

**TESFA Project**

**Qualitative Final Evaluation Report**

**Assessing the changes on social norms affecting  
health and SRH of ever married girls**

Submitted to:

**Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE)**

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## Background

TESFA project, funded by Johnson and Johnson Corporate Contributions, started in January 2015 aiming to reach 3,000 ever-married adolescent girls in order to bring measurable, positive change to ever married girls' sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and economic status. CARE Ethiopia has significant experience working with the same impact groups, in particular through an earlier phase of the TESFA project in a different geographical area funded by the Nike Foundation from 2010-2014. The J&J TESFA project complemented an ongoing Johnson & Johnson-supported WASH development initiative in the same geographical area in a selected number of kebeles, allowing CARE to share existing resources (technical capacity and tools) for cost-effective implementation and to make a collective, lasting impact on the target communities.

TESFA project approaches were the Village Savings and Loan Association (VSLA) model, established by CARE, where girls were organized into different groups and program content was delivered primarily via peer-educators. In addition, community members were recruited as a part of Social Action and Analyses (SAA) groups, which received training in areas related to the main project goals through a peer-education system similar to that used with the girls groups, acted as liaisons between the project and the community and were tasked with providing support to the girls groups.

The intervention took place in the Farta district of the Amhara region, South Gondar zone, in 11 kebeles while later was expanding to another woreda. The intervention kebeles enrolled in a phased approach, adding new kebeles each year over three years: four kebeles from the 215 cohorts, five kebeles from 2016 cohorts and two kebeles from 2017 were enrolled in the interventions.

For all the cohort Youth participatory survey had used to gather quantitative data on the knowledge, attitude, skills of the girls groups each year at the baseline. However, baseline vignettes had conducted to measure social norms for the 2015 groups only <sup>(ref.)</sup>. In this study, Vignettes were conducted for all the groups as a final evaluation.

## TESFA Project Objectives

- **Objective 1:** To increase ever-married adolescent girls' knowledge of reproductive health and family planning.
- **Objective 2:** To improve adolescent girls' attitudes about and the use of family planning and other reproductive health services.
- **Objective 3:** To grow and strengthen adolescent girls' income and access to assets through savings and loan groups.
- **Objective 4:** To enhance community support for adolescent girls, particularly from their partners, families and other gatekeepers so they can participate more fully within their households and their community.

## Project Outcomes

TESFA project aimed at achieving the following four outcomes in the communities where the interventions are implemented at the end of the project:

- a) Improved Sexual Reproductive Health (SRH) of ever married girls
- b) Improved economic status of ever married girls
- c) Increased negotiation skills of ever married girls
- d) Enhanced community support for adolescent girls, particularly from their partners, families and other gate keepers to move freely

## Project beneficiaries

The project beneficiaries are about 3,000 ever married adolescent girls 10-19 years & 1440 reference group members.

## Objectives of the final evaluation

The purpose of the final evaluation is to assess the progress made towards achievement of the specific objectives of the project, its outcome and impact on the lives of ever married adolescent girls that include the families, communities and governments involved in the implementation of

the intervention. It will also measure the level of community and other stakeholder participation and ownership of the project.

### **The specific objective of the study**

- To assess the changes on the existing (identified) social norm barriers that negatively affects girls Sexual Reproductive Health and health related outcomes of ever married girls.
- To identify factors that contribute to social and economic empowerment of the ever married adolescent girls.
- To draw lessons learned from the project and to provide workable recommendation which could be applied to future and other ongoing projects.

### **Expected benefits of the final evaluation:**

- Determine the contribution of the project in achieving its desired outcomes
- To share lessons learned and best practice
- The findings will also be used as input to the sustainability and scale up the project work to other districts, regions and countries.

## **Methods**

### **Study design**

The final evaluation employed Qualitative FGD using vignettes to gather data. The qualitative vignettes were aimed to understand the changes in social norms operating in the community. CARE's Social Norms Analysis Plot (SNAP) framework<sup>1</sup> was used for data sorting and analyzing the vignettes data. The vignettes-FGD study tool gathered information from four different groups of different cohort: ever married girls, mothers-in-law, Social Analysis Action groups and girls'

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<sup>1</sup> Stefanik, L. & Hwang, T. Applying Theory to Practice: CARE's Journey Piloting Social Norms Measures for Gender Programming. Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc. (CARE), 2017.

husbands. The social norm; vignettes; approach focus on expectations about others and their perception of their own reference groups.

### Sampling and sample size

From the eleven intervention kebeles TESFA project operated, six kebeles were selected purposively. Kebeles which were exposed from the three different phases were chosen to show variation. Weighting and balancing were considered in the sampling to minimize sampling bias by allocating reasonably based on the amount of kebeles in each cohort of different exposure time. Accordingly 2 kebeles from 2015, 3 kebeles from 2016 and 1 kebele from 2017 were enrolled in this final evaluation. The discussion groups and participants in the discussions were methodically selected to represent maximum variation as much as possible. Six focus groups were selected from each girls and reference group's category adding up to a total of 24 FGDs. On averaged each FGD had 10 discussants.

### Data collection

The CARE team developed vignettes at baseline in 2015, which were used for data gathering in the current end line study. Training was conducted for research assistants at ACIPH on social norm and qualitative data collection methods. The data collection tool was improved during the training which helped to gather more information. Prior to starting the qualitative data collection the tool was pretested in a kebele, Mahidere Mariam, within the woreda. This kebele was one of the eleven intervention kebeles, but was not included in the actual data collection at the final evaluation. Re-phrasing sentences and using language that would be easier for the participants to understand were made after the pre-test. However no major change was made following the pretest. In addition slight change was made on the age of married girl on the vignettes from 12 to 15 after the field team noticed community seemed more sensitive about age less than 15 to be too young being skeptical perhaps would result in serious consequences; and that kept drawing their attention from the whole vignette story.

### Data quality

The vignettes were translated in to Amharic by the study team at ACIPH in order to administer the discussion points in a language that the participants could understand. Supervisors verified

summaries and audio taped FGDs and communicated the areas of improvement needed on a daily basis. All transcriptions and translations works have been made by the study team. Transcribed data was checked with the audio to address missing points into the revised transcriptions for final use by the team during summarization and organization of the framework analysis charts. Translation were verified and triangulated with the daily summaries and audios to minimize errors in interpretations and understanding of the environment. Three of the four study sub groups were composed of homogenous gender; however SAA groups were mixed sex and facilitated in gender sensitive manner in order to avoid one gender dominance during the discussion section.

### Data analysis

SNAP was used as an analysis tool. The translation, summary and field note data were reduce and fitted to the SNAP. The analysis was done per different groups to see the difference and similarity between the groups who have received different doses of the intervention. Separate analysis was done for the 2015 cohort as they have been the only cohort for which baseline vignette data exist. So that comparison between baseline and end line vignette was done for this special group to identify have there been signs of change or not.

### Ethical Considerations

Participants were informed that decision to participate is voluntary, free to withdraw from the study at any stage and/or are free not to answer specific questions that they are not comfortable to respond with no further explanation. A verbal informed consent was obtained from each participant before starting the discussion. Participants were assured confidentiality, accordingly the information gathered during the FGD was not passed other body for other purpose. Participation in this study had no significant harm to the study subjects. No direct economic benefits was offered for participating in this study. However, during the discussion refreshment was provided.

## Findings

### Participants' profile and Study Approach

Three different cohorts were sampled for variance, and thus variances were summarized amongst them in terms of norms. For the 2015 cohort, baseline to end line change was also compared, although for only a 2.5 year change.

The data for the final evaluation was gathered by qualitative study design using vignettes with homogenous FGDs as main data collection techniques targeting married girls, their husbands, mother in-laws and SAA sub group members in Farta woreda, South Gondar. For the evaluation a total of six kebeles were selected depending of the year of enrollment in the project. A total of 244 community members were able to participate in the discussion groups. For each sub group, six FGDs were conducted throughout the identified kebeles.

The participants were identified purposefully by CARE facilitators at the kebele study sites. In some of the kebeles more than the required number of participants were availed and in such situation participants were randomly selected by the study team. The socio-demographics and cultural context are similar across the six kebeles. The average ages in the sub groups were 18, 27, 44 and 46 in girls, husbands, mother in lows and SAA groups respectively. Most of the participants are currently in a marriage while only 8 were divorced, most are from the girls group, and five were widowed. Maximum age of participant was 70 while the minimum was 15.

Table 1: Total number of FGDs by Kebele and total distribution of respondents, February 2018

S. No	Sub Groups	Total number of Respondent			Total
		2015 cohort	2016 cohort	2017 cohort	
1	Married Girl	33	21	12	66
2	Girls' Husband	26	21	11	58
3	Mother In Law	25	18	7	50
4	SAA members	34	23	13	70
	<b>Total</b>	118	82	43	244

## Girls Mobility and House hold roles

Findings from vignette-based discussions

Different vignettes were prepared to assess social norms in relation to girls' mobility and household roles.

- i. The first vignette (vignette #1A) was targeted for girls' husbands and SAA group members. It was a story about a married adolescent girl and her husband where the girl one day leaves the house without asking for her husband's permission. When her husband comes home from work with some friends for coffee, his wife is not there.
- ii. The second vignette (Vignette #2A) was designed for mother in-laws. It was a story about a mother in-law who lives with her son and his adolescent wife. One day, the mother in-law brings friends home for coffee but her daughter in-law is not there. When the daughter in-law returns home, she explains that she had to go to help her sister.
- iii. The third vignette (vignette #4A) was prepared for ever married adolescent girls. It was a story about a married adolescent girl who, one day, wanted to go to the market but no one is at home. She finally decides to go without anyone's permission.

The following narrative comparing Baseline findings with same cohort Endline results AND comparison across the three cohorts was extracted from data gathered using these vignettes used to assess about girls' mobility in the FGDs.

## Baseline-end-line comparison

In the study, it was found that social norms on girls' mobility and household roles showed some dependent relationship. While the mobility norm showed a clear weakening from the baseline, norms on girls' roles and responsibility in the household was a widely accepted duty to enable and facilitate for free mobility as indicated in both the empirical and normative expectations.

The baseline qualitative study reflected that married girls wouldn't go out of the house unless they get permission from their husband or their mother-in-law. Girls who live with their mother-in-law are often limited in where they go, while the end line study showed that girls can go to the market if they take care of household chores first and inform their family or neighbors

where they will be going. Some wives have even suggested that even if they go to the market, their husbands can do household chores and entertain house guests.

Married girls did need permission to go anywhere as going outside is not accepted prior to the intervention, but nowadays, married girls can go out if they communicate with the husband or mother-in-law where they would go. Mother-in-law can stay at home and do domestic work while the girls go to the market. Most of married girl groups said what a girl basically needs is to be able to communicate well with her husband and mother in-law to go wherever she wants to go. Previously before training in TESFA, reflected the girls, they would not even know how to talk to their mother in-law or husband that they refrain from the thought of stepping a foot out in the first place. The communication skills not only appeared to have lifted up restrictions from movement but also empowered the girls to defend their rights, such as right to going to school. Community participants, by the same token, reported that although girls who are not matured still rotate between their mother in-laws and parents on monthly basis, the tight control of mother in-laws was not observed as in the baseline. Girls were allowed to attend school and they also go out to attend meetings without negative consequences.

The norm found at the baseline that once girls marry, they rarely go out of their house; especially not without the permission of the husband and mother in-laws, has much shifted towards being okay if a girl is not necessarily found in the house. Most respondents in the 2015 cohort, across all sub-groups, claimed, that girls movement restriction was the case of ‘previous times’ which was indicated as about 2-3 years back. Opposite to baseline findings which accused girls of being adultery suspects, a married girl’s absence from her house was associated with her having important matter to attend to, such as a meeting or visiting family. Girls go out to attend TESFA meetings now, and are not questioned about it. SAA members particularly from the 2015 intake reflected that previously, a husband would insult and may reach up to divorcing his wife if she leaves her home without his permission. And also his friends would provoke him into punishing her saying “ቀነጠችብህ: እራስህ ላይ ወጣች” (Literally means: *she has passed her limits; she is on top of your head now*). From findings in this study, husbands are mostly not questioned or thought of being ‘lesser of man’ if his wife is not found in the house at all times.

It was noted from the discussions in this study that most husbands now regard their wives with respect, unlike the notions in the baseline. It was reflected that husbands understand that their wife could leave the house for different reasons and would not take that negatively.

*“the long known norm is going outside (for married girls) without the permission of her husband is considered as disrespecting him (husband) so the expected outcomes are like insults, scolding, and the severe result of dismissal which is divorce. But as this time all husband in this area are changed due to TESFA Project. And all friends of the husband wouldn’t expect the above mentioned measures.” SAA\_(2015 cohort)\_P9*

Married girls used to face punishments when they go out of the household without permission, as a result girls preferred to be at home at all times. But since the TESFA intervention, most husbands would not sanction their wives negatively, although would want to be informed where they would be going. Participants articulated in situations where husbands would not object to their wife’s going out, they girls are most likely to ‘sit with their husband’ to discuss on the importance of her leaving the house and ending up in convincing him. Mother-in-laws from the baseline intervention kebeles also said their daughter in-law can freely go out to the market when needed, without any restriction.

As far as exceptions are concerned, the baseline study found out that there were not any possible reasons apart from fetching water, collecting firewood or going to the local church for married girls to go out of the house without permission. Nowadays, Married girls can go out without any preset circumstances. However, having cooked and kept food and completed domestic chores are desirable conditions where a girl’s absence from her house would be more acceptable. Girls who can communicate and justify that them going out was beneficial to the household was also another condition that facilitated for girls’ mobility. Most of the girls enrolled in the project at the first intake cohort reflected that informing husband or mother in-laws does not necessarily mean seeking permission, but a sign of respect both for their marriage and their mother in-laws. It was also noted from their discussion that informing about one’s whereabouts is the right thing to do; which shows one is responsible and matured, so that family would not worry for their safety. Mother in-laws and husbands’ FGDs also

supported this reflection that a girl's absence from the house without informing may worry them for her safety and if anything bad has happened, such as an accident. Otherwise, both groups claimed that a husband or a mother in-law will naturally carry on with hosting their guests without reservation (vig 1A and 2A). Results from community members in the SAA groups similarly found that girl's mobility may not be a thing of surprise at current times and they would not expect the mother in-laws or husband to react in any negative way if they come to an empty house.

### Findings across the different cohorts

In all the three cohorts, there were signs of norm changes from being restricted to being able to go out of the house for girls. Across cohorts, it was mentioned that husbands or mother in-laws would not react much and carrying on with their activities, while the rest reflected that informing husband ahead about their plan to go somewhere is expected from wives than leaving without saying anything.

Some husbands in 2016 and 2017 cohorts reflected that most husbands would not be exactly thrilled if they do not know where their wife has gone. Similarly, most of the mother in-laws indicated that a shift in thinking has been happening since recent times and married girls are not restricted from leaving the house, unlike the old days.

Clear difference were observed between cohorts. E.g. in 2015 cohorts' girls claimed it was a complete norm change while those in 2017 said there are still some restrictions and conditions for a girl to go out of home. As reflected from the 2017 cohorts, although leaving their house to go somewhere is no longer restricted, it is desired for girls to fulfil their household roles before leaving their house. Having prepared meal for the husband, availing water in the house and completing other daily household chores are conditions for girls to go out of their house. Girls mentioned fulfilling household roles would spare them from potential sanctions anticipated from their husbands and mother in-laws.

*“Previously there was a problem in attitude; girls could not go anywhere. But now they can go everywhere, she will go to meetings and trainings if there is any. If she (girl) has gone out, men*

*will take home responsibilities without any difficulties and he can serve the guests without asking where she is; and when she returns back he would welcome her with good character and discuss where she been. But in the previous times there was a great problem if she has gone to market or other place without his permission. He will pick a fight with her.”* Girl’s husband\_(2017 cohort)\_P1

Most husbands recalled coming to empty house with guest was a big shame for a husband just a few years back. At current times, their presence would not affect a husband on how he would react to wife’s absence from home. According to husband sub groups from 2017 cohort, husbands would not be surprised if wife is not always home in reference to previous times when married girls did not use to go anywhere, not even to church. Now a girl might need to leave her house to go to different places; not necessarily with permission from her husband. Most husbands reflected that a man can manage his guests alone even if his wife is not at home. Instead, it was reflected by many participants, that his friends may question the sincerity of his invite without discussing this with his wife beforehand. This indicates the change of norm that a couple are now expected to discuss on different matters including plan to host friends.

*“...his friends would say ‘why does he invite us without her presence?’”* Girl’s husband\_(cohort 2016)\_P4.

Reflection from SAA respondents were also similar. Although they admitted there used to be massive sanctions on a man whose wife isn’t found at home in the previous times, now that is obviously changing as girls are seen going out for trainings and a lot other reasons. The SAAs’ reflection, on the other hand, seemed split on the sanction-sensitivity. While a number of community member participants across cohorts indicated less to no sensitivity, few participants across all cohorts revealed that presence of friends is could make a husband sensitive to his wife’s absence from home. Generally, however, husbands’ sensitivity to sanctions came out as less or none from this study, as there were no sanction from friends in the first place.

*“The response can be different when there are guests; he could feel uncomfortable thinking friends would say he is shameless. Not being able to host the guests well is considered a shame*

*so he could be upset and the response may not be good towards her [his wife].”SAA\_(2015 cohort)\_P6*

From the Mother in-law subgroups, generally, it was reflected that young married girls can leave their house without much restriction at current times. Mother in-laws from the 2016 cohorts were found to have split views on this norm. While about half were not in favor of a girl leaving the house without permission, the remaining half reflected that now-a-days it is acceptable if a girl gets out of the house. Mother in-law’s reaction to girl’s discipline-in this case of not informing going out-is stronger in presence of mother in-laws’ friends because she has been shamed/disrespected in front of them. This was reflected across all cohorts, although sensitivity was much lower in the 2015 cohorts and more revealed in the 2017 cohorts. But if her friends were not there, they would discuss and resolve. This shows the strength of influence of reference groups on mother in-laws’ behavior. The mother in-laws, who were relatively the older homogeneous group, were prone to confirming to long standing norms and are more resistant to change because of fear of social sanctions. Although sanctions may be not seen, because they mostly happen in private, such as gossiping with another friend about mother in-law being weak, we found out in this evaluation that mother in-laws were the sub-groups who were most sensitive to sanctions in this final evaluation.

Reflections from all subgroups regarding conditions or facilitators for girls’ free mobility however, was quite similar, especially in the 2016 and 2017 enrolled kebeles. Having good relationship with her mother in-law and good communications skills with her husband were the two upfront conditions uttered by participants.

Overall, from all the cohorts, strong negative sanctions were not reflected on girls, husbands or mother in-laws if the girl leaves the house without permission. Women’s right being well recognized in the community following time difference and interventions from government as well as different NGOs are possible reasons for this. Girls articulated the severe sanctions there used to be from Husbands (such as physical and verbal insults) and from mother in-laws (such as ordering their son to rebuke or even divorce her). Currently, as mostly reported, girls and

mother in-laws are both taught in TESFA and other projects and such sanctions are not anticipated much.

Generally, the norms around girls' mobility seemed to have changed, and a girl can generally go out if she wants to. All subgroups agreed important reasons like going to market for the benefit of the family and urgent social obligations such as sick family and death in neighborhood are acceptable situations where a married girl can leave her house without permission. Most husbands, except the 2017 cohorts, indicated that a girl leaving her house for their living purposes, such as to buy food items, is a facilitator for her free mobility. Most girls' groups' from the 2017 cohort similarly reflected that most girls would prefer to ask someone else to go to the market for them, perhaps a neighbor, a family member or even their mother in-law unless it is absolutely mandatory and going themselves is the only alternative. Good communication between couples as well as good relationship between mother in-law and daughter in-law were also to allow girls free mobility.

## **Household communication and decision making**

Vignettes were developed to assess social norms in relation to household communication and decision making.

- i. The first vignette (vignette #1B) was targeted for husbands of adolescent girls. A married couple have a baby. The husband has a profitable day at the market and his wife wants to use the money to buy nutritious food for their baby. The husband already had plan about how to use the money: he has already asked his friends to drink beer the next day, but then he goes back to them and tells them that his wife wants to use the money for food for the baby.
- ii. The second vignette (Vignette #2B) was prepared for Mother In-laws and SAAs. The story about a mother in-law who lives with her son and his adolescent wife who have no

children. The mother in-law asks her son why there isn't a child yet. The son tells his mother that he and his wife have discussed and decided to wait. Mother in-law's friend then questions why the couple don't have babies but the Mother in-law answers her son and Mother In-law have decided to wait and she respects their decision.

- iii. The third vignette (vignette #4B) was designed for ever married adolescent girls. It was a story about a married couple who have a baby. The husband has a profitable day at the market and his wife wants to use the money to buy nutritious food for their baby. She would like to discuss that with her husband.

Using family planning seems like a common practice in all study communities. While this varies from household to household, generally most married girls are familiar with family planning use and husbands are well aware of this.

In the communities, couples communication about family planning was not an unusual. There were a general sense that mothers would continue to ask their sons and daughter in-law to make them become a grandmothers soon than actually force or impose on them on giving birth without respecting the couple's decisions.<sup>(vig 2B)</sup>

The economic crisis seems to have its own impact on communities' view of norms such as early child bearing. Most community members including mother in-laws were concerned about the decreasing of farm lands and challenges in attempt to raise children with very limited resources.

*"...before one or two years back MOTHER IN-LAWS insist having baby, now they are saying the couples should have money before giving birth." SAA groups\_(2017 cohort)*

## Baseline-Endline comparison

The previous norm of the society that every decision should be made by a man, not a woman seems to have changed much in this final evaluation study. People believed in the importance

and need of communication both between married couples and the couples with other influential people such as mother in-laws, neighbors and friends.

From the discussions it was observed that conversation between a husband and a wife, and making decisions as a couple is a common thing in the community. Discussion regarding earned money by any of the couples is a trend which was different from baseline; where the husband was the solitary income generator and thereby the 'one who is entitled to make decision on the money he brought'. In the current study, it was indicated that many couples have changed that view and discuss together on household income. There were some comparison of what a "good husband" and a "bad husband" would do regarding couples' communication regarding this norm. Participants in all sub groups referred to husbands who were patient and respectful to their wife's opinions as good husbands and bad husbands were claimed to be impatient and authoritative on his wife. The "good" husband's behavior inclined to favorable norms where they would be open and willing to decide on household matters jointly with their wives. Good husbands of current times think and plan to use the money for family matters and gives the priority to the fulfillment of the interest of their family. It was reflected that husbands are 'required' to discuss with wives even prior to her request to discuss on the money. He brings the issue (of how to spend the extra money) for discussion before she raises it, therefore when she raises the point for discussion, he would accept to discuss and decide with her.

Girls Husband groups indicated that things have changed between them and their wives towards good outcomes. They both would now sit for discussion with their wives but in the previous times, they would not show their profits to their wives. The introduction of TESFA and other intervening projects were attributed to these changes since baseline.

*"Today husbands and wife discuss and decide together on everything. This is due getting different many awareness creation from different organizations like ActionAid, CARE and others."* Girl's husband\_(2015 cohort)\_P6

Similar with findings from the baseline, married girls who are already 'matured' and live with their husbands have more privilege both in couple communication and decision making than those who live with the Mother in-law or rotating between her parents and Mother in-law. One

reason for this could be girls who have not moved in with their husbands are not fully acknowledged as either wives or matured decision makers and they do not take much part in the husband's household.

No negative sanctions were reflected by the husbands or girls group discussants regarding wife wanting to discuss on extra money anymore. But before TESFA, husbands would be offended and might scold wife for asking about use of money.

*"Previously, we would be beaten by our husbands when we raise issues for discussion but currently it would be accepted positively."* Girl Group\_(2015 cohort)\_P1

In households where open communication was cultivated-which was reportedly true in most of the 2015 cohort households- Mother in-laws and daughter in-laws had the skill to communicate effectively and make certain decisions such as getting family planning services without involving the husband.

*"Today the Mother in-law wants the couple to work hard and improve economically before having a child. For example I know a Mother in-law in our neighborhood has sent her daughter in-law to a health post so that she can take contraception to delay birth..."* Mother in-law\_(2016 cohort)\_P2

Regarding couples' communication on family planning, SAA groups indicated most mother in-laws do not expect a mother in-law to control her son and daughter in-law's marriage situation anymore in reference to change in the influence of mother in-laws and neighbors over couple. Mother in-laws would even take a lesson from a mother in-law who says "they want to wait and I don't want to impose" and go back to advise their own sons to wait and be financially strong before having a baby. Conversely, mixed advices were observed in the Mother in-laws groups. While some said mother in-law should respect couples' decision, most mother In-laws expectations seemed to be more in alignment with previous norms and behaviors – that her peers would advise the mother in-law to intervene and even offered to get involved on their friend's behalf if the mother in-law could not press the couple harder. Mother in-laws may warn that couples are better off to bear children early while grandmother is still alive to support in looking after offspring. This shows how strong the norm of having children

immediately after marriage is in the community and also how strong that also is for mother in-laws who are expected to enforce the norm as the older and authoritative figure in the married couples' life.

In the 2015 cohorts mild sanctions on the mother in-law were reflected by her peers such as 'you are not a strong grandmother'. Signs of decreased sensitivity to sanctions were observed from SAAs and mother in-law groups. Especially in the mother in-law sub groups, it seems sanctions are still there but mother in-laws are less influenced by them. Many mother in-law participants articulated that telling their peers that they would not want and mostly also should not get involved in their son's and daughter-in-law's marriage would be the response they would give to their friends inquiring them to intervene between the couple.

*"Whatever the advice of her friends might be, the mother in law will never reverse her idea of accepting the couple's decision of delaying birth."* Mother in-law\_(2016 cohort)\_P6

## Comparison between cohorts

Mother in-laws over all reflected that any mother in-law basically wants her daughter in-law to give birth early due to three main reasons. The first is that there is a long standing beliefs related to early child bearing such as "ልጅ በልጅነት ነው" (literal meaning: *bearing children is best when one is still young-while both the father and mother are young*). Secondly, it is also believed that couples become actualized only after bearing children as the popular proverb used in the community "ያልተዋለደ አልተዛጦደ" (*If not bonded by a child, then as simple as strangers*) Mother in-laws want their son's wives to bear children for the fear that he might lose her to another man otherwise. It is also believed that bearing a child will make the young girl more responsible and stable as a wife. Thirdly, it is considered a great honor for a mother to see her son's children, even considered a blessing. For these reasons, it was widely reflected that mother in-laws desire for their son and wife to have children.

While majority of participants from all cohorts said most mother in-laws now-a-days refrain from interfering too much in the couple's life and agreed with respecting couple's decision,

some participants particularly in the 2016 and 2017 cohorts reflected their preferences would be more to couples giving birth, at least one or two, soon after marriage.

*"... If she (young wife) gets stronger both physically and mentally she will influence him, lose respect for him but if she has kids she will respect him for the sake of her children."* SAA groups\_(2016 cohort).

Although it was repeatedly mentioned that sanctions are anticipated much less since TESFA interventions, there were common sanctions expected from other mother in-laws on both the married couple and the mother in-law if they say they will wait to have children. Mother in-laws will be defamed and looked down on for not pressuring their son and wife to have children, as mostly reflected from the 2016 and 2017 cohorts. Her peers would also tease a mother in-law for having a son 'who has no penis'; questioning his masculinity.

The mother in-law sub-groups of the later cohorts were relatively a bit more sensitive than the initial (2015) cohorts to peers sanctions. However, most still said there were far more reasons to ignore other people's comments and support their son and wife in building a better future for themselves and family.

*"But nowadays after the implementation of TESFA project things are changed. The decision is left to the couples. They are encouraged to use family planning."* MOTHER IN-LAW\_Atkena\_P3

Two main reasons for couple's acceptance in delaying birth, as presented by the SAA and mother in-law participants, were that the couple are poor and need to be strong financially and the wife's age is very young and she does not appear physically matured to carry a child. However, couples declaring their joint decision to delay birth was an exception gaining acceptability over the past few years across all cohorts.

With regards to communication and decision making, the common theme across the cohorts was that married girls can discuss about buying necessary food for the baby with their husbands without any fear. Most married across the three cohorts expect and encourage girls to discuss with their husbands.

Girls groups participants revealed there used to be high fear of husbands to even say a word, leave alone requesting discussion on financial matters. Although this fear has not been completely overcome the same way by girls from all the different cohorts. Many girls now engage in discussion with their husbands on matters such as what to harvest in the year, how to spend earnings and family planning. The girls from the 2015 cohorts were especially vocal about knowing their rights as a 'half' part of their house too and said they have learned how to communicate with their husband from all the teachings of TESFA.

Looking at decision on earned money, both husbands and girls group participants reflected that discussion within couples on monetary matters is more common and acceptable now across cohorts. Besides encouraging girl to pursue her desire to discuss with her husband, girls group discussants mentioned, girls would be expected to also earn money and either just buy the food, or communicate with husband about it. This indicates women can also earn money now, so not limited to asking husband for money.

*“What is expected from her (girl) today is that, she also has to trade like what her husband did and buy for her baby other than expecting everything from him; and discussing on the money which he has brought. What we discuss today should be, she should not wait for his pocket and she also should work by herself and should buy with her own money.” Girls Group\_(2015 cohort)\_P3.*

With regards to communication and decision making, the common theme across the cohorts was that husbands wouldn't react negatively to his wife's request for discussion and the couple will continue to discuss on the issues on money he earned. But, few participants from 2016 cohorts reported that, if the reaction of the husband is negative, most wives would not continue to discuss about money in the future; rather would carefully think about ways they can generate money by themselves.

Girls who have good communication skill and the ability to convince her husband was commonly reported across the cohorts. In the couples' discussion regarding extra money, there does not seem to be much suggestion that the sanctions are strong enough to prevent the behavior.

Generally, young girls have started to discuss household matters with their husbands in the current times without much pre-required conditions. While there were no such conditions, since the norm does not seem to hold up any more, having a good relationship between couples was a clear facilitator of couples' decision making as observed from the husband and girls groups' discussions. In addition, girls' independence in earning her own income was mentioned as a reason for improvements in couples' communication and decision making.

## Conclusion and lessons learnt

The vignettes had a unique and structured way to assess social norms, providing sense of severity of norms and alternatives that allow deviating from norms possible. However in some situations, such as where a visible shift of norm or high weakening of it occurred since baseline (when the vignette were developed), it becomes challenging to follow the tool structure and make sense out of the discussion. For example; following up with a sensitivity to sanction and exception questions after no negative sanction was reported tends to confuse respondents and fails to yield much meaning. Vignette did not work well at times because norm in question was not violated, but picked up some sensitivity to sanctions like in the instances that suggested anticipated peer pressure from friends to control/advise daughter in-law was still perhaps influencing behavior of mother in-law towards the girls. Therefore we learned that meticulously training research assistants on vignette approach discussion facilitation both prior to actual data collection and as the data comes in is important to adapt to the these situations and abstain from asking questions that become irrelevant or are predicated on information that has shifted. Some of the norms that were present at baseline have shown change at end-line, so the vignettes designed at baseline sometimes did not work the same at end line. Design and tools adaptation as well as discussion facilitation needs to account for this in best steering conversations to accommodate this shifting landscape. Generally sanctions did not appear to matter much for behavior, as they were mostly not there or were very weak. The exceptions also came out more of as 'facilitators' to acting against the norm, rather than the way they

were framed at baseline portraying 'conditions where it is acceptable to more or less defy the norm' – again, since the norms under investigation had generally shifted and loosened considerably since baseline.

The findings indicated that social norms around girls' lives have shifted from the baseline. The two identified social norms under investigation, Girls mobility & household roles and Couples' communication and decision making, in the area seemed to have improved favorably. There seemed to be broad agreement about changed social expectations and sanctions since TESFA activities as presented by most discussants. There, too, is the two and a half years' time difference for the first cohort's (2015 cohorts) in which other governmental and non-governmental interventions have taken place, in addition to the relative fast development of such rural areas.

A slight difference was observed among the participants based on the duration of exposure to the TESFA project. 2015 batches were visibly more active in expressing their ideas, making longer conversations and the norms also tend to have shifted more greatly, towards favorable, than the 2017 batches. The girls' sub-groups were well engaged in the vignette driven discussions and were comfortable with responding to the follow-up questions in focus. SAA groups also showed deep engagement both in change of social norms and improvement of lives of adolescent girls. Yet, there were questionable, and at times exaggerated, responses about norm shifts portraying ideal desirable situations presented as actual practices. Again the SAA groups seeming eager to respond about the project and share about their actions as SAA members in educating the community shows that these community members have actually started questioning, analyzing and taking action towards unfavorable norms. They tended to respond with specific examples in their lives or community as compared to general/majority. Mothers-in-law were the relatively mostly older age groups involved in the study. It was observed that they had difficulties understanding the vignette stories and in responding to the questions in comparison to the rest three subgroups. Husbands were not among the most engaged sub-groups in the vignette based FGDs, perhaps indicating reservation on issues regarding their wives and generally marriage. There were some degree of lack of interest observed from the girl's husbands groups, not being vocal about general opinions reflecting on

the provided vignettes about married girls. Mother in-laws tend to have controlling power over their daughter in-laws. The Mother in-law daughter in-law relationship appears to depend on 'good relationship' rather than girls' as empowered and independent decision makers. The girls in most groups referred to this as 'a wise girl should use her negotiation skills in to get her mother in-law to be supportive of her.'

Involving influential community members who directly and indirectly influence girl's lives was observed to assist the social norms shifting/weakening in this evaluation. Community members including husbands and mother in-laws who were identified as the main reference groups for girls showed shift in perception of abiding by all social norms, reflecting how they would take their own stand in things considered a norm but they personally do not agree with.

## Annex

### Annex I: Vignette Study Tools for FGDs

#### Questions for Focus Group #1: Girls' Husbands

##### Vignette #1A: Girls' mobility and household roles

I'm going to tell you a story. Tessema (age 19) and Abebech (age 15) are married. They live in [insert exact kebele name]. One day, Abebech leaves the house without asking for her husband's permission. Tessema comes home from work with some friends for coffee, and Abebech is not there.

1. When Abebech comes home, how would most other husbands like Tessema in this situation in your kebele react?
  - a. Probe: Why? Re-emphasize **MOST** others...
2. What would his most of his friends tell him to do?
3. What would his friends' opinion of him be in this situation? What would they say about him in the situation?

- a. *probe for negative behaviors, opinion, reactions directed at Tessema*
- 4. Would Tessema's response to Abebech when she comes home be different if his friends weren't there?
  - a. *Probes: How? Why?*
- 5. Are there any circumstances where it would be considered more or less acceptable for Abebech to go out of her house without her husband's permission?

### **Vignette #1B: Couples' decision making**

Now, I'm going to tell you a different situation.

Tessema and Abebech have a baby. Tessema has a profitable day at the market, and Abebech would like to use the money to buy nutritious food for the baby. Abebech would like to discuss how to spend the money.

1. What would most other husbands in Tessema's position do?
  - a. *Probe to understand whether Tessema will discuss with Abebech, NOT what they decide to buy*
2. What would most of Tessema's friends advise him to do regarding discussion with Abebech?
  - a. ***Probe for how/whether to discuss with Abebech, NOT what they'd advise him to buy***
3. Let's return to the story. The husband already had plan about how to use the money: he has already asked his friends to drink beer [or local name] the next day, but then he goes back to them and tells them that his wife asked him to use the money for food for the baby. When he tells is friends, what would Tessema's friends think of him?
  - a. *probe for negative behaviors, opinions, reactions directed at Tessema*
4. Given his friends' reactions and opinions, in the future, would Tessema still be open to deciding with his wife how to spend money?
5. Are there any circumstances where Tessema's support to his wife's idea be considered more or less acceptable by his friends?

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### **CLOSING:**

Thank you for your time and help. That is all the questions I have for now. Do you have anything you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me?

## **Questions for Focus Group #2: Girls' Mothers-in-Law**

### **Vignette #2A: Girls' household roles and mobility**

I'm going to tell you a story. Bekalu (age 19) and Abebech (age 15) are married. They live in [insert exact kebele name] with Abebech's mother-in-law. One day, the mother-in-law Amat attends a funeral and brings friends home afterwards for coffee. When the mother-in-law comes home, Abebech is not there, and the mother-in-law doesn't know where she is. When Abebech returns home, she explains that she had to go to help her sister.

1. How would most mothers-in-law in this situation in your kebele react?
  - a. Probe: emphasize **MOST other** mothers-in-law
2. What would most of the mother-in-law's friends advise her to do?
3. What would the mother-in-law's friends' opinion of the mother-in-law be in this situation?
  - a. *Probes: Emphasize MOST of her friends...probe for negative **behaviors**, opinion, reactions directed at the mother-in-law e.g., pity, gossip, loss of respect, etc*
4. Would the mother-in-law's reaction to Abebech be different if her friends weren't there?
5. Are there any circumstances where it would be considered more or less acceptable for Abebech to go out of her house?

### **Vignette #2B: Couples' communication about FP**

Now, I'm going to tell you a different story.

A husband (age 23) and his wife (age 15) have no children. His mother asks her son why there isn't a child yet. The son tells his mother that he and his wife have discussed and decided to wait.

1. How would most other mothers react in this situation in your kebele?
  - a. *Probe: focus on the communication/decision by the couple, not on FP*
2. What would most of the mothers' friends advise her to do?
3. A friend of the mother asks, "Why doesn't your son have a child yet?" The mother replies, "My son and daughter in law have decided to wait a bit, and I respect their decision." What would the mother's friend's opinion of the mother be?
  - a. *probe for negative behaviors, opinion, reactions directed at amat*
4. Given her friend's reaction, will the mother continue to tell other friends the same response?
  - a. *Probes: Why/why not?*
5. Are there any circumstances where the mother's support to her son and his wife's decision to wait be considered more or less acceptable by her friends?

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**CLOSING:**

Thank you for your time and help. That is all the questions I have for now. Do you have anything you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me?

**Questions for Focus Group #3: SAA Groups**

**Repeat Vignette #1A: Girls' mobility and household roles**

I'm going to tell you a story. Tessema (age 19) and Abebech (age 15) are married. They live in [insert exact kebele name]. One day, Abebech leaves the house without asking for her husband's permission. Bekalu comes home from work with some friends for coffee, and Abebech is not there.

1. When Abebech comes home, how would most other husbands like Tessema in this situation in your kebele react?

- a. *Probe: Why? Re-emphasize **MOST** others...*
- 2. What would most of his friends tell him to do?
- 3. What would his friends' opinion of him be in this situation? What would they say about him in the situation?
  - a. *probe for negative **behaviors**, opinion, reactions directed at Tessema*
- 4. Would Tessema's response to Abebech when she comes home be different if his friends weren't there?
  - a. *Probes: How? Why?*
- 5. Are there any circumstances where it would be considered more or less acceptable for Abebech to go out of her house?

### **Repeat Vignette #2B: Girls' household roles and mobility**

Now, I'm going to tell you a different story.

A husband (age 23) and his wife (age 15) have no children. His mother asks her son why there isn't a child yet. The son tells his mother that he and his wife have discussed and decided to wait.

- 1. How would most other mothers react in this situation in your kebele?
  - a. *Probe: focus on the communication/decision by the couple, not on FP*
- 2. What would most of the mothers' friends advise her to do?
- 3. A friend of the mother asks, "Why doesn't your son have a child yet?" The mother replies, "My son and daughter in law have decided to wait a bit, and I respect their decision." What would the mother's friend's opinion of the mother be?
  - a. *probe for negative **behaviors**, opinion, reactions directed at mother*
- 4. Given her friend's reaction, will the mother continue to tell other friends the same response?
  - a. *Probes: Why/why not?*

5. Are there any circumstances where the mother's support to her son and his wife's decision to wait be considered more or less acceptable by her friends?

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**CLOSING:**

Thank you for your time and help. That is all the questions I have for now. Do you have anything you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me?

**Questions for Focus Group #4: Married Girls**

**Vignette #4A: Girls' mobility and household roles**

I'm going to tell you a story. Tessema (age 19) and Abebech (age 15) are married. They live in [insert kebele name]. One day, Abebech needs to go to the market but no one is at home.

1. What would most wives like Abebech in this kebele do in her situation?
  - a. Probe: emphasize **MOST other** wives...
2. What would most mothers-in-law expect Abebech to do?
3. Let's return to the story. What if Abebech decides to go to the market without anyone's permission? How would Tessema react when he finds out? How would her mother-in-law react when she finds out?
  - a. *Probe for negative responses*
4. Given her husband's and mother-in-law's reaction, will Abebech, in the future, decide to go out of the house?
  - a. *Probes: Why/why not?*
5. Would there be any reasons/conditions where it would have been acceptable for Abebech to go to the market without permission from her husband or mother-in-law?

**Vignette #4B: couples' decision making**

Now, I'm going to tell you a different situation.

Tessema and Abebech have a baby. Tessema has a profitable day at the market, and Abebech would like to use the money to buy nutritious food for the baby. Abebech would like to discuss how to spend the money.

1. What would most other wives like Abebech in this situation do in your kebele?
  - a. *Probe for whether she would discuss it with him*
2. Regarding the discussion Abebech wants to have with her husband, What would most other wives advise her to do?
3. If Abebech asks her husband about the extra money, how would he react?
  - a. *Probe for negative or positive responses by the husband*
4. Given Tessema's reaction, would Abebech attempt to discuss use of money with him again in the future?
5. Are there any circumstances where Abebech's wish to discuss with Tessema about the extra money be considered more or less acceptable?

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**CLOSING:**

Thank you for your time and help. That is all the questions I have for now. Do you have anything you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me?

## Annex II: Analysis framework

### Summary Analysis framework of Baseline and End line results of Norms

#### Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' mobility

##### A1. Married girls

Constructs	Baseline 2015	End line
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married girls need permission from her Mother-in-law and her husband if they want to out.</li> <li>Married Girls who are living with their mother-in-law are limited in mobility only with in household. But for those girls who are not any more living with their Mother-in-law mobility is a not limited to households, but they would still be in control of her husband</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most wives would go after cooking food, setting their house straight, possibly inform a neighbor about where they would be going</li> <li>Some wives even reported that husbands can do household chores and even entertain house guests while wives are at the market</li> </ul>
<b>Normative expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Married girls need permission to go anywhere. Going outside of the household is not one of accepted role for Married Girls</li> <li>Agreed and accepted role for married girls is confined at household. Having baby, serve the Mother-in-law including washing her feet, perform</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>As long as the girls communicate on where they would be going, mother-in-law wouldn't object to girls going to the market.</li> <li>Most wives reported that mother-in-law expect them to go to the market while</li> </ul>

	all household activities, washing clothes, are agreed and accepted role for married girls.	the mother-in-law stay and do her domestic work
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most reference group are convinced that this is a punishable action when the norm of limited mobility is violated. Most importantly when married girls are not willing to respect agreed rules.</li> <li>• Physical, psychological and social punishments are put by both Mother-in-law and husbands on married girls for going out of the household without permission.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would simply ask where she went to and there won't be any arguments or consequences if she comes back in the time that she said she would be back</li> <li>• If Husbands learned that their wives have went to the market, they would do household work</li> <li>• In some areas, if DILs have completed domestic work and the house is in order, the MILs wouldn't say or do anything</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• For most of the respondents, she will not continue defending their decision as her reputation would be lowered among her friends</li> <li>• She would change her opinion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls would decide to go out again and if the response of their husbands is positive. But if the response is negative, they might ask permission next time or not even go out at all.</li> <li>• Unlike previous times, girls are not restricted to move by their MIL, therefore not too sensitive to refrain in the future</li> </ul>

<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is no reason/conditions for married girls to go out of the house without permission.</li> <li>• Only with some exception for girls to go out without permission would be to fetch water and fire wood or going to local Church</li> <li>• Once monthly married girls visit to their family (locally known as 'wertera') is agreed, but it is also subjected to permission granted from husband and Mother-in-law</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If she has cooked and kept food for her husband and completed domestic chores</li> <li>• If she has strong communication and negotiation skills in convincing her movement was beneficial to the household</li> </ul>
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**Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' communication and decision making**

**A2. Married girls**

<b>Constructs</b>		
	<b>Baseline</b>	<b>Endline</b>

<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communication is limited among married couples, especially when married couples are living with their Mother-in-laws.</li> <li>• Subordination, fear and lack of discussion, and subordination governs most relation among married couple</li> <li>• Couple would make decision in consultation with each other, given that the issue is concerning a common issue for both of them.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most girls would discuss with their husband without any restraint</li> <li>• Married girls have reported to having the communication and convincing skills to let their husbands know about the importance of food for the baby</li> </ul>
<b>Normative Expectations</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is confirmed with all three FGDs that most other wives would encourage married girls to discuss with their husband, as long as the spending is 'accepted' and for 'common purpose'</li> <li>• Wives have less power on issues to decide on money in marriage. Spending additional money on baby food comes as a last priority for husbands. Mostly wives would get negative response.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most girls would encourage her to discuss her idea with her husband</li> <li>• Most friends advise her to be skillful and patient in discussing and convincing her husband</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would agree for the spending their earning given there is a 'good' reason such as baby food</li> </ul>	
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Husbands would loss respect, their masculinity and social dignity among their reference groups, friends, for listening their wives' advice.</li> <li>• In this community they would disrespect him as they consider him inferior for listening to advice of a woman.</li> <li>• Sanction is as strong as losing social dignity, respect and losing his friends. To be 'controlled' by his wife, 'listen to a woman', 'ordered by his wife' is not acceptable behavior for husband, if not he would not have respect as a 'man' or his masculinity is questioned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would be open to discussion and listen to her idea and intentions</li> <li>• Most MILs appreciate their DILs initiation to discuss and not intervene or disrupt that</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discussion on use of money for future depends how the husband would react at first time. Given that most husbands would not give positive response on money spending, at least for most reasons, married girls would not be</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since husbands response mostly would not be negative, she will continue to discuss with her husband</li> </ul>

	<p>encouraged to discuss with husbands on money spending.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives will not dare to raise money issue in the future, if not she knew she would get in to fight with her husband.</li> </ul>	
<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Purpose of the spending, if "agreed" and "common"</li> <li>• based on his awareness on how nutritional food would benefit baby's growth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• when girl has good communications skill and they both agree on it</li> </ul>

### Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' mobility

#### B1. Mother in-laws

Constructs		
	Baseline 2015	End line
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If married girl went without permission, Mother-in-law will not be happy and tolerate. The Mother-in-law will assume that her role was undermined/not respected by her daughter in-law; the girl advised</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most mothers will prepare coffee and serve their guests not minding DIL's absence</li> <li>• Some wives even reported that husbands can do household chores and even entertain house guests while wives are at the market</li> </ul>

	<p>and influenced by others; the girls could have affair with other man;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girl's mobility primarily depends on Mother-in-law's and husband permission. She is expected to seek first permission from the Mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere;</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Normative expectation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls mobility seen as the girl is out of control of her mother in-law and husband as well as she lacks household skills and labeled as "gateewott" (looking outside, won't to have affair with other man) by the community;</li> <li>• The mother in-law influenced by her friends and the community to follow the norms of the community and take action on daughter In-law</li> <li>• The girl would be advised by Mother-in-law's, friends of Mother-in-law's, her husband and in some case if she is at school by her friends to respect rule Married girls need permission to go anywhere. Going outside of the household is not one of accepted role for Married Girls</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As long as the girls communicate on where they would be going, mother-in-law would not object to girls going to the market.</li> <li>• Most MILs friends expect from her to advise her DIL for other time to ask a permission from her</li> <li>• Most of her friends may say that, DIL should be cultured. Otherwise, she may disgrace her family.</li> </ul>

<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Mother-in-law's will be blamed for not undertaking/performing her role to discipline a girl.</li> <li>• The friends and community in general will gossip, insult; accuse and look-down/lower the status of Mother-in-law's for not playing her role (role defined by the community).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Her friends would simply ask the MIL where her DIL is</li> <li>• Previously they would call her one who has no control over her own DIL, nowadays, that wouldn't be reflected by many people</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most Mother-in-laws concerned with what others hear, sees and judge her for not taking her role to disciplined, skilled her daughter-in-law's.</li> <li>• If a girl repeated to go out without permission in showing fear of social sanction, the Mother-in-law's will send the girl to her parents.</li> <li>• Mobility of Married girls were influenced by Mother in-law, Mother in-law's friends, husband and neighborhood; Those Mother in-law who could not able to discipline their daughter in law as it is expected by the community norms will face social sanction by their friends; neighbors; community members;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother in-laws are not influenced much by their friends' advice or opinion and are likely to continue supporting couple's decision.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• She would change her opinion</li> </ul>	
<b>Exceptions/facilitators)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The girls can go without permission to fetch water; collection of wood if it is nearby and to attend religious/ church ceremony.</li> <li>• The Mother-in-laws also indicated the girls also went to clinic without our permission and most of girls started FP before they give a child.</li> <li>• After the girl matured and start to live with her husband in separate house the married girl has freedom to go to market, and other social gatherings as other women discussing with her husband. The influence of Mother-in-law's on girls will be minimal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>In the cases where the household has good MIL-DIL relationship. (if she respects her MIL)</b></li> <li>• <b>If she is attending to her out of house duties such as fetching water and harvesting</b></li> </ul>

**Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' communication and decision making**

**B2. Mother in-laws**

Constructs		
	Baseline	Endline

<p><b>Empirical expectation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother in-law interferes on decision making process of couples specifically on having first child.</li> <li>• Most of Mother-in-laws believe that the girls would have to give birth to become cool, manage her house and becomes a part of husband’s family. If not, she is considered as stranger; she will look outside; out of the control of husband; and not abide by husband’s rules and order.</li> <li>• Most Mother-in-laws believe that “Giving birth considered as a tie and a means to stay girls in her marriage”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most girls would discuss with their husband without any restraint</li> <li>• Married girls have reported to having the communication and convincing skills to let their husbands know about the importance of food for the baby</li> </ul>
<p><b>Normative Expectations</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Mother-in-law is influenced by her friend and community to push her son to give birth;</li> <li>• The Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law’s friends, and neighbors will accuse the married couple for not giving birth;</li> <li>• The mother-in-laws would be expected to influence the couples to have at least the first child while they are young and while the</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most girls would encourage her to discuss her idea with her husband</li> <li>• Most friends advise her to be skillful and patient in discussing and convincing her husband</li> </ul>

	<p>mother-in-law is active to provide them care and support</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The mother-in-laws mostly advised by friends to check or search in the house if the girl is using contraceptive or not or fooling her nor not because they don't accept that the couples both agreed. Rather, they would think the girl is playing with her son</li> </ul>	
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Mother-in-law, husband and wife socially not accepted. The community and her friends will gossip; insult; degrade their respect.</li> <li>• The Mother-in-law's friends and community group would consider the husband as impotent, lazy and controlled and guided by his wife;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would be open to discussion and listen to her idea and intentions</li> <li>• Most MILs appreciate their DILs initiation to discuss and not intervene or disrupt that</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The social sanction changed the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples.</li> <li>• The pressure of Mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since husbands response mostly would not be negative, she will continue to discuss with her husband Not influenced much by people's opinion in her support for her son and DIL's decision</li> </ul>

	The pressure of mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some MILs may go back to son and beg him to let them have a 'grandchild to kiss'</li> </ul>
<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the condition that the Mother-in-law unable to provide land and other resources to the couple during the marriage arrangement, relatively there is resistance from couples to accept the mother-in-laws decision</li> <li>Even if the girl is married, she wouldn't be forced to have a child unless she matured (greater than 14years of age).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>when girl has good communications skill and they both agree on it</li> </ul>

**Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' mobility**

**C1. SAA groups**

<b>Constructs</b>		
	<b>Baseline 2015</b>	<b>End line</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most husbands in the community beat their wives when they go out without their permission.</li> <li>The wife considered as bad or deviant</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most husbands understand if their wife's go out without their permission to do something that will support their house.</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The wife considered empowered since most of them engaged in IGA</li> </ul>
<b>Normative expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends and neighbors expect the husband” to have full control over his house”</li> <li>▪ Friends and neighbors expect the husband “to punish his wife, advice or discipline her”.</li> <li>▪ Friends and others advice the husband to get divorced if such incidents repeated</li> <li>▪ Husbands expected to tell their wives when they invite guests to their house</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends and neighbors expect the husband to discuss with his wife</li> <li>▪ None of them expect him to beat or disciple his wife</li> <li>▪ Friends tell the husband to forgive her but if she keeps doing that, again and again, they suggest to divorce and find another girl</li> <li>▪ Husband and wife communicate and discuss before inviting guests.</li> </ul>
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The community sees the husband as” a weak person who has no control over his wife”</li> <li>▪ Friends and colleagues regard him as an “incompetent person who pretend to have good house”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Some of them will blame him for her absence some of them will appreciate him</li> <li>▪ Friend and the community understand and do not consider him a lesser man it’s for a reason she is not home.</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends will say some negative words to the husband”. Their future relationship gets tense. This will become very stressful to the husband.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ If he is with his guests it will be shameful for him than alone</li> </ul>

<b>Conditions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Now days, the old culture is changing. Husbands are not so ashamed for wrongdoings at home and get so serious when they come home alone and discover his wife is not around</li> <li>▪ If the husband is a matured one, he would say it is ok! She might encounter a problem and will wait patiently</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ if she tells him the truth where she went and if he has a proof that she was telling the truth regardless of where she went its acceptable</li> <li>▪ urgent issues like visiting sick relatives and funeral, going to market, fetching water, collecting woods</li> </ul>
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**Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' communication and decision making**

**C2. SAA groups**

<b>Constructs</b>	<b>Baseline</b>	<b>Endline</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Most respondents articulated that community accept married couples to have children at younger age</li> <li>▪ Respondents stated that most community members consider children as an asset and a mechanism to keep women.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Most of the respondents agreed that couples be financially stable before giving birth</li> <li>▪ Respondents said that if she develops both physically and mentally she will influence him and she might not respect him so she may leave him for another guy so if she has a baby she will respect and stay with him for the sake of her children</li> </ul>

<p><b>Normative Expectations</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends and other relatives expect and encourage married couples to have a child while they are young and discourage those who don't comply with the idea.</li> <li>▪ Most of MILs in the community tend to presage to break the marriage if the couples failed to have a child as soon as they are engaged.</li> <li>▪ Friends and family think that the wife is cheating the husband</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends and community no longer involve in couple's decision making</li> <li>▪ MILs involvement in couple's life is less.</li> <li>▪ Most of the MILs fear if DILs don't give birth soon she may cheat and leave her son</li> </ul>
<p><b>Sanctions</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends and family members start to speak strong words that the husband is keeping and feeding a barren" mule" who cannot conceive a baby.</li> <li>▪ Friends and neighbors may consider the husband impotent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Friends and the community respect couple's decision</li> <li>▪ Community encourage couple's decision to wait till they become economically and physically developed</li> </ul>
<p><b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Respondents stated that people are very sensitive to critics coming from friends, relatives, and neighbors.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Most of respondents said that they are not criticized by the community and friends</li> </ul>

<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ The economic challenges and the education given is now calming the social norm and some couples are now staying</li> <li>▪ If the couples remain strong and shows good progress in their life, others will consider them as a good model</li> <li>▪ if there is better awareness of the mothers on SRH.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Most of the respondents stated that nowadays there is a shortage of resources so couples might not afford to raise the baby so they prefer to stay.</li> <li>▪ If they are poor</li> <li>▪ In case of early marriage, since the girl need to be physically and mentally developed.</li> </ul>
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### Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' mobility

#### D1. Husbands of girls

<b>Constructs</b>		
	<b>Baseline 2015</b>	<b>End line</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girl's mobility primarily depends on Mother-in-law's and husband permission. She is expected to seek first permission from the Mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere;</li> <li>• "Most husbands will get angry, yell, beat and ignore their wives for some time and create stress at their</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands, now-a-days, would not react to such situations</li> <li>• Husbands would be disappointed if their wives are not home when they come with friends, but would not react negatively.</li> </ul>

	<p>wives when they leave their house without getting permission”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The husband will beat his wife and other people like the mother -in-law and neighbors may support when the wife is punished”</li> <li>• Most husbands warn their wife not to repeat it anymore</li> <li>• Some respondents noted “Now, people are changing and in the earlier time this used to be a serious issues” “They would use to damage the girls spontaneously in old days”</li> </ul>	
<p><b>Normative expectation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends of the husband or neighbors tell the husband to discipline the wife via giving advice, rebuking or beating her</li> <li>• Most friends tend to say to the husband “your wife is becoming out of control and you need to do something about it”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most friends of the husband tell him it is alright his wife is not home, that he should not get angry but instead discuss with her calmly where she was when she returns.</li> <li>• At earlier times they would say “... control over your wife first before inviting us to your house”. But currently, this has changed and the friends expect nothing from him except encouraging him to care</li> </ul>

		for his family more than ever in the absence of his wife.
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends and others who saw the incidence will “consider him as a fool man and tend to despise him”</li> <li>• Friends of the husband start to distance him and will refrain from inviting him in a valuable social events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would say nothing negative to/about him.</li> <li>• Some would appreciate him and see as role model</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Husbands are sensitive when they find their colleagues gossip about their personal/household issues.</li> <li>• Most husbands get embarrassed when they see some friends expose their issues to others”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would not be affected by their friends presence</li> </ul>
<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Under special and occasional conditions such as illness, death, neighborhood conflict etc women may go out of home without informing their husbands.”</li> <li>• It is usually up to the husband to invite someone when he knew that something is available at home”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If the couple have communication habits and common understanding</li> <li>• In case of emergencies such as death in the neighborhood or sickness</li> </ul>

**Summary of Baseline and End line results of Norms on Girls' communication and decision making**

**D2. Husbands of girls**

<b>Constructs</b>	<b>Baseline</b>	<b>Endline</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Many husbands will discuss with the wives about the fortune they make”</li> <li>• Some respondents stated the following: “Most of our community does not dare to support couples discussion. Even for their children, they don't care to buy nutritious food. All they want is their children not to get starved (they want their child to get basic foods for survival!)”</li> <li>• The husband tends to say to his wife" try to get your own money" , "If her role at home is limited and doesn't have her own income generating activities, I am the one to make decision".</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands, now-a-days, would be willing to discuss about the money</li> <li>• They will discuss with each other and will decide</li> </ul>

<p><b>Normative Expectations</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Although in exceptional cases, some friends may consider those couples who exchange ideas on money related issues as a role model, the dominant view is that friends of the husband quite often tend to tell him this, "Don't give or disclose all your money to your wife. She will bother you to spend it on every things she sees"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most friends advise him to discuss with his wife on family matters</li> <li>• 'Bad' friends may advise him not to let his wife order on his money or not to tell her about the money at all</li> </ul>
<p><b>Sanctions</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends get disappointed and their relationships with him will be strained. They end up saying "his wife might have advised him negatively and he has no control over his house".</li> <li>• Friends may keep on saying "his wife is his boss".</li> <li>• They will continue gossip about him and likely to break their friendship because they expect him to finish his own homework with his wife first before inviting them for a drink.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most friends would not sanction him negatively for discussing with his wife</li> <li>• Most friends admire and appreciate her for supporting the couple's decision</li> </ul>

<p><b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mixed responses were reflected regarding the sensitivity of friends and family sanctions.</li> <li>• Although some respondents stated that friends negative sanction does not matter, still many respondents stated “The husband will be influenced by his friends attitude and will not continue with his stand of continuously involving his wife in finance and property related decision making”.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Husband will continue discussing with his wife even if his friends did not approve</li> </ul>
<p><b>Exceptions/facilitators</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In general as far as finance and property related decision, the social norm is so stiff that there is no room for wives to make finance related small and big decisions in the absence of the husband.</li> <li>• “In the husband’s absence if the wife sells a sheep or other property, he will not accept it”. However, he can do whatever he likes with his property” No room for breaking this dominant norm.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>His decision is already accepted by most of his friends so that there are no preconditions</b></li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• She can sell if she has her own sheep or other resources.</li> </ul>	
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Summary analysis framework of comparison across cohorts

**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls mobility**

**A1. Married girls**

<b>Constructs</b>	<b>Cohort 2015 (Atkena and Debelima)</b>	<b>Cohort 2016 (Gentegna , Meskel Tsion, Debre tabor Eyesus)</b>	<b>Cohort 2017 (Megendi)</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives would go after cooking food, setting their house straight, possibly inform a neighbor about where they would be going</li> <li>• Some wives even reported that husbands can do household chores and even entertain house guests while wives are at the market</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives thought it will be good if they inform their husbands first if they plan on going to the market</li> <li>• Other wives would go after cooking food, setting their house straight, possibly inform a neighbor about where they would be going</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives would stay at home, unless they get permission from their husband for the fear of conflict and even punishment</li> <li>• Some wives who live with their MILs would go to the market by communicating and informing them</li> <li>• Few wives would stay at home for the fear of robbers</li> </ul>

			entering their home rather think about than what their husbands might say
<b>Normative expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As long as the girls communicate on where they would be going, mother-in-laws wouldn't object to girls going to the market.</li> <li>• Most wives reported that mother-in-laws expect them to go to the market while the mother-in-laws stay and do her domestic work</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother-in-laws didn't want the wives going to the market at all as they wanted them to get permission from their husbands before they planned on going</li> <li>• Some wives think MILs expect the girls to consult them and before they go</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives think MILs expect them to stay at home</li> <li>• Wives believed that MILs think their daughter-in-laws would get promiscuous or get assaulted or even go for family planning if they went out</li> </ul>
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most husbands would simply ask where she went to and there won't be any arguments or consequences if she comes back in the time that she said she would be back</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives think they won't go to them market for the fear of upsetting their husbands or getting into arguments or fights</li> <li>• Mother-in-laws would also question their sons if their</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wives think husbands would get irritated or insult or even physically punish them if they went out without permission</li> <li>• Wives could even face being kicked out of the house if</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If Husbands learned that their wives have went to the market, they would do household work</li> <li>• In some areas, if DILs have completed domestic work and the house is in order, the MILs wouldn't say or do anything</li> </ul>	<p>wives have gone without the permission of the husbands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Few wives thought MILs are ok with them going out to the market if they communicate and inform them beforehand</li> </ul>	<p>they went out without their husband's knowledge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wives think MILs would get irritated and confront their sons to manner their wives or even suggest that they aren't "fulfilling their duties as husbands"</li> </ul>
<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls would decide to go out again and if the response of their husbands is positive. But if the response is negative, they might ask permission next time or not even go out at all.</li> <li>• Unlike previous times, girls are not restricted to move by their MIL, therefore not too sensitive to refrain in the future</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls would decide to go out again and if the response of their husbands is positive. But if the response is negative, they might ask permission next time or not even go out at all.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives wouldn't not go out again given their husband would react negatively</li> <li>• Few wives would inform their husbands first beforehand the next time they want to go</li> </ul>

<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If she has cooked and kept food for her husband and completed domestic chores</li> <li>• If she has strong communication and negotiation skills in convincing her movement was beneficial to the household</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If she has informed her husband or her MIL first</li> <li>• If she has strong communication and negotiation skills in convincing her movement was beneficial to the household</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If she has a good enough reason and if she communicates that appropriately</li> <li>• If the reason for going to the market is deemed beneficial the household according to the husband</li> </ul>
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**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls' communication and decision making**

**A2. Married girls**

<b>Constructs</b>	<b>Cohort 2015 (Atkena and Debelima)</b>	<b>Cohort 2016 (Gentegna , Meskel Tsion, Debre tabor Eyesus)</b>	<b>Cohort 2017 (Megendi)</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most girls would discuss with their husband without any restraint</li> <li>• Married girls have reported to having the communication and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most girls, currently, would discuss with their husband without any fear</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most wives would discuss with their husbands and buy the necessary food for the baby</li> </ul>

	convincing skills to let their husbands know about the importance of food for the baby		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some wives said that girl husbands are happy to communicate and discuss</li> </ul>
<b>Normative expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most girls would encourage her to discuss her idea with her husband</li> <li>Most friends advise her to be skillful and patient in discussing and convincing her husband</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most girls would encourage her to discuss her idea with her husband</li> <li>Few girls would encourage her to earn her own income and provide for the baby instead of asking her husband</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most girls would encourage her to discuss her idea with her husband</li> </ul>
<b>Sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most husbands would be open to discussion and listen to her idea and intentions</li> <li>Most MILs appreciate their DILs initiation to discuss and not intervene or disrupt that</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Husbands would not react negatively; rather support her idea of discussing on the profit he earned</li> <li>Most other wives would appreciate that other wives want to discuss on the money their husbands have earned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Husbands would not react negatively; rather most likely support her idea of discussing on the money</li> </ul>

<b>Sensitivity to sanctions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since husbands response mostly would not be negative, she will continue to discuss with her husband</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If he had positive reaction previously, she will continue to discuss with him on the profit he earned</li> <li>• In cases of negative reaction from husbands, girls are unlikely to ask for monetary discussions in the future</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Since husbands response mostly would not be negative, she will continue to discuss with her husband</li> </ul>
<b>Exceptions/facilitators</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• when girl has good communications skill and they both agree on it</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• when girl has good communications skill to convince her husband</li> <li>• when the wives takes care of household chores</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When girl has good communications skill to convince her husband</li> </ul>

**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls mobility**

**B1. Mother in-laws**

Constructs	Cohort 2015 (Atkena and Debelima)	Cohort 2016 (Gentegna , Meskel Tsion, Debre tabor Eyesus)	Cohort 2017 (Megendi)
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<p><b>Empirical expectation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If married girl went without permission, Mother-in-law will not be happy and tolerate. The Mother-in-law will assume that her role was undermined/not respected by her daughter in-law; the girl advised and influenced by others; the girls could have affair with other man;</li> <li>• Girl's mobility primarily depends on Mother-in-law's and husband permission. She is expected to seek first permission from the Mother-in-law and her husband to go anywhere;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The mother-in-law response depends on their behavior and intimacy with their daughter-in-law's; some of the don't say anything on the contrary others can became angry and sad on their daughter-in-law's. (Almost all the participants agreed on this idea)</li> <li>• In previous time it's obvious, most daughter in law were badly treated with different reason or with no reason.</li> <li>• Now, most mother in law retrieve their daughter in law with only advice and discussion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the absence of wife, Mother in-laws will serve the meal to son's friends in a good way and will ask her reason later when girl returns, then will advise her for other times not to go without telling.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Normative expectation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Girls mobility seen as the girl is out of control /not abide of her mother in-law and husband as</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is not a big problem; the mother in law's friends expect from mother in law to</li> </ul>

	<p>well as she lacks household skills and labeled as "GATEEWOTT" (looking outside, won't to have affair with other man) by the community;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The mother in-law influenced by her friends and the community to follow the norms of the community and take action on daughter In-law</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends of the mother-in-law can tell her to advise her daughter-in-law.</li> <li>• Friends of mother in law may expect her to change her in daughter in law behavior by having discussion.</li> </ul>	<p>advise her daughter in-law for other time to ask a permission from her.</p>
<p>Sanctions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Mother-in-law's will be blamed for not undertaking/performing her role to discipline a girl.</li> <li>• The friends and community in general will gossip, insult; accuse and look-down/lower the status of Mother-in-law's</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends of mother in law may say that, her daughter in law is above her control.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• She is out of control and she lives based on her will and they will insult her previously but now the outcome is good, no one can't insult her.</li> </ul>

	for not playing her role (role defined by the community).		
Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most Mother-in-laws concerned with what others hear, sees and judge her for not taking her role to disciplined, skilled her daughter-in-law's.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mothers- in law will not be happy about daughter in-laws absence while her friends are around.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nothing, “today there is civilization”.</li> </ul>
Exception/facilitator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The girls can go without permission to fetch water; collection of wood if it is nearby and to attend religious/ church ceremony.</li> <li>• The Mother-in-laws also indicated the girls also went to clinic without our permission and most of girls started FP before they give a child.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If her respond is very polite and reasonable, she might be acceptable.</li> <li>• If she leave message before for her neighbors.</li> <li>• If her mother or sister gets sick.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If she went to visit a sick relatives</li> <li>• If she went in a funeral ceremony</li> <li>• Reasonable issue will be acceptable</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After the girl matured and start to live with her husband in separate house the married girl has freedom to go to market, and other social gatherings as other women discussing with her husband. The influence of Mother-in-law's on girls will be minimal</li> </ul>		
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**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls' communication and decision making**

**B2. Mother in-laws**

<b>Constructs</b>	<b>Cohort 2015 (Atkena and Debelima)</b>	<b>Cohort 2016 (Gentegna , Meskel TSION, Debre tabor Eyesus)</b>	<b>Cohort 2017 (Megendi)</b>
<b>Empirical expectation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Mother in-law interferes on decision making process of couples specifically on having first child.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Most mother in law think children are like an asset for them so they are very much in need sons to have first child.</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Almost all Mother in-law reflected "Currently Mother in law is not interfering on the couple's discussion. And they respect their decision. And advice to give birth</b></li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most of Mother-in-laws believe that the girls would have to give birth to become cool, manage her house and becomes a part of husband’s family. If not, she is considered as stranger; she will look outside; out of the control of husband; and not abide by husband’s rules and order.</li> <li>• Most Mother-in-laws believe that “Giving birth considered as a tie and a means to stay girls in her marriage”</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formerly mothers tell to their son that unless his wife give birth she can leave him one day; currently they encourage them to stay.</li> <li>• Some other mothers tell for their son to have one child and have space to have more children.</li> </ul>	<p>when their financial capacity is good”.</p>
Normative expectation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Mother-in-law is influenced by her friend and community to push her son to give birth;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most mother in law, eager to see their grandchildren. Because of this, they may propose</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Today, no expectation to challenge and make influence on coupls’ decision.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>The Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law's friends, and neighbors will accuse the married couple for not giving birth;</b></li> <li>• <b>The mother-in-laws would be expected to influence the couples to have at least the first child while they are young and while the mother-in-law is active to provide them care and support</b></li> <li>• <b>The mother-in-laws mostly advised by friends to check or search in the house if the girl is using contraceptive or not or fooling her nor not because they don't accept that the couples both agreed. Rather, they would</b></li> </ul>	<p><b>a set of reason to support their interest</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Friends of the mothers expect her to influence her son</b></li> <li>• <b>Other friends of a mother do not expect her to do anything.</b></li> </ul>	
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	<p>think the girl is playing with her son</p>		
Sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Mother-in-law, husband and wife socially not accepted. The community and her friends will gossip; insult; degrade their respect.</li> <li>• The Mother-in-law's friends and community group would consider the husband as impotent, lazy and controlled and guided by his wife;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends of the mother don't say anything since they know the decision is the couples.</li> <li>• Few other friends of the mother can say she is disrespectful mother-in-law.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimal such as saying the mother in law is not very strong one</li> </ul>
Sensitivity to sanctions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The social sanction changed the opinion of Mother-in-law and couples.</li> <li>• The pressure of Mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether mother in-law's friends repeatedly ask the her about influencing son to have children, she will always give them similar response; she will not be affected</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The mother in law will not change her character whether the response and suggestion from her friends are negative.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The pressure of mother-in-law on husband and wife will increase in order to change their decision</li> </ul>		
Exception/facilitator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the condition that the Mother-in-law unable to provide land and other resources to the couple during the marriage arrangement, relatively there is resistance from couples to accept the mother-in-laws decision</li> <li>• Even if the girl is married, she wouldn't be forced to have a child unless she matured (greater than 14years of age).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If mother in law accept the couple's decision, others her friends may accept the decision as well.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If there is economical problem ( financial limitation)</li> </ul>

**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls mobility**

## C1. SAA

constructs	2015 cohort	2016 cohort	2017 cohort
<b>EE</b>	Husbands will entertain his guests without feeling ashamed.	in present days no one would complain his wife for her absence when he brought his friends. They share doing household chores he can do what she can and vice versa	Husband and wife communicate and discuss before inviting guest.
<b>NE</b>	No friends of him expect him to beat or punish her they suggest “you are clever you should not expect everything from your wife.”	His friends will say forgive for two or three days but if she keeps doing that again and again they advise him to find a girl that will treat him right consider him as a fool and say “ጅል ገደፍር ዘጦዱ ያፍር”	Once they went with him, majority of them suggest he should not be angry she may come across some emergency and he should serve them with anything they have at home. They will comfort him
<b>Sanction</b>	previous time they will undermine him because they believe that he is not managing his home and wife properly. But nowadays he will serve them in absence of his wife. they appreciate him.	His friends will insinuate that he is not lucky a husband ..... His friends think she left the house because he does not punish her. They will blame him for her absence. Then they will want to look for another wife for him someone whom they think would be a good wife.	their attitude towards him will be good since he is going to serve his guests and they appreciate him

<p><b>Sensitivity to sanction</b></p>	<p>While he is with his guests it's shameful his friends will say negative things to him and the response is much harder than alone</p>	<p>If he comes with his friends and get an empty house he will be emotional but if he comes to his house alone he will not be emotional he will ask her where she was calmly and advise her not to leave the house unless she complete her HH chores because it will destroy their house and marriage</p>	<p>If he was alone his response would be aggressive he will yell on her</p>
<p><b>Exception/facilitator</b></p>	<p>in case of urgent issues like visiting sick relatives, funeral</p>	<p>if she tells him the truth where she went and if he has a proof that she was telling the truth regardless of where she went its acceptable</p>	<p>If they discuss and get permission from her husband, no problem it is acceptable</p>

**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls' communication and decision making**

**C2. SAA**

constructs	2015 cohort	2016 cohort	2017 cohort
<b>EE</b>	Previously they will say (በቅሎ ትቀልባለህ) why don't she give birth? If she can't give birth you should marry the one can give birth" currently because of TESFA project the community become aware So MILs said to them "oh you can give birth after you enhance your finance, and prepared.	Nowadays MILs do not have the right to intervene in the marriage of their children to begin with they no longer choose the wife. The only time MILs are present is when they sign the marriage paper to make it official.	before one or two years back MILs insist having baby, now they are saying the couples should become financially stable before giving birth
<b>NE</b>	Most advise her to do not interfere couples decision	they will advise her to have a discussion with her husband to give their son some form of budget even if she has to sell her vegetable or cattle..... if her son does not have kids soon he will end up divorced so the mother will influence him to have kids.	They will advise here to respects their decision.

Sanction	MILs will not be sanctioned Most of her friends appreciate her for respecting the couple's decision	MILs will not be sanctioned Most of her friends appreciate her for respecting the couple's decision	MILs will not be sanctioned Most of her friends appreciate her for respecting the couple's decision
Sensitivity to sanction	MILs continue respecting her son and DILs decision	MILs may reevaluate where she stands after some time pass she may influence the couples decision	MILs continue respecting her son and DILs decision
Exception/facilitator	In case of economic and physical development	In case of economic and physical development since they understand demerits of early marriage	In case of economic and physical development since they understand demerits of early marriage

### Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls mobility

#### D1. Husbands

CONSTRUCTS	2015 cohort	2016 cohort	2017 cohort
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EE	Husband will entertain his guests by himself giving what is already prepared or may ask neighbors or in-laws to make coffee or something for them.....he may think his wife went to work, market or church	Since past two years. there is change First of all he should tell her before bringing the guests home.... If not, he will serve the guests by himself. When she comes back he will ask where she has been.	after the introduction of Tesfa project, there is sharing of household chores if she was not around the husbands will take over home responsibilities and serve guests without any problem
NE	Most of them expect him to not worry and discuss with her but some of them may judge him saying she is not well disciplined and blame him for not knowing where she went	Previously they will say why you invite us before disciplining your wife nowadays they will say she hasn't taken the house, so why you get angry? you can entertain us by what you have whether she is present or not.....advise him not to pick a fight when she is back	Most of his friends expect him to provide food and drinks for them but previously they would expect him to be irritated and pick a fight with her
Sanction	He will not be sanctioned	He will not be sanctioned	They will admire his tolerance for his wife

<b>Sensitivity to sanction</b>	<b>His reaction will be different if his friends are around since it's not polite to react and discuss household matter in front of guests</b>	<b>stressful when he comes with his friends than alone</b>	<b>The reaction will be the same since they discuss on everything</b>
<b>Exception/facilitator</b>	<b>If they trust each other it shouldn't be an issue but she has to tell to neighbors or someone else that will let him know where and why she went</b>	<b>it would be acceptable if she clearly explains the reason for her travel and in case of emergencies like illness, funeral, visiting parents and sick people</b>	<b>After introduction of TESFA projects we follow democratic way of life, we do everything with discussion ... He cannot restrict her movement</b>

**Summary of comparison across cohorts on Girls' communication and decision making**

**D2. Husbands**

<b>CONSTRUCTS</b>	<b>2015 cohort</b>	<b>2016 cohort</b>	<b>2017 cohort</b>
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EE	husbands and wife discuss and decide together on everything.	Previously, the husbands consider such money as their own and plan to enjoy with his friends. But nowadays he will prioritize to use the money for fulfilling the interest of his family.	Previously if she asks him to discuss the monetary issues he will reject her idea, He may also take physical measures. But now he will discuss with her before making any decision.
NE	his friends will suggest to save the money and not to spend it on everything the wife needs. But to spend it on buying assets they further express their opinion by saying “ሰው እንደ ቤቱ እንጂ እንደ ጎረቤቱ አያድርም”.	Good friends tell him to discuss with his wife but bad friends may tell him not to let his wife demand his money	Most of his friends expect him to discuss with his wife and decide on the issue.
Sanction	Most of them would not sanction him but behind his back, they may talk and say he is greedy and a liar	Most of them sanction him saying you are leading by her and you are not acting like a husband	Previously they may say is She your boss? So, he lied to her saying I didn't get profit and enjoy with his

			friends now they will tell him to discuss with her.
<b>Sensitivity to sanction</b>	he may get ashamed or insulted by his friends, but at the end, he will agree with his wife	He may break his friendship with them and choose his home or his wife's idea and continue discussing with her	He will continue discussing with his wife because his friends also encourage him to do so
<b>Exception/facilitator</b>	It's acceptable if he discusses everything with his wife and friends.	In case of open and free discussion with both his friends and wife	Most of his friends already accept his decision.