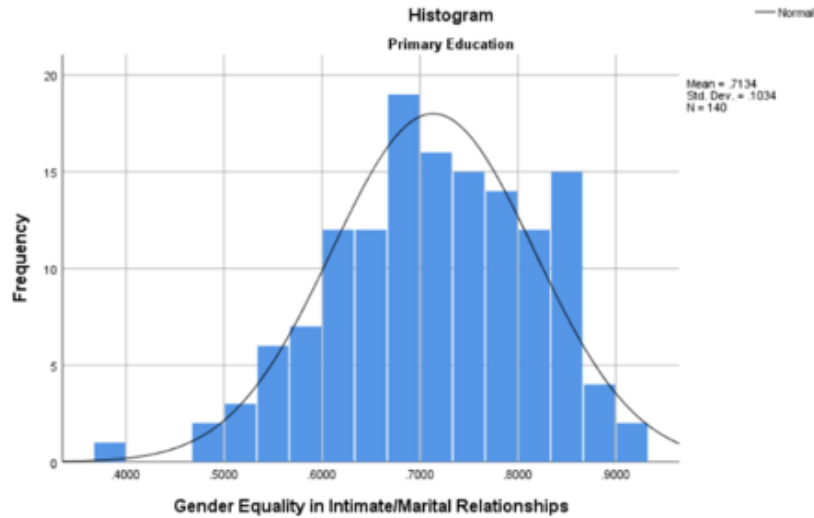
Annex 9. Normal distributions (including all participants)



Annex 10. Normal distributions (outliers removed)



Annex 11. Normal distributions (secondary educated control group removed)



Annex 12. Outline vignette FGD

FGD: Secondary Educated Control Group

This FGD is based around vignette stories.

In this FGD different stories will be told. After the story is told, the opinion about the story is asked to all the participants. It is important to not make any suggestions of what is 'wrong' or 'right' to not influence the reactions of the participants on the story. Try to be as objective as possible. It is important to map what the boys think of the stories. The interesting data will come from their views and the interaction/discussion between the participants. Try to let them finish and react to each other before asking more specific questions.

- FIRST ask for responses/opinions in general
- Let the participants discuss amongst themselves
- After the first impressions are out, you can go deeper into the story with the guiding question listed below each story

Story 1:

Abebech is 17 years old and has an 18 year old boyfriend named Mulugeta. They are not married yet, but they did sleep together and she got pregnant unexpected. She was afraid to tell this to her boyfriend but there was no other option but to tell him since he would find out anyways. When she told him she was pregnant, he got angry at her. He beat/hit her and told her that she should have used birth control and blamed her for the pregnancy.

Possible questions to ask:

- Is it the fault of Abebech that she got pregnant?
- Who's responsibility is contraception?
- Was the reaction of Mulugeta appropriate?
- How would you have handled in this situation?
- What should they do now?

Story 2:

A husband (Berhanu) and wife (Tsihay) are always very busy working since they have 5 kids to support who all go to school. Since they are working so much Tsihay is very tired. Some evenings the man initiates sex, and although she sometimes says yes, she also sometimes says no because she is too tired and she really needs her sleep as well. Berhanu gets frustrated and when he is away a few days for work he cheats with another girls on Tsihay.

Possible questions to ask:

- Is it okay for Tsihay to say no to sex?
- Is it fair of Berhanu to cheat?
- What are ways for this couple to solve their problems?

Story 3:

Masculinity/femininity

Banchalem is the wife of Muluken, she treats him in a very well manner. She supports him in outdoor working/activity, like ploughing. But Muluken is not interested to support her in the baking of Injera, cooking of wot and other household activities, because even if he wants to support his wife, he is afraid of the judgement from the community.

Possible questions to ask:

- Why is Muluken afraid of the judgement of the community?
- Should Muluken help Banchalem?
- What should Muluken do?

Annex 13. Outline photo voice FGD

Session 1 is in groups of six participants. In session 2, this group is split in two.

Session 1:

- Introduction
- Explain how the camera's work
- Explain assignment: take pictures in the community of 'how men and women should behave/act in intimate/marital relationships'
- Set date for session 2

Session 2 (week later):

- Introduction
 - Brief evaluation on the use of the camera's
 - What did they think of the assignment?
 - Any problems they ran into?
- Start presentations
 - Students present their pictures + tell about these pictures

Guiding questions:

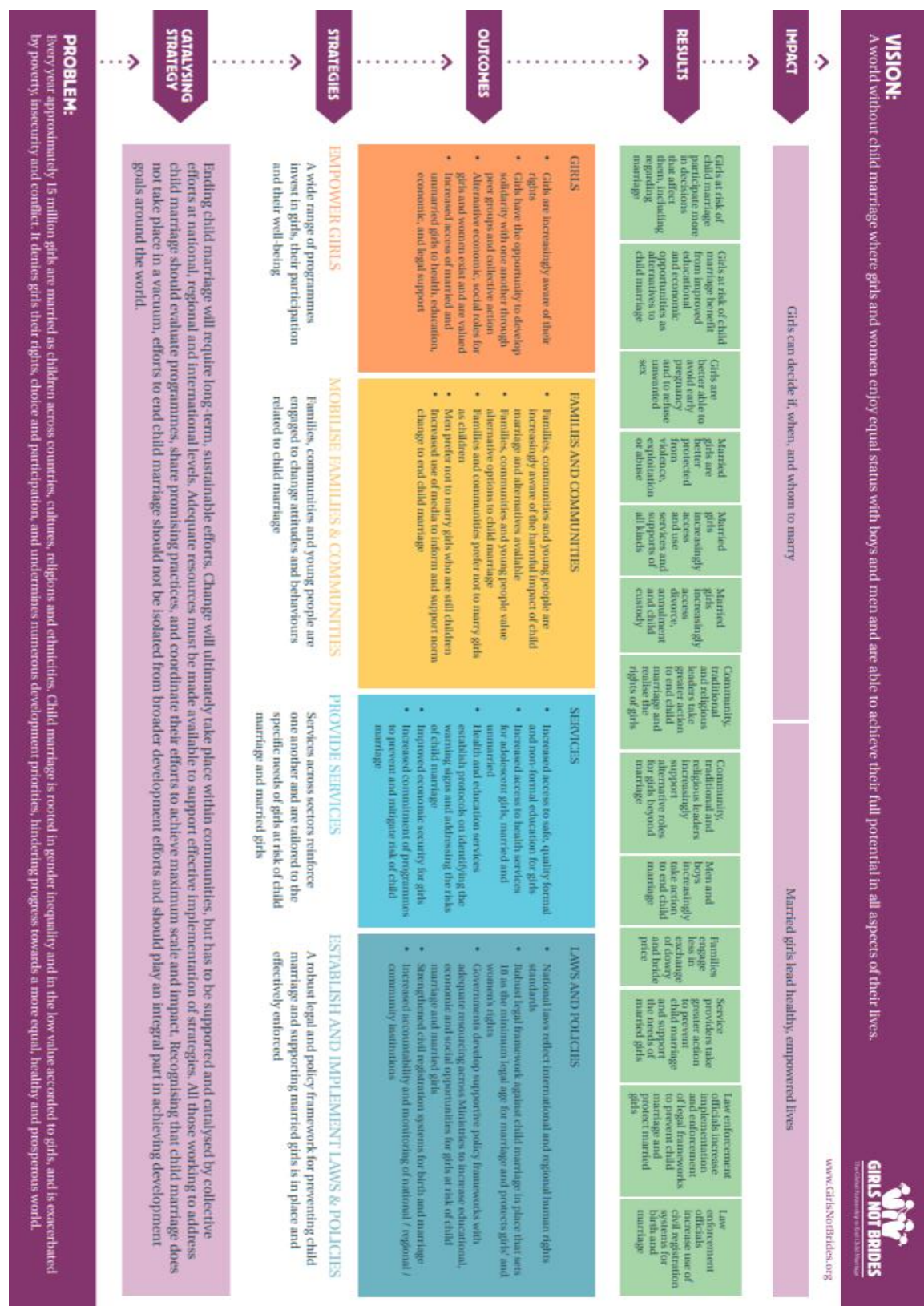
- What do we see in the picture?
- Why did you make this picture?
- How does the community think men and women should behave in a relationship?
- How do you think men and women should behave in a relationship?
- Do you agree with the view of the community?

Annex 15. Outline mind map FGD

Participants: 6

- Introduction
 - Who are we? Why are we here?
 - Anonymity
 - Voluntary participation
- Mind maps
 - Explaining mind maps
 - Make mind maps around:
 - Tasks/behaviours of boys in intimate/marital relationships
 - Tasks/behaviours of girls in intimate/marital relationships
 - Gender equality in intimate/marital relationships
- Possible guiding questions
 - Why are these tasks/behaviours for women?
 - Why are these tasks/behaviours for men?
 - Discuss similarities/differences

Annex 16. Theory of change – by GNB



Source: Girls not Brides: <https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/theory-change-child-marriage-girls-brides>

Annex 17. Perceptions of GEIMR by group and education

Statement	Treatment group (n = 141)				Control group (n = 121)				N valid cases
	Primary (n = 80)		Secondary (n = 61)		Primary (n = 60)		Secondary (n = 61)		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
It is the task of the women to raise the kids and cook for her family	15%	85%	4.9%	95.1%	26.7%	73.3%	16.4%	83.6%	262
Men should be head of the household	41.6%	58.4%	25.4%	74.6%	28.3%	71.7%	28.3%	71.7%	256
Men should be the source of income for the household	61.3%	38.8%	44.8%	55.2%	57.6%	42.4%	53.3%	46.7%	257
Both men and women can work and raise the children	100%	0%	100%	0%	88.3%	11.7%	98.4%	1.6%	260
It is a woman’s responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	62.5%	37.5%	30%	70%	64.4%	35.6%	47.5%	52.5%	260
If a woman gets pregnant unwanted, it is her own fault	48.7%	51.3%	22.4%	77.6%	53.3%	46.7%	41%	59%	260
A women can suggest using condoms just like a man can	86.3%	13.8%	88.3%	11.7%	88.3%	11.7%	86.7%	13.3%	260
A couple should decide together if they want to have children	96.3%	3.8%	91.7%	8.3%	86.7%	13.3%	59.3%	40.7%	259
If a guy gets a women pregnant, the child is the responsibility of both	97.5%	2.5%	100%	0%	95%	5%	95%	5%	258
Men and women are equally smart	83.5%	16.5%	80%	20%	66.7%	33.3%	63.9%	36.1%	260
Men and women have the same feelings/emotions	46.8%	53.2%	16.7%	83.3%	40.7%	59.3%	15%	85%	258

I follow other males in their behaviour towards women	42.9%	57.1%	23.7%	76.3%	33.9%	66.1%	28.3%	71.7%	255
I want the approval of other males for my behaviour towards women	64.5%	35.5%	59.3%	40.7%	58.3%	41.7%	46.6%	53.4%	253
I care about what other men think of me	86.1%	13.9%	75.4%	24.6%	54.2%	45.8%	77%	23%	260
Only the man can initiate sex	17.7%	82.3%	1.7%	98.3%	6.7%	93.3%	8.2%	91.8%	260
It is okay for a woman to say no to sex	61.3%	38.8%	41%	59%	61.7%	38.3%	41.7%	58.3%	261
Women can ask for sex if they want to	90%	10%	93.3%	6.7%	80%	20%	77%	23%	261
Women and men can equally enjoy sex	76.3%	23.8%	85.2%	14.8%	73.3%	26.7%	72.1%	27.9%	262
It is okay for a man to be feminine	43%	57%	58.6%	41.1%	45%	55%	31.1%	68.9%	258
It is okay for a man to be sensitive	92.5%	7.5%	83.6%	16.4%	73.3%	26.7%	73.8%	26.2%	262
It is okay for a women to be masculine	55.1%	44.9%	61.7%	38.3%	50%	50%	39%	61%	255
It is okay for a women to be physically strong	81.3%	18.8%	77%	23%	71.2%	28.8%	63.9%	36.1%	261
Women should have limited interaction with men outside of their household	38.8%	61.3%	31.7%	68.3%	43.3%	56.7%	41.7%	58.3%	260
Women and men can be friends (without this being sexualised)	88.6%	11.4%	88.1%	11.9%	83.3%	16.7%	71.7%	28.3%	258
You should talk about your emotions and feelings in a relationship/marriage	74.7%	25.3%	90%	10%	75.9%	24.1%	72.1%	27.9%	258
There are times when a women deserves to be beaten	63.3%	36.7%	31.1%	68.9%	51.7%	48.3%	49.2%	50.8%	261
A women should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	91.1%	8.9%	84.2%	15.8%	80%	20%	83.3%	16.7%	256

Women should be treated with respect	93.8%	6.3%	93.3%	6.7%	94.8%	5.2%	88.5%	11.5%	259
A man should have the final word about decisions in his home	51.9%	48.1%	41%	59%	56.7%	43.3%	51.7%	48.3%	260
Women and men are equal	88.6%	11.4%	95%	5%	80%	20%	85.2%	14.8%	260
Women and men have equal rights in a marriage	90%	10%	96.7%	3.3%	93.3%	6.7%	93.2%	6.8%	260
Trust is important in a relationship/marriage	96.3%	3.8%	98.2%	1.7%	90%	10%	89.8%	10.2%	259
Intimacy/being close is important in a relationship/marriage	85.7%	14.3%	90.2%	9.8%	83.1%	16.9%	88.3%	11.7%	257
A man should know what his partner likes during sex	93.8%	6.3%	96.7%	3.3%	85%	15%	88.3%	11.7%	261

Annex 18. Survey in English

INTRODUCTION

Good morning / afternoon

My name is Marieke Pijnenburg. I am a student from the University of Amsterdam (The Netherlands) and an intern at the Her Choice programme.

The objective of my visit today is to conduct interviews with boys/male youth between the ages of 12 and 23 on the perceptions of gender equality in intimate/marital relationships. This interview is part of a research for the Her Choice programme. The Her Choice programme aims to improve the situation of girls and their families. In the study, various people will be involved, such as WCAT staff members, boys and male youth (both in and outside of the Her Choice programme). The objective of this research is to study the effect of the Her Choice programme on the perceptions and practices of boys and male youth.

The input you provide to the questions I hope to discuss with you will be very important to the Her Choice programme and WCAT. Therefore, I would like to thank you again for volunteering to take part in this interview.

Your participation in this interview is voluntary. This means that you do not need to answer questions that you don't want to, and it means you are free to stop and leave the interview at any moment. I would like to assure you that everything you say during this interview will be treated as confidential and is anonymous. No one will be able to trace the answers you give back to you.

(Note to the interviewer: *Verify whether the respondent has understood the information related to confidentiality*)

I have the questions I would like to discuss with you on this paper and I will write down your answers while we speak. I will show you how this works with the first question.

There are different kinds of questions: Some of them are easy "yes" or "no" questions, and others involve a little reflection. Some questions are also sensitive. In total the interview should not take longer than half an hour.

Do you have any questions?

Do I have your permission to proceed?

Participant number: _____

Date: _____

Woreda: _____ Kebele: _____ School: _____

A – BACKGROUND

I'd first like to ask you some questions about yourself...

Q	Question	Response
Q1	How old are you?	
Q3	What is your religion?	
Q4	Which ethnic group/tribe / social group do you belong to?	
Q5.1	How many brothers do you have?	
Q5.2	How many sisters do you have?	
Q6.1	Do you still have both parents?	1. Yes, mother and father 2. No, only mother 3. No, only father 4. None
Q6.2	Who is/was the head of the household when you grew up? (e.g. mother, father, aunt, uncle, grandmother, grandfather etc.)	

B – SCHOOL ENROLMENT

I would now like to ask some questions about your school experience: if you are currently going to school, or if you have ever attended school

Q	Question	Response
Q7.1	What level of education are you in?	1. Grade 5 2. Grade 6 3. Grade 7 4. Grade 8 5. Grade 9 6. Grade 10 7. Grade 11 8. Grade 12 9. Other (specify) _____
Q7.2	(if enrolled in school) How many days did you miss school in the past month?	
Q7.3	(If enrolled in school) Did you attend school regularly (= at least 4 days a week) last year ?	1. YES 2. NO
Q7.4	(If not currently enrolled or attending) For what reasons are you currently not enrolled in/regularly attending school? (Mark all that apply)	1. Because of household chores, 2. Taking care of siblings, 3. Taking care of sick relative, 4. Work to support family income, 5. Insufficient money 6. Other (specify)

		No response

C - EDUCATION, INFORMATION OR TRAINING ON SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

I would now like to talk with you about education and training on Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH)

Note to interviewer: Explain the abbreviation SRH (Sexual and Reproductive Health)

Q	Question	Response
Q8	Do you or did you receive any education on issues related to sexual and reproductive health and rights – during classes or after school?	1. YES 2. NO
Q8A	<i>(If ever received SRH education)</i> Where did you get this education or training? (read out the three responses and mark all that apply, more answers possible)	1. In school during lesson time 2. In school before/after lessons 3. Out of school 4. Other (specify) : _____ 5.
Q8.1	Is the education or training programme finished or still going on?	1. Finished 2. Still going on
Q8.2	Who organised/organises it? (mark all that apply)	1. School 2. NGO 3. Church 4. Health institution 5. Other (specify) _____
Q8.2A	<i>(If NGO)</i> What is the name of the NGO and/or the SRHR education training programme?	1. Her Choice partner only 2. Her Choice partner and other(s) 3. Other(s) only 4. I don't know

I would like to know what you learnt about in the education or training programme:

Q	Question	Response
	Q8.3 <i>(If received SRH education)</i> In the programme, did you learn about :	
Q8.3.1	Menstrual cycle & pregnancy	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.2	Sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.3	Male contraceptive methods (for example: condoms)	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.4	Female contraceptive methods	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.5	Laws against child marriage	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.6	Negative effects of child marriage	1. YES 2. NO

Q8.3.7	Laws against female circumcision	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.8	Negative effects of female circumcision on girls	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.9	Sexual violence, harassment & abuse	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.10	Female reproductive system	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.10 A	Male reproductive system	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.11	Puberty & bodily changes	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.12	Intimate & sexual relationships	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.13	Gender relations & equality	1. YES 2. NO
Q8.3.14	Anything else? (<i>Specify</i>) _____	1. YES 2. NO

If the participant indicated he has learned something about 'Gender relations & equality (Q8.3.13) (Explain Gender relations & Equality if necessary)

Q8.3.13A: Can you tell me more about what you learned in the programme related to gender relations and equality?
Answer: _____

D – RELATIONSHIP STATUS.

I will now ask you a few questions that might be a bit sensitive, but we ask these questions because this information is very important for the programme. Let me assure you again that nobody can trace your answers to your person. If you don't want to answer some questions, that is okay, you don't have to.

Q	Question	Response
Q2	Do you like/fancy a specific girl?	1. YES 2. NO
Q2.1	Are you in love?	1. YES 2. NO
Q2.2	Do you have a girlfriend?	1. YES 2. NO

Q2.3	Are you currently married?	1. YES 2. NO
Q2.2A	Are you living with your partner? (without being officially married)	1. YES 2. NO
Q2.4	Do you have a child(ren)	1. YES 2. NO
Q2.4.1	(If has child(ren)) How many children do you have?	
Q2.4.2	What are their ages?	Age Child 1: No response Age Child 2: No response Age Child 3: No response Age Child 4: No response AgeChild 5 No response

E – GENDER EQUALITY IN INTIMATE/MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

I will now make a few statements, and you can tell me if you agree with these statements or not. Some statements can be sensitive, but as I already told you, we ask these questions because this information is very important for the programme.

The statements are about how men and women/boys and girls should act in a relationship or marriage according to you. So how they act around and towards each other. If you are currently in a relationship or married, I would like you to answer these questions based on how your relationship is at the moment. If you are not in a relationship or married, I would like you to answer these questions based on how you would like a relationship or marriage to be.

Do you think....

Q	Question/Statement	Response
Q9.1.1	It is the task of the women to raise the kids and cook for her family	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.1.2	Men should be head of the household	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.1.3	Men should be the source of income for the household	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.1.4	Both men and women can work and raise the children	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.2.1	It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.2.2	If a woman gets pregnant unwanted, it is her own fault	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.2.3	A women can suggest using condoms just like a man can	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.2.4	A couple should decide together if they want to have children	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.2.5	If a guy gets a women pregnant, the child is the	1. YES

	responsibility of both	2. NO
Q9.3.1	Men and women are equally smart	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.3.2	Men and women have the same feelings/emotions	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.4.1	I follow other males in their behaviour towards women	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.4.2	I want the approval of other males for my behaviour towards women	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.4.3	I care about what other men think of me	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.5	Only the man can initiate sex	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.6	It is okay for a women to say no to sex	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.7	Women can ask for sex if they want to	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.8	Women and men can equally enjoy sex	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.9.1	It is okay for a man to be feminine	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.9.2	It is okay for a man to be sensitive	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.9.3	It is okay for a women to be masculine	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.9.4	It is okay for a women to be physically strong	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.10.1	Women should have limited interaction with men outside of their household	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.10.2	Women and men can be friends (without this being sexualised)	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.11	You should talk about your emotions and feelings in a relationship/marriage	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.12.1	There are times when a women deserves to be beaten	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.12.2	A women should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.12.3	Women should be treated with respect	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.13.1	A man should have the final word about decisions in his home	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.13.2	Women and men are equal	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.13.3	Women and men have equal rights in a marriage	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.14.1	Trust is important in a relationship/marriage	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.14.2	Who is allowed to cheat in a relationship?	1. MEN 2. WOMEN 3. BOTH 4. NO ONE

Q9.14.3	Who is allowed to cheat in a marriage?	1. MEN 2. WOMEN 3. BOTH 4. NO ONE
Q9.15.1	Intimacy/being close is important in a relationship/marriage	1. YES 2. NO
Q9.15.2	A man should know what his partner likes during sex	1. YES 2. NO

F – ENGAGEMENT. (only for students who DID participate in the HER CHOICE programme)

Q	Question	Response
Q10	Did your teacher teach you anything about how men and women/boys and girls should act in a relationship or marriage?	1. YES 2. NO
Q11	Did a peer educator teach you anything about how men and women/boys and girls should act in a relationship or marriage?	1. YES 2. NO
Q12	How many times do you have contact with the peer educator per month?	
Q12.1	Are you a member of the SRH club	1. YES 2. NO
Q12.2	Did/do you receive CSE training	1. YES 2. NO
Q13	Do you think the programme changed the way you think about these issues?	1. YES 2. NO
Q14	Did the way you act towards girls/women change because of the programme?	1. YES 2. NO

I will now ask you some open questions. Please feel free to answer these however you like and try to give an answer as complete as possible. There are no wrong or right answers. Let me assure you again that nobody can trace your answers to your person. If you don't want to answer some questions, that is okay, you don't have to.

Q14.1: Can you tell me more about how you now act towards a girl if you are in a relationship/marriage with her?
Answer: _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Q14.2: How did your behaviour change compared to how you acted towards girls/women before the programme?
Answer: _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____

Q15: Can you tell me more about how you think the programme influences how you think about these issues?

Answer: _____

Q16: What are the benefits you gained from the programme?

Answer: _____

G – MOTIVES (FOR EVERYONE)

Q17: Why do you think some men act towards women in a marginalizing way?

Answer: _____

Q18: Can you tell me more about what your religion says about how you should treat women?

Answer: _____

Q19: Can you tell me more about what your culture says about how you should treat women?

Answer: _____

THE END

Note to interviewer: *Please take time to close the interview properly:*

I want to thank you for the time and effort you made to talk to me. I want to assure you again that all information you provided will be treated confidentially. All your answers have been very important for the Her Choice programme.

If you have, at any stage, any questions about the study, please contact:

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Annex 19. Survey in Amharic

አምስተርዳም ዩኒቨርሲቲ የእሷ ምርጫ ፕሮግራም

ውድ የዚህ መጠይቅ ተሳታፊዎች፡-

የዚህ መጠይቅ አላማ ወጣት ወንዶች ስለ ጾታዊ እኩልነት በጓደኝነት/በትዳር ውስጥ ስላላቸው ምልክታ (እይታ) ለማወቅ የተዘጋጀ ነው። የሷ ምርጫ ፕሮግራም የሴት ልጆችንና ቤተሰቦቻቸውን ሁናቴ ማሳደግ አላማ አለው። በተለይም ጥናቱ ያተኮረበት የሷ ምርጫ ፕሮግራም በወንድ ወጣቶች አመለካከትና አድራጎት ላይ ያለውን ውጤት ለማሳየት ነው። ስለዚህ የርስዎ ታዳሚና ወቅታዊ መልስ ስለ ወጣቶች እይታና አድራጎት ላይ ትልቅ ሚና ይኖረዋል። ይህም ወደፊት ለሚሰሩ ስራዎች ግብዓት ይሆናል። በመሆኑም ለሚሰጡን ምላሽ ከልብ እያመሰገንኩ መልስዎ ከላይ ለተጠቀሰው ዓላማ ብቻ የሚውል መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ እንወዳለሁ።

ስለ መልካም ትብብርዎ ከልብ አመሰግናለሁ!!

የተሳታፊ መለያ ቁጥር፡- _____

ቀን፡- _____

ወረዳ፡- _____ ቀበሌ፡- _____ ትምህርት ቤት፡- _____

A- ዳራዊ መረጃ

Q	ጥያቄ	መልስ
Q1	እድሜ	
Q3	ሐይማኖት	
Q4	ብሄር	
Q5.1	ምን ያህል ወንድሞች አሉህ?	
Q5.2	ምን ያህል እህቶች አሉህ?	
Q6.1	ሁለቱም ወላጆችህ አሁንም አሉ?	1. አዎ እናት እና አባት 2. እናት ብቻ 3. አባት ብቻ 4. ማንም የለም
Q6.2	ስታድግ የቤተሰቡ ዋና ሃላፊ ማን ነበር (እናት፣አባት፣አጎት፣አክሰት፣አያት....)	

B- የትምህርት ቤት ምዝገባ

ከዚህ በመቀጠል የትምህርት ቤት ተሞክሮህን በተመለከተ የሚከተሉትን ጥያቄዎች መልስ

Q	ጥያቄ	መልስ
Q7.1	ስንተኛ ክፍል ነህ?	10. 5ኛ ክፍል 11. 6ኛ ክፍል 12. 7ኛ ክፍል 13. 8ኛ ክፍል 14. 9ኛ ክፍል 15. 10ኛ ክፍል 16. 11ኛ ክፍል 17. 12ኛ ክፍል 18. ከዚህ ውጭ ከሆነ ግለጽልኝ
Q7.2	(ከተመዘገብክ) በባለፈው ወር ምን ያህል ቀናቶችን ትምህርት ቤት ቀርተሃል?	

Q7.3	(ከተመዘገብክ) በቋሚነት ትምህርትህን ትከታተላለህ? (ቢያንስ 4 ቀን በሳምንት)	1. አዎ 2. አልከታተልም
Q7.4	በአሁን ሰዓት ትምህርት ቤት ያልተመዘገብክ ከሆነ ወይም በቋሚነት ትምህርትህን የማትከታተል ከሆነ ምክንያታችሁ ምንድን ነው? (ተገቢነት ያለውን ምልስ አክብብ)	7. የቤተሰብ ስራ ስለሚበዛብኝ, 8. ቤተሰቦቼን ስለምንከባከብ, 9. የታመሙ ቤተሰቦቼን ስለምንከባከብ, 10. ቤተሰቤን ለመደገም ስለምሰራ, 11. በቂ የገቢ ምንጭ ስለሌለኝ 12. ሌላ ከሆነ ግለጽልኝ _____

C- ስለ ስርዓተ ወሲብ እና ስለ ስርዓተ ውልደት ጤና ላይ ያለህ ትምህርት፣ መረጃ ወይም ስልጠና

Q	ጥያቄ	መልስ
Q8	ስለ ስነ ተዋልዶ እና ስነወሲብ ጤና በተመለከተ በትምህርት ቤት እና ከትምህርት ቤት ውጭ ትምህርት አግኝተው ያውቃሉ ?	1. አዎ 2. አላገኘሁም
Q8A	(የስነ ተዋልዶ እና ስነወሲብ ጤና ትምህርት ካገኙ) ይህንን ትምህርት ወይም ስልጠና የት አገኘህ? (ተገቢነት ያለውን መልስ አክብብ <i>፤ከአንድ በላይ መልስ ይቻላል</i>)	6. ትም/ት ቤት ውስጥ ትምህርት ላይ 7. ትምህርት ቤት ከትምህርት በፊት/በኋላ 8. ከትምህርት ቤት ውጭ 9. ሌላ ካለ _____
Q8.1	ትምህርት/ስልጠና ፕሮግራም የተሰጠ/በመሰጠት ላይ ያለ አለ?	1. ተሰጥቶ አልቋል 2. አሁንም አለ
Q8.2	ይህንን ፕሮግራም ያዘጋጀው ማን ነው? (መልስህ ከአንድ በላይ ቢሆንም አክብብ)	6. ትምህርት ቤቱ 7. መንግስታዊ ያልሆነ ድርጅት 8. የሃይማኖት ተቋማት 9. የጤና ተቋማት 10. ሌላ ከሆነ ግለጽ _____
Q8.2A	(መንግስታዊ ያልሆነ ድርጅት ከሆነ) ማንኛው ድርጅት ነው ስልጠና ፕሮግራሙን የሰጠው?	5. የሷ ምርጫ ብቻ 6. ከእሷ ምርጫና ከአጋር አካላት ጋር 7. ከሌሎች መያድ ድርጅቶች ብቻ 8. አላውቀውም

ስለተማርከው ትምህርት ወይም ስልጠና ፕሮግራም መጠየቅ እፈልጋለሁ

Q	ጥያቄ	መልስ
	Q8.3 (የስነ ተዋልዶ እና ስነወሲብ ጤና ትምህርት ከተማሩ) በፕሮግራሙ ስለሚከተሉት ጉዳዮች ተምረሃል :	
Q8.3.1	ስለ ወር አበባ ዑደትና ና እርግዝና	3. አዎ 4. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.2	በግብር ስጋ የሚተላለፉ በሽታዎችና ኤችአይቪ/ኤዲስ (HIV/AIDS)	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.3	የወንድ የወሊድ መቆጣጠሪያ መንገዶችን (ለምሳሌ ኮንዶም)	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.4	የሴት የወሊድ መቆጣጠሪያ መንገዶችን	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.5	ያላቸ ጋብቻ/የህጻናት ጋብቻ ህጎችን	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.6	ያለ እድሜ ጋብቻ አሉታዊ ተጽኖ	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.7	የሴት ልጅ ግርዛት ህጎች	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም

Q8.3.8	የሴት ልጅ ግርዛት ከሴቶች ላይ ያለው አሉታዊ ተጽኖ	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.9	ጾታዊ ማግለል፣ ትንኮሳ፣ ጥቃት	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.10	የሴት የመራቢያ ስርዓት	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.10A	የወንድ የመራቢያ ስርዓት	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.11	በኩንጅና/ጉርምስና እና የአካላት ለውጥ	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.12	ጾታዊ መቀራረብና ጾታዊ ግንኙነት	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.13	የስርዓተ ጾታ ግንኙነትና እኩልነት	1. አዎ 2. አልተማርኩም
Q8.3.14	ሌላ ተጨማሪ ነገር ካለ ቢገልጹ	1.አዎ 2.የለም

ተሳታፊው ስለ ስርዓተ ጾታ ግንኙነትና እኩልነት በጥያቄ ቁጥር 8.3.13 እንደተማረ ካመለከተ አስፈላጊ ከሆነ ቢገልጹ

Q8.3.13A: በፕሮግራሙ ከጾታዊ ግንኙነትና እኩልነት ጋር ተያያዥነት ያለው ጉዳይ ከተማርክ እባክዎን ቢያብራሩልን
መልስ: _____

D- የግንኙነት ሁኔታ

የሚከተሉት ጥያቄዎች ለፕሮግራሙ በጣም አስፈላጊ ስለሆኑ እንዳስፈላጊነታቸው መልስ፡፡ የምትሰጣቸው መልሶች ሚስጥርነታቸው ይጠበቃል፡፡

Q	ጥያቄ	መልስ
Q2	እምነትዎዳት ሴት አለች?	3. አዎ 4. አልወድም
Q2.1	ፍቅር ውስጥ ነህ?	3. አዎ 4. አይደለሁም
Q2.2	የሴት ጓደኛ/ፍቅርኛ አለህ?	3. አለኝ 4. የለኝም
Q2.3	በአሁኑ ሰዓት አግብተሃል?	1. አግብቻለሁ 2. አላገባሁም
Q2.2A	ከሴት ጓደኛህ ጋር አብረህ ነህ ያለኸው? (በህጋዊ መንገድ ሳትጋቡ)	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q2.4	ልጅ/ልጆችሽ አለህ (አሉህ)?	1. አለኝ 2. የለኝም
Q2.4.1	ምን ያህል ልጆች አሉህ ?	
Q2.4.2	የልጆችህ እድሜያቸው ምን ያህል ነው?	የ1 ዓመት ልጅ: _____ የ2 ዓመት ልጅ: _____ የ3 ዓመት ልጅ: _____

		የ4 ዓመት ልጅ _____ የ5 ዓመት ልጅ _____
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E- የስርዓተ ጾታ እኩልነት በጓደኞች/በትዳር አጋሮች ግንኙነት ውስጥ

የሚከተሉት ሃሳቦች በወንዶችና በሴቶች በትዳር ወይም በጓደኝነታቸው ወቅት ስለሚያከናውኑት ተግባር ያትታሉ፡፡

ስለዚህ አንተ በግንኙነት ወይም በትዳር ውስጥ ካለህ አሁን ያለህ ግንኙነት ሁኔታ ምን ይመስላል? ወይም

በግንኙነት ወይም በትዳር ውስጥ ከሌለህ ትዳር/ግንኙነት ምን እንዲመስል ትፈልጋለህ

Q	ሃሳቦች	መልስ
Q9.1.1	በቤት ውስጥ ልጅ የማሳደግና ምግብ መስራት የሴቶች ሃላፊነት ነው ብለህ ታስባለህ	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.1.2	ወንዶች የቤቱ የበላይ አስተዳዳሪ መሆን አለባቸው	3. አዎ 4. የለባቸውም
Q9.1.3	ወንዶች ለቤተሰቡ የገቢ ምንጭ መሆን አለባቸው	3. አዎ 4. የለባቸውም
Q9.1.4	ሴቶችና ወንዶች በጋራ ስርተው ልጆችን ማሳደግ አለባቸው	3. አዎ 4. የለባቸውም
Q9.2.1	እርግዝናን የመከላከል የሴቷ ሃላፊነት ነው	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.2.2	አንዲት ሴት ያልተፈለገ እርግዝና ቢያጋጥማት የራሷ ጥፋት ነው	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.2.3	ሴቶች ኮንዶም መጠቀምን መምከር ይችላሉ (ልክ ወንድ እንደሚችለው)	3. አዎ 4. አይችሉም
Q9.2.4	ጥንዶች ልጆች እንዲኖሯቸው ሲፈልጉ በጋራ መወሰን አለባቸው	3. አዎ 4. አይችሉም
Q9.2.5	ሴቷ ካረዘች ለልጇ የጋራ ሃላፊነት ይኖርባቸዋል	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.3.1	ወንዶችና ሴቶች እኩል አሪፍ ናቸው	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.3.2	ወንዶችና ሴቶች ተመሳሳይ ስሜት አላቸው	3. አላቸው 4. የላቸውም
Q9.4.1	ሴቶችን በተመለከተ የሌሎችን ወንዶች ባህሪ እከተላለሁ	3. አዎ 4. አልከተልም
Q9.4.2	ሴቶችን በተመለከተ ያለኝን ባህሪ የሌሎችን ወንዶች ድጋፍ የስፈልገኛል	3. አዎ 4. አልፈልግም
Q9.4.3	ሌሎች ሰዎች ስለእኔ ስለሚያስቡት/ስለሚወሩት እጠነቀቃለሁ	3. አዎ 4. የለም
Q9.5	ግብር ስጋ ግንኙነትን ማነቃቃት የሚችሉት ወንዶች ብቻ ናቸው	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.6	ሴቶች ግብር ስጋ እናደርግም ማለት ተቀባይነት አለው	3. አለው 4. የለውም
Q9.7	ሴቶች ግብር ስጋ ግንኙነት ማድረግ ሲፈልጉ መጠየቅ ይችላሉ	3. አዎ 4. አይችሉም
Q9.8	ሴቶችና ወንዶች በእኩልነት በግብረ ስጋ ግንኙነት መዝናናት ይችላሉ	3. አዎ 4. አይችሉም
Q9.9.1	ለወንድ ሴታዊ መሆን ተቀባይነት ይኖረዋል	3. አለው 4. የለውም
Q9.9.2	ወንድ አስተዋይና ተገዥ መሆን ያስችለዋል	3. አዎ 4. አይችልም
Q9.9.3	ለሴቶች ወንዳዊ መሆን ተቀባይነት አለው	3. አለው

		4. የለውም
Q9.9.4	ለሴቶች ጠንካራ ተክለ ቁመና ቢኖራቸው ተቀባነት አለው	3. አዎ 4. የለም
Q9.10.1	ሴቶች ከቤታቸው ውጭ ውስን ግንኙነት ሊኖራቸው ይገባል	3. አዎ 4. አይገባም
Q9.10.2	ሴቶችና ወንዶች ጓደኞች መሆን ይችላሉ (ያለ ጾታዊ ተራክቦ)	3. ይችላሉ 4. አይችሉም
Q9.11	በጓደኝነትህና ትዳርህ እሳቤህንና ስሜትህን ማውራት አለብህ	3. አዎ 4. የለብኝም
Q9.12.1	ሴቶችን መግረፍ የሚያስፈልግበት ጊዜ አለ	3. አለ 4. የለም
Q9.12.2	ሴቶች ቤተሰባቸውን ከመበተን ለመጠበቅ መገለልን ወይም መገፋትን መታገስ አለባቸው	3. አዎ 4. የለባቸውም
Q9.12.3	ሴቶች እንክብካቤ ከክብር ጋር ማግኘት አለባቸው	3. አዎ 4. የለባቸውም
Q9.13.1	ወንድ በቤት ውስጥ የመጨረሻ ውሳኔ መወሰን የሚያስችል ድምጽ አለው	3. አለው 4. የለውም
Q9.13.2	ሴቶችና ወንዶች እኩል ናቸው	3. አዎ 4. አይደሉም
Q9.13.3	ሴቶችና ወንዶች በትዳራቸው ውስጥ እኩል መብት አላቸው	3. አላቸው 4. የላቸውም
Q9.14.1	በጓደኝነት/በትዳር ውስጥ መተማመን ጠቃሚ ነው	3. አዎ 4. አይደለም
Q9.14.2	በጓደኝነት ውስጥ መወሰን የተፈቀደለት ለማን ነው?	5. ለወንዶች 6. ለሴቶች 7. ለሁሉም 8. ለማንም
Q9.14.3	በትዳር ላይ መወሰን የተፈቀደለት ለማን ነው?	1. ለወንዶች 2. ለሴቶች 3. ለሁሉም 4. ለማንም
Q9.15.1	በጓደኝነት/ትዳር ውስጥ መቀራረብ ጥቅም አለው	3. አለው 4. የለውም
Q9.15.2	ወንድ የሴት አጋሩን በግብረ ስጋ ግንኙነት ጊዜ ማወቅ (መረዳት) አለበት	3. አለበት 4. የለበትም

F- ጥንዳዊ ግንኙነት/ ENGAGEMENT (ይህ በሷ ምርጫ ፕሮግራም የተሳተፉትን ተማሪዎች ብቻ ይመለታል)

Q	ጥያቄ	መልስ
Q10	መምህርህ በሚያስተምርህ ጊዜ ወንዶችና ሴቶች በግንኙነታቸው/በጋብቻቸው ምን እና እንዴት ማድረግ እንዳለባችሁና መሆን እንዳለባችሁ ይነግሯችኋል	3. አዎ 4. የለም
Q11	የአቻ ለአቻ አስተማሪህ በሚያስተምርህ ወቅት ሴቶችና ወንዶች በግንኙነታቸው/በጋብቻቸው ውስጥ እንዴት መሆን እንዳለባቸው ያስተምራል?	1. አዎ 2. የለም
Q12	በወር ውስጥ ከአቻ ለአቻ አስተማሪህ ጋር ምን ያህል የግንኙነት ጊዜ አለህ?	
Q12.1	የስነ-ተዋልዶ እና ጤና ክብብ አባል ነህ?	1. አዎ 2. አይደለሁም
Q12.2	የመሃረቤ ስልጠና ተሳትፈሃል?	1. አዎ 2. አልተሳተፍኩም
Q13	ፕሮግራሙ የምታስበውን እሳቤና አመለካከት ለውጦታል ብለህ ታስባለህ?	3. አዎ 4. አላስብም

Q14	ሴቶች ላይ ስታሳዩውና ስታደርገው የነበረውን በፕሮግራሙ ምክንያት ተቀይሯል?	3. አዎ 4. አልተቀየረም
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ከዚህ በመቀጠል የሚከተሉትን ጥያቄዎች አነሳሉሁ፤ ስለዚህ በምትችለው መልኩ ለመመለስ ሞክር። መልስህ እንደ እሳቤህ እንጅ ትክክል ወይም ስህተት የሆነ መልስ ስለሌለ በተቻለህ መልኩ ለመመለስ ሞክር።

<p>Q14.1: በግንኙነት/በጋብቻ ውስጥ ካለህ በሴት ላይ አሁን ምን መደረግ እንደለበት ልትነግረኝ ትችላለህ?</p> <p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Q14.2: ባህሪህ ከፕሮግራሙ በፊት ከነበረው ማለትም ከሴቶች ላይ ስታደርገው ከነበረው ሁኔታ ጋር ሲነጻጸር ምን ያህል ተለውጧል?</p> <p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Q15: ፕሮግራሙ ምን ዓይነት የአስተሳሰብ ለውጥ በነገሮች ላይ እንዳመጡበህ ልትነግረን ትችላለህ?</p> <p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Q16: ከፕሮግራሙ ምን ዓይነት ጥቅሞች አገኘህ?</p> <p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>

G- ምክንያት/ተነሳሽነት (ለሁሉም)

Q17: አንዳንድ ወንዶች ሴቶችን ለምን እሚያገሉ ይመስልሃል?
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<p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Q18: ሴቶችን እንዴት መንከባከብ እንደሉብህ ሃይማኖት ምን እንደሚል ልትነግረኝ ትችላለህ?</p>
<p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Q19: ሴቶችን እንዴት መንከባከብ እንደሉብህ ባህልህና ወግህ ምን እንደሚል ልትነግረኝ ትችላለህ?</p>
<p>መልስ: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>