

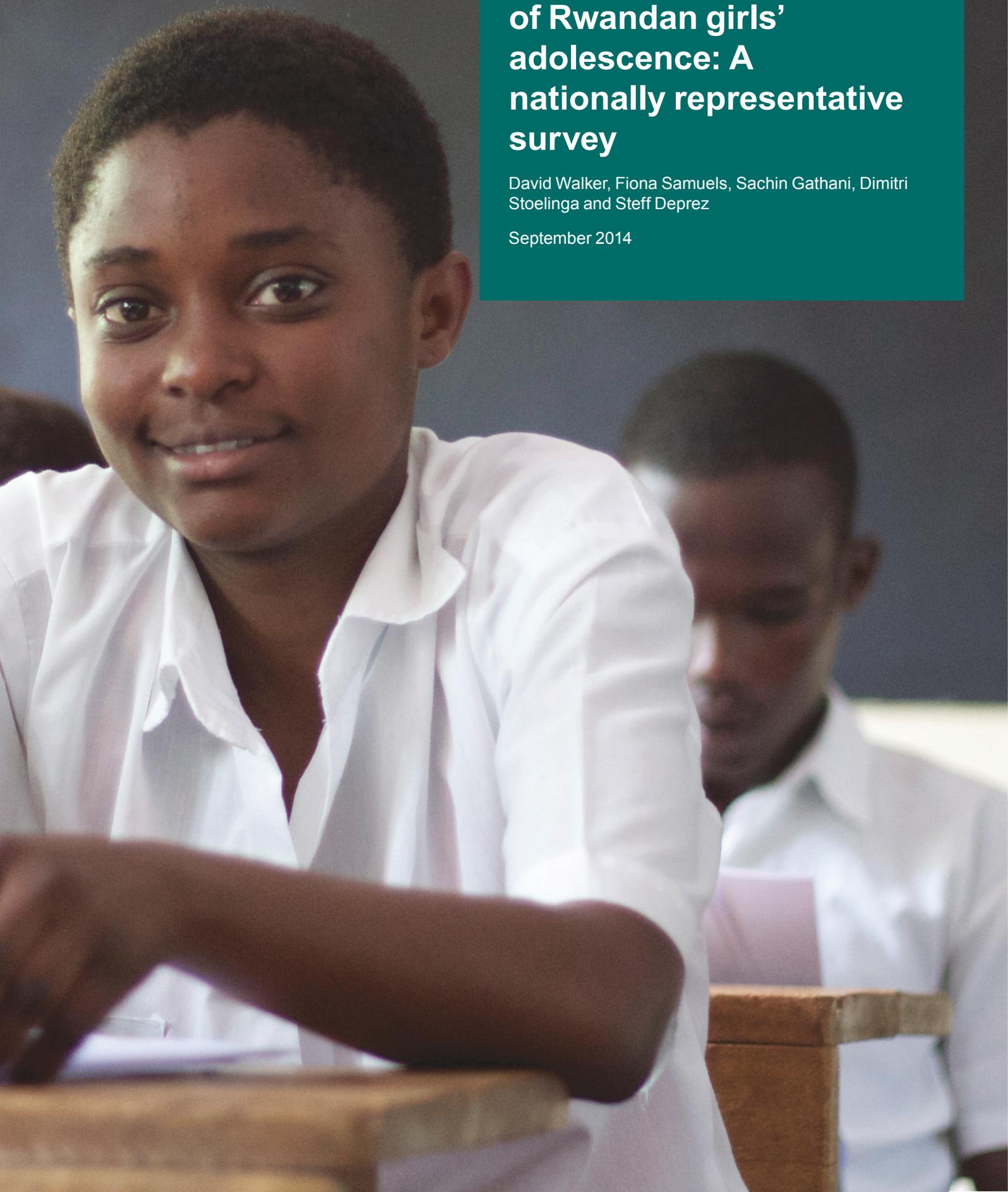


GirlHub
RWANDA

**4,000 Voices - Stories
of Rwandan girls'
adolescence: A
nationally representative
survey**

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Description
12YBE	The Twelve Years Basic Education initiative
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
GHR	Girl Hub Rwanda
GOR	The Government of Rwanda
EICV	Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
RNP	Rwanda National Police
SEO	Sector education officer
SM	SenseMaker®
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SRH	Sexual and reproductive health
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
TVET	Technical and vocational education and training

Executive summary

Overview and objectives

- This research paper summarises the activities and outputs related to the Girl Hub Rwanda (GHR) quantitative and Sensemaker study conducted over the period 2013–2014. The central purpose of this research project is to support GHR in obtaining a comprehensive, systematic and robust appreciation of attitudes/perceptions about pre-adolescent and adolescent girls' lives across Rwanda – both from the perspective of girls themselves and those around them.
- The research aims to provide GHR insights with regards to how to adjust and focus their initiatives on adolescent girls in Rwanda and contribute to filling in gaps in knowledge, programming and policy, around adolescent girls in other Girl Hub focus countries. This will be conducted through the building of different approaches to understanding social norms, attitudes and behaviours relating to adolescent and pre-adolescent girls.
- The findings in this paper therefore provide an evidence base to apply to both internal and external future initiatives to resonate more closely with the needs and priorities of adolescent girls in Rwanda. At the same time, this allows more direct targeting of discriminatory social norms and provides broader methodological lessons for GHR, its affiliates and associated stakeholders in using combined approaches, including the innovative SenseMaker® (SM) approach.

Conceptual and contextual framing

- The approach taken in this research draws heavily on social norm approaches. This approach is focused on the idea that formal and informal rules about prevailing cultural behaviour and attitudes are constructed and maintained on multiple levels in society. Social norms are thereby developed or reinforced through a complex interplay of a range of structures and institutions consisting of, amongst other things, household units, friendship or professional networks, religious practices, state apparatus and policy – as described in the GHR Theory of Change.
- It is crucial to understand the interplay between these social-norm structures and institutions when undertaking policy or programme interventions, because they are closely linked to power relations. It is also important to understand and address social norms as they are constantly shifting, contested, and being re-shaped across various settings. This requires adjustments in developmental interventions to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness of activities on the one hand, while avoiding outright harm on the other.

Methods and process

- The study draws on a mixed methods approach by using a quantitative and sensemaker study, which is quantitative in nature, alongside the SM methodology, which is a narrative analysis tool that combines quantitative and qualitative disciplines. This approach is relatively new to development research and provides a number of unique opportunities.
- The SM approach is advantageous in that it relies on storytellers analysing their own stories at the point of collection. Therefore, the codification of stories is done within the cultural framework of the respondent, thereby potentially reducing exposure to the cultural or normative biases of enumerators

and researchers. The SM dataset should not however be confused with statistical survey outputs. For instance, the fact that 46% of the stories from girls aged 16 to 19 are about pregnancy should not be confused with actual reality. In practice, adolescent pregnancy statistics in Rwanda are considerably lower than peer countries in Sub-Saharan and Southern Africa. Rather, the SM data simply reveals story content, and how prominent themes are from the perspectives of respondents.

- The core outputs or dimensions of the signification framework are represented in a range of visualisations including triangles (triads) and dyads (binaries) which encourage the combination or consideration of multiple variables, opposites (e.g. black/white), or competing positive opposites (e.g. too much/too little). In particular, the triads and dyads are designed in part to reduce excessively hasty answers and to encourage more thoughtfulness, as well as a more accurate reflection of non-binary views (yes/no, good/bad, with/without), in contrast to ways in which most other surveys are framed
- The quantitative survey and SM components is based on a Demographic Household Survey (DHS) template and GHR's 12+ programme respectively, and systematically adjusted and translated for the Rwandan context through an intensive pre-testing and testing phase. As indicative findings emerged, a series of tentative exploratory areas were developed which provided a platform for exploration through a purposeful participatory feedback stage. The aim of this stage was to discuss outputs with respondents in order to confirm or challenge interpretations and findings. In addition, a separate SM was developed in parallel to the survey and targeted directly to the enumerators in the study in order to take advantage of their perceptions and knowledge gained through implementing such an approach.
- The study is comparative in nature, in other words, the target cohorts for the survey and the SM approach were girls 10-12, 13-15 and 16-19, boys from 10-19, and adults, guardians and gatekeepers (including teachers and community leaders). Categories of interest also included: (i) girls that are 'in school'; (ii) girls that are 'out of school'; and (iii) girls that are 'in school, but vulnerable'. The definition of 'vulnerability' in this context included girls out of school, genocide survivors, and girls identified as eligible for social (welfare) support mechanisms.
- The sampling strategy included special measures to reach the most vulnerable and isolated girls in the survey regions and was designed to strike a balance between national 'representativity' and logistics and associated costs of conducting a complex survey with a target sample size of 4,000 (n=4166) adolescent girls, boys and adults in Rwanda for the SM survey and about 2,000 Rwanda for the quantitative survey (n=2053) – collected through a combination of pen and paper instruments as well as iPads.

Findings

Overview

- The outputs of the study are divided into 2 broad areas – a descriptive overview of the findings of the quantitative survey and the SM component, followed by a secondary summary that discusses the main thematic areas in the study, namely: Social Relations, Education, Economic Empowerment, Violence and Sexual Reproductive Health. The latter five themes emerged iteratively out of the research – the majority of which refer directly to the types of stories provided by respondents. In the case of economic empowerment however, an exception was made given that stories relating to economic empowerment were not prominent in the study, but were nevertheless useful to inform a core component of GHR's activities. Differences by age, level of vulnerability, education, geography and gender were examined for each of these themes.
- Key findings at a general level from SM show that the top 5 most frequently appearing topics in the stories are: pregnancy, education, health, violence, and relationships with the opposite sex, and that very few story-tellers say they need either wealth, equality, or social connections to improve the situation of the girl in the story. In terms of narrative composition, 56% of the stories involve girls 16-24 years old and 44% involve girls 10-15 years old, while 41% of the stories feature mothers, 25% feature fathers, 20% feature boys over the age of 10, and 13% include boyfriends.

-
- The general overview for the quantitative survey shows that the average household size of adolescents includes 5.8 members, and that the majority (70%) of respondents live in households where the parents are married; 20% of respondents live in households where the head of household is widowed; and 10% of respondents live in households where parents are either separated or single. On average, children in the in-school group live in households with 6.04 members, compared to 4.98 in the out-of-school group and 5.16 in the vulnerable in-school group – explained by the fact that out-of-school girls were much more likely to have lost a parent.
 - In terms of age, older respondents typically score higher on the ‘multi-variable scarcity index’ – developed from the quantitative survey - than younger respondents, mainly due to differences in their average household structure and household asset ownership. In SM, older girls typically share more stories about confidence, value, self-respect, and fun and enjoyment than younger respondents, while younger girls share more stories about security, insecurity, fear, being disconnected, and decision. Younger girls are also more likely to say that the girls in their stories need education to improve the outcomes of their stories, while older girls are more likely to say that they need access to services.
 - With respect to differing levels of vulnerability in the quantitative findings in general, girls in the vulnerable but in-school group live in worse-off households than other in-school girls. They are more likely to have lost a parent and to live in a home where the head of household is divorced, separated, or single and their parents have lower education levels and are more likely to work on farms. Their houses are typically of lower quality, and they are less likely to have access to electricity. Bringing these factors together, the study found that girls in the vulnerable but in-school group have higher scarcity scores than girls in the in-school group. These findings are validated by the SM overview, which shows that girls in the vulnerable group share more stories about isolation and insecurity than other girls.
 - Regarding schooling in general, the SM data shows that out-of-school respondents are more likely to say that the girls in their stories need access to services to improve the outcomes of their stories. They are less likely to say that they need self-confidence. Out-of-school respondents are also more likely to tell negative stories and less likely to tell positive stories. They tell more stories about skills and education than girls in school. Corresponding data from the quantitative survey shows that out-of-school girls typically live in worse-off households than girls in the in-school group. On the scarcity index, the out-of-school group is worse off than the vulnerable group in terms of family structure and parent’s education/occupation, but slightly better off than the vulnerable group in terms of wealth.

Thematic findings

Social Capital and Relations

- In terms of social networks outlined in the quantitative survey, roughly 75% of girls report that they have a support structure outside of their homes. The main social gatherings they participate in are religious events, closely followed by sports and games with other female friends. When informal social structures fail to provide a safety net, the majority of girls reported that they are most likely to go to the police station to help resolve problems. In SM stories, fun and leisure can be associated with pregnancy, marriage, and relationships with the opposite sex as stand-out areas in which girls are seen to be constrained (in terms of the willingness to be understood and expectations to follow decent behavior).
- In SM, the stories about “relationships with the opposite sex” shared by respondents mainly related to topics about pregnancy and violence. Overall, 80% of the SM respondents indicated that the stories they shared about relationships are negative and 65% of the stories about relationships that directly involve boys and/or boyfriends are about pregnancy (again, this does not imply levels of pregnancy - only prevalence of stories relating to pregnancy). While it is more often the case that girls are perceived to be deciding on relationship matters – particularly out-of-school girls – it can be inferred that they are not empowered to do this, but instead tend to make decisions in isolation from support structures.

On the other hand, perhaps given the social significance of the issue, there are many more stories about marriage showing more involvement of parents than in relationships.

- In general, the SM data shows that girls are much more likely to turn to their mother for help and advice about problems and challenges than to turn to their friends. They seldom reach out to their father or spouse/boyfriend. Importantly however, while the quantitative survey and SM data sets both demonstrate the real or perceived importance of mothers as confidants respectively, there is a perception amongst respondents from the SM dataset that there is little variation in the degree to which mothers and fathers encourage girls to follow expected behaviour. Having said this, parents are more often associated with positive stories than negative ones, while friends become equally important confidants as mothers after the age of 15.

Education

- The quantitative findings show that the vast majority of girls in all three groups believe that education, both at the primary and secondary level, is encouraged and that it is acceptable for a girl to delay marriage in order to complete school. Across groups, girls that strongly agree with the fact that girls are encouraged to complete primary and secondary school, are much less likely to tell a negative story in SM.
- Education is an important theme in the SM data: for adults it is the second highest topic across all stories. When asked what girls needed in order to improve the outcomes of their stories, 35% of girls responded 'access to services', 25% responded 'education', and 20% responded 'self-confidence'. Comparing this with quantitative findings, it can be further determined that girls in school place value on education and confidence as a solution to the stories, girls out of school place value on wealth, while girls that are vulnerable place value on access to services – meanwhile recognising that all groups value the importance of education more generally. This seems to suggest that attitudes and social norms within girl cohorts towards the education of young girls are not key factors in keeping girls out of school.
- In general, the quantitative findings from the sample show that few children drop out of school before Primary 4, so the challenge of keeping young girls and boys in school starts in Primary 4 when drop-out rates begin to increase. As expected, girls that are in-school are more likely to report that they know a lot about educational opportunities than girls that are not in school. There is no strong difference between girls in the vulnerable group and girls that are in-school in terms of making decisions about going to school. Overall, the more educated and less vulnerable the children are, the more likely they are to perceive positive attitudes and social norms towards girls' education compared to girls that are not in school and are vulnerable.

Economic Empowerment

- Overall, the quantitative survey shows that boys and girls report that they have high social capital and high levels of knowledge on a range of economic-related topics. They make very few decisions on their own about how to spend money or whether or not to work for pay. Those whose primary activity is an economic activity are 16.3% more likely to make decisions on their own about how to spend money. About half of adolescents report owning personal savings in case of emergencies for future plans. In terms of work, 24% of girls from our survey claimed to work on paid activities while 42% of these girls claim to work on unpaid jobs or tasks compared to about.
- The quantitative surveys shows that the two most important determinants of adolescents' being in-school are: (i) whether they live with both parents in the household; and (ii) the education level of the head of household. This suggests that adolescents' economic empowerment depends first and foremost on their parent(s)' economic empowerment, although out-of-school girls are better off in terms of decision-making regarding use of money and as good in terms of assets-ownership than in-school girls.

However, they are also less likely to report that they know about topics related to work and money than in-school girls, and have less access to formal and informal credit.

- SM stories about work-related issues in the lives of girls are much less negative than money-related issues. In fact, work is one of the story topics that has the highest percentage of positive stories. In general, respondents perceive that girls seem to also be more in control about money-related issues compared to work-related issues – in contrast to quantitative findings which show that girls felt that they do not have decision-making power on money issues. Such different perceptions are likely to have arisen due to different research foci in the SM and quant datasets; for instance, the quantitative study focusing on self-perception, whereas the SM tool included that of others.

Violence and Safety

- In SM, violence is a prominent topic that appeared in the stories as shown by the fact that 41% of the stories are about some form of violence, 30% of which happen ‘quite often or some of the time’. Furthermore, the vast majority of these stories are negative, and respondents (68% of whom are girls) generally see that girls in their story are strongly confronting decent behaviour in the stories about violence. Meanwhile 4 in 10 respondents who told stories about violence say that the use of physical force would have led to an improved outcome in the story - suggesting notable support for regressive social norms and values.
- Girls that shared a negative personal experience in their SM story tended to have fewer friends on average than other girls. They are also much less likely to reach out to friends or family when they have issues related to health and money or to discuss their future. They tend to have fewer people to confide in outside their family. They are also much less likely to be involved in social groups and events.
- The quantitative survey shows that the level of education and geography can affect respondents’ perceptions of violence. For instance, the out-of-school girls are 8% more likely than in-school girls to believe that it is justified for a man to beat his wife if she goes to the neighbour without telling him. Whereas, girls that are in-school girls routinely disagree with such statements, suggesting that there are certain characteristics about the households, levels of education, and correlating levels of confidence that adjust their views drastically – with gender a particularly strong determining variable. The quantitative survey also provides a network analysis that reveals a division between a majority of girls that mainly agree with positive statements and a substantial minority that agree with negative statements – showing that progressive and regressive social norms tend to cluster together.

Sexual and reproductive health

- Overall, the SM data shows that 46% of the stories from girls aged 16 to 19 are about pregnancy (the topic with the highest percentage in the entire story set – the vast majority of which are negative). As stated above, this is a finding based on girls’ perspective, not on actual prevalence of adolescent pregnancy. Surprisingly, many (36%) of these stories involve girls 10–15. Of all topics, pregnancy has the highest percentage of stories in which people wanted girls to follow expected behaviour and the lowest percentage of stories in which people showed willingness to understand girls. Girls in the stories are also perceived to be making their own decisions with regard to pregnancy – but further SM analysis shows that around half the time, girls are perceived to be doing something they did not want to do. The quantitative findings show that in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable groups are equally likely to say that the decision of when to have children is theirs to make.
- The quantitative survey, triangulated with SM, shows that age is a much more important factor when it comes to a girl’s knowledge about health and menstruation than it is for her knowledge about other selected topics, including money, jobs, education opportunities, early childbirth and family planning. However, while one would expect to see the rate of change of knowledge about menstruation to change

rapidly during adolescence, it is in fact very stable, suggesting that girls are not learning sufficiently about this issue at the right points in their life-course, and that they are not sharing this knowledge with their peers accordingly.

- The quantitative surveys reveals very large regional differences on the topic of health and menstruation. The likelihood that a girl in Kigali would claim to know ‘a lot’ about health and menstruation is 52% on average compared to 39% in the Northern Province and just 31–33% in the Eastern, Western, and Southern Provinces. In the SM stories, pregnancy appears more in those from urban adolescent girls compared to rural girls and there are indications that urban respondents are more exposed and faced with unwanted pregnancy than rural respondents and in-school girls.

Discussion and recommendations

Methodological

- Additional ways to unpack specific issues in the stories can be considered. This can be done by looking at more ‘traditional’ textual analysis software which can be used to add entirely new coding structures to the dataset. This process would be particularly useful for external research stakeholders who have queries and research agendas that were not directly addressed in the study at hand. This might include applications to studies examining prominence of HIV and AIDS terms, domestic versus school violence, water and sanitation, etc. For instance, a word search for “water” could be conducted, coded, and further analysed by demographic or other variables.
- Given that many stories were negative, a continuing challenge throughout the study was coming to terms with the potential prominence of ‘negative bias’. Further in-depth exploration could be undertaken to look at why negative stories dominate the perceptions/experiences of adolescent girls and to examine the implications of social-norms approaches. One interesting avenue through which to explore ‘negative bias’ is through a social norms approach that takes into account that extreme stories and narratives are often incorporated into respondent mind-sets as a matter of course.

Implications for Girl Hub Rwanda initiatives around thematic areas–

Social Capital and Relations

- The quantitative survey shows that vulnerable girls, regardless of whether they were in or out of school, may exhibit more discriminatory norms toward girls and women with respect to perceptions about girls’ roles, for example regarding maintaining the traditional status quo, or to justify violence against women and girls in some cases. This suggests that there are opportunities for GHR to review its activities to determine whether and how it explores raising the awareness of both vulnerable girls and their carers/members of their household about the rights of all girls/women.
- Vulnerable but in-school girls have a weaker social support structure outside their homes than other in-school girls – as demonstrated in the quantitative survey. In turn, out-of-school girls have a weaker social support structure than in-school girls and are similarly less connected. This would suggest that not only are more efforts needed to encourage girls to return to school or undertake other forms of learning and skills-building activities (see education section), but also that additional/innovative ways of bringing out-of-school girls together is required to build their confidence levels. Out-of-school girls need particular attention in this regard, given their overwhelming deficit in self-confidence. However, broader confidence-building approaches for all girl cohorts are required given that the majority of adolescent girls undervalue the importance of social networks in problem-solving, also considering that social connectivity declines at a point in girls lives when it is most needed – as shown in both the SM and quantitative data. Responses to these findings may include sensitizing girls (particularly out-of-school girls) about the value of social capital. However, this sensitization will need to be conducted in parallel to the mapping and coordination with supportive services for girls – such as youth clubs and vocational training facilities.

Education

- Further research is needed to understand why school-going girls may prioritise or perceive their stories to be about isolation when in fact they are shown to be better connected and confident than out-of-school girls (combined data from SM and quantitative data). Potential responses may include expanding the role and messaging around school clubs and other activities which could bring girls together to develop peer networks; providing school counselling facilities/train teachers to girls facing stressful situations; linking girls with external counselling and other facilities; and working with teachers and parents (through e.g. PTAs and community dialogues). A particular topic to explore in these activities is the issue of menstruation – one in which girls routinely cite isolation and negative associations, suggesting a failure in the responsibility of both parents and teachers to educate girls on menstruation – a role fulfilled by peer networks.
- Given that both girls and their parents place a high value on education – as shown in both datasets - with delaying marriage seen as an acceptable life strategy as a result, it is important that this positive perception of education for all (boys and girls) is capitalised/built upon. This would require working in both the demand side (continuing outreach activities with parents/carers, providing further incentives to schooling, etc.) and the supply side (broader and more accessible curriculum, vocational skills support etc.)
- The SM and quantitative findings triangulate to show that out-of-school girls are, for the most part, not leaving school on a voluntary basis, but nevertheless perceive economic gains (wealth) as the key driver of positive change in the stories they tell. For in-school girls however, the main solution to their stories is education and confidence, whereas vulnerable girls emphasise access to services as an area of improvement in the stories. Again, this underlines the differences between the realities and perceptions of girls in terms of how they understand their short-term material and practical needs, compared to their longer-term strategic interests. This supposition indicates that GHR can advocate for responses to girls' situations that are aware of this interplay. GHR can advocate or support activities to provide out-of-school girls with the option of economic empowerment (which is more likely to assist in the short-term) in combination with sensitisation around re-integration into the school system, or support in vocational training opportunities.

Economic empowerment

- In terms of economic empowerment, the quantitative survey shows that what matters more than age is whether the girl is in-school or not and how vulnerable her household is. This suggests much attention needs to be given to contextual definitions of economic empowerment, and that perhaps 'economic independence' may be more appropriate in some circumstances. Focus should then be given to the notion that 'economic independence' is only one form of capability that may lead to economic empowerment in the longer-term. Thus, while supporting economic-strengthening initiatives – such as access to credit and assets that may be important for out-of-school girls – due diligence should be given to vocational training activities as well. Given the gender-mainstreaming challenges in technical and vocational education and training structures (TVET) within Rwanda outlined in the literature review, this is likely to be a longer-term engagement.
- SM stories about money-related issues are perceived to be much more within the control of girls, whereas the quantitative survey shows that while girls perceive high knowledge and social capital on money matters for girls in stories, they report much more limited decision-making power themselves. On the other hand, the SM data shows that while there may be perceptions of girls having decision-making ability with respect to money, there are also strong perceptions that girls are simultaneously confronting 'decent behaviour' and traditional expectations. This is a complex interplay which may suggest a high prevalence of positive deviance in the face of substantial resistance and is worthy of

further investigation. GHR can conduct life-history analysis of a cohort of girls to determine more details about the support for positive deviance while considering linking with organizations that conduct wider community awareness-raising activities on the subject of girls' rights to economic empowerment

- In terms of economic empowerment, the quantitative findings show that vulnerable girls can be considered to be the key target demographic given that they are less likely to own mobile phones or to have savings than other in-school girls, as well as out-of-school girls. Investigations into additional conditional cash transfers at the household level can therefore be considered, or where these exist, GHR can support an assessment regarding the degree to which they are catered for. However, in terms of gender disparities, the greatest difference is between out-of-school girls and out-of-school boys. This points towards targeting out-of-school girls with gender-transformative credit services, and both development of access to and sensitisation around TVET services. In terms of geographic targeting, the data is mixed, and further definition and exploration is required.

Violence and safety

- A network map of attitudes from the quantitative survey suggests that there are two groups of respondents in the study: a larger group who outline progressive statements that effectively support the positive perception of girls, and a relatively separate and smaller group of respondents that declare regressive statements (discriminatory social norms). First, this is encouraging in terms of sensitisation responses because it provides an evidence-based argument for the value of 'positive externalities' or value-added in terms of social-norms communications messages. Second, the findings suggest that the girls associated with the pool of regressive statements experience 'pluralistic ignorance', i.e. these individuals experience or remember extreme events and presume them to be representative of the majority, thereby adjusting their catalogue of social norms accordingly. The evidence indicates these cohorts are largely out-of-school and vulnerable girls (who are largely in-school). GHR may consequently advocate externally on the basis of this strong 'value-added element' whilst also targeting communicating strategies to redress the entrenched regressive norms associated with out-of-school and vulnerable girls.
- While an association with school is an important factor in terms of perceptions around violence, the issue of geography also overlays this dynamic – demonstrated in both the quantitative and SM findings. While subtle variations exist across provinces in terms of attitudes toward violence, the main factor can be considered to be urban-rural geography (given its close relationship with educational performance statistics). The research did not unpack the meaning of these terms in detail and further investigation into the actual story packs could reveal further explanation why this might be the case. Regressive perceptions around rape however, are much more cross-cutting through the variables, suggesting 'blanket' communication responses are more appropriate.
- Isolated girls, those with fewer friends and social support networks, reported more highly negative violent stories in the SM dataset. GHR can aim to develop and maintain social capital networks, targeting out-of-school girls in particular. However, the type of interventions should be sensitive to the time-burdens of these girls, given their already relatively work-laden timetables, and should consider that there is likely to be resistance to such initiatives given that these girls do not perceive the value of enhanced social capital as part of a solution to girls' situations. Stories about pregnancy also stand-out in terms of associations with violence – although the quantitative and SM findings show a disconnect in perceptions of support networks between self and others, suggesting girls may undervalue the options available to them in times of distress.

Sexual and reproductive health

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- A potential entry point into the topic of SRH for adolescent girls is through discussing the observed space between stories around pregnancy, and stories about health. Given the notable gap in connectivity between these issues, there appears to be a disassociation in the minds of storytellers between these issues. Similarly, the quantitative data shows that girls think they have decision-making power over pregnancy, but this not reflected in the data. The SM data accommodates this in showing that they are making decisions in relative isolation and with potential negative associations – which are likely to include stigma. This is particularly the case for out-of-school girls. Programs that aim to address awareness about issues related to pregnancy, family planning and early childhood birth therefore need to focus on two areas: strengthening education about these issues at school and awareness within households. Programs at school are likely to have the largest impact on vulnerable girls. Sensitisation interventions need to tread a fine line between maintaining negative social norms around early marriage, and actively promoting or sustaining views that could be stigmatising. In terms of targeting, issues of teenage pregnancy, are perceived to be less pronounced in urban than rural environments – with particularly high perceived incidence in the Eastern Province
 - Work with service providers can be undertaken to provide adolescent/youth-friendly SRH services for girls and boys that prioritises recognition of the role of boys and builds upon the existing positive aspirations of SRH – both inside and outside schools. This is based on the finding in SM that pregnancy is also a notable issue for boys – and one which the data suggests they have strongly negative views on with respect to girls. It also makes programmatic sense to explore and harness the role of men and boys in adjusting and maintaining discourses around pregnancy, particularly on expected responsibilities and stigma.
 - SRH services can look specifically at adjusting expectations around adult (particularly teachers and parents) roles in providing comprehensive information to adolescents on menstrual processes and health – as highlighted in both datasets and participatory feedback evidence. Such activities would acknowledge the specific gaps in certain rural areas (Eastern, Western, and Southern Provinces) as well as for vulnerable girls in school. Suggestions from the participatory feedback stage include increased number of girls’ groups on SRH – both inside and outside school – and also connectivity with adults. These activities should bear in mind the limited linkages between economic empowerment and SRH. The findings show that out-of-school girls, despite having more assets and access to income, are more likely to become pregnant early

Opportunities for further research

- Further research can be undertaken to assess the difference between attitudes and behaviours at the individual level, compared to perceptions of social norms at the collective level. For instance, discussions in the education section show that there are stark differences between the quantitative and SM findings when looking at the degree to which girls decide for themselves about education. The quantitative findings show that girls perceive their own decision-making agency to be stronger, whereas in SM findings there is considerably less perception of agency. Drawing on a social-norms approach helps to show that these are interlinked and that there are opportunities for correcting ‘pluralistic ignorance’ and/or ‘false consensus’ on these discriminatory norms. The role of outliers, or examples of ‘positive deviance’ as discussed in the participatory feedback sessions, could also be more systematically linked to the social norms approach.
- The economic empowerment findings show that share of adolescents that report having some form of savings in case of an emergency or for future plans is relatively high at 45.7%. In contrast to recent work conducted with CARE, where adolescent savings were reported to be 18%, and 19% for adults, this is notably high. These discrepancies can be investigated further. Similarly, the issue of ‘work’ in the SM study conflated a number of issues – including domestic work, productive in-kind and paid productive work. Given the noticeable differences in perceptions from respondents in stories about ‘work’ compared to ‘money’, further clarification may help to further explain variations.

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- Given the notable prominence of pregnancy (including adolescent pregnancy) as an issue in the stories, and the relatively conservative nature of the corresponding statistics (compared to regional averages) outlined in the literature review, there is likely to be value in understanding the role of positive social norms in reducing and maintaining low adolescent pregnancy compared to the role of other macro-policy interventions, such as economic strengthening or social protection mechanisms.
 - SM stories that relate to relationships with the opposite sex are mainly about pregnancy and violence, and 80% of these stories were perceived as being negative by the respondents. There is a strong sense in the quantitative datasets that it is girls who make the decision regarding when to get married or when to have children. Furthermore, in positive stories, parents are shown to have a much stronger role – particularly mothers. Given the low adolescent pregnancy rates in Rwanda, a response may be to conduct a review of best practices around awareness raising on this subject in order to learn why there was a prevalence of many negative stories around pregnancy. One possible reason from the SM findings is that girls are making decisions about pregnancy in isolation. The aim of this activity would be to determine to why there is a strong negative association with adolescent pregnancy in these communities.

1 Overview and objectives

This research paper summarises the activities and outputs related to the Girl Hub Rwanda (GHR) quantitative and Sensemaker study conducted over the period 2013–2014. The central purpose of this research project is to support GHR in obtaining a comprehensive, systematic and robust appreciation of attitudes/perceptions about pre-adolescent and adolescent girls' lives across Rwanda – both from the perspective of girls themselves and those around them. An innovative methodology was used for this purpose, whereby a quantitative attitude/behaviour survey was combined with the collection of 'stories' through the SenseMaker® research instrument to generate a quantitative and Sensemaker Study. This combined approach and analysis aims to:

- provide the opportunity for triangulating and building on different approaches to understanding social norms, attitudes and behaviours relating to adolescent and pre-adolescent girls;
- offer GHR insights with regards to how to adjust and focus their internal programmes on adolescent girls in Rwanda and contribute to filling in gaps in knowledge, programming and policy, around adolescent girls in other Girl Hub focus countries;
- allow both internal and external future initiatives to resonate more closely with the needs and priorities of adolescent girls, while at the same time allowing more direct targeting of discriminatory social norms;
- enhance GHR's ability to contribute to debate about the challenges facing adolescent girls and ultimately to increase girls' voice, value and agency within Rwandan society;
- provide broader methodological lessons for GHR and associated stakeholders in using combined approaches, including the highly innovative SenseMaker® approach.

The paper begins with an outline of the debates surrounding social norms and how they relate to girls' wellbeing. This review provides the basis for the next section which discusses the conceptual frameworks that were utilised during the framing of research, and how they directed methodological components, analysis and recommendations. The methods and process section thereafter provides the empirical basis from both the quantitative and SenseMaker® components – including sample sizes, site selection, data processing and analysis, consent and other aspects that ensure scientifically robust and rigorous outputs. A section on the participatory feedback stage stands separate given the importance of this phase in feeding back into the research strategy.

2 Conceptual and contextual framing

2.1 Situating the study within social norms debates and framings

The approach taken toward social norms in this research has focused on the concept that formal and informal rules about prevailing cultural behaviour and attitudes are constructed and maintained on multiple levels during social relations or exchange (Auerbach et al., 2011). Social norms are thereby developed or reinforced through a complex interplay of a range of structures and institutions consisting of, amongst other things, household units, friendship or professional networks, religious practices, state apparatus and policy (Marcus, 2014).

First, it is crucial to understand the interplay between these social-norm structures and institutions when undertaking policy or programme interventions, because the power relations that invariably are linked to such structures and institutions not only frame the social norms in question, but can also serve to perpetuate the interests and values of those in power. The process of intervention thereby tends to reproduce inequalities amongst different social groups according to class, gender, age, religion, caste, (dis)ability, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. In practice, these social norms can therefore lead to discrimination, rights violations and material deprivation – such as early/child marriage, abuse, neglect, violence, exploitation, restricted access to services and ultimately, curtailment of future development capabilities and potential (Sen, 1999; Amnesty International, 2010; Plan International, 2009; CPRC, 2010).

Second, it is important to understand and address social norms as they are constantly shifting, contested, and being re-shaped across various settings (Rao and Walton, 2004). This approach necessitates corresponding adjustments in developmental interventions to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness of activities on the one hand, while avoiding outright harm on the other. This is a particularly challenging aspect of developing activities that address social-norms components because developmental research has often prioritised the material aspects of poverty and vulnerability, downplaying the socio-cultural dynamics that affect uptake (Sen and Ostlin, 2010; Banerjee and Duflo, 2011). Alongside the methodological challenges of measuring what were previously considered to be cultural ‘intangibles’, this has had the effect of marginalising work on social norms in development programming and policy. Debates and responses to these issues have nevertheless expanded in recent years (see CPRC 2008, 2009; World Bank, 2012) and have led to greater recognition amongst academics, donors, multilaterals and NGOs of the critical role that social norms have in supporting or undermining initiatives that seek to promote social, economic or environmental change over the short, medium and long term.

2.1.1 Social norms and girls’ wellbeing

There is a general consensus that until recently measures to address pre-adolescent and adolescent girls’ wellbeing have largely been limited to sexual and reproductive health or educational attainment and unemployment concerns (Harper et al., 2012). Adolescence is a crucial developmental stage for girls (and indeed boys, although they are not the primary focus of this study), one in which they not only start experiencing and exhibiting bodily changes, but also in which a series of positive and negative social pressures affect their life choices. Each of these pressures may have a long-term impact on their aspirations, capabilities and future choices. They often arise at fixed points of transition in their lifecycle – such as shifting from primary to secondary school or employment, sexual initiation, marriage, parenthood and citizenship (Watson, 2012). Consequently, it is crucial to recognise and highlight the context-specific risks and vulnerabilities that adolescent and pre-adolescent girls experience throughout the ages from

10 to 19, while also appreciating that girls themselves also serve to construct and promote both positive and discriminatory social norms.¹

The fact that there is rarely significant data that addresses these issues as a whole, not to mention across different contexts, provides an additional challenge to understanding the background around perceptions and attitudes towards girls in Rwanda. This is further complicated by the lack of clear conceptualisations or definitions of adolescence – both within international agendas and conventions, and within policy statements at national levels (UNICEF, 2002). Consequently, ODI has worked with Girl Hub Rwanda to construct and refine the dimensions that are considered to be crucial for promoting and protecting the wellbeing of girls, based on recent and ongoing research.

2.1.2 Conceptual frameworks and linkages with the ‘Girl Effect’

This study draws on a framework developed by ODI on social norms and the ‘Girl Effect’ theory of change developed by GHR.

The ODI analytical framework

The ODI analytical framework is aimed at enhancing adolescent girls’ capabilities by addressing discriminatory social institutions and more specifically the discriminatory practices and non-actions which compromise girls’ capabilities. This framework (see Figure 1) is based on a capabilities approach, and draws on the work of a range of authors (Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, Pierre Bourdieu, the OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) and Plan International). Such an approach helps us to understand the range of capabilities that are compromised as a result of discriminatory laws, norms and practices embedded in social institutions at various levels. The multidimensional capabilities and entitlements considered include: economic, socio-cultural and political entitlements, all of which are fundamental to a transformative approach to development and the achievement of social justice.

The Girl Hub Rwanda approach

While the ODI approach focuses on social institutions, and aspects that need to be explored and understood in different contexts as both limiting and supporting girls in achieving wellbeing, the GHR approach focuses on the kinds of interventions necessary at different levels in order to achieve change and ‘evolved social norms’ (see Figure 2). This approach draws on the draft Monitoring and Evaluation Plan (2012) (the GHR theory of change) and on similar conceptual notions as the ODI framework. However, it progresses this framework further and suggests processes and areas that need to be targeted in order to achieve change. The four quadrants of the GHR framework complement many of the issues in the ODI framework and vice versa: for instance, ‘individual attitudes’ are both affected and impact on the domains of ‘physical/bodily’ and ‘reproductive’; and ‘individual agency’ is also affected and impacted by the ‘education’ and ‘economic/productive’ domains.

Figure 1: ODI capability framework (theory of change)

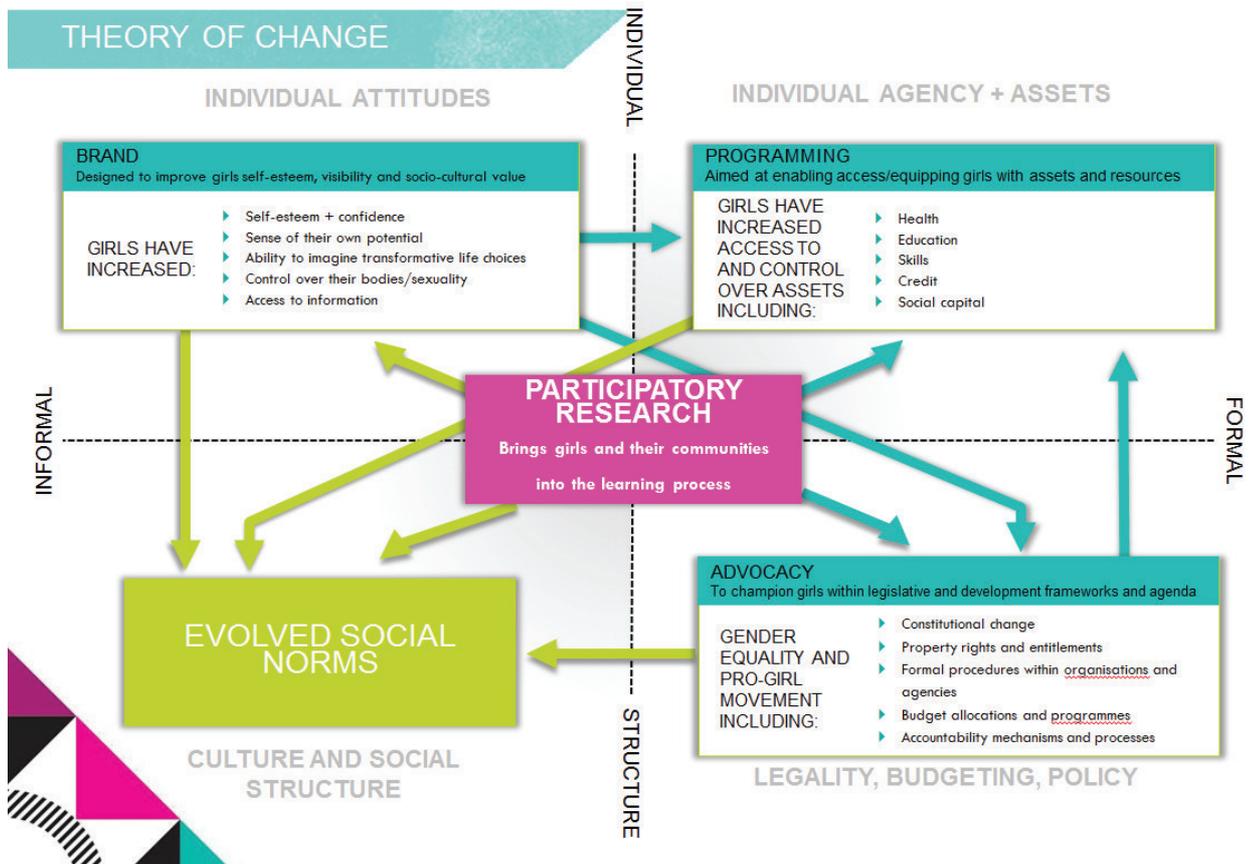
Capability domains	Norms and practices compromising capabilities and leading to exclusion	Non-actions compromising capabilities and compounding exclusion	Entitlements that underpin gender justice
Political	Control/surveillance Restricted mobility Limit on public roles Limit on private roles Limited authority in family Limit on public roles (caste)	Non-provision of information Non-provision of justice services	Voice/representation Group membership Association Mobility

¹ The period of adolescence has shifting legal and normative definitions across national contexts. For the purposes of this research the WHO definition of the ages of 10–19 was used.

Educational	Gender and identity-based school exclusion based on son bias Unequal care burdens Lack of choice over use of time Bullying in school or community	Non-provision of education services Non-provision of quality child care Non-enforcement of decent work conditions or child work laws Non-provision of reproductive health services	Education Healthcare Leisure time Decent work
Economic/productive	Limited access to assets Unequal inheritance and property rights Transfer and control of dowry Exclusion from labour markets and decent work Occupational discrimination – hereditary employment Effect of child labour – exclusion from schooling	Non-equality in inheritance law Weak implementation Non-enforcement of labour law Gender discrimination in equal opportunities Non-implementation of children act on labour Weak access to justice	Income-generating opportunities, skills, training Productive assets – land, credit, technology
Socio-cultural	Restricted mobility Segregation Limit on public roles Limit on private roles	Limited information	Inclusion in group/community identity, respect, status
Physical/bodily	Unequal quality and provision of care (son bias) Limited authority in family Early marriage Limited control over physical body (safety) Gender-based violence Harmful traditional practices	Limited safe spaces Limited protective services Limited access to justice Non-provision of health services Non-provision of reproductive health services Non-enforcement of national laws	Bodily integrity care and protection
Reproductive	Limited control over fertility Limited control over sexuality Early marriage Polygamy Limited authority in family Infanticide Limited control over fertility Unequal quality and provision of care Unequal care burdens Lack of choice over use of time	Non-provision of childcare Non-provision of reproductive health services – including related information and sensitisation Non-enforcement of laws	Decision-making power in households Balance of time with regard to care/domestic/productive work and leisure

Source: Harper et al., 2012

Figure 2: Girl Hub theory of change



Source: Girl Hub Rwanda Monitoring and Evaluation framework

Both frameworks were drawn on to contextualise, analyse and present the findings. For instance:

- The capability domains identified in the ODI framework were used as a way of framing the literature review.
- When exploring the themes emerging from the quantitative survey and the SenseMaker® approach, the analysis was guided by what was of interest in the GHR framework in terms of potentially actionable findings, around, for example, sexual violence and education.
- The ODI framework was drawn on to explore in further depth certain issues and to help think through what ‘evolved social norms’ might actually look like.

2.2 Rwandan context

A review literature review was carried out to contextualise the study within both a national and regional context; to inform research and instrument design, site selection and key demographic variables; and to triangulate emerging findings.² This review, after providing some broad indicators on macro-level performance and the effect of the conflict more broadly, focused primarily on the domains of: education, economic and productive capability, participation and political empowerment, physical integrity, and reproductive health.

² The review explored the academic and grey literature published since 2000. The search retrieved 69 pieces of research that were deemed to be of adequate scientific standard to be relevant to the study, i.e. peer reviewed, country- or region-specific, adequate discussion of methodology and credibility of reputation. Sources were found using web-databases searches, and further bibliographic snowballing. This is not a comprehensive literature review, but a starting point for a longer research process. However, it gives a clear idea of the available information and its limitations. Notable absences from this review are books and articles available only in print; and research, including primary documentation on detailed laws and policies of the Rwandan government. The latter are referred to second hand through the resources consulted but have not been primarily cited.

2.2.1 National level context and the legacy of the conflict

Rwanda has experienced dramatic economic growth in the post-conflict period since 1994, reaching 11.2% in 2008, and averaging 8% between 2010 and 2013 (Sennog and Byamukama, 2014). These figures reflect a transformative period for Rwanda – one in which poverty figures declined from 78% in 1994 to 45% in 2011 (NISR, 2011)(Farmer et al., 2013). Yet the absolute number of Rwandans in poverty has increased over the last decade (EICV 3 2012 report): it is in the top 15% of the most unequal countries in the world and inequality is rising (National Social Protection Strategy, 2011). The population is young – 73% are under 30 years old (Republic of Rwanda, 2010) and more than 100,000 households are headed by children – the majority of these by girls, especially in rural areas where the total households managed by girls or women can reach 38% (Gervais et al., 2009).

Girls in Rwanda face a number of particular risks resulting from the country's history. The genocide created a large number of survivors of sexual assault – 66% of who are HIV positive – and an associated number of pregnancies and children that resulted directly from the genocide (Gervais et al., 2009). However, there has been a significant shift in the percentage of girls aged 15–19 who are being tested for HIV: while only 6.2% had been tested and received results of their HIV test in 2005, this increased to 43.5% in 2010 (RDHS, 2010).

Since the 1994 genocide the Government of Rwanda (GOR), international organisations, NGOs and academics have focused considerable resources on research into gender inequality and transformative interventions in Rwanda. The available literature has come in three waves: (1) late 1990s, (2) 2000–2006, and (3) 2009–present. The first wave deals largely with the direct aftermath of the genocide, while the second wave deals with the legacy and the transition to a post-conflict country. It is only the last range that focusses heavily on adolescent girls. In 2013, many reports and articles became available, and more continue to be published.

In terms of organisational approaches, the GOR has been active in promoting gender equality. The 2003 constitution and the Vision 2020 plan, adopted in 2000, both prioritise gender equality. National Integrated Child Rights Policy Strategy specifically addresses equality between girls and boys (Huggins and Randell, 2007). Top-level commitments are supported by strong institutional frameworks which 'seek to mainstream gender equality within government policy-making' (Huggins and Randell, 2007). The reasons for the GOR's focus on women are attributed to changes in society following the 1994 genocide: women make up the majority of the population (53%), have taken on traditionally male roles and are sometimes seen as 'honest brokers' following a period of severely gendered violence. Nevertheless, young women have often been side-lined by previous generations who benefited disproportionately from post-genocide investments and interventions. Similarly, the literature review reveals few current interventions outside of educational and adolescent reproductive-sexual-health approaches targeting adolescent girls explicitly. The following section provides this analysis in more detail.

2.2.2 Capability Domains

Educational capability

Education has been the main area of intervention for adolescent girls both by the GOR and international actors. The considerable international involvement in Rwanda in relation to gender is a response to the gendered violence suffered during the 1994 genocide (Gerver, 2013). The majority of this attention has been devoted to improving girls' access to education. Chief among these international interventions is the Forum for African Women Educationalists, which has set up numerous schools and programmes. The GOR has also been heavily involved in girls' education and has made it a key priority for development (Ron-Balsera, 2011).

There has been some success in that younger women are now more likely to be university educated (Burnet, 2008) and World Bank indicators show that girls attend school in greater numbers than in the past and in greater numbers than boys (Burnet, 2011). Indeed, 2012 saw 95% of boys and 98% of girls enrolled in primary school (NISR, 2012). According to USAID, this was largely due to the elimination or reduction of school fees, better teaching instruction and infrastructure and institutional support. Historically, there was not an explicit pro-poor approach and the progress was uneven (Hayman, 2005). More recently, Rwanda is noted as one of the top three performing countries globally with regard to achieving universal primary education goals (UNESCO, 2014). Other studies that examine performance and completion reveal that 'the latest statistics regarding educational deprivation are alarming, showing that the poorest 20 per cent of children only receive 2.9 years of education, compared with 5.5 years for the richest 20 per cent.' (Ron-Balsera, 2011). However, the GOR has introduced the Twelve Years Basic Education initiative (12YBE) which includes both a focus on girls and the poorest children – but also on secondary-education completion

(IPAR, 2012). Girls face disproportionate pressures to drop out of school because of a range of economic deprivations at the individual and household level, and as a result of discriminatory social practices (Nkurunziza, et al., 2012). Families are more likely to invest in boys than girls, both because of a perceived return on investment from boys going into paid work and because of traditional gender roles that isolate women in the household. This is particularly true in rural areas where girls perform a number of time-consuming domestic tasks/chores such as fetching water and gathering firewood (Huggins and Randell, 2007). For instance, girls in a male-headed household work 4.3 times more hours than boys in the same household (Schindler, 2008).

While some authors show that completion rates for primary education are below 50% (Nkurunziza, et al., 2012), enrolment is nonetheless praised: both primary and secondary education is among the highest in Africa, with net enrolment rates in 2011 at 94.3% for boys and 97.5% for girls at primary level (Ministry of Education, 2012). Some girls face further challenges and drop out of school early – due to their status as heads of household or domestic servants. These girls are faced with a higher burden of care for younger siblings, the elderly, the infirm and people living with HIV (Gervais et al., 2009) – although the percentage of orphans enrolled in schools was 91% between 2008 and 2012 (UNICEF, 2012). Despite gender-equality legislation, girls who become pregnant are likely to be excluded from school (Gerver, 2013). Abuse in schools is also a significant problem that further exacerbates dropout rates, with teachers assaulting, harassing or demanding sexual favours from students (Obura, 2003; Gervais et al., 2009). Girls dealing with poverty are more likely to be subject to such abuses and to become involved in transactional sex as a survival strategy to retain their access to education (Binagwaho and Betancourt, 2012).

In school, lack of facilitation of girls' basic needs as well as gendered stereotypes can impede girls' progress. For instance, inadequate facilities, especially sanitation facilities, can lead to girls leaving school early (Plan UK; Restless, 2011). Lack of female teachers or parental role models, especially in relation to science and technology, discourages girls from pursuing study (Huggins and Randell, 2007). This continues in vocational training where boys are given marketable skills like masonry and business training and girls are taught hairdressing and sewing (Gervais et al., 2009). More recent statistics show that while girls' access to technical and vocational training opportunities is increasing notably (60% compared to 19% for boys) girls are still under-represented by as much as 50%, and are outclassed in terms of graduation by 8% compared to boys (RWDA, 2013). Overall, vocational training is not widely available to girls, 93% of children who leave school early receive no more professional training (Shema, 2004) and vulnerable young people are more unlikely to access further training (Binagwaho et al., 2009).

Economic/productive capability

The economic capability domain is not well researched for girls in Rwanda and there appears to be a shortage of direct interventions for girls, especially because the Rwandan definition of youth is 15 to 35 years of age. This section therefore deals with some of the key challenges faced by women, and it is assumed that such challenges will also be faced by adolescent girls both individually and as heads of household, though these challenges are likely to be heightened given the difficult situation faced by adolescent girls more generally.

The majority of women's productive labour is in agriculture – wherein they continue to face discrimination with respect to land entitlement, despite positive changes in legislation (Verma, 2007). Land rights and inheritance, though protected by law, tend to overlook the underlying causes of gender discrimination (Polavarapu, 2014). Especially in rural areas, customary laws override official structures and disadvantage girls (Whitman, 2005). According to Abdur-Rahman et al. (2006): 'The persistence of polygamy in certain regions of Rwanda has also depleted the rights of women whose husbands have remarried, and are no longer legally bound to their husbands but remain economically dependent on them.' – although the polygamy as a phenomenon in Rwanda relative to other African contexts has been both minor and declining at uniform rate (Fenske, 2011). Further, women face challenges from family members when they are set to inherit, especially when the prohibitive cost of weddings causes couples to choose informal marriages which effectively disinherit women (Berry, 2013). Lack of clear land rights also hampers access to credit which prevents girls and women from building the capital to start businesses (Rombouts, 2006; Rowe and Miller, 2011). Families are also not as likely to support daughters with investments as it is seen to encourage 'bad behaviour' through a challenge to traditional gender roles (Restless, 2011). Girls' heavier household burdens prevent them from completing school and developing the skills necessary for work. For instance, for a girl to engage in vocational training activities, research has shown that she has had to demonstrate her ability to continue managing her other responsibilities such as tending to the on-farm or off-farm reproductive work, as well as selling produce in the local market (Rowe and Miller, 2011).

Participation in the political domain

Girls' participation is not well researched in Rwanda.³ Additionally, given that youth in Rwanda are defined as 15 to 35, national efforts targeted at increasing the participation of girls and young people generally often reach older youth, rather than adolescents. This is dealt with in greater detail below.

Despite efforts from the GOR to legally define and maintain gender equality, Rwandan society has a historical son bias that sees boys prioritised for investment, education and inclusion in family decision-making (Bizumuremyi, 2012). Girls and women are regarded as dependents of male relatives, and their social roles are defined as being mothers, wives and daughters (Rombouts, 2006). To participate in the household, women portray themselves as submissive to husbands, limiting their role to protect their husband's authority. Furthermore, girls are largely excluded from social networks outside the home, and there are severe restrictions on girls' mobility, not least because of lack of safety (Berry, 2013). Consequently, in order to gain social access, girls have the option of trading sex as capital for community inclusion, either through relationships, or through transactional sex (Ntaganira et al., 2012a).

Rwanda is often touted as a success story for women's political participation, given that 64% of parliamentary seats were held by women in 2008. However, Rwanda ranks low on measures of democracy for all citizens (Burnet, 2011). The legal provisions for gender equality are in part due to women's representation in government, but this representation does not extend to girls (Gervais et al., 2009). One third of all seats at local levels of government are allocated to youth, but the definition of youth as ranging up to 35 years of age means that adolescent girls may not have much access in practice. The issue is pertinent for youth-headed households, 86% of whom reported a mistrust in the capacity of local administrative offices to address their reported problems or to act in their best interests (Ntaganira et al., 2012b).

Young people suffer considerable stigma based on their parents' lives that can significantly reduce their avenues for participation. According to Ntaganira et al. (2012b), '50% of surveyed youth felt isolated from the community, 67% of YHH indicated that people do not like them because of their parents and 75% reported that the community rejects orphans.' However, girls do participate in reconciliation activities through cultural groups such as 'We Are All Rwandans', which seeks to unsettle ethnic divides through art, singing and dance (Gervais et al., 2009).

While robust evidence on political and membership organisation participation is extremely limited, girls' low social status has been shown to be a barrier – although girls show great willingness when opportunities do exist (Gervais et al., 2009). In 2004, a study showed that 85% of Rwandan youth were part of a youth association, of those 46% were girls and 54% boys. However, active members are only 20% (Shema, 2004). By contrast, relatively high proportions of youth heads of household and orphans join non-youth group associations (Rubagiza et al., 2010).

Access to information is very uneven among girls and boys. Among families who do own or have access to computers, boys are far more likely to have access than girls (Rubagiza et al., 2010). More boys than girls read newspapers, and a similar gap exists between urban and rural populations (Shema, 2004). Political awareness is higher in urban areas and more common amongst males than females (48% males and 33% females) – with school education playing a major role in this awareness (ibid.). However, during communal elections, it appeared that only 10% of youth in urban areas and 7% in rural areas knew their representatives at sectoral or commune level (ibid.).

Physical integrity, health and reproductive health

This is the most well-researched capability domain with respect to girls in Rwanda – in part due to the international focus and domestic legislation generated by the 1994 genocide. Rwanda remains a deeply unequal society for young women and girls, especially in relation to gender-based violence, use of contraception, access to healthcare and other forms of gender discriminatory practices.

Chief among threats is the fact that low educational attainment is often correlated with poor health outcomes among adolescent girls and young women, as well as their current and future children (Rowe and Miller, 2011). As a consequence, disparities in health profiles between young men and women are clearly evident during adolescence and early adulthood – if not sooner. For example, HIV prevalence among women aged 20 to 24 is 2.5%; while for men it is only 0.4% (ibid.).

³ Key sources relating to family life and participation within the home were not available online and so are not included in the report. However, keys texts are available in print.

Education is the most recognized and discussed right of adolescents in Rwanda, and this is reflected in government policy-making directed at adolescents. Policy-makers concerned with reproductive health and HIV prevention and management have directed much attention toward school-based HIV prevention programs. However, sex education in school is provided by teachers, the majority of whom are male and who do not receive special training. As such, broader taboos that prevent effective sex education being transmitted to adolescents persist (Gervais, 2009). As a consequence, there are few sources of information on adolescent sexual health and low sexual knowledge is common (ibid.).

While it is important to reach those in school, there has been insufficient attention to the (often starkly contrasted) reproductive health risks of those adolescents who are out of school, especially girls resulting also in a shortage of effective programs to reach them (Population Council, 2009). Orphans, girl heads of household, girls living with HIV and other marginalised groups are at heightened risk of exploitation. Although legal structures exist to combat this, enforcement is weak and the incentives to report are outweighed by poverty conditions that keep girls in cycles of exploitation.

Broader issues outside the school environment are also influential: girls' ability to look after their health is constrained by being unable to talk to parents, mistrust of health advisors, myths and misinformation and the stigmatising consequences of seeking information, which can lead girls to be seen as promiscuous, affect their ability to obtain, and to act upon, health information (Restless, 2011). Social norms and expectations of 'good behaviour' regarding virginity and honour have also been seen as critical in preventing unmarried women from accessing contraceptives (Berry, 2013). These issues are particularly damaging when they are combined with poverty and the frequent resorting to transactional sex for resources, protection and companionship. The phenomenon of 'sugar daddies' (men who engage in inter-generational transactional sex with young women and girls) is well documented and researched (Gerver, 2013; Bizumuremyi, 2012).

Whilst teenage pregnancy (15–19) steadily decreased from the 1990s – from 10.5% in 1992, to a low of 4.1% in 2005 – it recently expanded back to 6.1% in 2010 (ICF International, 2010), but remains substantially lower than in other Eastern and Southern African countries, which show rates of 12% (Ethiopia) and 27.9% (Zambia) (PRB, 2013). While being a pregnant adolescent presents its own health and stigmatisation risks, there are also reports that schools undertake an unofficial policy of expelling young girls who have become pregnant, even in circumstances where the cause has been identified as rape (Gervais, 2009).

Sexual and other forms of gender-based violence (GBV) remain significant issues in Rwanda – with 56% and 10% of women reporting being victims of violence and marital rape respectively (DHS, 2010; Rombouts, 2006). Issues around intimate partner violence, sexual violence and other forms of GBV remain difficult topics in the public sphere – particularly given the stigmatizing attitudes that victims experience. These attitudes are influenced by prevailing social norms at both individual and community levels, where GBV is normalised. For instance, 50% of 15–24 year olds believed that wife-beating was justifiable under certain conditions – with 12.7% acknowledging violence as punishment for refusing to have sex (Population Council, 2009).

In terms of responses, the legal and policy framework to both prevent and respond to gender-based violence and child abuse is robust (Bernath, and Gahongayire, 2013). For instance, the issue of gender-based violence and child abuse is prioritised in the GOR's national development plan (2011–2017), and it is highlighted by increased prosecution rates. It is also a major priority of the Rwanda National Police (RNP), who set up a Gender Desk in 2002 and the National Public Prosecution Authority, which has made prosecuting cases of rape and sexual violence a priority and has already proven to have relatively high conviction rates.

2.3 Summary: the context of the study

This section has, therefore, helped us to contextualise the current study within wider debates around adolescence and socio-cultural norms as well as within the Rwandan context. An examination of what is known about the Rwandan context, not only pinpointed where there may be gaps in information which can be filled, but also allows an exploration of how the study findings may both complement and differ from other literature on similar issues in Rwanda. The review of the context, alongside information on the kinds of issues and themes of interest to the study of adolescence and socio-cultural norms more generally, has helped to conceptualise the study within broader frameworks of understanding. Turning to the more practical, this in turn has allowed the quantitative survey to ensure

that issues identified in both the ODI and GHR frameworks and which could also contribute towards filling gaps in knowledge, were included in the survey. Given the nature of SenseMaker® (for further details see below), while such issues or concepts could not be formed into research questions and asked upfront, having these in the background helped the research team to think through the kinds of themes that may emerge and how they could be interpreted.

3 Methods and process

3.1 Overview of phases/stages of process

The study draws on a mixed methods approach by using a national attitude survey, which is quantitative in nature, alongside the SenseMaker® methodology, which is a narrative analysis tool that combines quantitative and qualitative disciplines. Deprez Consulting provided technical expertise in the development, implementation and analysis of the SenseMaker® methodology and Laterite led on the development, implementation and analysis of the quantitative survey also providing all the logistical support and infrastructure in-country for both methodologies.

This approach used in this study is relatively new to development research and provides a number of unique opportunities. Along with an application in Ethiopia,⁴ this is the first time a mixed method application using SenseMaker® at this scale (a total of 4,000 stories have been collected) has been undertaken, with outputs triangulated and documented in detail. This initiative has also challenged the ‘traditional’ role of the qualitative researcher in text analysis, given that the respondents themselves codify their inputs themselves at source. In terms of outputs, this has led to findings that would not otherwise have been possible by drawing on statistical and textual analysis software alone.

This section provides an overview of the two research methodologies, as well as details regarding the instrument design and contextualisation, the corresponding sampling strategies, data processing, the analysis approach and the synthesis approach.

3.2 SenseMaker® component

Gathering data simultaneously with the quantitative component, the research drew upon a specialist approach called SenseMaker® (SM) This methodology enables the capture and analysis of a large quantity of narrative samples (stories) in order to understand complex social dynamics through an appreciation of the meanings that respondents attribute to experiences. In turn the attribution of meaning by participants is influenced by the environment of social norms in which they are situated. This approach is a form of ‘meta-analysis’ of qualitative data and can support the identification of trends in attitudes, behaviours and relationships. It relies on storytellers analysing their own narratives at the point of collection, which is advantageous since codification of stories is done within the cultural framework of the respondent, thereby potentially reducing exposure to the cultural or normative biases of enumerators and researchers.

In practice, participants signify (add meaning to) their stories through a semi-structured framework designed at the outset of the project. This signification framework, as outlined above, draws largely upon the GHR theory of change and ODI’s capability framework which suggest the key domains and structures through which adolescent girls’ capabilities are promoted or constrained.

Three core elements are, therefore, required for the process to move forward:

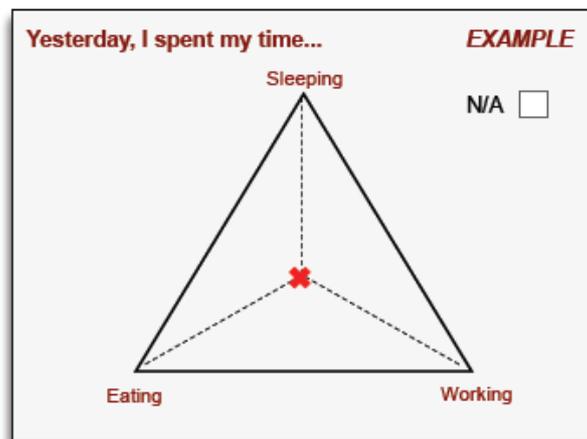
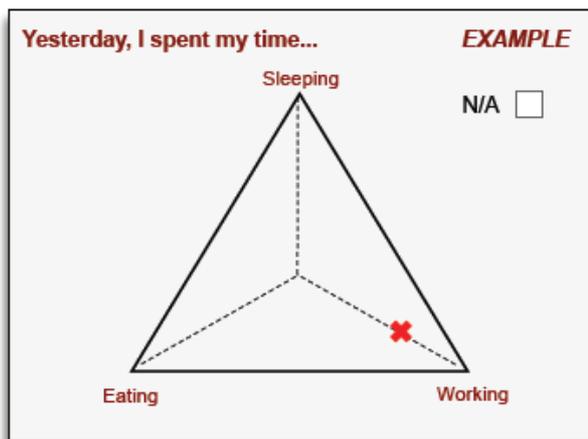
- A story prompt to trigger participants to recall examples and experiences relevant to the project.

⁴ This Ethiopian study is taking place between 2012-2014. The SM framework and quantitative tools used for this study were adapted from the 12+ programme, a pilot girls’ health programme co-designed with the Rwandan Ministry of Health and a team of girls.

- A set of visual tools (triads, dyads) that covers the core concepts and topics relevant for the research
- A multiple-choice section which provides the facility for respondents to signify meaning to their stories.

The core outputs or dimensions of the signification framework are represented in a range of visualisations including triangles (triads) and dyads (see below for examples) which encourage the combination or consideration of multiple variables, opposites, or competing positive opposites. In particular the triads and dyads are designed in part to reduce excessively hasty answers and to encourage more thoughtfulness, as well as a more accurate reflection of non-binary views (yes/no, good/bad, with/without), ways in which most other surveys are framed (see Annex 1 for further details of the signification framework used for this study).

It is important to note however, that all responses to the signification framework relate to the specific story in question, and are, therefore contextualised within that story. The outputs, therefore, refer to the respondents perceptions of the situation of the girl in the story. Rather than a reflection of their own situation, the data therefore refers to the attitudes and beliefs that respondents have toward stories of different circumstance. For instance, the fact that 46% of the stories from girls aged 16 to 19 are about pregnancy should not be confused with actual reality. In practice, adolescent pregnancy statistics in Rwanda are considerably lower than peer countries in Sub-Saharan and Southern Africa. Rather, the SM data simply reveals story content, and how prominent themes are from the perspectives of respondents.



EXAMPLE: In this story, Ariane ...likes cooking. In this case, we put the X here: N/A

Loves cooking	Likes cooking	Is Neutral about cooking	Doesn't like cooking	Hates cooking
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H3. In this story... N/A

Girls are treated too harshly	<input type="checkbox"/>	Girls are spoiled and treated too softly
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3.2.1 Tool development process

Developed in parallel with the quantitative survey instrument, the SM signification framework went through a series of iterations, field-testing and was adapted from the SM instrument that is being used in the survey conducted by Girl Hub in Ethiopia. The SM instrument in the current study includes a prompt specifically targeting boys and caregivers and two triads which had not been used elsewhere – the first examining whether girls in the story wanted more internal confidence, the ability to show emotions publically, or choice/opportunity, while the second examined the norms around behaving as expected and the tendency or ability of girls to make decisions on their own.

The framework also includes scope for capturing the positions of adult men and women relative to adolescent boys and girls, civic engagement, recreation, relationships with the opposite sex, and the reach/uptake of the GHR magazine and radio show, *Ni Nyampinga*⁵. Additionally, the enumerators (individuals conducting the fieldwork) were included as a key knowledge resource – and their experiences, both before and after the fieldwork, were captured through a separate and standalone signification process. The outputs from this process were used to triangulate the wider findings.

The SM framework was translated, pre-tested with a focus group, re-translated and presented to enumerators in a training workshop. The pilot phase also revealed several logistical options for data capture given that iPad devices were available in addition to pen-and-paper templates. Given the variability in the collection methods, it was therefore foreseen that the collection method should be clearly articulated in the data-gathering process in order to examine any potential biases in the final analysis.

3.2.2 Data processing and analysis

The combination of stories, or narrative fragments, with follow-up signifiers gives this method its power – signifiers allow an examination of patterns of attitudes and behaviours held by respondents with respect to adolescent girls. In principle, the outputs of the SM method are unique given that they can be used for inductive, deductive, as well as abductive analysis. Abduction is a distinct epistemological framework because it seeks to provide reasoning based on the best available explanation of a causal relationship, rather than suggest detailed causal elements that link variables. In other words, the SM approach is considered to be *hypothesis generating* in much the same way that the ‘grounded theory’ methodological approach is seen to focus on gathering data within a broad target topic before attributing any meaning or codification to potential responses.

In keeping with this approach, the SM outputs were assessed as follows:

- A ‘primary’ analysis for which outputs directly reflect the patterns identified in the triads or dyads, either for the whole set of data, or divided by specific categories (in this case, differences according to gender outputs, in-school/out-of-school/vulnerable respondents, caregivers and gatekeepers, geographic area and age groups for each of the dyads and triads).
- An overall ‘primary’ analysis was also carried out in which assessed numbers and basic demographics in relation to the multi-choice questions.
- A ‘secondary’ analysis was then applied to the dataset with a more selective processing and comparison of variables. In this project, this secondary stage was divided into enquiries determined by the GHR theory of change and ODI capability framework on the one hand, and a more abductive approach which relied on the investigation of unexpected relationships and shifts in the dataset on the other hand.
- After looking at patterns in the visual data, story packs (collections of stories identified by trends in the data) were selected and produced that were linked to interesting patterns for further analysis. At this stage, no stories were read, but the focus was solely on pattern detection and the identification of interesting story packs. In particularly interesting circumstances, packets of data (representing stories) could be selected, and downloaded for translation, reading and further analysis.

3.2.3 Participatory feedback

As indicative findings emerged, a series of tentative exploratory areas were developed which provided a platform for exploration through a purposeful participatory feedback stage. The aim of this stage was to discuss outputs with respondents in order to confirm or challenge interpretations and findings. This was seen as an opportunity to ‘make sense’ of the surprises, correlations, gaps and hypotheses that the data had generated, but also to enhance the

⁵ Research focusing on the extent of awareness and use of the Ni Nyampinga initiative was conducted separately to this study.

likelihood of the applicability of findings in order to enhance the potential for ‘research uptake’ in the policy and programming initiatives.

The feedback was conducted in three sites – in an urban (Kigali) and rural (Gicumbi) area with original respondents, and at a national level with stakeholders. Participants were invited to reflect not only on the relevance of selected story packs in the sense that they confirmed, contrasted or added additional analytical depth to primary findings, but also whether the findings were representative of broader social norms and associated experiences at local level. This feedback was obtained through gender and age disaggregated focus groups and was used in the analysis stage to guide and complement findings. For details of this process, related findings, and its implications on the broader research findings, see section 5.6.

3.3 Quantitative component

3.3.1 Tool development process

The quantitative survey questionnaire (see Annex 2) went through a similar process to the SM framework - translation, pre-testing and pilot testing at scale gave several opportunities for confirming concepts and their translation into Kinyarwanda. The adjustments made to the instrument were minor and consisted of ordering issues, additional clarification questions, and contextualisation issues. For instance, questions that suggested certain normative expectations about behaviour were either scattered or re-ordered toward the back of the questionnaire, such as the questions regarding available community support structures. Clarifications were added to several questions to obtain more detail regarding the interplay of social and attitudinal dynamics, such as not only determining a girl’s personal possessions/assets or whether she had ever required legal support, but also where and how these facilities were obtained. Finally, basic contextualisation concerns were addressed – such as adjusting the question about attending ‘club meetings’ on a bi-monthly-to-monthly basis given the knowledge that most child/youth club meetings in Rwanda operate on this time frame, as well as adjusting understandings of the specific operating definition of vulnerability in this context, which included girls out of school, genocide survivors, and girls identified as eligible for social (welfare) support mechanisms.

As with the SM approach, the quantitative tool and the sampling strategy (for the out-of-school and vulnerable respondents in particular) were tested in two pilot phases. The first phase was conducted before the training of enumerators to ensure the basic applicability and timing of the approach, as well as to obtain initial reflections of the translation into Kinyarwanda. Lessons from this activity and from the enumerators themselves were then incorporated into the questionnaire and sample selection process. The second piloting stage was undertaken after the training of the enumerators and consisted of a scaled-up implementation of the questionnaire in a rural location. Several iterations of the questionnaire were developed as a result of ambiguities in the translation, and the connections between the questionnaire and the SM approach were formalised (see Section 3.4.1 and 5 for detail on the relationship between the questionnaire and SM outputs). Finally, a mechanism for a unique identifier code was established between the SM approach and the quantitative survey outputs in order to enable cross-fertilisation of outputs.

3.3.2 Data processing and analysis

The survey questionnaire was analysed with dual objectives: population description and population comparison. The first process involved a comparison of stratified samples (cohorts) in the sample data, while the second included regional pattern recognition dimensions and cross-tabulation of results that take into account, and are weighted for, further variables such as vulnerable groups and locations (urban, peri-urban, rural). The four key categories that the analysis focuses on are: (i) analysis of the attitudes of Rwandan girls, boys and gatekeepers; (ii) points of leverage within the social framework of Rwanda to achieve the girl effect; (iii) information on what community members think about girls currently and what GHR action is required for each to shift them to work constructively towards achieving the girl effect; and (iv) risk analysis on the recommendations made. Finally, weights were added to ensure ‘representativeness’, the demographic strata was adjusted in terms of age and gender, urban/rural, provinces and in-school/out of school, in comparison to the national statistics using a weighting system.

3.3.3 Significance tests

Throughout this report we compare the responses of girls and boys in different groups (in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable). The objective is to understand how enrolment in school and vulnerability shape children's attitudes and perceptions. The vast majority of differences between groups that are reported in this study are statistically significant at the 5% level. Where differences are not statistically significant, this is noted.

To calculate significance three things were taken into account: (i) an appropriate regression model; (ii) the sampling design; and (iii) appropriate controls.

Regression models. We calculated results using both parametric (linear regression) and non-parametric methods. Linear regression models included logistic regression for binary variables, multinomial logistic regressions for multiple choice variables, ordered logistic regressions for ordered variables, and simple linear regressions for continuous variables. For logistic and associated regressions, all results are reported at the margin (i.e. we are looking at marginal increase/decrease in the likelihood of a certain outcome given an interviewee's response). We use a new non-parametric method developed by Hainmueller and Hazlett (2013), called Kernel Regularized Least Squares (KRLS), to stress-test some of the results we obtain. KRLS is a machine-learning algorithm that studies the shape of the relationship between variables without assuming linearity. It is a very useful tool to also graph the relationship between certain variables, controlling for everything else. Where KRLS disagrees with our linear estimate, we either do not report the results in question or highlight it in the text.

Sampling design. Sampling design is very important for two reasons: (i) first because we need weights to ensure that the sample is reflective of the actual composition of the population; (ii) second to ensure that standard errors are calculated in the right way (standard errors are at the basis of significance calculations). All results based on the quantitative survey are weighted. Weights were calculated using 4 parameters: geography, gender, age and enrolment. Weighting was based on the inverse probability of selection. To ensure that standard errors were calculated appropriately, all standard errors calculated were clustered at the age/group level. There are 3 age groups (10-12, 13-15, and 16-19) and 3 different groups of girls (in-school, out-of-school, and vulnerable), so standard errors were calculated within each of these 9 clusters.

Control variables. The vast majority of regression results are based on four sets of controls: gender, age (and age squared), strata (i.e. which group girls belonged to) and location (at the sector level). Where additional controls have been included or excluded, this is highlighted directly in the text. Control variables are included to ensure that results can be reported keeping gender, age, strata and the geographic location of girls constant.

3.4 Sample size and selection – SenseMaker® and Quantitative

The objective of this survey was to gather attitudes data on girls aged 10 to 19 across three different categories and three different age groups. Categories of interest included: (i) girls that are 'in school'; (ii) girls that are 'out of school'; and (iii) girls that are 'in school, but vulnerable' (see definition below). Comparisons of attitudes across these groups can yield very interesting insights into how vulnerability and education shape the beliefs and attitudes of adolescent girls. For both sampling and analysis purposes girls were divided into three age groups: pre-adolescent girls aged 10–12, girls aged 13–15 and finally girls aged 16–19. Data on a smaller sample of both 'in-school' and 'out-of-school' boys aged 10–19 was also collected in order to allow for comparisons between boys and girls. A sample of caregivers and community gatekeepers were also identified. The sampling strategy included special measures to reach the most vulnerable and isolated girls in the survey regions and was designed to strike a balance between national 'representativity' and the logistics and associated costs of conducting a complex survey with a target sample size of about 4,000 adolescent girls, boys and adults in Rwanda for the SM survey and about 2,000 Rwanda for the quantitative survey.

The proposed sampling strategy (below) led to the following breakdown of total sample sizes (excluding caregivers and community gatekeepers). Table 1 shows the breakdown of the SM sample and Table 2 the composition of the quantitative sample. The initial sampling strategy had targeted about 5,000 SM interviews and 1,000 quantitative

interviews. However, due to the length of both surveys, the sampling strategy was revised in agreement with GHR to a lower target of 4,000 SenseMaker® interviews (which was surpassed) and 2,000 quantitative interviews.

Table 1: Breakdown of SenseMaker® sample

Population segment	In-school		Out-of-school	In-school, but vulnerable girls	Total
	Primary	Secondary			
Girls aged 10–12	812			78	890
Girls aged 13–15	221	391	220	90	922
Girls aged 16–19		489	324	81	894
Boys aged 10–19	154	375	272		801
Total interviews (children)	1187	1255	816	249	3507
Caregivers					445
Unclassified/invalid					214
Total SM interviews					4166

Table 2: Breakdown of quantitative sample (excluding unclassified entries and invalids)

Population segment	In-School		Out-of school	In school, but vulnerable girls	Total
	Primary	Secondary			
Girls aged 10–12	401	0	6	52	459
Girls aged 13–15	148	214	128	66	556
Girls aged 16–19	11	317	144	45	517
Boys aged 10–19	79	137	149	0	365
Total interviews (children)	639	668	427	163	1897
Caregivers					151
Unclassified/invalid					5
Total quantitative interviews					2053

The sampling strategy involved clustering at the sector and school levels, in order to achieve national coverage. Forty-three sectors were randomly selected out of Rwanda’s 416 sectors in total, with a slightly higher probability of selection given to urban sectors (17.5% versus 9.2%). The final sample included 33 rural sectors and 10 sectors that qualify as urban, based on measures of population density. Forty-three sectors was close to the maximum number of different geographic locations the field team could visit given the total sample size, budget and the target populations. Within each sector, one primary school was selected at random – sectors typically had about 4–6 primary schools. The school data was obtained from the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC). Where the primary school was not also combined with a secondary school (O level or A level), a secondary school from that same sector was also selected. A third school was also randomly selected where the selected secondary school did not cover both O-level and A-level education. In total 84 schools were selected, an average of about two per sector. All interviews for boys and girls that were enrolled were conducted in these schools, providing data on 84 different sites in 43 sectors. Interviews for children that were not enrolled were conducted in the vicinity/catchment areas of the 43 primary schools that were selected. Given Rwanda’s high primary-school enrolment rates (net enrolment is above 90%, with gross enrolment at about 150%), the proposed sample of 43 primary schools provided a comprehensive geographic coverage of the country (the list of all schools in the country was provided by MINEDUC).

The sampling strategy also involved stratification at the age and group levels (in-school primary, out-of-school and in-school, but vulnerable), in order to achieve enough statistical power to derive interesting findings on all strata. A certain number of interviews by age/group were targeted in each location. Within each category – e.g. girls aged 10–12 in primary school, or vulnerable girls aged 10–12 – interviewees were selected at random where they were enrolled (based on school rosters) and with the support of Umudugudu (neighbourhood) leaders, teachers, as well as active NGOs and CBOs at community level – or random walk sampling (when the researcher walks along a randomly determined route to locate subjects) for the out-of-school groups. Differences between targets and actual population levels were corrected to the extent possible using weights, derived from the EICV 3. Weights include: information on location, gender, age, and whether children are in-school or out-of-school⁶.

In terms of selecting out-of-school girls and boys in the catchment area of schools, two strategies were relied upon:

- working with Umudugudu leaders to identify a random selection of out-of-school girls using, for example, names that start with a certain letter of the alphabet;
- working with school lists from previous years, to identify girls that might have left the education system

However, many Umudugudu leaders or headmasters were unable or unwilling to identify enough school ‘drop-outs’ for the research team. The lists that were prepared ahead of time during the field preparation visits, often needed to be complemented by additional visits to the Umudugudu and head-masters during the actual data-collection phase or by random walk in the catchment areas of schools. Given that there is no ‘sampling frame’ or list of all out-of-school children in a given community, and that girls that were out-of-school were not identified by randomly surveying households but rather relying on information provided by Umudugudu leaders and headmasters, there is a risk that the out-of-school group of girls identified for the survey is not fully representative of the actual population of out-of-school girls.

While there is no way of knowing the extent of potential bias, biases will have been limited by the targeted nature of the sampling (the precise location in the immediate vicinity of target schools, gender, and age groups) and the subsequent weights that were applied, so there were few out-of-school girls and boys to select from in each target location in the first place. Therefore, despite the potential for small sampling biases, data for out-of-school girls and boys presents a consistent picture and stark and logical differences with girls and boys that are in-school or girls classified as vulnerable.

For the vulnerable-girls selection strategy, the selection criteria were based on three core factors: (i) the family of the girl falls into one of the lowest Ubudehe categories;⁷ or (ii) that girls are orphans; or (iii) that girls or one of their parents were genocide survivors. This entailed working once again with Umudugudu leaders, teachers, as well as active NGOs and CBOs at community level. Initially, the thinking was to identify vulnerable individuals amongst girls that were not enrolled and that were early school drop-outs, alongside other children in the out-of-school group. This would have involved distinguishing between out-of-school girls that are non-vulnerable (i.e. are not in Ubudehe categories 1 and 2) and girls that would qualify as vulnerable. Given the vast majority of girls aged 10–15 are in school, identifying sufficient out-of-school girls who would fall into the non-vulnerable and vulnerable categories was virtually impossible, especially considering that the likelihood of being out-of-school is much higher in Ubudehe categories 1 and 2. Umudugudu heads, teachers and NGOs, were also unable to distinguish between out-of-school girls that were vulnerable and out-of-school girls that were not.

Finally, Umudugudu leaders were already paying special attention to the most vulnerable children in their communities, in particular orphans, ensuring they were enrolled in school and taken care of within their community. Dropping the requirement of vulnerable girls being out-of-school (this was agreed before the data collection efforts started) led to a sample that comprised almost exclusively vulnerable girls that were in school. In the quantitative sample for example, all vulnerable girls except 8, were enrolled in-school. This group is referred to as the ‘in-school,

⁶ Updated weights from the Census 2012 were requested from NISR but not made available to the research team for confidentiality reasons – however it was expected that the updated weights would only marginally change the estimates obtained and would not in any way affect the core of the analysis.

⁷ Ubudehe was reintroduced into Rwandan life in 2001 as way to better involve communities in their development by setting up participatory problem-solving mechanisms. The program was seen as a way to strengthen democratic processes and good governance through greater community involvement in decision-making. Ubudehe creates opportunities for people at all levels of society, especially the village level, to interact with one another, share ideas, create institutions and make decisions for their collective development.

but vulnerable' group moving forward. Differences between girls that are enrolled, girls that are out-of-school and girls that are in-school but vulnerable, are quite large on many areas of interest. In some cases the attitudes of in-school but vulnerable girls are more similar to out-of-school girls; in other they are more similar to in-school girls. Comparing these three groups is invaluable from an analytic perspective as it enables us to distinguish between the effects of being out-of-school and the effects of vulnerability.

In terms of potential biases relating to the sampling strategy for vulnerable girls there are a number of points to take into account:

- It is not known what share of girls fall into Ubudehe categories 1 and 2 or are genocide survivors (children were not aware of their Ubudehe category and were also not asked any questions relating to that or whether they were genocide survivors). Moreover, given the potential overlap on some vulnerability criteria, it is very difficult to precisely weight individuals within this group, or to have a good understanding of the overall composition of the population that might be either from a family that falls into one of the lowest Ubudehe categories, orphaned, or belonging to a family that was severely affected by the genocide.
- There is some level of overlap between this group of vulnerable girls, girls in the out-of-school group and also girls in the in-school group. There are children from very poor households and other orphans in both the in-school and out-of-school groups.
- Lastly, there are some limited cases in which enumerators in the field reported that vulnerable girls interviewed in-school were taken out of the randomly selected in-school group after being identified as vulnerable by the head-teacher and instead classified as vulnerable girls. No precise statistics are available on how often this occurred, but there is reason to believe it was limited as the field-preparation team did its best to ensure that selection into each of these three groups was conducted independently and were reminded to do so on a regular basis by the supervision team. This might have introduced a small level of bias into the otherwise fully randomly selected group of in-school girls and boys.

The targeted nature of the sampling strategy and the approach that was followed for the out-of-school and vulnerable but in-school groups, was designed to ensure useful comparisons could be made across groups and ages. These comparisons give useful insights into how attitudes and opinions are shaped by a girl's age, geographic location, her schooling or her level of vulnerability. The sample also makes it possible to estimate population values on certain parameters within and across categories, but it is important to note that these estimates are based on weights and marginal biases in the selection of the out-of-school and vulnerable but in-school samples. It is important to recognise that attitudinal survey and the national census are completely different datasets and cannot be used as a justification for mutual validity. Moreover, this study does not aim to provide direct comparisons with national data, but rather focuses on a comparative analysis between key dimensions (comparisons between ages, between groups of girls, by gender, by geography etc.).

For the caregivers and gatekeepers selection strategy, the targets included parents, head teachers, sector education officers (SEO) and Umudugudu leaders. For each sector, the sampling framework reserved space for at least 10 respondents. Recruitment of the caregivers/community gatekeepers took place during the field-preparation visit, and occasionally on-site – given attrition issues – through using snowballing techniques, in which recruited caregivers and gatekeepers were asked to recommend further individuals to recruit..

3.4.1 Mixed Method Sequencing

This study utilised a mixed method parallel sequencing approach, in which the emergent findings from both the quantitative study and the SM study mutually reinforced each other. However, while SM can be seen as a quantitative approach, it is also principally based on textual analysis, therefore preventing this hybrid data from being directly integrated into the quantitative findings. As such, two processes took place: firstly, allowing the datasets to be compared directly, and secondly, to draw upon the unique identifier code (which connected respondents who completed both the quantitative survey and SM application). With respect to the first process, mixed methods research often relies on linear sequencing of research activities, whether this is quantitative leading qualitative, or vice versa. However, this method usually prioritises the collective findings of one method over the other, or requires that the qualitative approach describes and annotates the measurements outlined in the quantitative findings.

In this instance, given the hybrid nature of the SM dataset and an equal interest in prioritising findings from both, a parallel method was selected. This process required that overview findings for each of the datasets were first developed for each of the research themes selected (social relation, economic empowerment, violence and safety, education and sexual reproductive health). Having developed some interim findings, these were then prioritised in terms of the degree to which findings were either: surprising or unusual – in relation to broader findings in the literature review and other interim analysis outputs; or highlighting significant / strong correlations. These two sets of priority research findings were then compared to see where it was possible for each set to inform, interpret or challenge the other.

3.4.2 Limitations/challenges SenseMaker® limitations

Analytical limitations

- To some extent, contextual understanding or being able to relate what the story-tellers say in particular to their surrounding contexts, was missing. Given the range of subject and objects in sentence structures within stories, and the multiple subjects that are selectable in the survey, it can at times be challenging to confirm whether certain story topics relate to certain characters or outcomes in the stories. In qualitative research, this would have been probed but given the nature of SM it was not possible to do this.
- Linked to the above, there exist certain terms and framings in the SM framework beyond which conclusions have proved impossible, for example the possibility that a girl might make a decision ‘herself’ (see Triad C) does not provide any clarity on the basis or context of that decision (for example, the girl may have been empowered to make this decision, or have been isolated and disempowered and left to make the decision in absence of any support structures). The triad does elucidate the relative locus or execution of agency however – such as whether it was finally given to girls in the end, or whether choices were made by parents or ‘others’. Similarly, the dyad (D) examining whether a situation in a story was ‘confirming’ or ‘confronting’ traditional behaviour is dependent on several contextual dimensions, such as which subject or object in the story is confronting traditional behaviour. However, additional triangulation within both SM and the quantitative survey has enabled reduction of these errors.
- The relatively untested nature of the SM approach has meant that there is limited best practice that can be applied to significance testing, although this was enabled by drawing on significance testing for the SM data that was tagged with quantitative survey outputs.

Technological and application limitations

- For the most part, the logistical/software issues regarding the use of the stones tool, where stories tellers are asked to consider 4 and 6 different variables and place them into a variety of corresponding boxes, have proved too demanding for an adequate analysis. While a ‘light’ review of the stones facility was feasible, a more detailed analysis of all the potential avenues was curtailed by technology. This was highlighted at the outset when all parties agreed that this was an experimental trial, but nonetheless disappointing in terms of analytical possibilities.
- For younger-age and non-literate cohorts, the broad approach proved challenging. According to enumerators, they had to explain at length some of the quantitative survey and SM components and assist them in utilising the iPads. Hence, confirming the full extent of the cognition of younger and non-literate regarding the purposes of the quantitative survey and SM approach was not always possible. Given the extensive training, piloting and level of interaction (sometimes on a one-to-one basis) these constraints were considered to be systemic and minor.
- Additional detail in certain key areas was missing in the signification framework – particularly with respect to economic empowerment and sexual reproductive health. This was because the SM and survey frameworks were largely based on higher order concepts such as voice, agency, vulnerability, social norms, and internalised oppression, while more specific themes, including economic empowerment, were not a major design principle. As a consequence, these topical areas were largely led by the quantitative survey, and informed through specific aspects in the SM database (namely stories marked with content around work, money, and pregnancy). This process of SM taking the sequencing lead from the quantitative survey arose as a result of the relatively low

priority of research questions concerning economic empowerment and sexual reproductive health in the early stages of the research.

- A certain degree of associated ‘noise’ was lost when focusing down into certain subject matter within the SM framework, particularly when looking to remove extraneous factors from perceived causal relationships. In practice, this meant that story packs became constrained within fixed parameters, and the opportunities for drawing potential connections with other social-norms drivers were effectively lost. In practice, this is predominantly due to the large volume of stories in the database (3,992). For instance, in developing readable story packs for instance, analysts are required to ‘dig down’ by adding filters onto the data until the stories reach a manageable number (20–40). In terms of tertiary analysis (reading) this may have a tendency to remove opportunities to assess variables. This does not undermine the analysis of broader patterns and correlations in the dataset, and only has implications for a study which includes a component on text analysis itself (which this study does not).
- More broadly, a large body of recent scientific research on cognitive processes demonstrates the overwhelming dominance of negative experiences, i.e. people are seven times more likely to remember negative versus the positive (negative bias). There is insufficient thorough research on the implications this might have for analysing SM outputs – although social- norms approaches do consider that events that are internalised are often the most memorable and salient, which in turn develop into misperceptions of social reality (Perkins, 2003; Berkowitz, 2004). This paper has therefore dealt with this negative bias in terms the prioritisation of ‘most memorable’ experience and the disproportionate weighting it might have amongst respondents, rather than assume that the negative nature of the stories are unusual or non-typical.

3.4.3 Limitations of quantitative survey / analysis

Limitations due to sampling. As described in more detail above, sampling for both the quantitative and SM surveys followed a two track approach: (i) clustering at the sector/school level, to ensure the samples were representative from a geographic perspective; and (ii), stratification by age (10-12, 13-15 and 16-19) and group (in-school, out-of-school, and vulnerable⁸) within each geographic sector, to ensure that the survey yielded sufficient observations and statistical power to conduct analysis within each strata. In-school girls and boys were randomly selected from class-rooms; out-of-school and vulnerable girls were identified by school head-teachers and umudugudu leaders in the direct “catchment area” of these schools. While this strategy allowed for sufficient statistical power, identification of vulnerable and out-of-school girls, and remain within budget, the sampling design and its implementation in the field have led to a number of limitations. These include:

- 1) **The risk of bias in the sampling of “out-of-school” and “vulnerable” adolescents, since** they were identified by umudugudu leaders and head-teachers, and sometimes complemented in the field by field coordinators, rather than randomly selected from the population. While we have no way of knowing how different the “out-of-school” and “vulnerable” samples we are working with would be from a fully random sample, we have no reason to believe that these samples are significantly biased. The results we obtain point to stark and subtle differences between groups - that are consistent and logical - and lead to many useful insights about differences in attitudes between girls and boys that enrolled, out-of-school or vulnerable. The results presented in this report are also robust to the inclusion of various controls relating to the background characteristics of interviewees (including their household situation and personal characteristics).
- 2) **Overlap between groups.** Many girls in the “in-school” and “out-of-school” group could also qualify as being vulnerable. While the quantitative questionnaire captures whether girls are orphans or not, it does not capture which Ubudehe category their parents belong to or whether the girls or one of their parents were genocide survivors. So we have no way of estimating the degree of overlap between groups. The sampling strategy enables us to compare girls that we know are vulnerable (based on guidance from Umudugudu heads and Head-teachers) and to randomly selected girls that are in-school and out-of-school girls, regardless of whether they are vulnerable or not. Differences between these groups are therefore not reflective of

⁸ Vulnerability is defined here as either of the following: 1) the family of the girl falls into one of the lowest ubudehe categories⁸, or 2) that girls are orphans, or 3) that girls or one of their parents were genocide survivors.

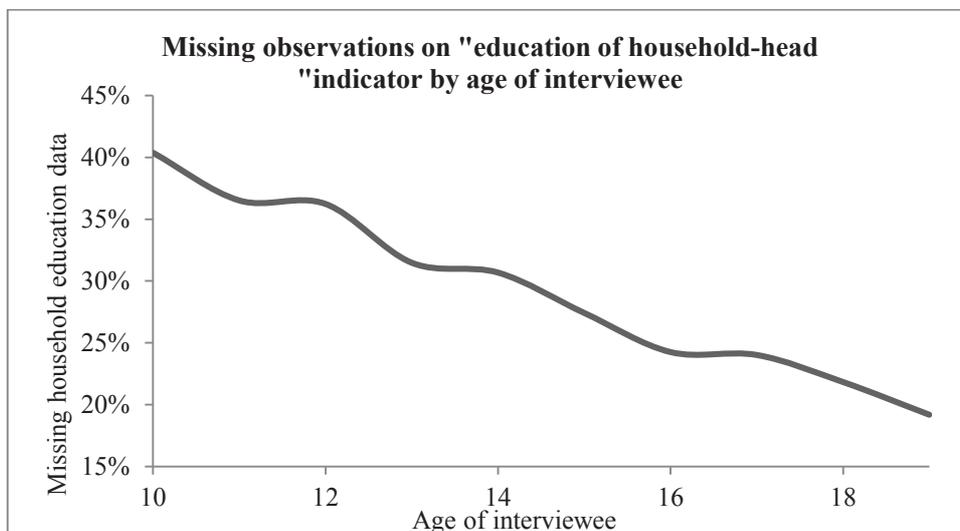
differences in attitudes between vulnerable children and non-vulnerable children, but rather differences between vulnerable children and the general population of children that are in-school or out-of-school.

Age differences between groups. One important point to keep in mind throughout this study, is that we are comparing groups of children that have very different characteristics, not only in terms of their household situation and whether they are enrolled or not, but also their age. On average, out-of-school girls and boys are older than in-school boys and girls. This is because enrolment rates decrease with age, especially when children transit from primary to secondary school. Children's perceptions, attitudes, understanding of social norms, are closely related to their age and change over time. Many of the differences we observe between groups, therefore, are not driven by the fact that some girls are enrolled, not enrolled or vulnerable, but rather by differences in the average age between them. When our objective is to understand the effect of being out-of-school, or vulnerable, we control for differences in age (and age squared) between groups or restrict our regressions to a certain age group. This enables us to report differences between groups "keeping age constant" or "controlling for age". Typically, all our regressions control for age, age squared, gender, and the location. However, when our objective is to simply report population likelihoods study (e.g. X% of in-school girls think this, and Y% of out-of-school girls think that), then we do not control for age. It is important to remember here that the differences observed between groups could be driven by differences in age between these groups, rather than the fact that they are in-school, out-of-school or vulnerable.

Risk of multi-collinearity. Multi-collinearity arises when two predictors/controls in a multi-variate regression are highly correlated (in a non-trivial way). While multi-collinearity does not affect the statistical validity of a regression model as a whole, it impacts our ability to accurately measure the coefficient on a specific predictor of interest. When there is multi-collinearity, the coefficients on the variables affected can change erratically. Here there is a risk of multi-collinearity between the "age" variable and what we call "strata", where "strata" is a variable that captures which group children belong to (i.e. in-school, out-of-school, or vulnerable). We test whether our estimates are impacted by multi-collinearity in several ways: (i) by conducting regressions within strata or within certain age groups, and comparing the coefficients we obtain to our regressions on the full sample; (ii) by checking whether coefficients on the age or strata variable jump, when either age or strata is excluded from the regression; and (iii) conducting certain checks in Stata that enable us to detect multi-collinearity. Where we are doubtful about our estimates we do not report them.

Impact of the age of respondents on the quality of the data. The age of children affected the quality of the data and their ability to respond to certain questions, especially in relation to data on household background characteristics (e.g. age of family members, level of education, assets ownership). Figure 3, shows the distribution of missing observations on the education of the head-of-household variable by age - younger interviewees were significantly more likely to be unaware of the education level of their parents than older ones. This is a general point that is important to keep in mind throughout this report – the data collected for younger children is much more likely to be inaccurate than for older children.

Figure 3: Missing observations on “education of household-head” indicator by age of interviewee



3.5 Ethics and procedural issues

In terms of running the survey and to ensure that the data-collection effort ran smoothly, the following steps were taken during the training and fieldwork activities: (i) a five-day training workshop with the enumerator/research team on the method, associated materials, piloting, the code of conduct and reducing enumerator bias; (ii) continued reflection of process-based lessons through weekly debriefings and a one-week ‘learning intermission’ period, (iii) ensuring the survey team was fitted with relevant letters of recommendation and official visas from the National Institute of Statistics where necessary, (iv) ensuring the community and local officials had been adequately mobilised regarding their participation in the survey

All researchers were familiarised with the consent and child protection policy, and given specific roles should any child protection, safeguarding, or service-referral issues arise. This policy was based on GHR’s internal child protection policy, ODI’s children and vulnerable adults research ethics guidelines, and Laterite’s (the research firm administrating the survey) own internal research procedures.

4 Research findings – overview of datasets

This section presents an overview of the quantitative and SM datasets. Given that the nature of the tools is so distinct, the datasets are presented separately. In each section, not all the data is presented, but instead key or interesting findings are highlighted. More data can be found in separate annexes obtainable through GHR.

4.1 Quantitative survey

This section provides an overview of the background/household characteristics of the girls and boys interviewed as part of the quantitative survey.

The household statistics reported below are based on data collected from the target sample, consisting of girls and boys aged 10 to 19, but who were not the head of household. As such there may be inaccuracies primarily with respect to data collected from younger children. Moreover, there are some limitations in the way some questions were asked that make it impossible to calculate some household characteristics with certainty. For household-level variables such as the number of parents alive, the marital status of the head of household, the education level of the head of household, the possible estimation is used (see also section 3.4.3 for limitations).

Despite these approximations, clear patterns and differences emerge in the household characteristics of girls and boys in school, out of school, and vulnerable but in school. On almost all accounts, belonging to the out-of-school and vulnerable but in-school groups is associated with having a much worse and more precarious family situation. Given that this study looks at household-level indicators, no comparisons between boys and girls are made in this section.

4.2 Household characteristics

4.2.1 The link between household size, education and vulnerability

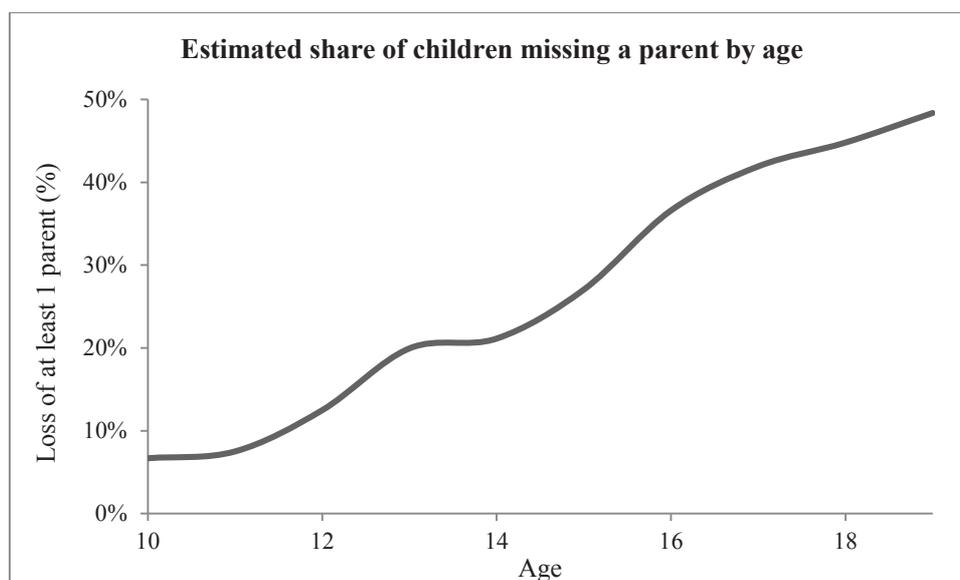
Children tend to live in households of about 5.8 members on average. This includes all family members that live under the same roof, both nuclear and extended families. This is above the national average of 4.3 (according to the 2012 Census). This divergence may be explained by the fact that this study samples children aged 10 to 19, thereby excluding the majority of one-person households and other households without children or with very young children. In terms of household size, large differences can be observed between girls and boys in the three groups: on average, children in the in-school group live in households with 6.04 members, compared to 4.98 in the out-of-school group and 5.16 in the vulnerable, but in-school group. The difference between groups is statistically significant when keeping factors such as gender, age, and location constant. This might seem counter-intuitive as it would be expected that household size would be negatively correlated with the wellbeing of a child or family, be it in terms of education or their level of vulnerability (Lanjouw and Ravillon, 1995).

These differences are explained by the fact that girls and boys in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups were significantly more likely to have lost a parent than children in the ‘in-school’ group. This in turn also impacts the number of siblings they have. Keeping age, gender and location constant, girls and boys that were out of

school were on average 12.1% more likely to have lost a parent than children in the in-school group⁹, suggesting that missing a parent might be a strong determinant of being out of school. Vulnerable girls were on average 28.5% more likely to have lost at least one parent than girls in the ‘in-school’ group¹⁰. This is, however, by construction as vulnerability criteria included being an orphan or belonging to a family that was affected by the genocide. On average, the likelihood that girls in the out-of-school and the vulnerable, but in-school group would have lost a parent was 47–8%, compared to just 20% for girls in the ‘in-school’ group.

Missing a parent is also strongly correlated to age (see Figure 4). It is estimated that the likelihood of a child losing a parent is about 6.7% at the age of 10, compared to about 30% at the age of 15 and more than 45% at the age of 19 (these are children that were born just after the 1994 genocide). This is an association that increases almost linearly and reflects a fact of life – i.e. that the likelihood of losing a parent increases with time.

Figure 4: Estimated share of children missing a parent by age



Orphans represented a much smaller share of the sample. About 8% of girls in both the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups were orphaned, compared to just 3% in the in-school group. Note however that the survey did not distinguish between biological parents and adoptive parents, suggesting that some children might have said they lived with their parents or that their parents were alive, when in fact they were referring to their adoptive parents.

4.2.2 Marital status and gender of the head of household

Approximately 70% of children reported living in households where the parents were married, 20% in households where the head of household was widowed, and the remaining 10% in households where the parents were either separated or single. There are very large differences between groups: children in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school group not only have a higher share of heads of household that are widowed, but they also have a comparatively higher share of heads of household that are divorced, separated or parents that are single (i.e. had a child outside marriage). Three-quarters of girls and boys in the in-school group lived in households where the parents were married, compared to less than half for children in the out-of-school or vulnerable, but in-school groups (see Table 3).

⁹ This result is statistically notable at the 1% level and is robust for individual and location controls

¹⁰ This result is statistically notable at the 1% level and is robust after controls

Table 3: Likelihood of head of household having a certain marital status

Head of household	In-School (girls and boys)	Out-of-School (girls and boys)	Vulnerable, but in- school (girls)
Married	76.0%	45.7%	47.3%
Separated/divorced	9.4%	16.9%	14.0%
Widowed	14.6%	37.3%	38.7%

Note: estimated with mlogit model.

The vast majority of households that are headed by a single parent or caregiver are female-headed (86% of households in which there is a single caregiver/parent is female-headed). This is probably due to the combination of three factors: (i) the fact that male parents who are widowed or separated/divorced, are much more likely to remarry than female parents; (ii) the fact that men tend to marry younger partners (iii) the fact that life expectancy for males is significantly lower than for females. This implies that out-of-school children and vulnerable girls are much more likely to belong to households that are female headed than children that are in-school. About 50% of out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school children belong to households that are female-headed, compared to just 25% for girls and boys that are in-school.

4.2.3 The education and occupation of the head of household

The study found that the reported education level of parents/caregivers for out-of-school children and vulnerable, but in-school girls is significantly lower than for children in the in-school group. Keeping age, location and gender constant, the average reported education level of heads of household for out-of-school children and vulnerable girls was about 2.2–2.3 years lower than for children in the in-school group, which amounts to about 31–2% fewer years of education (see Table 4)(though see above for limitations of this data).The take-away here is not the level of education reported (as in Table 4), but rather the large differences between groups.

Table 4: Average education of head of household by group

Head of household	In-School (girls and boys)	Out-of-School (girls and boys)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
No education	14.4%	30.3%	26.2%
Attended some primary	42.3%	49.0%	49.3%
Attended some secondary	31.4%	20.2%	23.4%
Attended some tertiary	11.9%	0.4%	1.1%

Differences in education levels translate into significant differences in the reported occupations of the households that in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school children belong to. The household heads of children that belong to the in-school group are much more likely to have an off-farm job than the household heads of out-of-school or vulnerable, but in-school children (see Tables 5 and 6). In the Rwandan context, having an off-farm job is typically associated with higher average household income levels (EICV 3). Conversely, the parents and/or caregivers of out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school children are much more likely to be involved in on-farm work, either as a casual labourers or on their own farm. Controlling for age, gender and location, the study found that the household heads of children in the vulnerable, but in-school group are 16.2% more likely to work on-farm compared to the parents of children in the in-school group. The difference for the parents/caregivers of children in the out-of-school group is about 7.8%.

Table 5: Likelihood of head of household having certain occupation

Indicator	In-School (girls and boys)	Out-of-School (girls and boys)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
On-farm	52.8%	71.8%	66.3%
Off-farm	37.9%	16.7%	17.5%
Other	9.3%	11.4%	16.2%

Note: estimated with the mlogit model.

Table 6: Marginal likelihood of head of household having certain occupation

Indicator	In-School (girls and boys)	Out-of-School (girls and boys)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
On-farm	base	+7.8p	+16.2pp***
Off-farm	base	-10.7pp**	-19.0pp***
Other	base	+2.9pp**	-2.8pp

Note: 'pp' stands for percentage points; ** pp<0.05; *** pp<0.01. Estimated with mlogit model.

4.2.4 Household ownership of assets and access to services

Differences in education and occupation of the household head result in significant differences between groups in terms of the wealth and wellbeing of the households they live in. Children in the in-school group tend belong to households that are significantly better off, be it in terms of the assets they own, their access to electricity, the quality of their housing, etc. Table 7 summarizes the estimated likelihood of a household owning or having access to certain assets/services by group of interest.

Table 7: Likelihood of head of household owning or having access to assets/services

Indicator	In-School (girls and boys)	Out-of-School (girls and boys)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Electricity	32.7%	18.6%	18.9%
Radio	84.5%	54.6%	61.9%
Television	17.9%	6.6%	6.8%
Mobile phone	81.6%	56.9%	54.9%
Mattress	89.7%	68.3%	68.2%
Table	94.4%	73.9%	77.0%
Source of light			
<i>Electricity</i>	30.6%	18.1%	17.9%
<i>Battery</i>	32.4%	33.7%	30.8%
<i>Kerosene</i>	26.0%	26.7%	32.8%
<i>Innovative sources (e.g. solar)</i>	3.6%	4.4%	4.3%
<i>Candles/firewood</i>	7.4%	17.1%	14.3%
Wall of house (main material)			
<i>Cement and bricks</i>	22.4%	4.9%	5.6%
<i>Wood</i>	4.8%	2.0%	1.3%
<i>Unfired bricks</i>	48.2%	46.5%	50.3%
<i>Trees and mud</i>	24.6%	46.6%	42.7%

Note: estimated with logit or mlogit model.

Some of these differences in wellbeing between groups are striking.¹¹ The likelihood, for example, that a child in the in-school group lives in a house with cement-and-brick walls is about 22.4%, compared to just 4–6% for children in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups; about 30% of children in the in-school group live in a house that uses electrical lamps, compared to just 18% in the other two groups; 81% of children in the in-school group live in a household that owns a mobile phone, compared to just 55–7% for children in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups, etc.

4.2.5 Summary: vulnerability and the ‘scarcity index’

This section reveals that girls in the three groups have very different backgrounds, be it in terms of their family structure, the education and occupation of their parents/caregivers, and the wealth of the households in which they live. Children that belong to the in-school group come from significantly better off socio-economic backgrounds than girls in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups. One key focus areas of this analysis will be to understand how these different backgrounds and the education level of girls relate to differences in their attitudes, perceptions about social norms, social networks, confidence levels, health, the way they experience or think about violence, or the kind of stories they choose to share. Given that this study looks at these topics through the lens of vulnerability and education, it is important to note two facts:

- i. Vulnerability is not a continuum and children within each of these groups are not homogenous, with some being significantly more vulnerable than others.
- ii. These groups are not mutually exclusive: there are vulnerable girls in the out-of-school group and vulnerable girls in the in-school group as well. It is, therefore, necessary to distinguish between what is due to ‘vulnerability’ and what is due to the lack of ‘education’ when interpreting results.

To test how sensitive results are to a child’s level of vulnerability, a ‘scarcity’ index was created as a proxy for the level of vulnerability of a child. The index is composed of three sets of equally weighted variables: (i) variables related to the family structure; (ii) variables related to the socio-economic status of the household in terms of education and occupation; and (iii) variables that can proxy for the wealth of household in terms of assets and access to services. The total score obtained (see Table 8 for a detailed breakdown) is then normalized. As can be seen in Table 8, this is essentially a measure of scarcity, i.e. it captures information on how many parents a child is missing, the lack of education of the head of household, the lack of certain assets, etc. This index is useful in its comparative value (e.g. across groups, ages, etc.), but not so much in terms of the actual score, which is difficult to interpret. For example, it could be said that someone who has a score of 1 is more vulnerable than someone with a score of 0 – however it is difficult to determine what exactly is meant by the values of 0 and 1.

Table 8: Detailed breakdown of proposed scarcity index

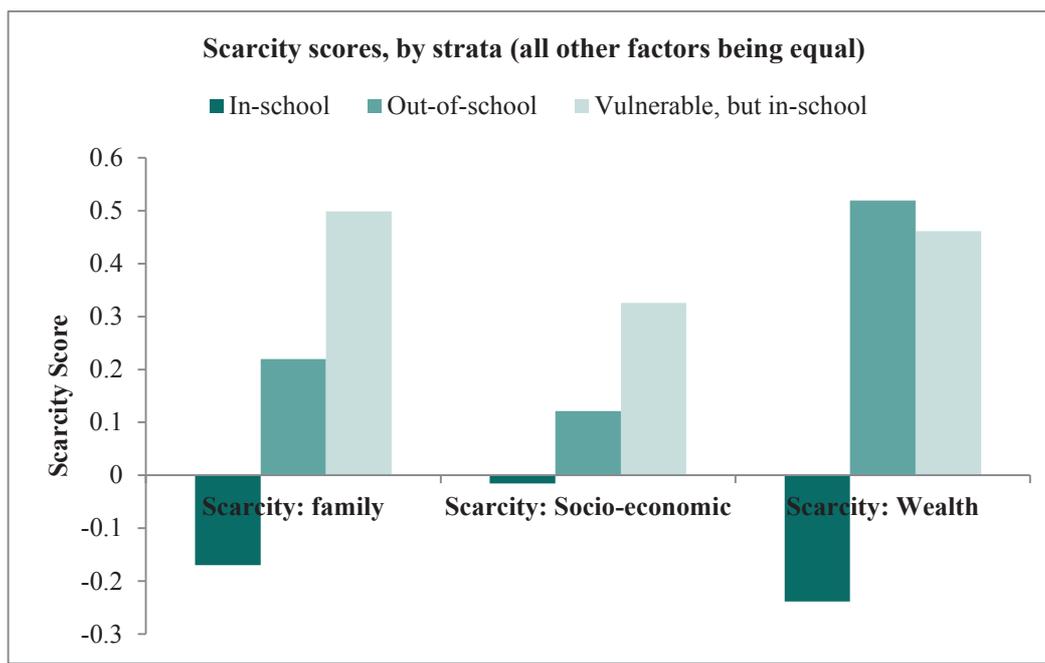
Family structure		Socio-economic status		Wealth	
If orphan	+2	Parent, no education	+3	If no electricity	+1
If one parent dead	+1	Parent, primary only	+2	If no mattress	+1
If parent widowed or single	+1	Parent, secondary only	+1	If house with trees/mud walls	+1
If head of household female	+1	If casual labourer	+2	If no mobile phone	+1
If interviewee has a child	+1	If sick or disabled	+2	If no radio	+1
		If on-farm job (other)	+1		
Maximum	+5	Maximum	+5	Maximum	+5

Note: (i) ‘parent’ in this table refers to the parent or caregiver; (ii) scores have been normalized for the rest of the analysis

¹¹ Almost all the differences between the households of children in the ‘in-school’ group and the other groups are statistically notable at the 1% level.

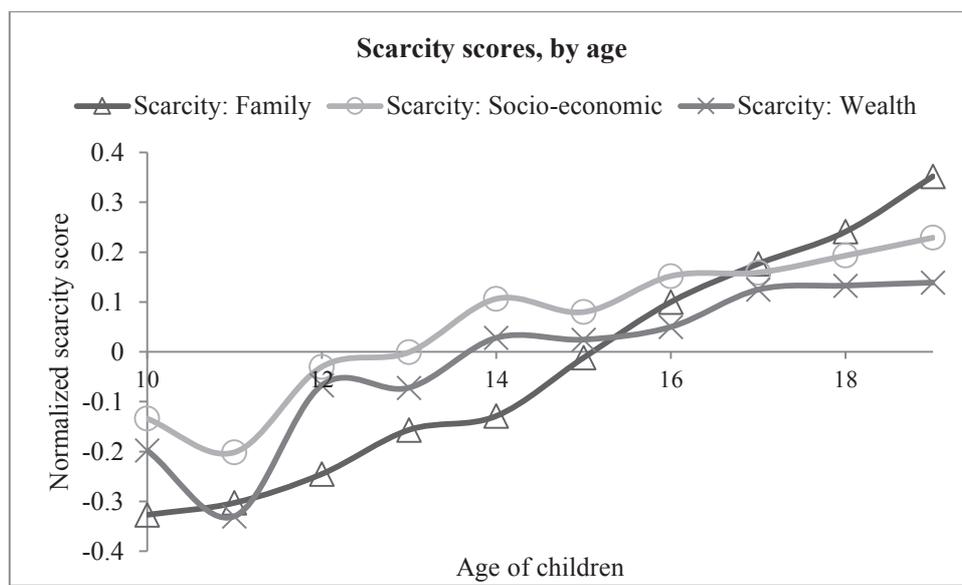
Using this breakdown, this study found that children in the vulnerable, but in-school and out-of-school groups are significantly more vulnerable than children in the in-school group – be it in terms of their family situation, their socio-economic situation or the wealth of the household to which they belong (see Figure 5). Figure 5 depicts the estimated average scarcity score by strata, keeping gender, age and location constant. This figure also reveals that children in the vulnerable, but in-school group are significantly worse off in terms of their family and socio-economic situation than children in the out-of-school group. This is consistent with the selection criteria for vulnerable, but in-school girls, which included being an orphan and belonging to a family that was affected by the genocide. In terms of the wealth of their household however, children in the out-of-school group are slightly worse off than children in the vulnerable, but in-school group.

Figure 5: Scarcity scores, by strata



The level of vulnerability of a child increases with age (see Figure 6). This is expected in the case of the composition of the family, as older children are more likely to have lost a parent than younger children. However, the data reveals that older children are also more likely to live in families that are less well-off in terms of the assets they own, the education level of the head of household, or his/her occupation. This could be a direct consequence of older children being significantly more likely to be missing a parent. It might also reflect that on average older children belong to families where the head of household is older and as a consequence may be less educated and well-off than his/her younger peers. Regardless of the cause, the fact that older children have a weaker household support structure on average than younger children is important to keep in mind when designing interventions.

Figure 6: Scarcity scores, by age



The Eastern and Southern Provinces stand out as the most vulnerable (see Figure 7). Children in the Eastern Province are significantly worse off on all accounts, be it the family composition, the socio-economic status of the head of household or the wealth of the household. Children in Kigali City are significantly better off on average, except when it comes to vulnerability in terms of the family structure where children in the Northern Province appear to be significantly less vulnerable (see Table 9).

Figure 7: Overall scarcity score, by province

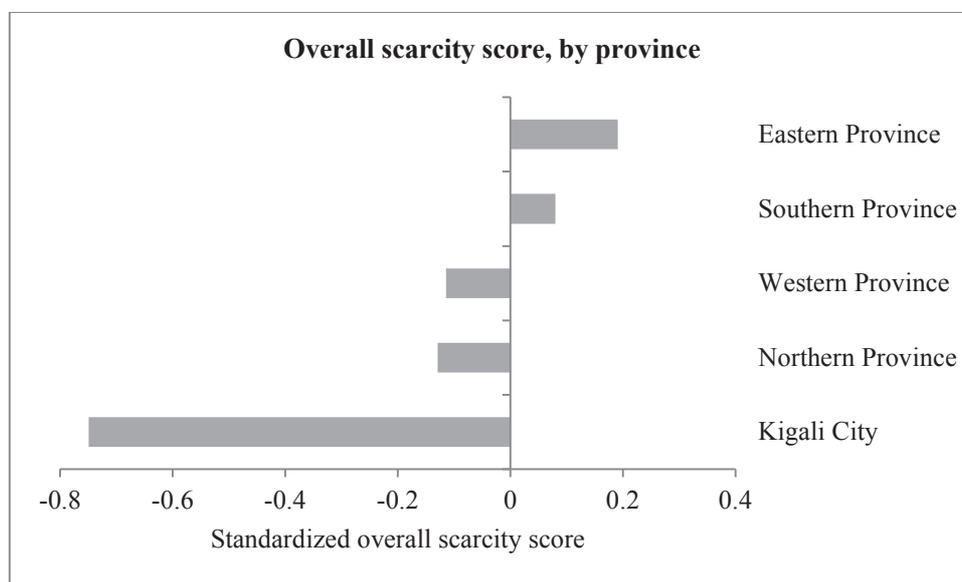


Table 9: Scarcity score, by province

Scarcity: Family structure			Scarcity: Socio-economic status			Scarcity: Wealth		
Rank	Province	Score	Rank	Province	Score	Rank	Province	Score
1	Eastern	0.02	1	Eastern	0.17	1	Eastern	0.16
2	Western	-0.03	2	Northern	0.08	2	Southern	0.08
3	Southern	-0.04	3	Western	0.06	3	Western	-0.16
4	Kigali	-0.08	4	Southern	0.05	4	Northern	-0.16
5	Northern	-0.21	5	Kigali	-0.75	5	Kigali	-0.67

4.3 SenseMaker® overview

This section presents the demographics of the storytellers, observations of patterns in the SM data and interpretations related to them. The patterns were detected and visualised by using the SM Explorer software (Version 2.5) and are entirely based on the self-signification of the stories by the storytellers (see Annex 1 for the signification framework). The dataset contains stories written in Kinyarwanda. On some occasions – such as the participatory feedback components- a selected pack of stories corresponding to a particular pattern were translated to further explore and understand the pattern.

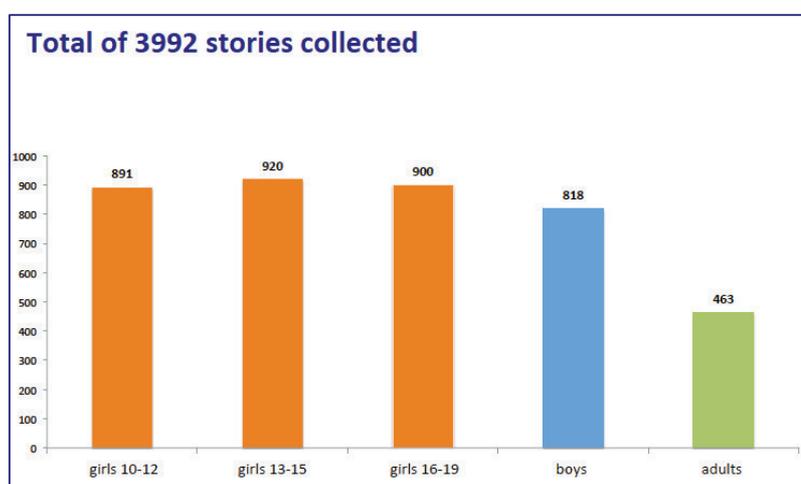
The patterns and interpretations are meant to stimulate thoughts and discussion related to the lives of adolescent girls in Rwanda. In Section 6 this is developed further and – based on these findings – possible actions and recommendations are formulated for further research. The sample size (3,992 items) achieved in this study is statistically meaningful and as a result important insights can be obtained. However validation of such insights would need to be developed by organising further focused data capture and research, as also outlined in Section 6.

This section starts with the demographic information of the storytellers, followed by a general picture of the nature of the stories.

This general analysis part presents the observations of the patterns for each signifier (triad, dyad and stones) question of the signification framework. A more focused analysis will provide further insights on the patterns related to the identified core themes (see section 5).

4.3.1 Types of storyteller

Figure 8: Total of 3,992 stories collected

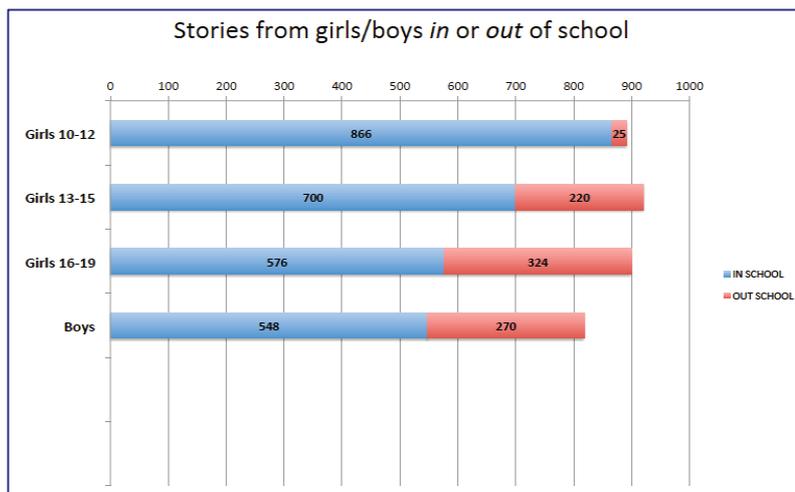


A total of 3,992 people participated in the SM story-collection process: 2,711 girls, 818 boys and 463 adult storytellers.

74.4% (2,970) of the storytellers are female and 25.6% (1,022) male.

80% of the respondents come from rural areas and 20% from urban areas. Care was taken in both quantitative and SM analysis to account for this balance of cohorts – including the use of weighting systems.

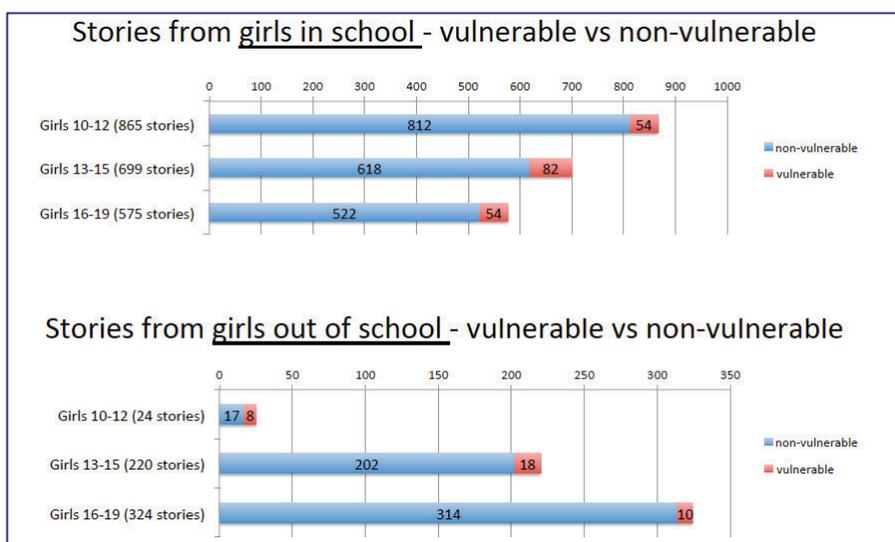
Figure 9: Stories from girls/boys in or out of school



In school versus out of school

There are 76% girls and boys in school and 24% out of school. The majority of out-of-school girls are 13 years old and above.

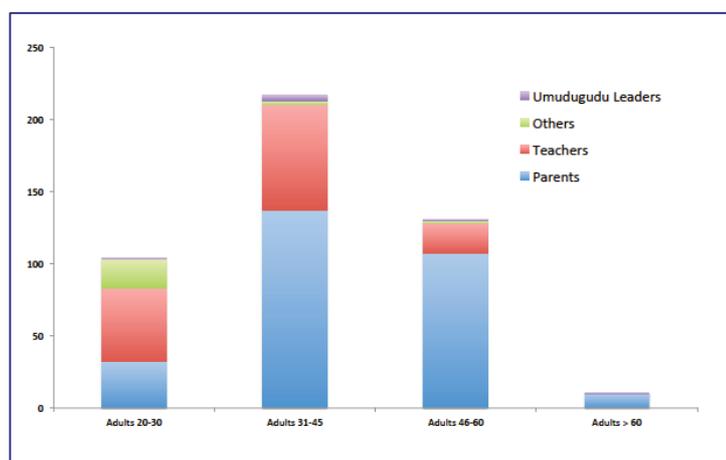
Figure 10: Stories from vulnerable girls



Vulnerable girls

There are a total of 226 stories from vulnerable girls across all age groups, both in and out of school.

Figure 11: Stories from adults



Adults

Out of the 463 stories from adults (20 years old and above), 61.7% (286) are from parents, 31.3% are from teachers, 1.5% (7) are from UmuDugudu leaders and 5.4% (25) are from others.

13% of the respondents indicated that their story cannot be shared.

Analysis and reporting per cohort

Throughout the analysis of the SM data, the focus was on drawing out differences between patterns from the following cohorts:

- different age groups of the girls;
- boys;
- adults;
- in-school versus out-of-school respondents;
- vulnerable versus non-vulnerable girls;
- urban and rural respondents.

4.3.2 Overall nature of the stories

This section provides a summary of the general nature of the stories based on the analysis of the patterns for each of the multi-choice questions in the signification framework. In addition to the general patterns, this study also presents interesting patterns for specific cohorts (as defined above). A more elaborated analysis can be found in separate annexes obtainable through GHR.

Type of individual/group discussed in the stories

Out of the 3,992 stories, 56% involve girls 16-24 years old and 44% involve girls 10–15 years old¹². 41% of the stories feature mothers directly, while fathers appear in 26% of the stories. 20% of the stories deal with boys over 10 years old and 13% of the stories specifically deal with boyfriends. Other men/women (unspecified) appear in 10% of the stories.

Key findings about individuals discussed in stories (per cohort)

- Girls tend to share stories about their own age group: 58% of stories shared by girls 10–15 are about their age group and 74% of stories about girls 16–24 come from girls 16–19 years old.
- Mothers appear in at least 41–46% of the stories with a peak of 52% in the stories from vulnerable girls.
- Boys and adults tend to share more stories about older girls.
- Girls and boys out of school predominantly write stories about girls 16–24 years old (67%) while for in-school respondents there is an equal number of stories about girls 10–15 and girls 16-24 years old.

Subject matter of the stories

In the signification framework there are two multi-choice questions used to understand the main topics of the stories. The first set deals with general thematic topics (education, health, violence, etc.) while the second set is more related to personal or individually experienced themes (isolation, ambition, freedom, security, etc.).

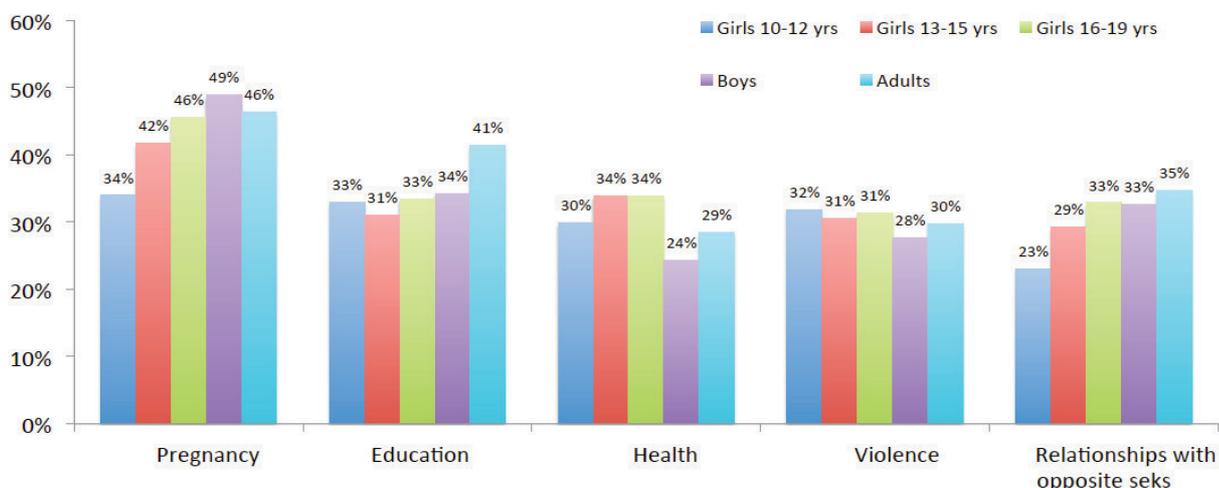
For the first multi-choice question with general topics, the majority of stories (the top five topics) are about pregnancy (42%), education (34%), health (30%), violence (30%) and relationships with the opposite sex (30%).

10–20% of the stories are about money, friendship and fun/pleasure while less than 10% of the stories are about work, marriage and civic engagement.

¹² Note that the 10-15 and 16-24 cohorts are allocated to those involved in the stories, not the storytellers themselves, who consist of cohorts 10-12, 12-15, and 16-19.

Figure 12: % of stories about ...

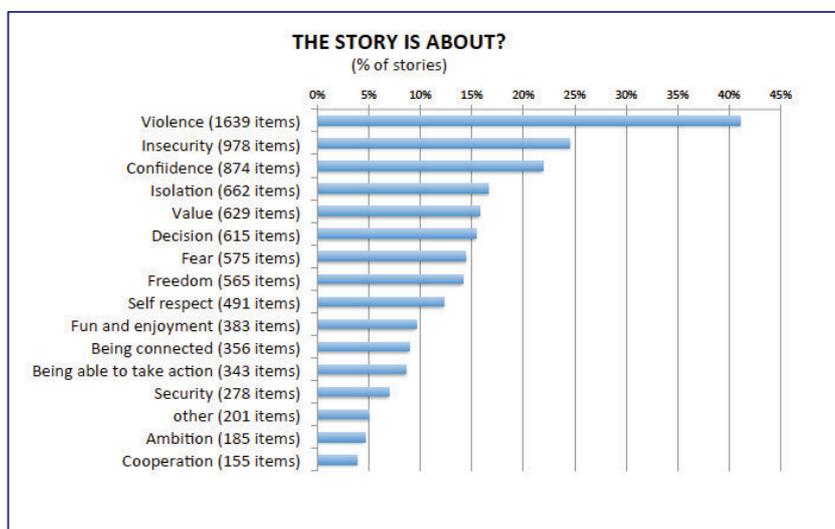
% OF STORIES ABOUT ... (cluster 1: top 5 topics)



Key findings about the subject of stories (per cohort)

- Pregnancy represents the highest percentage of stories for each cohort. The older the girls are, the more stories they share about pregnancy. Boys share the highest percentage of stories about pregnancy (49%).
- Girls and boys share a similar percentage of stories about education (31–34%), while adults tend to share more stories about education (41%). Boys share less stories about health and adults share the highest percentage of stories about relationships with the opposite sex. Younger girls write substantially less stories about relationships with the opposite sex compared to older girls.
- Older girls and boys tend to write more stories about money and fun/pleasure. Younger girls (10–12) tend to write more stories about friendship and marriage compared to older girls.
- Vulnerable girls share more stories about violence (36%) and health (38%) compared to non-vulnerable girls while non-vulnerable girls share more stories about pregnancy (43%).
- Urban respondents tend to share more stories about pregnancy than rural respondents.

Figure 13: This story is about?



For the second multi-choice question, the more personal or individually experienced themes, 41% of the stories are about violence and it is clearly the most dominant topic. This is followed by stories about insecurity (24%) and confidence (22%). Stories about isolation, value, decision, fear, freedom and self-respect represent 10–20% of the stories.

‘Violence’ appears in both multi-choice questions and has been indexed more in the second set (41%) as compared to the first multi-choice question (30%). But it is one of the most frequently mentioned topics of the stories within this dataset.

Key findings about themes of stories per cohort

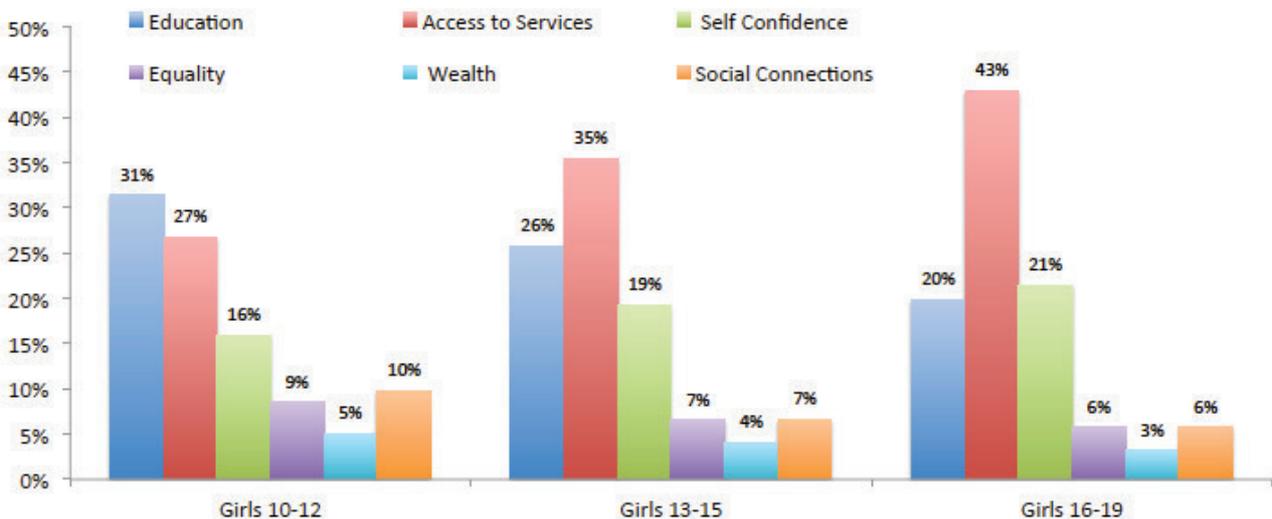
- Girls 10–12 years old share a substantially higher percentage of stories about security (17% compared to 5–6% for the other age groups). They also share a higher percentage of stories about insecurity, fear, being connected, decision.
- The older the girls, the more their stories are about confidence, value, self-respect, fun and enjoyment.
- Adults tell a much lower percentage of stories related to isolation, fear and security compared to girls of all ages.
- In-school respondents, especially above 13 years old, tell more stories about 'isolation' (19%) than out-of-school respondents (12%).
- Vulnerable girls tell less stories about 'decision' (7%) compared to non-vulnerable girls (16%), and more stories about 'isolation' (21%) and 'insecurity' (29%).
- Rural respondents tell more stories about 'violence' (42%) and 'insecurity' (26%) compared to urban respondents (violence: 35% and insecurity: 20%).

Action required to improve the outcome of girls' stories

In 37% of the stories, girls need access to services to improve the outcome of the story, followed by education (26%) and self-confidence (18%). Surprisingly wealth is only mentioned in 4% of the stories.

Figure 14: To improve the outcome of the story, girls need ...

To improve the outcome of the story, girls need ... (% of stories per age group girls)



Key findings about resources required to improve outcomes of stories (per cohort)

- Girls 10–12 seem to value 'education' (31%) more than 'access to services' while the other age groups, especially the older girls, clearly indicate 'access to services'.
- The older the girls, the more they share stories in which girls need self-confidence. The younger age group (10–12) also has a relatively high percentage of stories (compared to the other age groups) in which girls need 'social connections'.
- Equality, wealth and social connections are clearly seen as less important solutions to improve the situation of girls (in the stories).
- Boys indicate education and access to services as almost equally important while adults clearly refer to access to services
- Out-of-school respondents give more importance to access to services and less to self-confidence as compared to in-school respondents.
- Non-vulnerable girls give slightly more weight to education as compared to access to services.

The emotional intensity of the stories

75% of all the stories have a negative emotional intensity, of which 41% are perceived as strongly negative. 15% have a neutral emotional intensity and 11% of the stories are perceived as positive, of which 6% are strongly positive.

Key findings about emotional intensity of stories (per cohort)

- Girls 16–19, boys and adults tend to share more stories that are (strongly) negative (76–81%) compared to the girls 10–15 (69–71%).
- Out-of-school storytellers tell more negative stories (40%) than in-school storytellers (31%) and less (strongly) positive stories (6%) compared to in-school storytellers (12%).
- The topics that have the highest percentage (>10%) of strongly positive stories are stories about civic engagement, marriage and work.
- Stories about work, civic engagement and health have the highest percentage of neutral stories.
- The stories with the highest percentage of (strongly) negative stories are about relationships with the opposite sex, pregnancy, money and (surprisingly) fun/pleasure.

Figure 15: Out of school storytellers tell more negative stories (40%) than in school storytellers (31%) and less (strongly) Emotional intensity and topics of the stories

Emotional intensity and topics of the stories (story is about...)

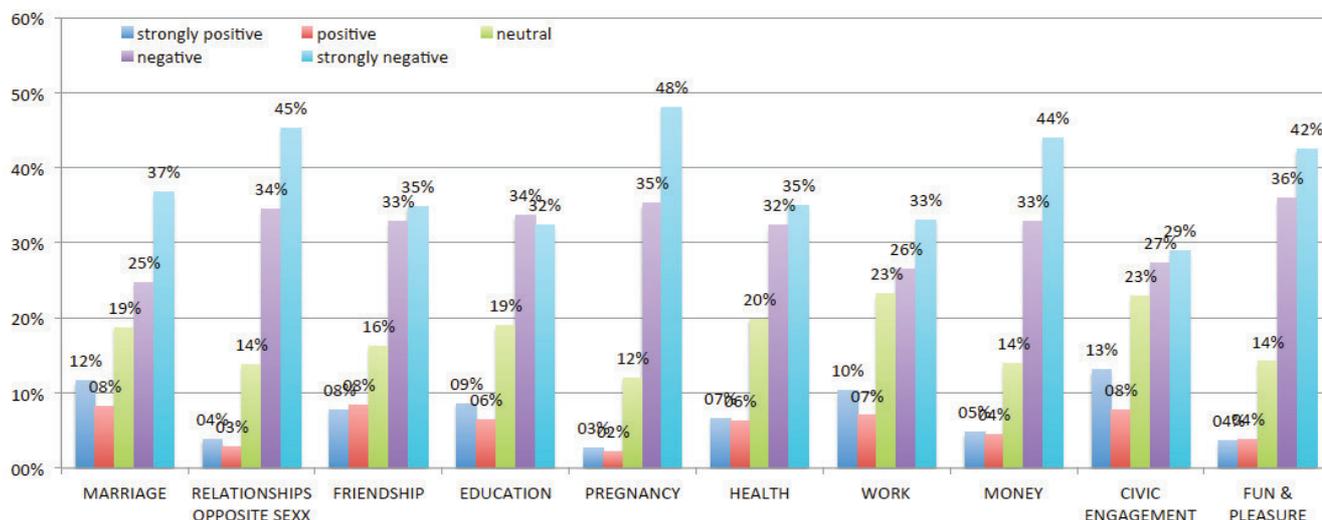
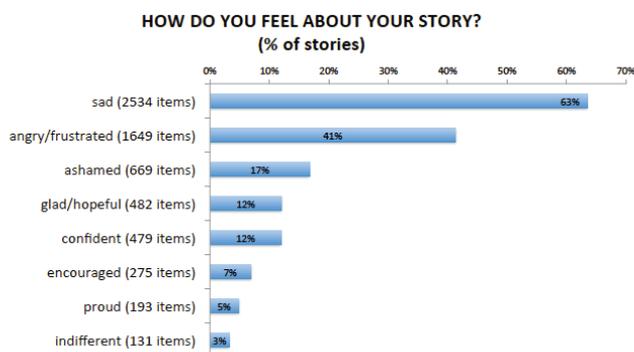


Figure 16: How do storytellers feel about their stories?



Storytellers' feelings about their stories

63% of the stories make people sad, 41% angry/frustrated and 17% ashamed. These top three emotions felt about stories are clearly negative.

The positive feelings such as glad/hopeful, encouraged, proud and confident represent a much smaller number of stories.

Key findings about storyteller's feelings (per cohort)

- The older the age of girls, the more negative feelings they have about their stories: 67% of girls between the ages of 16–19 share sad stories.
- Vulnerable girls have a higher percentage of sad stories, but also a higher percentage of glad/hopeful stories.
- Boys and adults have generally less positive feelings about their stories. Adults share the highest percentage of sad stories (76%).
- Out-of-school respondents share overwhelmingly more stories that are sad (72%). They share less stories of which they are ashamed compared to in-school respondents.
- In-school respondents have a substantially higher number of stories that are glad/hopeful and confident.

Frequency of the occurrence of events that are told within stories

The majority of the stories (47%) happen sometimes. There are 8% of the stories that have never happened before and 14% that are perceived as very rare. 22% of the stories are quite common and 9% happen all the time.

Storytellers' connection to events in stories

In most stories (52%) shared by respondents, they saw it happening, while 29% heard about it. For 16% of the stories (635 stories), the storyteller was part of the story. The older the girls are, the more stories they share in which they are part.

4.3.3 Patterns for the signifiers

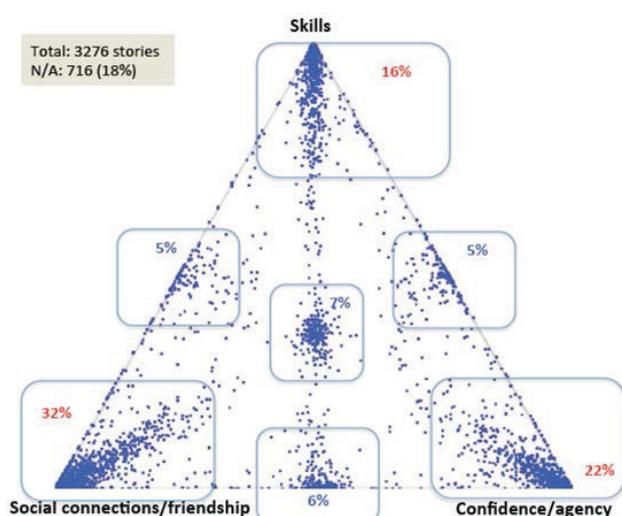
This section presents observations of the patterns for the triads, dyads and stones and interpretations related to them. For each signifier, the general pattern is explained as well as any remarkable differences between cohorts. In addition, any interesting patterns as a result of combinations with particular filters (i.e. answers to the multi-choice questions) are presented – such as the emotional intention of the stories, the themes/topics of the stories, the type of people involved in the story, and the feelings that storytellers have about their stories. A more elaborated analysis can be found in the annexes obtainable through GHR.

Figure 17: The story has to do with girls'...



This triad looks at the different types of social assets of girls in the story: skills of the girl(s), social connection/friendships and confidence/agency of the girl(s), or anything in between these three.

The story has to do with girls'

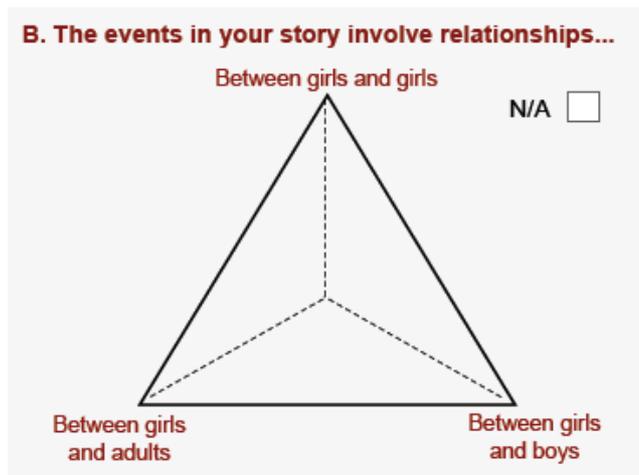


- 32% of the stories have to do with girls' social connections and friendship, 22% are about girls' confidence/agency and only 16% are the stories about girls' skills.
- Older girls (age 16–19) seem to find confidence/agency and skills more important than social connections/friendship, while younger girls (age 10–12) tend to find social connections/friendship much more important. There is a substantial difference between girls age 10–12 and older girls with the age of 16–19: older girls (who are part of the story) share 31% of stories about confidence/agency and 23% about girls' skills and only 16% about social connections/friendship (16%) while younger girls share 29% stories about connections/friendship.
- Confidence/agency is a key issue for girls going to school while, not surprisingly, out-of-school girls seem to indicate they are concerned about skills and education. In-school girls age 16–19 (who are part of the story) tell substantially more stories about confidence/agency (39%). Out-of-school girls age 16–19 (who are part of the story) tell many more stories about skills (30%) of which 80% is about education. Looking at the emotional intensity of the stories, girls going to school share more negative stories about confidence/agency while girls not going to school tell more negative stories about skills.
- Adults seem to give more importance to girls' skills and social connections compared to girls' confidence/agency: adults tell less stories about confidence (14%).
- For vulnerable girls, confidence/agency is more important than skills: vulnerable girls (226 stories) share many more stories about confidence/agency (30%), and less about skills (11%).

Key findings across all cohorts

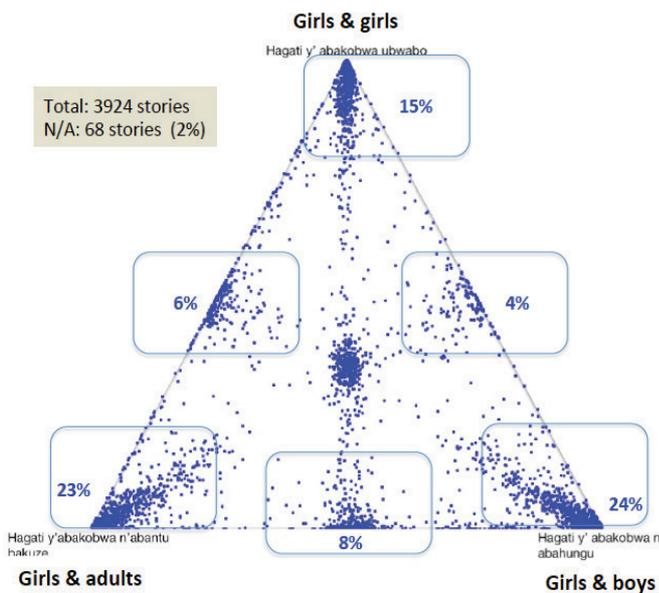
- The stories that are about girls' social connections/friendship are, not surprisingly, also about pregnancy (54%) and relationships with the opposite sex (44%).
- The majority of stories are also about being connected, isolation, decision, fear, freedom and insecurity.
- The majority of the negative stories are stories about social connections/friendship (35%).
- Stories about skills contain a relatively high percentage of stories related to education.
- Stories about confidence/agency contain relatively more stories about violence and health.
- A high percentage of stories that are positioned in the side confidence/agency are also stories that were signified as stories about 'confidence', 'self-respect' and 'being able to take action' (multi-choice question 4). This is a confirming pattern and can generate strong story packs about confidence.
- Positive stories seem to be more dominant about girls' confidence/agency (28%).

Figure 18: The events in your story involve a relationship between ...



This triad aims to understand what the dominant relationship in the story is: a relationship between girls and girls; girls and boys; girls and adults; or anything in between these three.

The events in your story involve a relationship between ...



There are an equal number of stories about girls and boys (24%) and girls and adults (23%) but much fewer stories about girls and girls (15%).

- Not surprisingly, older girls share more stories about girls and boys and less stories about girls and girls compared to young girls. Younger girls age 10–12 share 20% stories about girls and girls while older girls 16–19 only share 11% stories about girls and girls.
- Adults share the lowest percentage of stories about girls and girls (6–7%) and a high percentage of stories about girls and boys (25%).
- Boys tell the highest percentage of stories about girls and boys (29%).
- Out-of-school respondents share also the lowest percentage of stories about girls and girls (6–7%) and a high percentage of stories about girls and boys (25%).

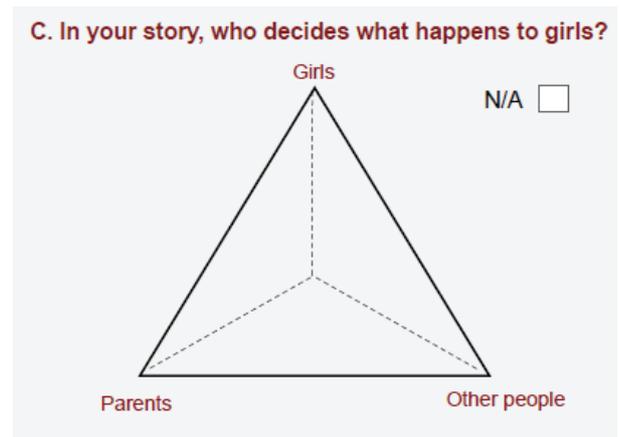
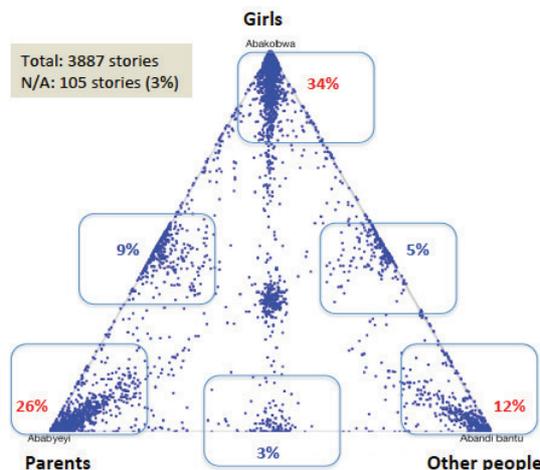
- Urban respondents tell more stories about girls and adults (30%) than rural respondents (23%).
- Vulnerable girls seem to have more negative experiences with adults about issues related to health, violence and education (and associated with isolation, insecurity and fear). Vulnerable girls share up to 32% stories about girls and adults, which is much higher than the other cohorts. These stories are 73% negative and mainly about health, violence and education and – surprisingly compared to the general pattern – only 20% about pregnancy. The stories also mainly deal with isolation, insecurity, fear and violence.
- Girls that share stories in which they take part have a very distinct pattern compared to girls that share stories they saw happening, heard or read about. These girls tell an average of 32% stories about girls and adults, 24% about girls and girls and 12% about girls and boys. Girls 13–15 share the highest percentage of stories about girls and adults (37%) while the younger aged girls (10–15) tell only a few stories about girls and boys (6–7%).

Findings across all cohorts

- The stories about girls and girls are mainly about education (42%) and health (40%).
- The stories about girls and boys are mainly about pregnancy (55%), relationships with the opposite sex (45%) and violence (30%). The majority of stories in which girls need self-confidence to improve the outcome of the stories are about 'girls and boys'.
- The stories about girls and adults are mainly about education (42%), violence (38%) and health (36%), and to a lesser extent about pregnancy (30%).
- 28% of the stories in which girls need wealth to improve the outcome of the story are about girls and adults.
- Stories about relationships with the opposite sex, pregnancy, friendship, marriage and fun are mainly stories which involve girls and boys. A high percentage of stories about education, health, civic engagement, violence and money are stories that involve girls and adults.

Figure 19: In your story, who decides what happens to girls?

In your story, who decides what happens to girls?



This triad aims to understand who, in the context of the story, decides what happens to girls: the girl, parents or other people, or anything in between these three

In 34% of the stories girls decide what happens to them; in 26% of the stories parents are deciding what happens to girls; and in 12% of the stories other people decide. There is still a large number of stories situated in between girls and parents, i.e. stories in which both girls and parents decide what happens to girls.

- Older girls seem to decide much more about what happens in their lives in comparison with younger girls. The stories from girls 10–15 years old have an equal balance between girls and parents deciding what happens to girls (30%) while stories from girls 16–19 have a much higher percentage of stories in which girls decide what happens to them (37% compared to 23% to parents deciding). When girls are part of the story the pattern becomes much stronger: Young girls (10–12) overwhelmingly share stories in which parents decide (46%) while older girls (16–19) only tell 28% stories in which parents decide and tell a much higher percentage of stories in which girls decide for themselves (32%).
- There is a slight indication that out-of-school girls and boys are deciding more what happens to them than girls and boys going to school. Out of-school-respondents share slightly less stories in which parents decide compared to in-school respondents.
- Adults, and most outspoken parents, have the feeling that girls are mainly deciding for themselves. Only 20% of the stories told by parents indicate that parents decide what happens to girls compared to 32% in which girls are deciding for themselves. There is a slight increase in other people deciding as well (15%) with indications to ‘boys over 10 years old’ and ‘other men/women’ (unspecified).

Findings across all cohorts

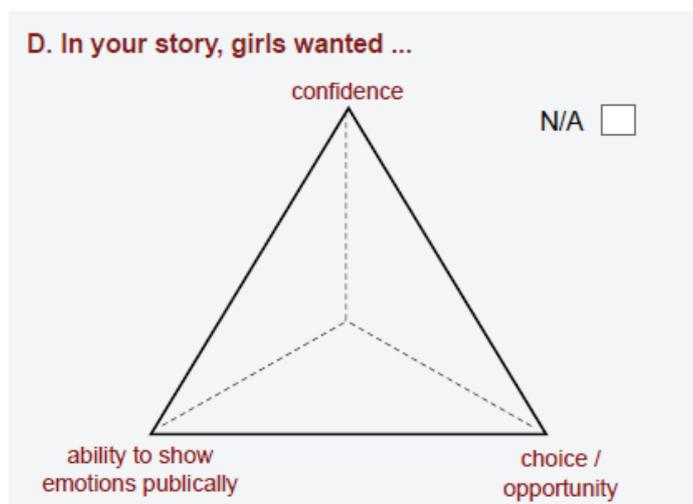
- For stories in which girls 10–15 are involved, there is an equal divide between parents and girls deciding (30–33%) while in the stories in which girls 16–24 are involved, 37% are about girls deciding for themselves. For both age groups involved in the stories, this is a similar pattern as the stories written by the same age group (see above).

Stories in which parents and ...

- girls age 10–15 are involved, there is a strong pattern towards parents deciding what happens to girls. When fathers appear in the story, there are 45% stories in which parents decide. When mothers appear, there are 39% stories in which parents decide. Parents seem to decide about issues related to education, health and violence while girls seem to decide about issues related to pregnancy, education and relationships with the opposite sex.
- girls age 16–19 are involved, the pattern shifts completely (in line with the observations above), whereby 34% of stories are about girls deciding compared to 29% about parents deciding. Girls seem to decide about issues related to pregnancy (85%), education, relationships with the opposite sex and health.
- Boys (especially boyfriends) are involved, there are only 18% of the stories in which parents decide and 40% in which girls decide for themselves.

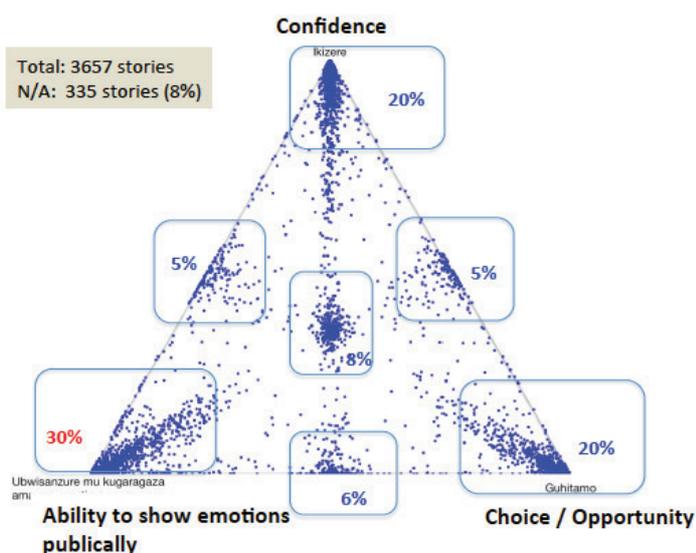
Conclusion: Girls age 16–19 seem to decide for themselves about issues related to relationships, pregnancy and education.

Figure 20: In your story, girls wanted...?



This triad aims to understand what the storyteller wanted girls in the story to have in terms of traits or opportunities: confidence, ability to show emotions publically, choice/opportunity, or anything in between these three.

In your story, girls wanted ...?



In 30% of the stories girls wanted the ability to show their emotions publically and in 20% of the stories girls wanted confidence and choice/opportunity.

There are no remarkable differences between the different age groups of girls and boys, although there is an indication that older girls (age 16–19) want more confidence compared to choice/opportunity. Girls that are part of the story (age 16–19) share a similar percentage of stories in which girls wanted the ability to show emotions, but there is a notable drop in the percentage of stories where girls wanted choice/opportunity (11%) and an increase in stories where girls wanted confidence (24%).

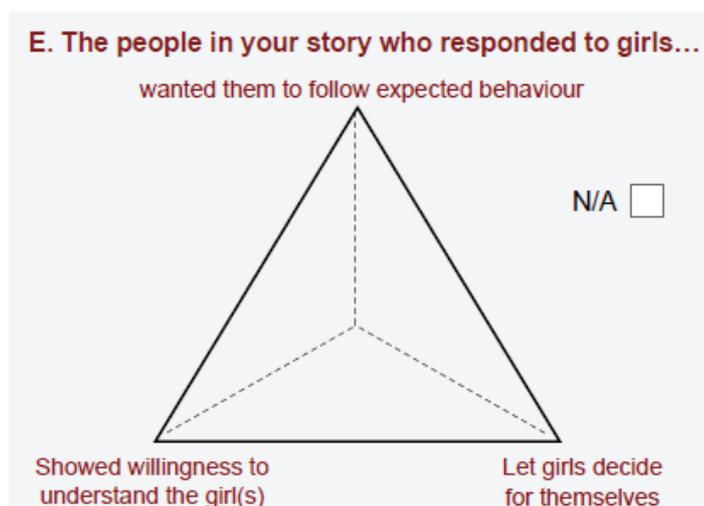
Adults seem to give less importance to girls’ confidence compared to the ability to show emotions publically and choice/opportunity. Adults share less stories in which girls wanted confidence (14%). This is a confirming pattern (see above) with adults sharing less stories about girls’ confidence, compared to skills and social connections/friendship.

Out-of-school respondents also place more importance on choice/opportunity and ability to show emotions publically compared to confidence (16% of the stories).

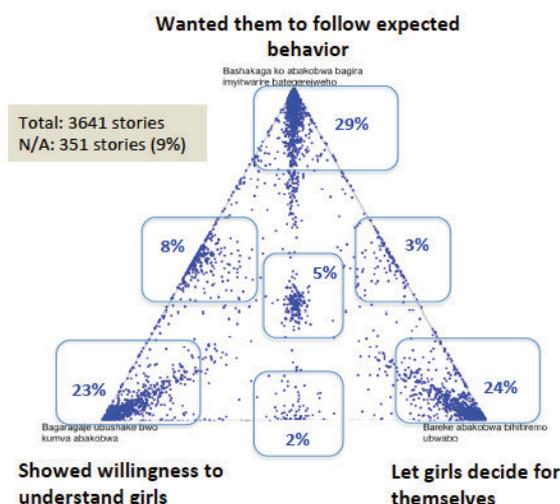
Findings across all cohorts

- In the case of negative experiences (stories with negative emotional intensity), showing emotions publically is seen as most important by/for girls (having a voice). Typically stories about freedom, violence, and fun/enjoyment show a pattern towards girls wanting the ability to show emotions publically.
- In case of positive experiences (stories with positive emotional intensity), it seems that choice and opportunity are no longer issues for girls, but confidence is still crucial. For stories that are (strongly) positive there is a drop in stories where girls wanted choice/opportunity (15%), but a notable increase (28%) in stories where girls wanted confidence and a slight increase (33%) in stories where girls wanted the ability to show emotions publically.
- Situations in which girls want/need most confidence seem to be related to pregnancy and education, especially for girls 16–19 years old. Looking more closely at all the stories in which girls wanted confidence, there are relatively more related to pregnancy (40%) and education (35%) as compared to the other topics. A more focused story pack can be analysed by selecting only those stories that were indexed as stories in which girls need 'self-confidence' to improve the outcome of the story (Multi-Choice Question 3). As expected, this gives more stories in which 'girls wanted confidence'. Looking closer at these stories shows that 65% of them are about girls 16–19 and are dealing with issues related to education, pregnancy and health and very little about violence (19%). As mentioned above, there is a relatively high percentage of positive stories (20%) compared to the overall pattern.
- When it comes to issues related to marriage, girls need more choice/opportunity. The stories about marriage reveal a different pattern. The highest percentage of stories about marriage is situated in the side girls want choice/opportunity (26%).

Figure 21: The people in the story that responded to girls...



The people in the story that responded to girls, ...?



In 29% of the stories, people in the story want girls to follow expected behaviour. There is an equal distribution between people 'showed willingness to understand girls' (23%) and people 'let girls decide for themselves' (24%).

- There are indications that the willingness to understand the behaviour of girls decreases as girls get older. In general, there is no remarkable difference between the different age groups of girls and boys. However, when girls are part of the story, there is a notable drop in stories in which girls can decide for themselves (16%). Furthermore, as girls get older, there are fewer stories shared in which people showed willingness to understand girls: from 41% (girls 10–12) to 25% (girls 16–19).
- This pattern is confirmed, although less evident, by looking at the people involved in the stories. If girls 16–19 are involved, people tend to show less willingness to understand girls (20%) compared to girls 10–15 being involved (26%). If mothers appear in the story, there are also slightly more stories (30%) about wanting girls to follow expected behaviour than if fathers appear in the stories (26%).
- Strong indications in the data show that boys and adults want girls to follow expected behaviour. In the stories told by adults and boys, there is a clear shift towards people wanting girls to follow expected behaviour. Boys tell 37% stories in which people want girls to follow expected behaviour. Analysing these stories (told by boys), they are mainly about fun/pleasure (43%), marriage (42%), pregnancy (40%) and relationships with the opposite sex (40%). But 77% of these stories are perceived as negative by the boys.
- This is confirmed by the pattern of the stories in which boyfriends appear: 34% of the stories are about people that want girls to follow expected behavior, and there a notable drop in the percentage of stories where people showed willingness to understand girls (14%).
- For out-of-school respondents, there are less stories in which people showed willingness to understand girls but no increase in the other sides.
- Urban respondents and respondents from Kigali share clearly more stories in which people showed willingness to understand girls (28–30%).

Findings across all cohorts

- Negative stories are situated in the side representing people who ‘wanted to follow expected behaviour’ (31%) while positive stories shift slightly towards the side people ‘showed willingness to understand girls’ (26%) and a notable drop in the side people ‘wanted [girls] to follow expected behaviour’ (20%). Positive stories only have an effect in the drop of percentage of stories where people ‘wanted girls to follow expected behaviour’ but not in an increase of stories where people ‘let girls decide for themselves’.
- Stories about pregnancy and fun/pleasure have the highest percentage in the side representing people who ‘wanted girls to follow expected behaviour’.
- Stories about violence, health and education have the highest percentage of stories in the side representing people who ‘showed willingness to understand girls’.
- Stories about marriage, friendship and money have the highest percentage stories in the side representing people who ‘let girls decide for themselves’.

Girls’ agency in the stories: whether they wanted/didn’t want to do something versus whether they did/didn’t do something

This question aims to understand if people¹³ in the story wanted or didn’t want to do something and actually did it or did not do it. In other words, whether the undertaking was the own volition or agency of the girl, or whether she was considered to have been forced into taking action. This is referred to as a stones signifier, and can be seen as a quadrant question. During the self-signification, the storyteller refers to the situation of the story and indicates whether, for example, girls in the story:

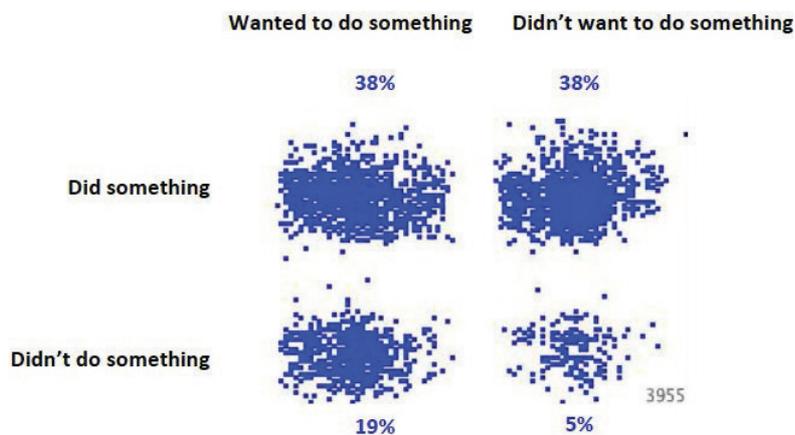
- wanted to something and did it (or wanted something to happen and it happened);
- wanted to do something but didn’t do it (or wanted something to happen and it didn’t happen); didn’t want to do something and didn’t do it (or didn’t want something to happen and it didn’t happen);

Figure 22: Your story shows girls...



¹³ At the time of analysis, the software SenseMaker® Explorer 2.5 was not able to analyse the stones signifiers. However, to allow basic pattern analysis, the quadrant was broken down into two dyads which were positioned against each other in a ‘Figure’ (but only for girls and not for boys). The other stones signifier (a 2x3 matrix) could not be analysed.

Your story shows girls ...



In 38% of the stories, girls did what they wanted and in 38% girls did something they didn't want. As such there is a balanced pattern between stories in which girls wanted to do something and didn't want to do something and in both cases resulted in them doing something. Only in 19% of the stories girls wanted something but didn't to do it and there is 5% of stories in which girls didn't want to do something and didn't do something. The latter is a pattern that stays the same for most combinations and filters applied.

- The older girls get, the more they did something they didn't want to. Girls 10–12 and boys shared more stories about girls that do what they wanted to do (42%) while girls 16–19 show the opposite pattern, with 42% sharing stories about girls who did what they didn't want to do.
- However, stories told by girls that are part of the story show a very different pattern: 33% of the stories are about girls wanting to do something, but not being able to do it and there is a notable drop in stories where girls did something (wanting or not wanting it).
- Out-of-school respondents tell relatively more stories of girls wanting to do something, but not doing it.

Findings across all cohorts

- Positive stories are clearly associated with being able to do what you want (57%) and even an increase in not doing what you didn't want (7%).
- Negative stories are, not surprisingly, strongly related to stories where girls do something they didn't want to do, but, surprisingly, not about girls that are not doing what they wanted to do.
- Stories about fear and violence are also strongly related to girls doing things that they didn't want to do.
- Stories about security have the highest percentage of stories where girls do what they wanted to do.
- 60% of the positive stories about being able to take action are about girls being able to do what they wanted while for the negative stories, 29% of stories are about girls being able to do what they wanted.
- Stories about confidence, self-respect and value have a clear tendency towards describing girls doing what they wanted.

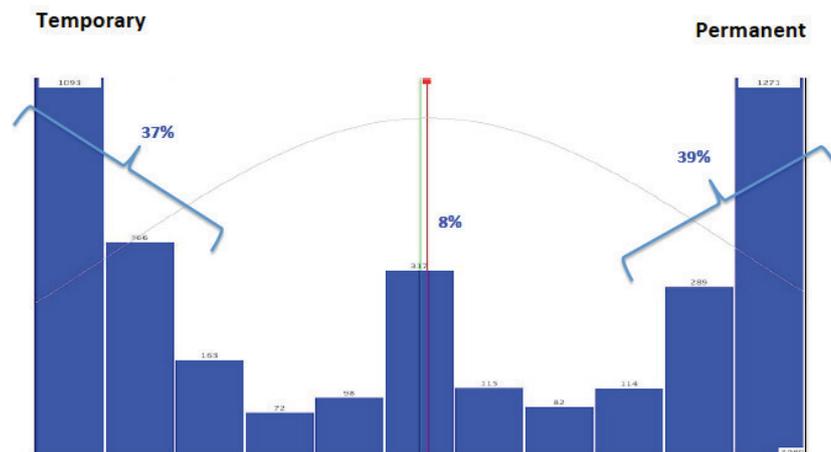
4.3.4 Dyads

Figure 23: Temporary compared to permanent changes for girls

H1. In this story, any changes to a girl's situation were... N/A

temporary permanent

In this story, any changes to a girl's situation were ...



There is an equal distribution between changes being ‘temporary’ and ‘permanent’ changes to girls’ situations with the mean and median almost falling together in the middle. It is also important to note that changes can be positive or negative. Overall there is a similar pattern observed for most of the filters used. There are a few interesting exceptions:

- For stories from girls 10–15 there is slight shift towards temporary changes while girls 16–19 slightly shift towards more permanent changes. Urban respondents and also the Kigali Province share slightly more stories where changes are permanent.
- Out-of-school respondents’ stories show a marked shift towards stories where changes are permanent. 86% of the stories in this permanent side are negative, out of which 46% are about education, followed by health (39%) and pregnancy (36%). The stories about education are stories where girls need ‘education’ and access to services to improve the outcome of the story.
- Girls that are part of the story share less stories in which changes are temporary
- 45% of the stories shared by parents are in the extreme right side (permanent changes) of which 70% are about girls 16–24 and about pregnancy, relationships with the opposite sex, health and education. If girls 10–15 are involved (30%) there are hardly any stories about relationships with the opposite sex.
- All the emotional intentions of the stories give a balanced pattern, except for strongly negative stories. The more negative stories, the more changes to girls’ lives are permanent with the highest percentage of stories about fun/pleasure (42%) and money (40%) and also stories about violence and isolation.
- Stories that have never happened before or rarely happen give a clear pattern towards changes that are temporary (37% of the stories in the extreme left side), while stories that are quite common and happen all the time are situations where changes are permanent (41% of the stories in the extreme right side).

- Stories about education, health and civic engagement are least leaning towards confronting tradition (40–41%). The same applies for stories about confidence, self-respect and value.

4.3.5 Access to information outside school and access to the media

The quantitative survey included questions on access to information outside school and children were asked how often they looked or listened to the radio or television; how often they read the newspaper; and how often they used the computer or the Internet. These forms of media are key to learning outside of school.

Schooling, the level of vulnerability, gender and geography, play a very large role in shaping children’s access to information and media outside school. Children belonging to the in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups have very different levels of access and exposure to the media and online technology (see Table 21). Girls belonging to the in-school group are much more likely to listen to the radio, watch TV, read the newspaper and use the computer or the Internet than girls that are out of school or in the vulnerable, but in-school group. The differences between groups are very large and show just how much schooling and vulnerability matter for a child’s access to information.

Table 10: Estimated likelihood that children listen to or follow certain media at least once per month (SM Dataset)

Listens to/reads/uses ...	In-school (girls and boys)	Out-of-school (girls and boys)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Radio	92.2%	73.7%	84.0%
Newspaper/magazine	48.6%	26.5%	34.8%
Television	39.5%	24.3%	26.0%
The computer	20.1%	2.0%	9.8%
The Internet	9.5%	4.7%	4.9%

Differences between boys and girls in terms of access to media and information are large. Boys are 6% more likely to listen to the radio at least once per month, 17% more likely to watch television at least once per month, 20% more likely to use a mobile phone at least once a month and 9% more likely to use the Internet. The two indicators on which no statistically notable differences in access can be found are the use of a computer and reading newspapers. Overall, these statistics strongly suggest that boys are much more connected than girls and benefit from more learning opportunities outside school.

Urban/rural differences in access are also very large, especially for access to television, newspapers, computers and the use of the Internet. Table 22 compares access to various media channels for children living in rural and urban areas. One of the most striking statistics relates to the use of the Internet. While about 40% of girls and boys aged 10–19 in cities report using the Internet at least once per month, only 6% of children in rural areas report ever using the Internet.

Table 11: Estimated likelihood that children listen to or follow certain media at least once per month depending on whether they are in rural or urban areas (SM Dataset)

Listens to/reads ...	Rural	Urban
Radio	92.0%	91.6%
Television	40.9%	79.4%
Newspaper or magazine	44.0%	63.2%
Uses the computer	13.6%	44.1%
Uses the Internet	6.2%	39.8%

4.4 Summary: an overview of findings from the datasets

Lens	Key Findings
Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The average household size of adolescents in quantitative survey is 5.8 members. The majority (70%) of respondents live in households where the parents are married; 20% of respondents live in households where the head of household is widowed; and 10% of respondents live in households where parents are either separated or single. The top 5 most frequently appearing topics of stories in the SM are about: pregnancy, education, health, violence, and relationships with the opposite sex. Very few SM story-tellers say that they need wealth, equality, or social connections to improve the situation of the girl in the story. 56% of the stories involve girls 16-24 years old and 44% involve girls 10–15 years old. 41% of the stories feature mothers directly, 25% feature fathers, 20% feature boys over the age of 10, and 13% include boyfriends.
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older respondents in the quantitative survey typically score higher on a multi-variable scarcity index than younger respondents, mainly due to differences in their average household structure and household asset ownership. They are more likely to have lost a parent. In SM, older girls typically share more stories about confidence, value, self-respect, and fun and enjoyment than younger respondents. Younger girls share more stories about security, insecurity, fear, being disconnected, and decision. Younger girls in SM are more likely to say that the girls in their stories need education to improve the outcomes of their stories, while older girls are more likely to say that they need access to services.
Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, in the quantitative survey girls in the vulnerable but in-school group live in worse-off households than other in-school girls. They are more likely to have lost a parent and to live in a home where the head of household is divorced, separated, or single. Their parents have lower education levels and are more likely to work on farms. Their houses are typically of lower quality, and they are less likely to have access to electricity. Bringing these factors together, this study found that girls in the vulnerable but in-school group have higher scarcity scores than girls in the in-school group. These findings are validated by the SM overview, which shows that girls in the vulnerable group share more stories about isolation and insecurity.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Out-of-school girls in the quantitative survey typically live in worse-off households than girls in the in-school group. On the scarcity index, the out-of-school group is worse off than the vulnerable group in terms of family structure and parent's education/occupation, but slightly better off than the vulnerable group in terms of wealth. In SM, out-of-school respondents are more likely to say that the girls in their stories need access to services to improve the outcomes of their stories. They are less likely to say that they need self-confidence. Out-of-school respondents are also more likely to tell negative stories and less likely to tell positive stories. They tell more stories about skills and education than girls in school. They tell fewer stories about relationships between girls and girls, and more stories about relationships between girls and boys.
Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the quantitative analysis, girls in the Eastern Province and Southern Provinces have the highest (i.e. worst) scores on all components of the scarcity index. Children in Kigali City are much better off on average, except when it comes to family structure. In SM, rural respondents tell more stories about violence and insecurity than urban respondents.
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In SM, boys tell more stories about the relationship between boys and girls.

5 Thematic findings

In this section findings are explored thematically and include:

- The personal confidence and social relationships of girls and their social support networks, including friendship networks, marriage and relationships);
- perceptions and experiences around education;
- economic empowerment, including access to and control of financial capital and social expectations relating to work and money;
- violence and safety at the household and community levels as well as with respect to marriage and relationships;
- sexual reproductive health and awareness surrounding pregnancy, menstruation, family planning (including within marriage) and early childbirth.

As stated in the methodology, these themes emerged iteratively out of the research – the majority of which refer directly to the types of stories provided by respondents. In the case of economic empowerment however, an exception was made, given that stories relating to economic empowerment were not prominent in the study, but were nevertheless useful to inform a core component GHR’s initiatives.

5.1 Personal confidence and social relations

“I know a girl who conducted herself properly, she didn’t let herself have sex and she was asked in marriage when she was 18. Because she conducted herself properly, she is happy with her husband, they have children. Because she conducted herself properly, she has a good family.”

“There is a girl who got an unwanted pregnancy then her father beat her until leaders forbade him to beat the girl. Now, he no longer beats her and it has been a few days since she gave birth. At home, they gave her everything she wanted, she doesn’t have a problem.”

“There is a girl who lives next to us; she fell in love with a guy and the guy got her pregnant. They went into court but all for nothing, the guy didn’t take care of her.”

“There is a young girl who had a mother and a father. Her mother died and her father raised them poorly. They even failed to get support and manage to study. So, they left school because of poverty. Now she is married though she is young and she missed the chance to continue her studies.”

5.1.1 Social networks

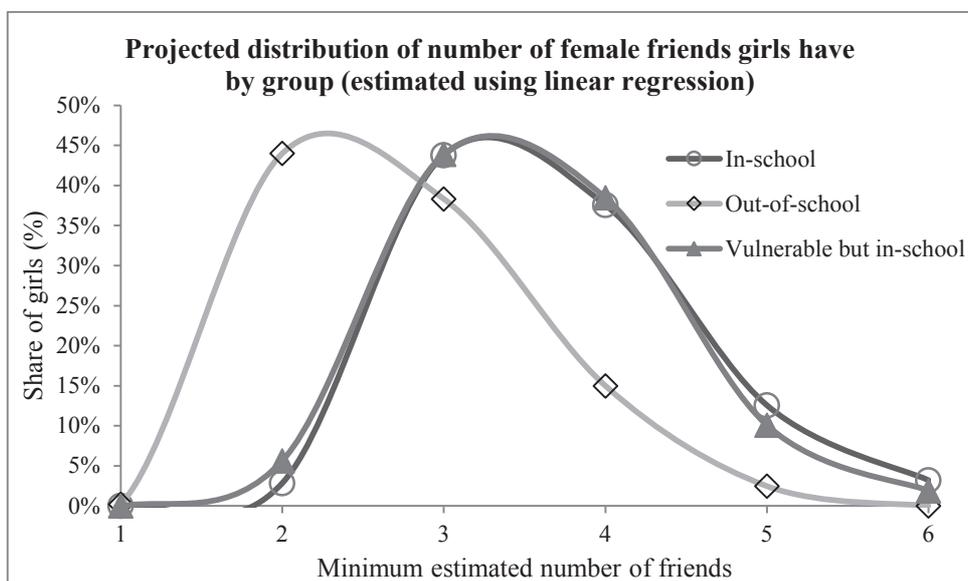
In the quantitative survey, respondents were asked a number of questions relating to their social lives including questions about: the number of friends they have; the kind of topics they discuss with their best friends; what social

activities they engage in outside school; who they would turn to discuss a certain issue; who they would go to when a serious problem or emergency arises; and what legal support they would seek when their social networks fail. The quantitative approach also established respondents views on attitudes and behaviours regarding marriage and relationships with the opposite sex.

Girls were asked how many female friends they had of about their age whom they felt comfortable talking to and sharing personal experiences with. The average girl in the in-school group had 3.7 female friends, compared to 3.6 for vulnerable, but in-school girls and only 2.8 for out-of-school girls. This can also be seen in Figure 26 which depicts the projected density function (controlling for age, vulnerability, education) for the ‘number of female friends’ variable in each of the three groups of interest. The density curve for girls that are in the out-of-school group is more to the left than the density curve for girls in the in-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups, which are almost identical. This indicates that a greater share of out-of-school girls have fewer friends and that differences between the in-school and the vulnerable, but in-school group are small. Note that here no comparisons are made with boys, as interviewees were specifically asked about how many female friends they had as opposed to friends in general.

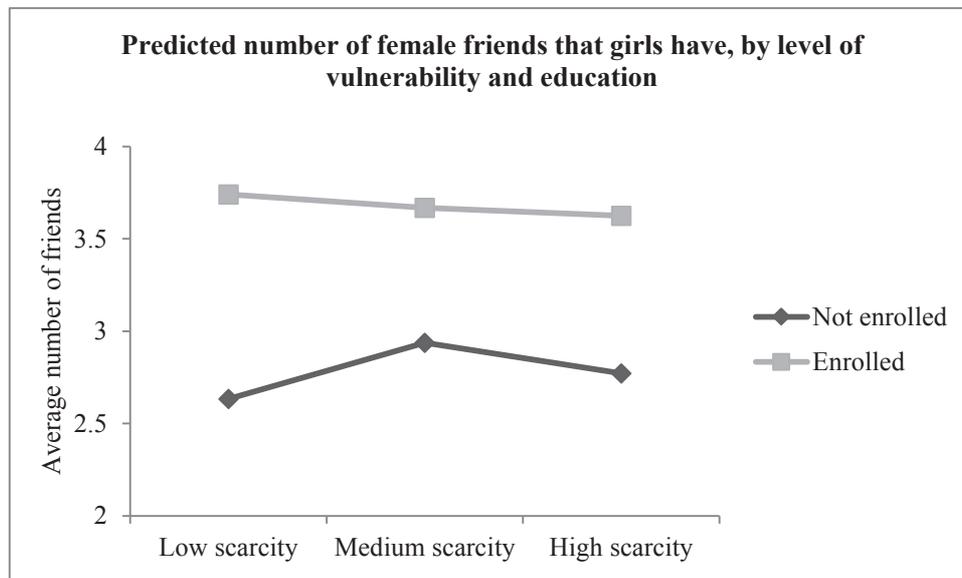
In the SM tool, participants were asked to what extent their stories were about being connected, being isolated, about self-confidence, as well as what the balance was between whether the story had to do with girls skills, social connections or agency, or the balance between who was involved in the story. The SM component also examined marriage and relationships as core issues, including who are perceived to be the key decision-makers in the stories (a balance of girls, parents or others), as well as whether girls were considered to be following expected behaviour, were being listened to, or were deciding for themselves regarding the activities in the stories. Throughout this section, differences in vulnerability, education, gender, geography and age link to these issues and more generally to the social lives girls lead.

Figure 26: Projected distribution of number of female friends girls have by group (quantitative)



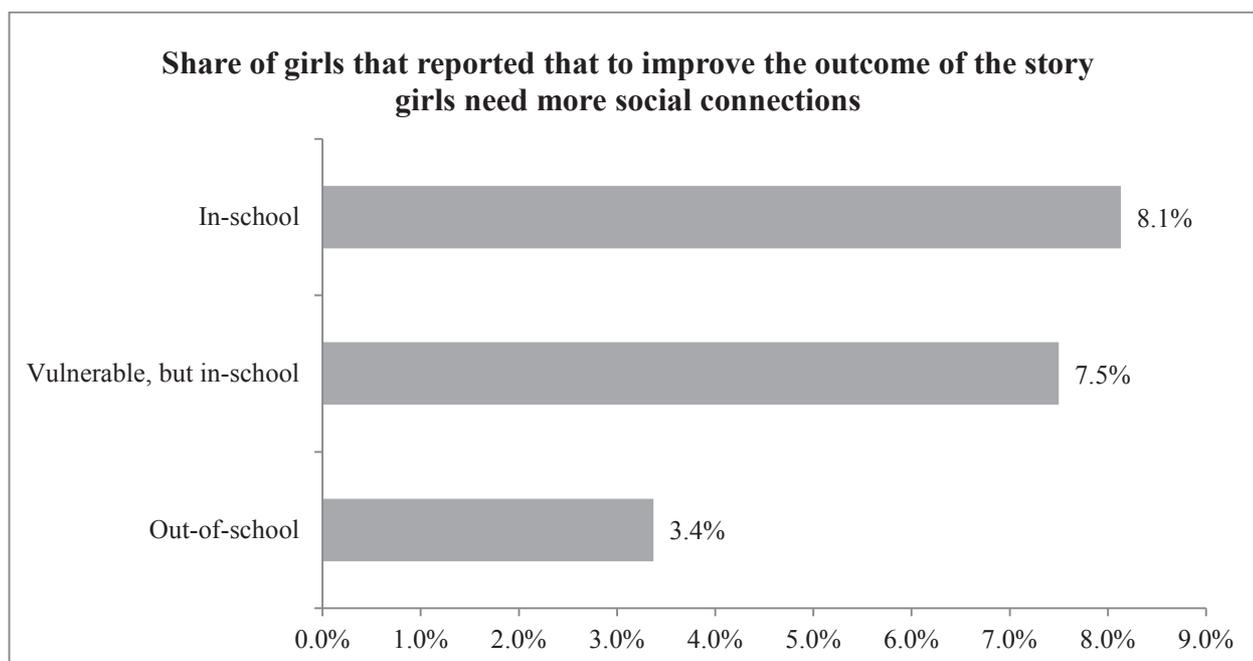
These results suggest that out-of-school girls might have fewer friends not because of differences in the wellbeing of the households they come from, but because they are not at school and hence have fewer opportunities to socialize and meet people. This hypothesis is tested using the scarcity index introduced in the overview section. As can be seen in Figure 27, girls that are enrolled in school have about 0.6 female friends more than girls that are not enrolled, regardless of their level of vulnerability. The difference in the number of friends between girls with a high-scarcity score and girls with a low-scarcity score is negligible. Regression results also confirm that education is a statistically notable determinant of how many female friends a girl has, while vulnerability is not.

Figure 27: Predicted number of female friends that girls have, by level of vulnerability and education (quantitative)



While out-of-school girls might have fewer friends, it is however noted in the stories from SM, that they may not necessarily see this as an issue that may have implications on their wellbeing. In Figure 28, the share of out-of-school girls that report that the girl in their story needed social connections to improve the outcome of the story is notably less than that for both in-school and vulnerable, but in-school girls. This suggests a presumption amongst out-of-school girls that despite the nature or situation of the story being told, they largely perceive enhanced social connectivity to be relatively unhelpful in improving situations.

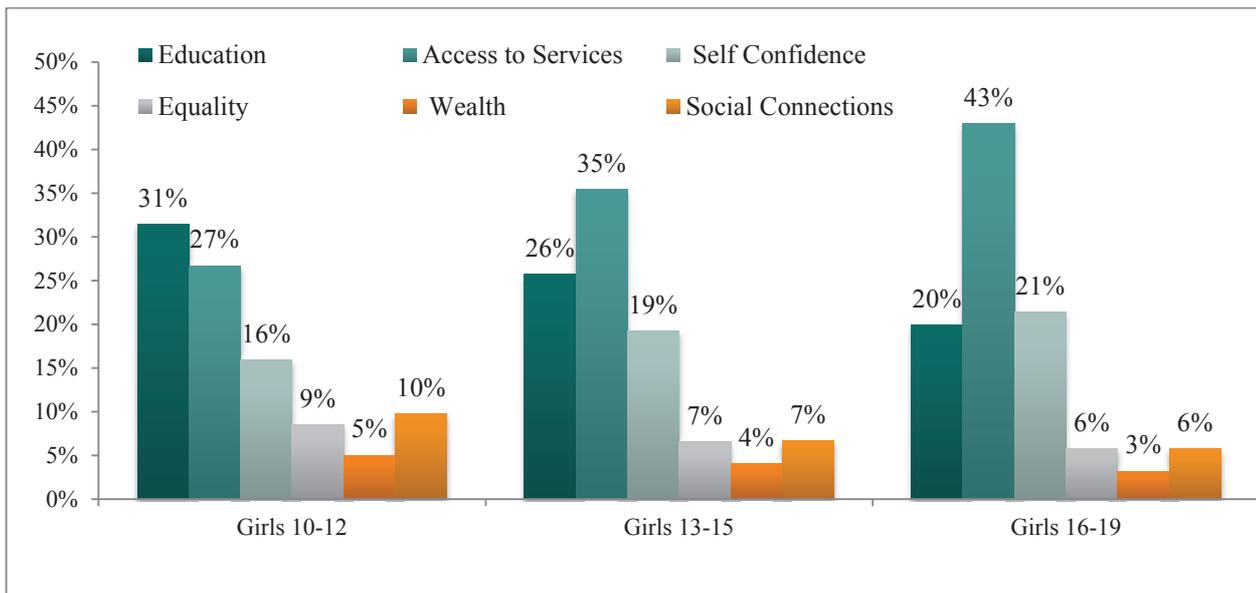
Figure 28: Share of girls that reported that to improve the outcome of the story girls needed more social connections (SM dataset)



In addition to this relative difference in the perceptions amongst in-school and out-of-school girls are two more issues of interest:

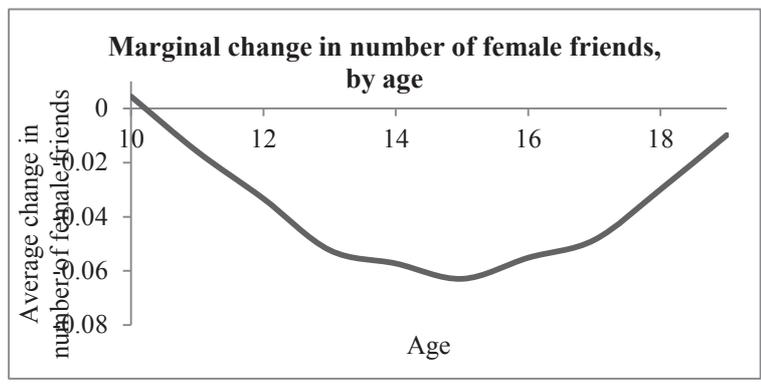
- Across all girls (10–19), the importance of social connections in improving story outcomes is considered to be minor in relation to other factors, most importantly access to service, education and self-confidence. Curiously, wealth and equality, alongside social connections, are not considered to be influential in the outcomes of stories.
- Secondly, the importance of social connections in helping situations in the respondent’ stories reduces substantially with age (Figure 29). This is particularly the case when considering the relative drop from 10% to 6% from girls 10–12 to 16–19, which shows the greatest rate of change with age compared to other potential solutions.

Figure 29: Perceptions of the importance of different solutions to improve story outcomes – by age cohort of storyteller (SM dataset)



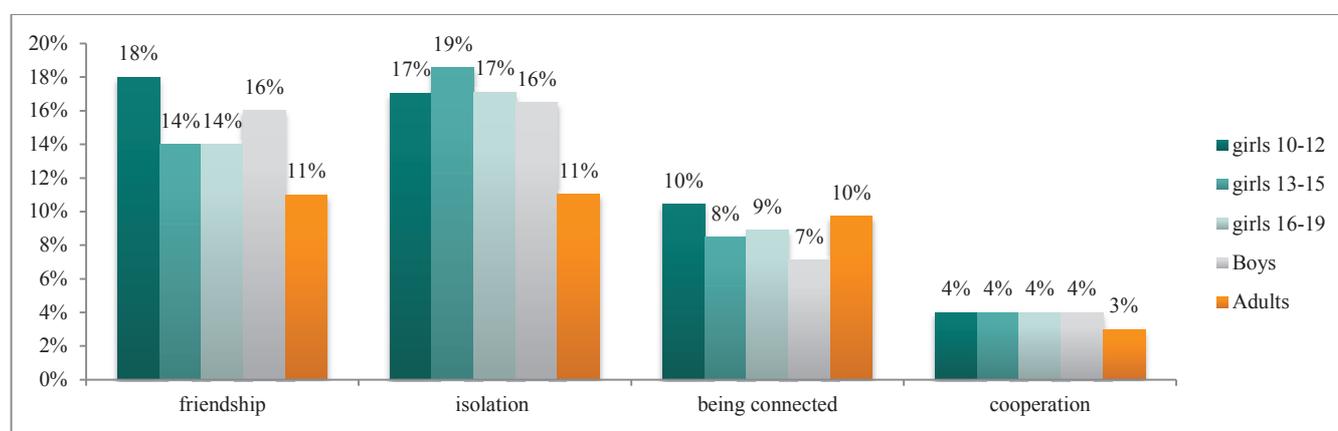
The quantitative findings show that the number of friends girls have is strongly correlated to age. The older girls become, the fewer the number of female friends or confidants they have. At the age of 10, the average girl had about 3.7 close female friends. This gradually reduces to an average of 2.8 friends at the age of 19. This can be seen in Figure 30, which depicts the marginal change in the number of friends a girl has by age. From age 10 onwards, this marginal change is negative, which implies that with each additional year girls tend to lose a certain number of friends. This association holds when controlling for whether girls are in school or out of school.

Figure 30: Marginal change in number of female friends by age (quantitative)



In the SM outputs, perceptions of the importance of social connections and friendship are also a key issue – 32% of all 3,992 stories are about this topic. While there are only slight changes in the perception of this issue over younger age groups, there is a clear tendency for adults to deprioritize telling stories in which there is a strong focus on friendship and isolation. Overall however, this might suggest that while in reality friends and confidants may decline with age, the perceived importance of this issue across age groups telling the stories remains relatively uniform. However, when looking at the characters within the stories (rather than who is telling the stories) and the correlation of their age groups (10–15 and 16–24) with how much the stories are considered to be about social connections, the pattern is reversed: stories involving 16–24 year olds are more about social connections (36%) than for younger girls (10–15), where only 28% of the stories are about social connections. This suggests that while the number of social connections decreases by age in reality, the perceptions of social connectivity being a dominant theme for girls in the stories increases with their age.

Figure 31: Stories about social connections per cohort (SM Dataset)



5.1.2 Social life outside school

Questions about how girls spend their time or whether they attend gatherings and events, confirm that girls who are enrolled in school have a more active and diverse social life than girls who are not enrolled. Moreover, while vulnerability might not be a major determinant of how many friends a girl has, the vulnerability level of a girl is also negatively associated with the diversity and intensity of her social interactions.

The quantitative survey findings show stark differences in the way girls who are in school structure their days. Interviewees were asked how many hours they had spent in the past week doing learning related activities (e.g. sitting through class, going to school, doing homework), working at home or outside (e.g. household chores, unpaid work outside the house, paid work outside the house, farming), and engaging in leisure-related activities (e.g. playing, sports, reading, attending religious or social gatherings). Summary results are presented Table 10.

- Girls categorized as in-school report slightly longer weeks on average than vulnerable, but in-school girls and much longer weeks than out-of-school girls.
- In-school and vulnerable, but in-school girls reported spending about 57–62 hours per week either learning, working or enjoying time in leisure-related activities, compared to 45 hours for out-of-school girls.
- This difference between girls who are enrolled and girls who are not could be interpreted as idle time. Girls in the out-of-school group perceive themselves to be less active in terms of the aggregate number of hours they spend working, learning and enjoying, compared to girls who are enrolled.
- The data shows that out-of-school girls did not replace learning time with leisure, but rather with more work; belonging to the out-of-school group is associated with a 5-hour decrease in leisure time. In-school girls and girls classified as vulnerable spend an estimated 10–13 hours per week on games, sports and social activities, compared to just 7.3 hours for girls who are out-of-school.

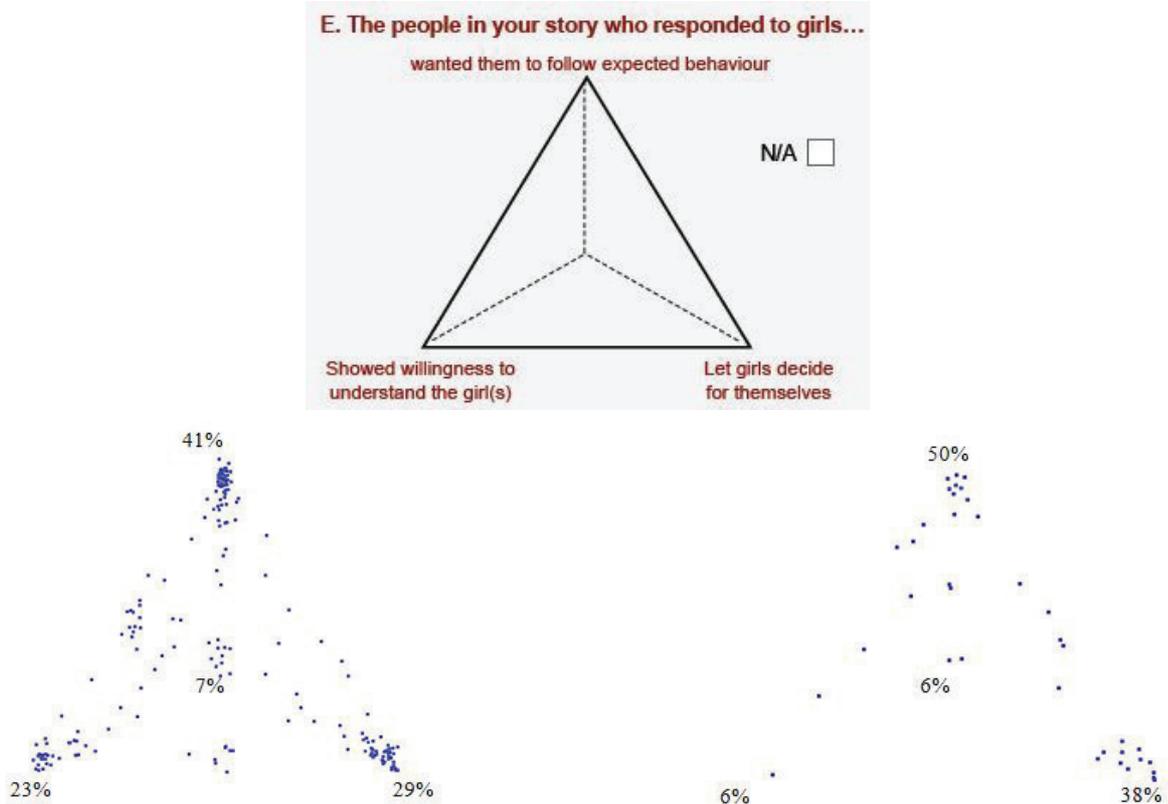
- Controlling for age and location, belonging to the vulnerable, but in-school group was also associated with a 2-hour decrease in leisure time, compared to girls who were in-school.

Table 12: Estimated number of hours per week girls dedicate to learning, working and doing leisure-related activities (quantitative)

Activity (hours per week)	In-School (girls)	Out-of-School (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Learning	38.9	1.2	36.4
Working at home	6.7	19.3	6.9
Working outside home	3.2	17.7	3.0
Leisure	13.1	7.3	10.4
Total reported hours	62.0	45.5	56.8

The issue of fun and leisure in the SM findings adds to this by showing the relative degree to which girls are considered by respondents to have to follow expected behaviour, compared to deciding on their own, or being understood /negotiated with by others in their family/community. Figure 32 is a summary of a triad divided by the topic of the story, demonstrating the relative difference of others’ willingness to understand girls’ situations, compared to doing what is expected of them. This figure shows that fun/leisure can be associated with pregnancy, marriage, and relationships with the opposite sex as stand-out areas in which girls are seen to be constrained in the sense that other characters in the story want girls to follow expected behavior, rather than show a willingness to understand them, or to let them decide for themselves.

Figure 32: The response to girls’ actions in stories, divided by topic (SM Dataset)

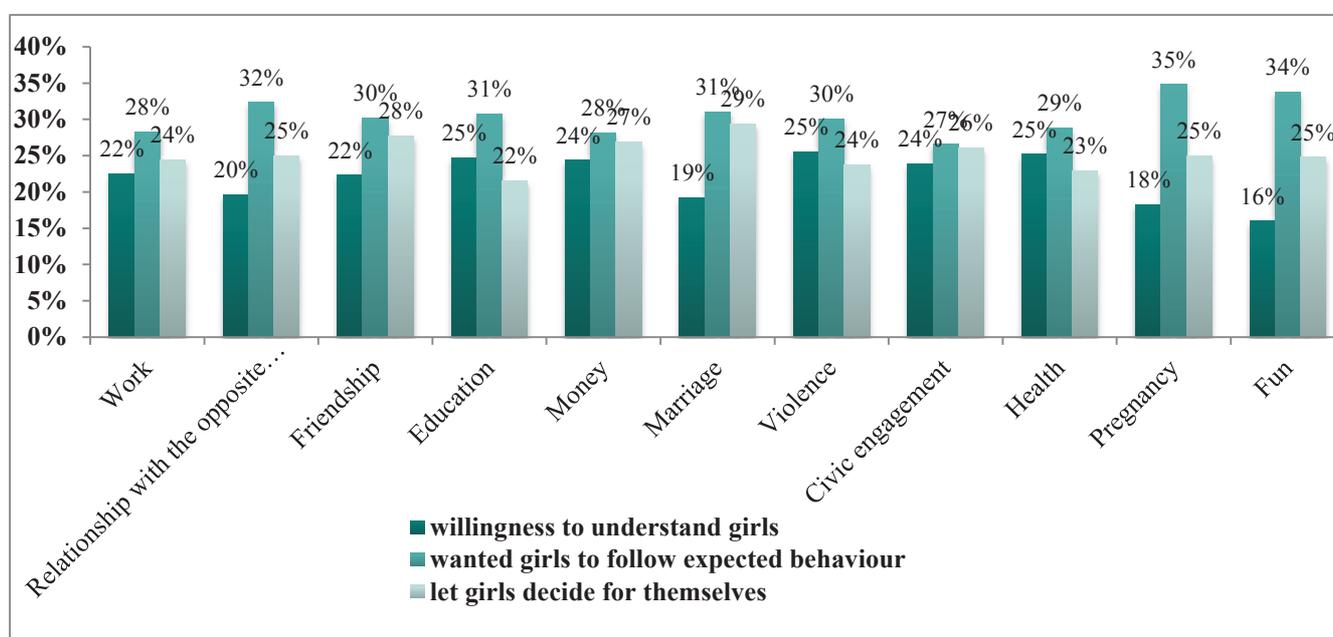


Views of in-school girls on stories about fun

Views of out-of-school girls on stories about fun

Looking at fun and leisure (Figure 33) as a standalone issue for girls both in-school and out-of-school confirms that girls see out-of-school girls as being particularly challenged by a lack of willingness of others to understand their situation.

Figure 33: The response to girls' actions in stories about fun and leisure (SM Dataset)



These insights about education and vulnerability can be compared with quantitative data on what social events girls attend outside school. As can be seen in Table 11, for most events – whether it is sports and games with friends, attending a social club, or going to a youth centre – girls who are enrolled are much more likely to attend than girls who are outside school. For example, an estimated 94% of in-school and vulnerable, but in-school girls reported playing ‘games or sports with [their] female friends’ in the month prior to the interview, compared to just 67% of out-of-school girls. Correcting for age differences between them, the difference between girls who were enrolled and girls who were not was about 11.5%. Likewise, an estimated 38–41% of girls in the in-school and vulnerable, but in-school group reported attending a girls’ club, compared to just 24% of girls in the out-of-school group. This amounts to a difference of about 21%. Girls who are enrolled therefore not only have more friends, but are exposed to many more ‘social-capital’ building opportunities – and from the stories it can also be argued that girls in-school also have more decision-making power in these circumstances. This can again be correlated with other SM findings showing that out-of-school respondents tell more stories about isolation (77% instead of 68% in school), and that out-of-school respondents tell more stories of being connected (32% instead of 23% for those out-of-school).

The quantitative survey also shows that vulnerability affects social relationships most when it involves ‘mixed’ events that involve both girls and boys. While girls in the in-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups have almost equal probabilities when it comes to the likelihood of attending a girl’s club or playing games and sports with female friends; they have very different likelihoods when it comes to attending mixed events: Girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group were about 8% less likely to participate in a mixed group or club with both boys and girls, and 11.5% less likely to play games and sports with a mixed group of both boys and girls. These findings are confirmed when using the vulnerability index, which is also a negative and statistically important predictor of whether a girl attends a certain event. The vulnerability level of girls, and possibly the social norms that come with being more vulnerable, seem to complicate the relationships between girls and boys.

Table 13: Estimated likelihood that girls would have participated in social group or gathering in month prior to the interview (quantitative)

Indicator	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Gone to a church or mosque	95%	92%	95%
Played games or sports with your female friends	94%	67%	94%
Played games or sports with your female and male friends (mixed)	66%	31%	55%
Participated in a girls' group or club	41%	24%	38%
Participated in a mixed group or club with both boys and girls	34%	28%	26%
Attended a community meeting or community conversation	31%	41%	33%
Gone to a youth centre	27%	23%	30%

Note: estimated using logit model

There is a however a contrast in the perception of boys in the SM stories – suggesting that while they are not central players in reality, they are still perceived as critical agents, particularly in negative stories. For instance, it appears that the perceptions of (all) storytellers are that they see relationships with boys and adults as central in stories that are only about friendships. Of these stories, only 16% are about ‘girls and girls’ whereas 28% are about ‘girls and adults’ and 33% are about ‘girls and boys’ (the remainder of the stories being somewhere between these extremes).

Unpacking this observation, that relationships between ‘girls and girls’ are in the minority of all stories, the patterns shifts showing that boys are often associated with more negative situations in social networks. For instance, in stories about friendship and being connected, there are relatively more stories about girls and girls (23%) with a considerable drop in stories about girls and boys (from 33% to 24%) and girls and adults (28% to 16%). Importantly, there are also 26% positive stories which are mainly positioned in the sideside ‘girls and girls’ and ‘girls and adults’ – which is notable given that on 17% of the stories are positive or highly positive.

Moreover, in the 88 stories about friendship and isolation, the relationships of ‘girls and girls’ in stories drop by 11%, and in stories about friendship where girls need social connections, 15% are about ‘girls and girls’ and 25% are about ‘girls and boys’. There is also the highest number of negative stories (58%) on friendship and needing social connections regarding girls and boys. Overall, these patterns suggest that there are number of instances where boys are associated with both negative issues as well as where girls are in need of more support structures, whereas girl-specific friendship groups are associated with more positive outcomes. This adds depth to the quantitative findings in that not only do girls have quantifiably less time with boys (vulnerable and out-of-school girls in particular), but that the perceived quality of this time itself is often associated with negative story topics, or stories in which girls need more social connections.

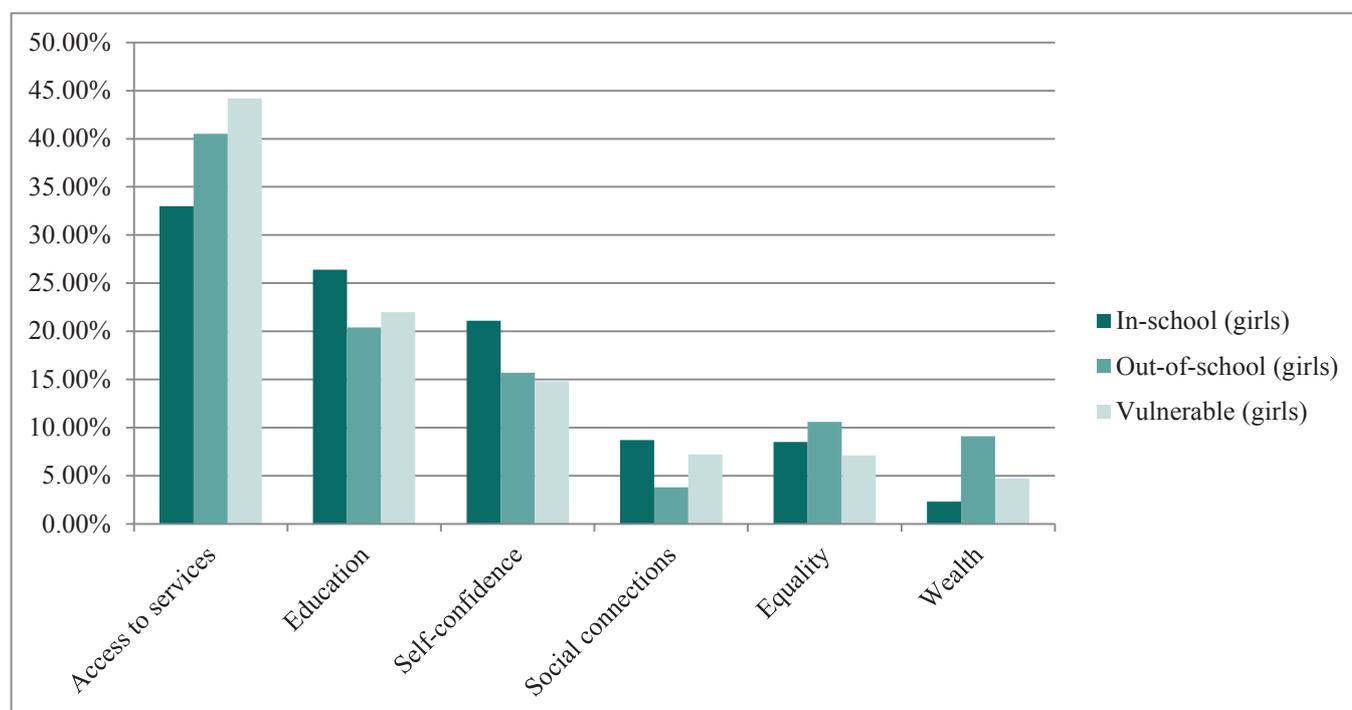
Social relations and self-confidence/self-esteem

The quantitative survey finds that the more confident girls are, the more friends they have and the more likely they are to attend social events. There are also very large differences in confidence levels between girls who are enrolled and girls who are not. This suggests that differences in their social interactions are not only driven by differences in ‘opportunities’ to interact and meet people – being in-school provides girls with many more opportunities to make friends, attend social clubs, play games, etc. – but potentially also by differences in their level of self-confidence. Conversely, having fewer friends and less ‘social capital’ could negatively affect a girl’s level of self-confidence.

These observations can be nuanced from the SM aspects in that out-of-school girls deprioritize confidence as a solution in the story, compared to in-school girls (Figure 34) in the same way that fewer out-of-school girls reported that to improve the outcome of the story girls need more social connections. This again suggests that the perception

of what out-of-school girls value or understand about how confidence promotes their wellbeing is counter to the findings in the quantitative survey.

Figure 34: What girls out-of school and in-school perceive is needed to improve the outcome of the story (SM Dataset)



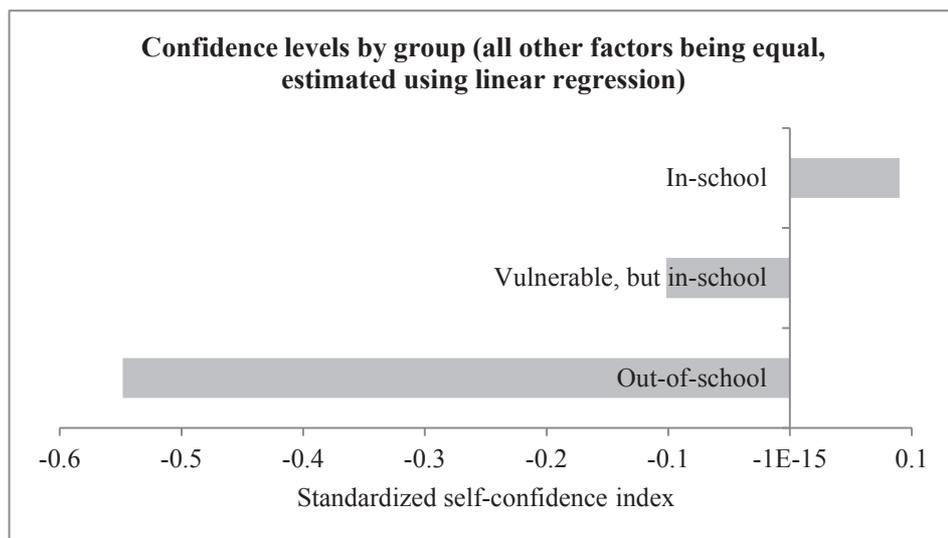
However, the quantitative survey confirms that this hypothesis is likely to be the case. In the survey, girls were asked ten questions relating to confidence, including for example whether they wished they were more confident, whether they knew how to achieve their goals, or whether they felt they had good ideas and opinions that others should hear. These responses are combined into a simple ‘self-confidence index’, which is used as a proxy for the level of self-confidence of a girl. Table 12 provides a detailed breakdown of this index.

Table 14: Detailed breakdown of self-confidence index (quantitative)

Positively framed statements		Negatively framed statements	
You feel you have much to be proud of.	+1 (if agree)	You wish you had more confidence	+1 (if disagree)
I feel capable of making good decisions about my life	+1 (if agree)	If someone insults you, it is difficult to speak up and defend yourself	+1 (if disagree)
You have good ideas and opinions that others should hear.	+1 (if agree)	What happens in your future is determined by luck and not by you	+1 (if disagree)
You know what you want to be in the future.	+1 (if agree)	What happens in your future is determined by your family or community	+1 (if disagree)
You know how to achieve your goals for the future.	+1 (if agree)		
Most of the time, I am happy with my current situation	+1 (if agree)		
Total points		+10	

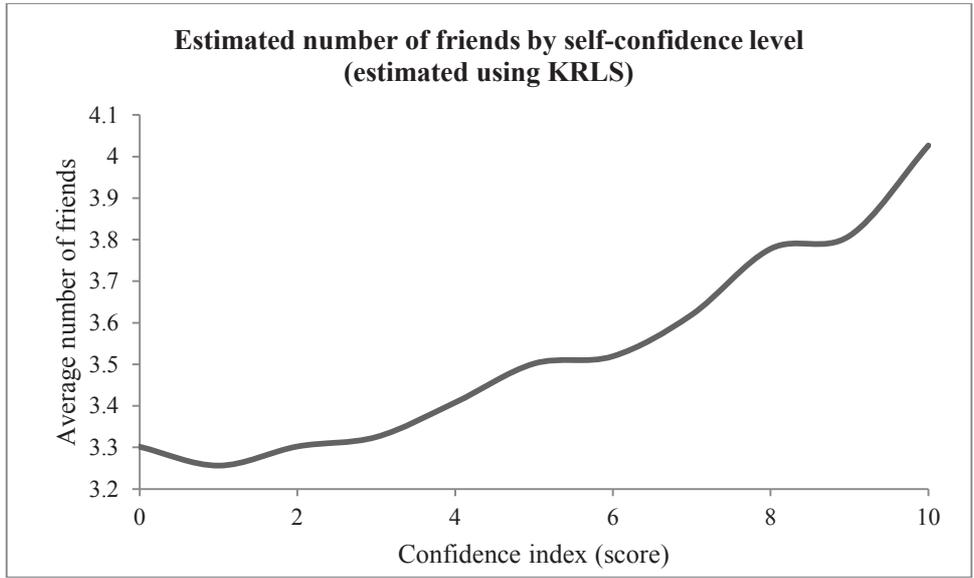
The difference in confidence levels between groups is stark (see Figure 35). Girls in the out-of-school group appear to be much less confident than girls that were enrolled. The biggest difference between girls that were out-of-school and girls in the in-school group relate to happiness and questions about their control over their own future. Out-of-school girls were 18.2% less likely to say that they were ‘most of the time, happy with their current situation’. They were also much less likely to say that they ‘know how to achieve their goals for the future’ and more likely to feel that their future would be determined by their family, their community or simply luck, but not by themselves. These differences are closely associated to girls’ level of social connectedness.

Figure 35: Confidence levels by groups (quantitative)



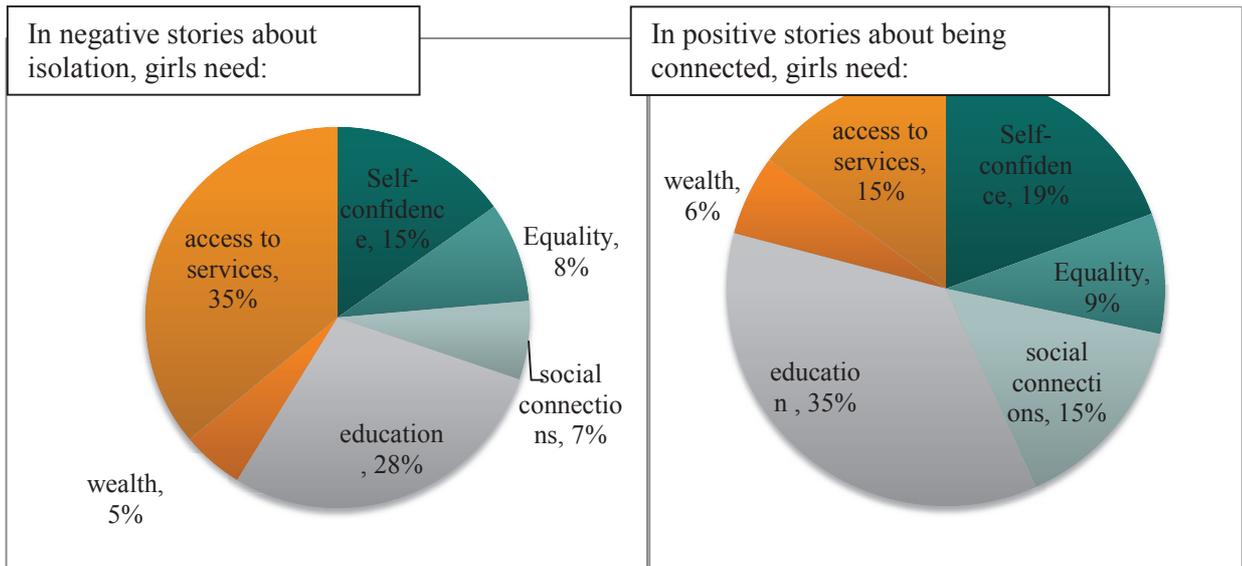
We then used the self-confidence index to examine the number of friends and on average we found that being more confident is associated with having more friends (see Figure 36). The association holds when controlling for which group girls belong to, their age, and location. Note that the causality here could be running in both directions: it could be that girls that are more confident tend to have more friends and socialize more; or on the contrary, that the more social capital girls have, the more confident they are. On a more detailed level, girls feel they have much to be proud of, they are mostly happy with their current situation, feel that they know how to achieve their personal goals or that they have good ideas and opinions that others should hear, are more likely to attend social capital building events, such as playing games with friends, participating in clubs, youth centres, or community meetings.

Figure 36: Estimated number of friends by self-confidence level (quantitative)



The SM outputs add further insights to these dimensions in showing that in terms of what respondents perceive to be important potential solutions for girls that are either isolated or well connected, there is a considerable shift in the relative importance attributed to access to services and education (Figure 34). This data shows that despite the strong variations in confidence levels by group (Figure 35), the wider importance of self-confidence varies little in relation to certain negative and positive stories. By contrast, access to services and education are key variables in this circumstance (Figure 37).

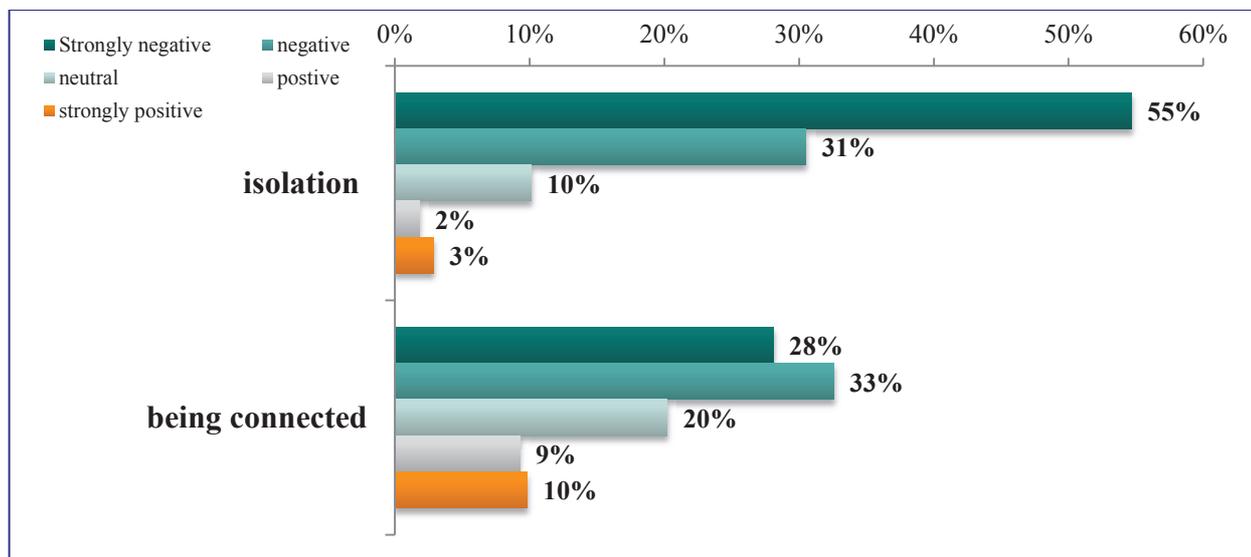
Figure 37: Negative stories about isolation compared to positive stories about being connected (SM Dataset)



In addition, the level of confidence, feeling of freedom and fun/pleasure are strongly linked to girls being connected (or not), while girls that are connected/have a social network have a stronger feeling of self-respect, value and

security. The stories show a strong connection of violence and negative stories with isolated girls compared to well-connected girls. For instance, looking at the emotional association (highly positive, positive, neutral, negative etc.) of stories about isolation and being connected, the number of stories about isolation are considerably more negatively weighted (Figure 38).

Figure 38: The emotional association with experience of isolation and being connected (SM Dataset)

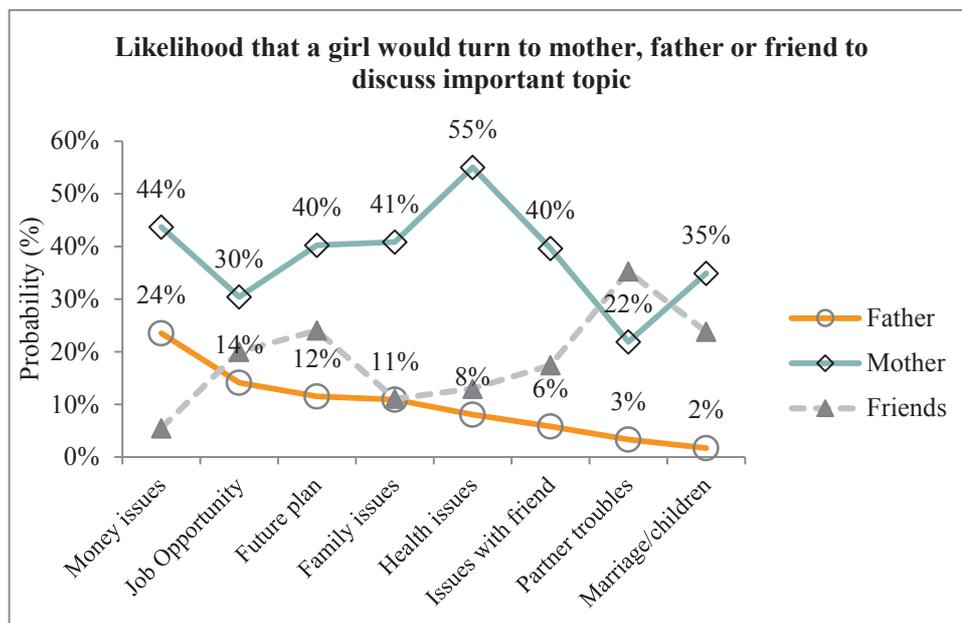


Looking at the stories about isolation in detail, these stories are strongly associated with violence (over half the stories), insecurity and fear. By contrast, positive stories about being connected are mainly linked to confidence (34%), self-respect (25%), freedom, security, value and fun/pleasure.

5.1.3 Support structures

This section examines the composition of the social relationships of girls and in particular their social support structure. In general, girls are much more likely to turn to their mother for help and advice. This can clearly be seen in the quantitative survey findings in Figure 39, where comparisons are made between the likelihood that a girl would turn to the mother, father or a friend to discuss an issue of concern. On almost all topics girls are much more likely to turn to the mother for advice than the father or a friend. The difference is the most striking for the topic of health. The likelihood that a girl would turn to her mother to discuss health issues is 55%, compared to just 13% for friends, and 8% for the father. While girls do consult their fathers, it is mostly for practical reasons: in particular money issues, but also issues relating to their future and job opportunities. Girls are unlikely to consult the father about issues related to marriage, conflicts with a boyfriend, partner or a friend, or health issues.

Figure 39: Likelihood that a girl would turn to mother, father or friend to discuss important topics (quantitative)



Note: estimated using logit.

The importance of mothers facilitating a positive space for girls is also echoed in the SM findings. In all the stories about cooperation, the respondents outline that main characters in the stories are 27% about ‘girls and adults’, 20% about ‘girls and boys’ and 17% about ‘girls and girls’. When unpacking the ‘girls and adults’ category, looking at only the positive stories, it is notable that 70% of these stories involve mothers as the prime actor. By contrast, negative stories predominate in stories about ‘girls and boys’. From the overview section it also observed mothers appear in at least 41% to 46% of the stories, with a peak of 52% in the stories from vulnerable girls. SM provides additional value by showing that where mothers appear in the story, there are also slightly more stories (30%) about wanting girls to follow expected behaviour than if fathers appear in the stories (26%). This suggests that while the quantitative survey and SM both demonstrate the real or perceived importance of mothers as confidants respectively, there is a perception amongst respondents that there is little variation in the degree to which mothers and fathers encourage girls to follow expected behaviour.

Returning to the quantitative findings, it is shown that girls are more likely to turn to friends on topics relating to the opposite sex and future plans than they are on topics related to money, health, family issues or issues with other friends. As can be seen in Table 13, girls confide in friends much more as they get older. This is despite the fact that the older girls are, the fewer friends they have on average, suggesting that friendship strengthens and become a more important part of life as girls get older. The previous SM findings (Figure 31) confirm that respondents also perceive this to be the case, i.e. that older girls (16–19) in the stories are more marginally less involved with themes about social connections, than younger girls (10–12, and 12–15).

On topics such as ‘conflicts with your husband/boyfriend/partner’, ‘marriage/having children’ or ‘finding a job’, friends become equally important confidants as mothers after the age of 15. These statistics are consistent with the idea that the older girls become, the worse their family situation is on average. Older girls are much more likely to have lost a parent or to live in a household where the parent is divorced or separated, thereby increasing the likelihood that they would need to search outside the household to find advice and support.

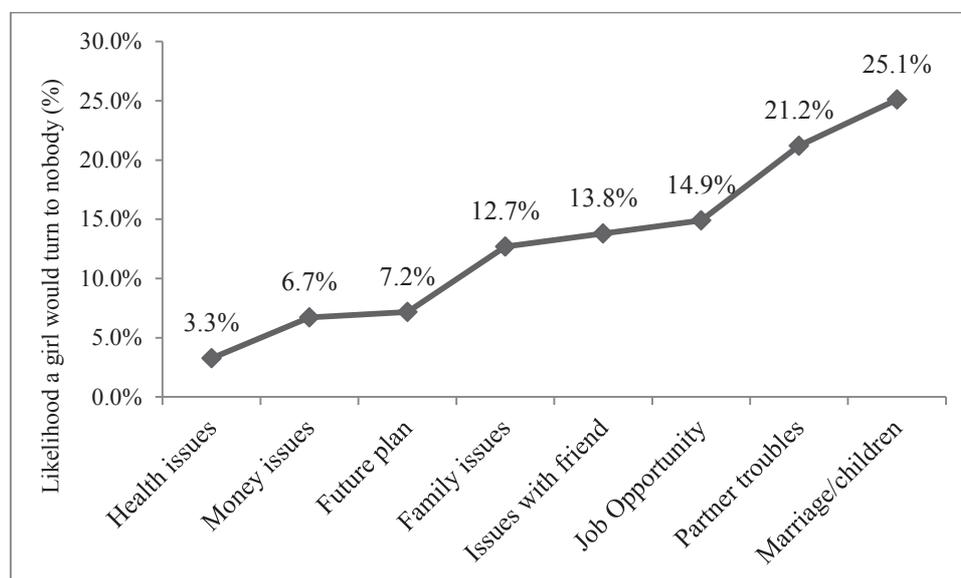
Table 15: Estimated likelihood that girls would turn to a friend to discuss a certain issue (quantitative)

Would you turn to a friend to talk about ...	Girls aged 10–12	Girls aged 13–15	Girls aged 16–19
Conflicts with your husband/boyfriend/partner	18.0%	36.2%	47.7%
Plans for future	16.0%	24.4%	29.9%
Marriage/ having children	12.1%	25.6%	31.2%
Issues with a friend	11.9%	19.3%	20.1%
Finding a job	10.3%	18.2%	29.1%
Family troubles	6.0%	13.3%	13.1%
Health issues	5.3%	13.3%	18.6%
Money issues	2.3%	5.3%	8.1%

Note: estimated using mlogit model.

While most girls responded that they would turn to their parents or friends for advice, a number of girls indicated that they would turn to ‘nobody’ to discuss a major issue or concern. This was especially true for issues relating to marriage, having children and partner-related conflicts. These are issues that seem to be much more personal and sensitive for girls. It is interesting to note that health is one of the topics that girls are the most likely to discuss with someone. The likelihood a girl would turn to nobody to discuss a health-related issues is just 3.3%, compared to 25% for the topic of ‘marriage and having children’ (see Figure 40).

Figure 40: Likelihood that girls would turn to nobody to discuss an issue of importance (quantitative)



Out-of-school girls were much more likely to say they would turn to nobody to discuss issues of concern. The findings show that out-of-school girls were about 16% less likely to turn to somebody to discuss ‘family problems’ compared to girls in the in-school group and 13 percentage points less likely to turn to somebody to discuss ‘money issues’ (see Table 14). It is interesting to note that issues with family and money problems top this list. These issues seem to be relatively more sensitive and personal for girls in the out-of-school group.

Table 16: Likelihood that girls in the out-of-school group turn to ‘nobody’ to discuss a certain topic than girls in the in-school group (quantitative)

Would you turn to ‘nobody’ to talk about ...	Marginal likelihood
Family troubles	16.0%
Money issues	13.0%
Issues with friends	10.8%
Plans for future	8.0%
Health issues	7.9%
Finding a job	7.1%
Conflicts with your husband/boyfriend/partner	6.0%
Marriage/ having children	-2.9%

When asked whether they had someone to turn to in case of an emergency, roughly 75% of girls reported having a support structure outside of home. Very much in line with the statistics presented so far on the social networks of girls, this study found that girls that are out of school and in some cases also vulnerable, but in-school girls had a weaker support structure outside of home (see Table 15). On all accounts – borrowing money, needing somewhere to stay, or someone to confide in – out-of-school girls were less likely to have someone to turn to outside of home.

Table 17: Estimated likelihood that girls have someone to turn to outside of home in case of an emergency or major issue (quantitative)

Indicator	In-School (girls)	Out-of-School (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
There is someone in your community outside of your family from whom you can borrow money in an emergency	77.2%	60.3%	63.3%
There is someone in your community outside of your family whom you could stay with if you had a problem	90.4%	79.7%	81.3%
There is someone in your community outside of your family you could confide in about violence in the home	77.7%	75.3%	79.6%
Is there someone in your community outside your family you can confide in	83.0%	72.8%	75.0%

Note: estimated using logit model.

Support structures sought out by girls when social support fails

When asked where they would go to seek support if social support structures failed, the majority of girls responded that they were most likely to go to the police station (see Table 16). This could either reflect a high level of trust in the policy authorities of Rwanda and their ability to intervene in support of girls, or simply that girls are unaware of alternative options. Less than a quarter of girls were likely to seek support from a community health worker, youth group leader, or a lawyer. Teachers, NGOs and traditional or religious leaders came bottom of the list, potentially reflecting a mistrust of these individuals/institutions. This is an important point to note for programs that aim to

deliver support to girls via the schooling system, religious gatherings or NGOs/external entities. The proximity of a community health worker, youth group leader or even the police seem to make a big difference in terms of trust and accessibility.

Table 18: Estimated likelihood that girls would seek legal support from a given entity or person – multiple answers permitted (quantitative)

Indicator	In-School (girls)	Out-of-School (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Police station	57.0%	56.9%	53.4%
Community health worker	26.2%	30.1%	24.3%
Youth group/leader	23.1%	27.2%	21.7%
Lawyer	22.7%	17.0%	17.1%
Committee/group of elders that decide on justice issues	22.0%	27.2%	17.4%
Teacher	19.7%	7.2%	22.2%
NGOs	15.5%	17.0%	16.2%
Traditional/religious leader	11.5%	9.5%	9.0%

Note: estimated using logit model.

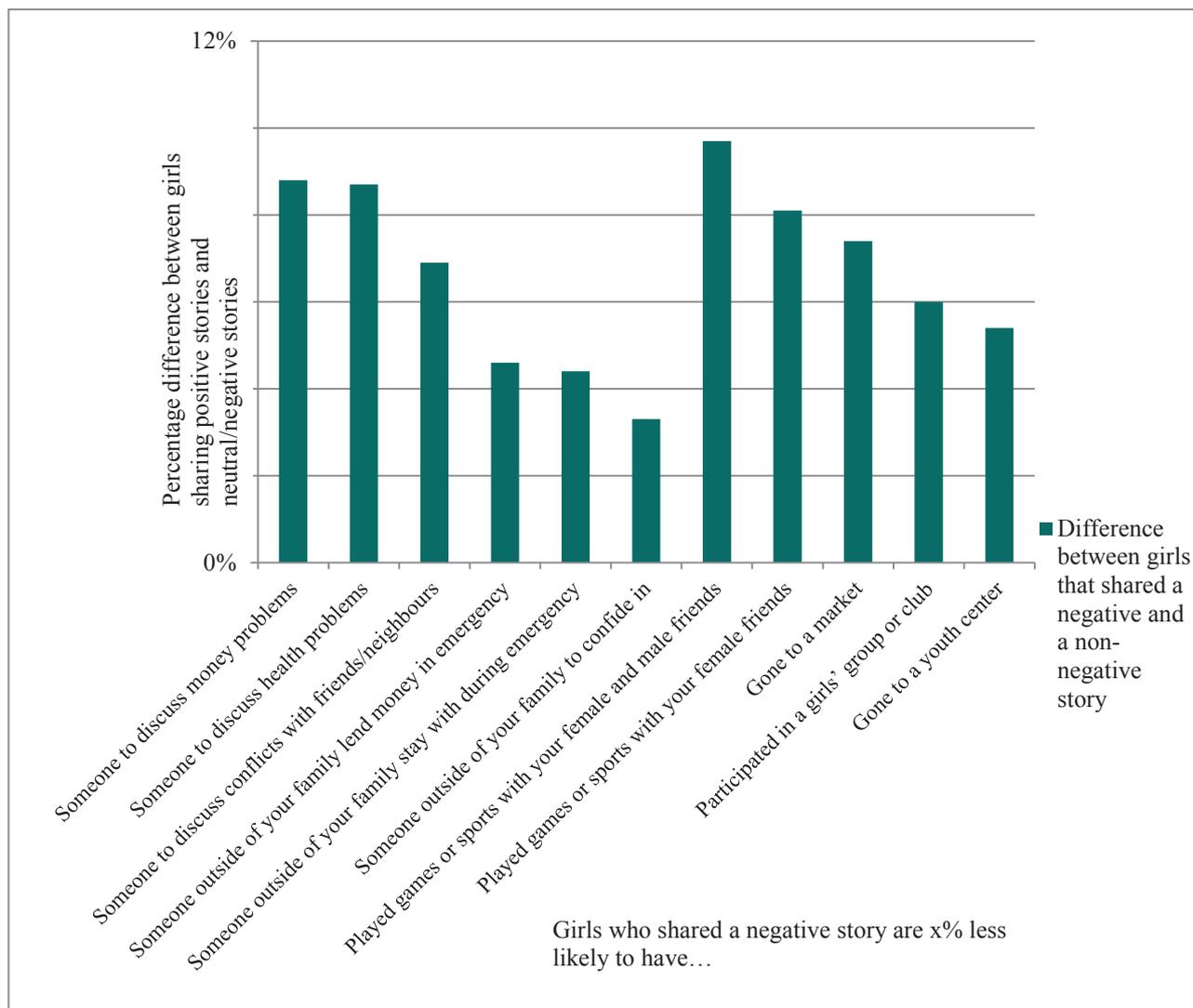
While the responses to the question of ‘where would you go to seek support’ seem to suggest that girls are unaware of options to seek legal support other than going to the police, it is estimated that a relatively large share of girls have already sought legal support and a vast majority of girls know of other girls that have sought legal support. The likelihood that a girl in either group would have sought legal support is estimated to be between 20% and 31% depending on which group girls belong to: the likelihood for out-of-school girls was 31%, compared to 21% for vulnerable girls and 20% for in-school girls.

The data also shows that out-of-school girls were about 4% more likely to have sought legal support (a result that is of statistical importance). This study estimates that a much larger share of girls know about someone who has sought legal support. Differences between groups emerge: the likelihood that a girl in school would know another girl that has sought legal support was 68%, compared to 59% for vulnerable girls, and finally just 51% for out-of-school girls. These results seem to reflect large differences in the social connectedness of girls who are enrolled in school and girls who are not.

Building on responses from both the SM and quantitative surveys, the data can examine the structures from the perspective of respondents’ perceptions about who they would turn to in the case of an emergency, to discuss violence, or where they would go to seek legal support – using stories in which girls were personally involved as a proxy for whether they experienced a negative event. Based on this definition, an estimated 8% of girls in the SM dataset shared a negative story that they were directly involved in, with large differences in this statistic between groups. The estimates show that the likelihood that a girl in the in-school group would have shared a negative story that she was involved in was just 6.2%, compared to 13.6% for girls that are out of school and 18.6% for girls that are classified as vulnerable. The findings also show that the likelihood that a girl has sought legal support in the past also increases by 11.7% (if this girl also shared a negative story about an event that she was involved in).

Furthermore, girls who shared a negative experience that they were personally involved in seem to have a weaker social structure than other girls. These girls have 0.6 fewer friends on average than other girls and they are also much less likely to reach out to friends or family when they have issues related to health and money or to discuss their future. For example, Figure 41 shows the difference attributed to girls sharing a negative story compared to those who did not. Girls who shared a negative story tend to have fewer people to confide in outside their family. Finally, they are also notably less likely to be involved in social groups and events, in particular when it comes to sports and playing with friends.

Figure 41: Girls sharing a negative story vs girls who share a neutral or positive story (SM Dataset)



5.1.4 Marriage and relationships with the opposite sex

The number of stories from girls about relationships increases in a linear pattern with age, with 23% of stories from 10–12 year olds, 33% from 16–19 year olds, and 35% from adults. The stories about marriage, by contrast, are far fewer: only 268 compared to 1,199 stories about relationships. However, compared to stories about relationships with boys (80% of which are negative), marriage is perceived as a positive experience in a girls' life (by comparison, 62% of stories are considered to be negative). Furthermore, there is a relatively high percentage of strong positive stories about marriage (50% make people feel glad/hopeful). This is a theme that is addressed throughout this section.

Stories about marriage, with a negative association

'There was a girl who was repeatedly harassed by her family. It would make me very sad. She was consumed by sorrow, then she got married. She had the misfortune of losing her husband, and he died without even giving her a child.'

'A girl who was in the second year of secondary school here, gave birth from a pregnancy she had gotten from a young man who was a driver. It led that girl to leaving school; now she has left school; she stays at her home.'

‘There is a young girl who was born in a family and who had had the chance to go to school. But whenever her mom and dad gave her money, her brothers would fight saying that they also wanted money. Yet, no one had kept them from going school they had just refused out of stubbornness.

Listen to what happened to that girl; she finished school and got a job. When she got married her brothers stole her goods saying that she had exhausted the family’s money. The police caught those goods and restored them to the girl but until now her brothers hate her. Now, even the other girls who were in school saw what had happened because after getting money from home there was insecurity and now, when they get someone who can give them money they are glad. One of them was gotten pregnant while she was in the fourth year of secondary school and she gave birth. Her brothers chased her and she has three children now; the oldest is five years old.’

Stories about marriage, with a positive association

‘I know a girl who behaved well, did not involve herself into prostitution just waiting for her prospective husband. They come to ask her for marriage at the age of 18 because she behaved nicely. She is now doing well with her husband and they have three children. She is happily married because she behaved well.’

‘A girl had a problem when she slept with a guy; it was a Sunday they had just come back from praying, she had a problem; she got pregnant right away. Then because the girl had refused the guy’s proposal to live with him, because the girl was worried that she would have a difficult life given that she was an orphan too. But after she got a pregnant; there is a lady who helped her. The lady used a phone to find the guy’s phone number. She called him and she explained to him what the problem was. That lady was coming back from the hospital with the girl and they had told her that she was pregnant. However, this story has a happy end as the young man accepted to live with her; now they are together; they had a baby boy; they live well; there is no problem.’

Perceptions about the role of women in relationships and marriage

While the decision of when to get married and have children is perceived by girls to be their own (particularly older and out-of-school girls), findings suggest that perceptions about the role and attitudes of women and marriage change drastically. When asked whether girls agreed with the statement that women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers, it is estimated that the majority were likely to agree (see Table 17). This is not a negative or a positive, but a general opinion that suggests that on average girls perceive their family duties as wives to be more important than their personal rights or wellbeing. This was much more the case for out-of-school girls and vulnerable, but in-school girls than for the comparatively better-off girls belonging to the in-school group. For in-school girls the opinions were more balanced, reflecting the fact that the issue of women rights versus women family responsibilities was potentially a divisive topic for girls within that group.

Table 19: Estimated likelihood that girls would agree/disagree on a certain statement relating to roles and attitudes after marriage (quantitative)

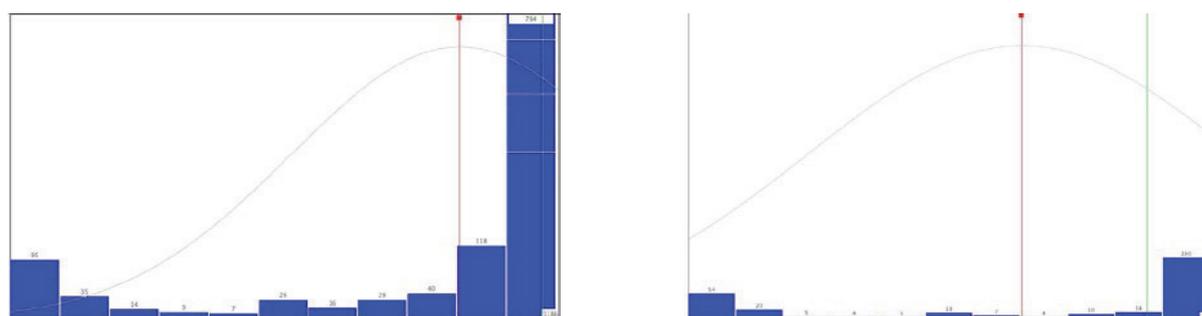
Issue	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Girls should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers			
<i>Don't know</i>	4.1%	5.1%	4.0%
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	10.4%	5.9%	12.3%
<i>Disagree</i>	35.1%	32.8%	22.4%
<i>Agree</i>	35.9%	39.7%	49.5%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	14.5%	16.5%	11.8%
A wife should be able to refuse to have sex with her husband			
<i>Don't know</i>	18.2%	16.5%	21.6%
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	8.5%	4.9%	13.8%
<i>Disagree</i>	30.9%	30.0%	32.4%

<i>Agree</i>	35.0%	36.1%	23.3%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	7.5%	12.5%	8.9%
If a husband and wife disagree on whether to use family planning (contraceptives), the husband's opinion should come first.			
<i>Don't know</i>	10.7%	16.6%	11.2%
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	18.0%	13.0%	15.6%
<i>Disagree</i>	43.6%	40.5%	43.1%
<i>Agree</i>	21.9%	23.8%	23.4%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	5.7%	6.2%	6.7%

Similarly, fewer than half of girls would be likely to agree with the statement that 'a wife should be able to refuse to have sex with her husband' (see Table 17). The fact that opinions appear to be very balanced on this issue suggests that the topic of sex in marriage could potentially be a controversial one. This was also a difficult question to ask, in particular for the younger participants many of whom responded they did not know. Despite this fact, there is quite a lot of consistency in the results regardless of the age of the respondent. The responses obtained might be reflective of attitudes and roles towards marriage or specifically towards sex, but again point towards the fact that young girls seem to perceive their responsibilities as wives from a conservative standpoint, at best. Contrary to what would be expected based on their previous responses, out-of-school girls were more likely to be against this statement than in-school and vulnerable girls.

That marriage may have a critical associated positive role for respondents is confirmed in the SM findings – particularly in comparing less formal relationships. A broad pattern from SM is that stories about marriage had the highest number of associations with highly positive sensations, in the same class as topics about civil engagement, work, and education. Furthermore, as shown in Figure 42, stories about relationships are seen to be strongly confronting traditions/decent behaviour, with 67% in the extreme, while 8% (95 stories) show behaviour of girls that is confirming tradition/decent behaviour. Meanwhile, the pattern for marriage is much more balanced. What these patterns and prior analysis suggest is that while girls are often seen to be making decisions on issues around relationships and marriage, the broader social norms provide much more of a supportive environment to the latter than the former.

Figure 42: A comparison of perceptions around marriage and relationships with the opposite sex (SM Dataset)



Confirming decent behaviour confronting decent behaviour

Confirming decent behaviour confronting decent behaviour

Stories about relationships with the opposite sex

Stories about marriage

Marriage and relationships with the opposite sex: decisions kept at personal level

When asked who they would turn to in order to discuss issues related to marriage or having children, or to discuss conflicts with their partner, many girls responded that they would not seek anyone at all – 21% in the case of relationships with the opposite sex, and 25% in the case of marriage and children.

Findings from SM demonstrate that not only are a notable number of girls unlikely to seek support on the topic of relationships, but that the perception of this phenomenon is very strong. For instance, on the topic of relationships with the opposite sex, girls (especially older girls) are perceived to more often make the decision regarding what happens to them, than their parents. This is the case in 39% of the stories, where only 21% of stories show that parents decide, and 10% that others decide.

There are three further issues, relating to age, role of parents, and the role of marriage. With respect to age, the pattern is stronger for girls 16–19 (42% decide themselves) while for girls 10–12, parents decide equally with girls on relationships. Secondly, the stories in which girls decide for themselves are twice as likely to have negative associations, than the stories in which parents help in decision-making processes (40% of stories are negative when girls decide, and only 20% when parents decide). There is an even stronger relationship for out-of-school girls, who perceive that girls decide on their own in negative stories about relationships (43%) compared to how much parents decide (10%). Thirdly, this is not the case for stories about marriage: by contrast to stories about relationships, the pattern of ‘who decides’ is much more balanced. Overall, the figures show that 27% of stories are about girls deciding, 30% about parents deciding, and 11% for others (the remainder split between these options). In the same fashion as positive stories about relationships, the particularly positive stories about marriage show that parents have a much more involved role (41% of positive stories are where parents decide, and 24% of where girls decide).

Marriage and relationships with the opposite sex – conversations

Overall, as seen in Table 18, marriage or having children, boyfriends, or being teased by men or boys in the neighbourhood, are relatively minor topics of conversation for girls aged 10–19. This is especially true for girls that were enrolled in school (i.e. girls in the in-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups). Out of the list of all the possible topics they were provided with, girls belonging to the in-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups reported that marriage and having children was the topic they talked about the least with their best friends. The likelihood that girls in these two groups would have discussed the topic of marriage or having a child with their best friend in the month before the interview is only about 32%, compared to 86–87%, for example, on the topic of hopes and future goals.

This was not the case for girls that were out-of-school, for whom marriage appears to have been a much more prominent topic of conversation. With all factors considered, girls in the out-of-school group are 14% more likely to discuss the topic of marriage with their best friends. This could reflect the fact that marriage and having children at a young age is much more of a reality or concern for girls in this group, a hypothesis that is supported by the data which shows that a greater share of out-of-school girls reported to be mothers at the time of the interview (an estimated 7% of out-of-school girls versus less than 1% for girls in school).

Table 20: Estimated likelihood that girls have discussed a certain topic with their best friend in the previous month (quantitative)

Discuss following topics with best friend	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school (girls)
Going to school or education	93.4%	58.9%	95.2%
Your hopes or goals for the future	86.3%	90.0%	86.7%
Problems you may have at school with peers	78.0%	7.7%	84.9%
Problems you may have in your household or community	75.4%	84.3%	88.4%
Rape or violence against girls or women	70.3%	70.1%	70.3%
A girl or woman who you admire and want to be like	70.1%	79.2%	64.9%
Girls being bothered or teased by men or boys in your neighbourhood	61.9%	84.2%	67.7%

Boyfriends/girlfriends	61.4%	71.1%	59.8%
Problems you may have at school with teachers	55.6%	5.1%	60.2%
Marriage, having children	33.5%	59.9%	31.6%

5.1.5 Summary: key thematic findings about social relations

Lens	Key Findings
Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Social Networks</i>: Roughly 75% of girls in the quantitative survey report that they have a support structure outside of their homes. The main social gatherings they participate in are religious events, closely followed by sports and games with other female friends. When informal social structures fail to provide a safety net, the majority of girls are most likely to go to the police station. In the SM findings, fun and leisure can be associated with pregnancy, marriage, and relationships with the opposite sex as stand-out areas in which girls are seen to be constrained (in terms of the willingness to be understood and expectations to follow decent behavior). • <i>Decision-making in relationships</i>: Across groups, girls see the decision of when to get married or when to have children as their own. When parents tell stories about relationships, they report that the girls in the stories make decisions for themselves – although girls are seen to be much more likely to encounter challenges around decency of social behaviour in stories about relationships than in stories about marriage. • <i>Marriage or relationships with the opposite sex</i>: The majority of girls believe that, within their community, it is acceptable that a girl would delay her marriage to finish her studies and start a new job. However, the majority of respondents also agree that ‘women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers’. In SM, stories about relationships with the opposite sex are mainly about pregnancy and violence. Overall, 80% of the stories about relationships are negative and 65% of the stories about relationships that directly involve boys and/or boyfriends are about pregnancy. While it is more often the case that girls are perceived to be deciding on relationship matters – particularly out-of-school girls – it can be inferred that they are not empowered to do this, but instead tend to make decisions in isolation from support structures. On the other hand, perhaps given the social significance of the issue, there are many more stories about marriage showing more involvement of parents than in relationships. <i>Support and advice</i>: In general, girls are much more likely to turn to their mother for help and advice about problems and challenges than to turn to their friends. They seldom reach out to their father or spouse/boyfriend. Importantly however, while the quantitative survey and SM both demonstrate the real or perceived importance of mothers as confidants respectively, there is a perception amongst respondents that there is little variation in the degree to which mothers and fathers encourage girls to follow expected behaviour. Having said this, parents are more often associated with positive stories than negative ones. Friends become equally important confidants as mothers after the age of 15.
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The older girls become, the fewer female friends or confidants they have. However, older girls are more likely than younger girls to turn to their friends for advice. • When they talk with their friends, older girls are less likely than younger girls to talk about education and more likely to talk about their hopes and goals for the future or issues relating to relationships between boys and girls or men and women. The SM stories by contrast, show that for all girls (10–19), the importance of social connections in improving story outcomes is considered to be minor in relation to other factors. In isolation though, while the number of social connections decreases

	by age in reality, the perceptions of social connectivity being a dominant theme for girls in the stories increases with their age.
Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On average, being more confident is associated with having more friends, and this association holds when controlling for which group girls belong to (in-school, out-of-school, vulnerable) as well as their age, and location.
Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In general, vulnerable in-school girls tend to have a weaker support structure outside their homes than other in-school girls. Regarding marriage, vulnerable girls are more likely than others to agree that ‘women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers’. They are also more likely to believe that violence against women is justified in some cases. Among vulnerable girls, marriage and having children are the least frequently discussed topics. Vulnerable girls are much more likely to discuss hopes and future goals.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Out-of-school girls typically have a weaker support structure outside of their homes than in-school girls – but that this is not necessarily attributable to wellbeing/levels of wealth. They are much more likely to have less confidence and to make decisions on their own than in-school girls (including girls in the vulnerable group). Out-of-school girls are also less connected and therefore less likely to reach out to people to discuss important topics such as marriage and having children. This is validated by the SM findings that out-of-school girls seem to decide more about what happens to them when it comes to relationships than in-school girls. However, they are likely not to perceive this as an issue that may have implications on their wellbeing. This again suggests that the perception of what out-of-school girls value or understand about how confidence promotes their wellbeing is counter to the findings in the quantitative survey.

5.2 Education

“When I was in year four, my mother told me that if I got good grades, she would reward me. I studied hard and I was the first though I had not anticipated that. However, I would study and revise lessons at home and when the exam came, I succeeded. When I got home, my mother cooked me some fish as a reward. Now, I am studying hard to see whether I will succeed again.”

“This is a story of a young girl who is considering to drop out of school because of her own father. I am a 15 years old young girl. I am an orphan and I live at my aunt’s I like to study because I know it’s important but my father does not want me to study.

My story is about a young girl who was a good student but he is not comfortable at school where she is studying because she has many distractions due to the fact that she is poor. She often deserts school and to go and look for school fees. When she comes back, school authorities send her away. When she tells it to her parents, they say that she is stubborn, though they never give her money. When she got into primary six, she passed the final examination and was sent to Karengera school. Her parents refused to pay her school fees and she went to nine years basic education program. When she got there, she did not have school materials. She looked for the materials for herself. In her family, they do not recognize her because her mother gave birth to her when she was a student, living at her grandfather’s. Her grandfather is so old that he cannot manage to get her school materials

required for girls. They cannot give her clothes or shoes because her parents have abandoned her. Even today, if she passes examinations, she will not be able to study because her parents have forsaken her.”

In this section, results on awareness, attitudes, social norms and decision-making about education are outlined. Additionally, the section explores how these norms and attitudes change depending on whether girls are enrolled or not, their level of vulnerability, and their age or location. This section also looks at questions related to access to information and how that is affected by the schooling or the vulnerability levels of girls. In general, social norms and attitudes about education are very positive, but schooling and vulnerability combine to affect everything from a girl's awareness about education opportunities, to her perceptions about social norms relating to education, her attitudes, education-related decision-making within the household, and access to information and the media.

It is important to note that almost all girls and boys in the sample, even though they might not have been enrolled at the time of the survey, have had a minimum level of education. Only an estimated 0.3% of girls and boys aged 10 to 19 report never attending school. The majority of children in the out-of-school group dropped out of school in the three last years of primary school and in the first year of secondary. The best estimate for out-of-school girls and boys aged 12 or above, controlling for age differences and other characteristics, is that about 15% of them dropped out of school in Primary 4 (P4), 34% in Primary 5 (P5), 32% in Primary 6 (P6 – the last year of primary), and finally about 14% in Secondary 1 (S1). Very few children drop out before P4, and very few children make it through S1 and drop-out in subsequent years. The challenge of keeping young girls and boys in school therefore starts in Primary 4.

It is also useful to remind the reader that the sampling method for this evaluation was based on distinguishing between children that are in-school, out-of-school, and vulnerable. Therefore by comparing these groups on various metrics much can be learned about how education relates to other indicators of interest. For instance, . girls that are at school have a more stable family background (e.g. more likely to have both parents alive), their families are better off in terms of the assets they own, and they are more socially connected (have more friends, attend more social events outside school). Some of these differences are very large and reveal just how different the life trajectories of girls that are in school and girls that are out of school can be.

5.2.1 General nature of the stories about education

Adults, mainly parents and teachers, share the highest percentage of stories related to education which indicates that education of girls is an issue of importance for them. Overall, there is a similar number of stories about education across all age groups of girls and no drastic differences between vulnerable and non-vulnerable girls.

Out-of-school respondents tell not only more stories about education (40%) compared to in-school respondents (30%), but share also more negative stories (71% negative stories and only 7% positive stories). Their stories show that out-of-school girls are not able to do what they would like to in terms of education and that they lack choice and opportunities. The experiences about education shared by out-of-school girls cause more permanent changes to their life than their peers in school.

For out-of-school girls, stories about education seem to be more related to topics of work, skills and money, which suggests more familiarity with money due to association with work-related activities or towards having less opportunities in life in relation to work and money because of not being able to attend school. The latter is confirmed by the fact that out-of-school girls find ‘wealth’ more important to improve the outcome of their stories compared to in-school girls (see Figure 34)

A high number of stories about education shared by in-school girls are about (lack of) confidence/agency, almost entirely dealing with health issues at school (except in the Eastern Province). Analysing the stories shows a high number of situations related to menstruation at school (15% of the stories is about menstruation and 45% of the stories in which the word ‘blood’ or ‘menstruation’ appears are also about education). Finally, Kigali respondents share the highest percentage of negative stories about education (74%) and have the highest percentage of stories about education from out-of-school respondents (46%).

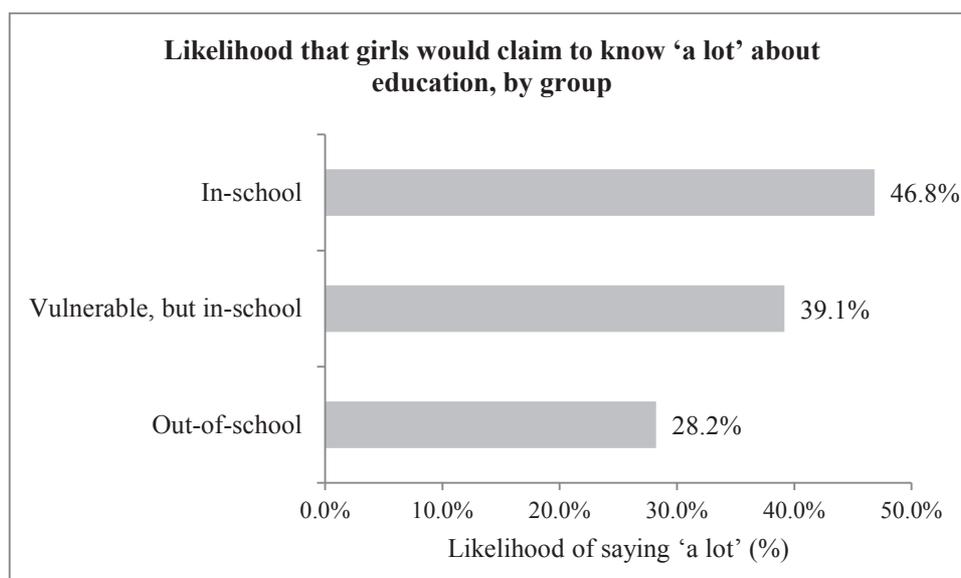
5.2.2 Awareness about education

In this section, the survey data focuses less on how education affects other aspects of a girl's life – her social connectedness, her awareness about health issues, her experience of violence and safety, or her economic

empowerment – and more on a girl’s awareness about education opportunities, attitudes and norms surrounding education, education-related decision-making in the household, and access to information and the media.

Not surprisingly, there are large disparities when it comes to knowledge about education between girls that are enrolled in school and girls that are not (See Figure 43). When asked whether they knew ‘a lot’¹⁴, ‘a little’ or ‘nothing’ about ‘school and education opportunities’, girls in the out-of-school group claimed to be much less knowledgeable than girls that were in the in-school group. The likelihood that a girl in the in-school group would say she knew a lot about school and education was 47%, compared to just 28% in the out-of-school group.

Figure 43: Likelihood that girls would claim to know ‘a lot’ about education, by group (quantitative)



While differences between girls who are in school and out of school might not come as a surprise, differences between girls in the in-school group and girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group are quite striking. Controlling for differences in age and location, this study found that girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group were about 10% less likely to claim that they knew ‘a lot’ about school and education opportunities than girls in the in-school group. This suggests that beyond their level of education, vulnerability – defined here as belonging to the poorest households (lowest Ubudehe group), being orphaned or a genocide survivor – plays an important role in determining how a girl perceives her knowledge about school and education opportunities.

This hypothesis was tested using the scarcity index and it was found that the more vulnerable the household characteristics of a girl, the less likely she is to say that she knows ‘a lot’ about education. Vulnerability and schooling combine to shape how much a girl feels she knows about educational opportunities. Three potential explanations of this association between vulnerability and how much a girl claims to know about education opportunities, include: (i) the fact that vulnerable girls feel less confident about their personal knowledge (this is confirmed by questions on how confident girls feel); (ii) the fact that they might feel that they do less well at school and hence have no or little knowledge about school and education opportunities; or (iii) the fact that they have less access to advice or other sources of knowledge about school and education in general. It is important to note however that this effect is not limited to the topic of education. Girls that are vulnerable also feel they know less about health and menstruation, work or jobs for young people, or challenges associated with early childhood for girls.

5.2.3 Social norms and attitudes

Attitudes and reported social norms about education for young girls are in general very positive. The vast majority of girls in all three groups – in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school – believe that education, both at

¹⁴ The phrases ‘a lot’ and ‘a little’ were used in the survey order to obtain a general sense of the self-perceived knowledge amongst respondents and not to specifically determine if what respondents knew, what they could list, etc.

the primary and secondary level, is encouraged. This study estimates that about 80% to 90% of girls are likely to believe that in their communities girls are encouraged to complete primary and secondary school and that it is acceptable for a girl to delay marriage in order to complete school (see Table 19). 70% to 90% of girls and boys are also likely to disagree with the statement that ‘when money is scarce, and parents cannot send all their children to school, boys should be sent to school before girls’, thereby implying a certain level of gender parity in terms of attitudes towards education.

While children in all groups tend to report positive attitudes and social norms towards education, there are differences between groups. Children in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups are about 9% less likely to ‘strongly agree’ that girls are encouraged to complete secondary school when compared to children in the ‘in-school group’. Children in the vulnerable, but in-school and out-of-school groups are also respectively 10 to 16% less likely to ‘strongly disagree’ that ‘when money is scarce [...] boys should be sent to school first’. More educated and less vulnerable children are more likely to perceive positive attitudes and social norms towards girls’ education.

Differences can also be found between boys and girls - boys are estimated to be 10% less likely to ‘strongly agree’ that it is acceptable for girls to delay marriage for school, they are 10.9% likely to ‘strongly agree’ that girls are encouraged to go to primary school, and finally 6% less likely to ‘strongly agree’ that girls are encouraged to go to secondary school. This difference is not only limited to education-related questions however. Similar differences can be observed in the level of agreement between boys and girls on other statements related to attitudes and norms as well, such as whether they are related to violence or rape, work, family planning, etc. The differences between boys and girls can be interpreted in two ways: (i) either boys perceive their communities to be less supportive of girls’ rights when it comes to education and other matters; (ii) or they are themselves less supportive of those rights.

Table 21: Estimated likelihood that girls would agree/disagree on a certain statement relating to roles and attitudes in terms schooling (quantitative)

Statement	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school (girls)	Boys
In your community girls are encouraged to complete primary school				
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	4.6%	1.5%	2.4%	2.3%
<i>Disagree</i>	6.5%	5.0%	6.9%	5.6%
<i>Don't know</i>	1.0%	3.3%	2.7%	6.4%
<i>Agree</i>	53.9%	54.0%	60.8%	62.2%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	34.0%	36.1%	27.2%	23.5%
In your community girls are encouraged to complete secondary school				
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	2.9%	1.8%	0.8%	0.4%
<i>Disagree</i>	5.6%	11.0%	8.2%	8.1%
<i>Don't know</i>	2.6%	3.3%	1.0%	4.7%
<i>Agree</i>	52.5%	52.7%	62.9%	57.0%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	36.4%	31.2%	27.1%	29.8%
When money is scarce, and parents cannot send all children to school, boys should be sent before girls				
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	42.6%	26.5%	32.2%	34.6%
<i>Disagree</i>	45.1%	43.8%	52.1%	47.9%
<i>Don't know</i>	3.1%	5.3%	6.3%	2.3%
<i>Agree</i>	7.4%	16.5%	5.9%	11.9%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	1.7%	8.0%	3.6%	3.3%

In your community, it is OK for a girl to delay marriage so she can stay in school

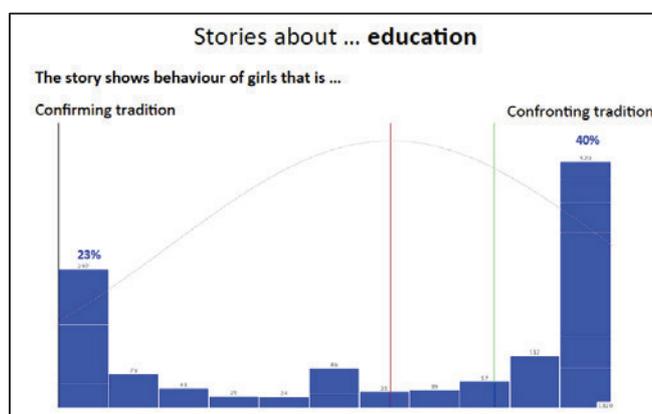
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	3.9%	2.1%	4.1%	3.5%
<i>Disagree</i>	10.3%	10.2%	13.2%	11.4%
<i>Don't know</i>	3.7%	5.8%	1.6%	2.9%
<i>Agree</i>	54.7%	47.9%	53.6%	63.0%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	27.4%	34.0%	27.6%	19.2%

Note: estimated using mlogit model. These are population likelihoods, hence observed differences in the table can be driven by large differences in age between the three groups or by differences in background characteristics.

Despite differences between groups and between boys and girls, these statistics suggest that there is a mismatch between attitudes about education and reality, in particular when it comes to secondary and tertiary education. The likelihood that a girl or boy would agree that girls are encouraged to complete secondary school is about 88%, yet fewer than half of girls ever attend secondary school (for girls the net secondary-school enrolment rate is 22%, while the gross enrolment rate is 43%).¹⁵ About 83% of girls who are out of school also believe that in their communities girls are encouraged to complete secondary school, yet they themselves are not enrolled. This seems to suggest that attitudes and social norms towards the education of young girls are not the key factors in keeping girls out of school.

This is similarly shown in the SM findings in that the degree of stories about confronting tradition are much lower than the overall pattern (see Figure 44). Furthermore, experiences/stories about education that happen all the time are even more balanced between confronting and conforming traditions. However, it can be observed that the older girls are in the story, the more stories tend to be about girls confronting traditions – and that this is potentially related to associations with school drop-out rates.

Figure 44: Stories about education (SM Dataset)



Finally, positive stories about education are very strongly correlated with stories that are showing behaviour of girls confirming traditions, while negative stories about educations are very strongly linked to stories in which girls are confronting traditions.

5.2.4 Decisions about education

Regardless of their age, the quantitative findings show that the vast majority of girls believe that their parents decide whether or not they should go to school. Before the age of 14, the likelihood that a girl would say that the decision of going to school is hers to make is less than 5–10%. This likelihood rapidly increases after the age of 14 to reach about 45% at the age of 19 when it comes to decisions about going to secondary school or pursuing tertiary education (see Figure 45).

¹⁵ Census (2012)

This is confirmed by the patterns in the collected stories. When it comes to issues related to education, it seems that parents are deciding more what happens to younger girls age 10–15 years old (37%) while older girls age 16–24 years old seem to decide more for themselves (36%) (see Figure 44). Further analysis shows that for stories in which girls 10–15 years appear, 51% of the stories in which parents decide what happens to girls are about education. For stories in which girls 16–24 years appear, 58% of the stories in which girls decide about what happens to them are about education (see Figure 46). This suggests a greater percentage of girls have an outward perception of norms in the community regarding when parents decide on educational matters, compared to what girls think happens in their own household.

Figure 45: Making decisions about education in stories about 10–15-year-old and 16–24-year-old girls (SM Dataset)

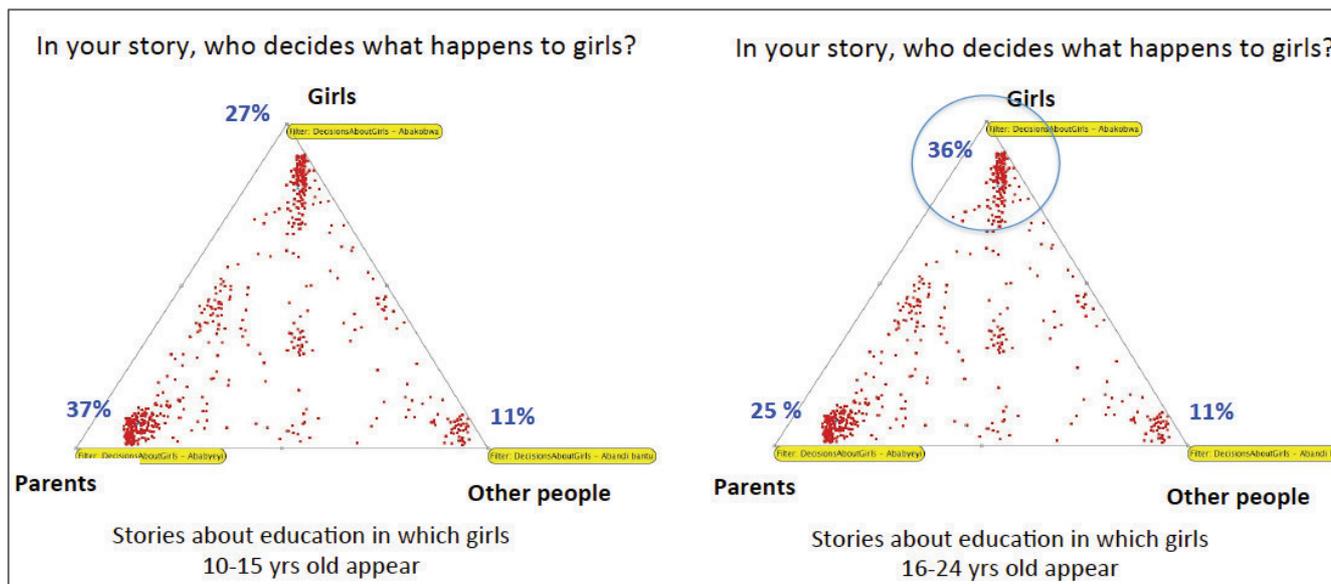
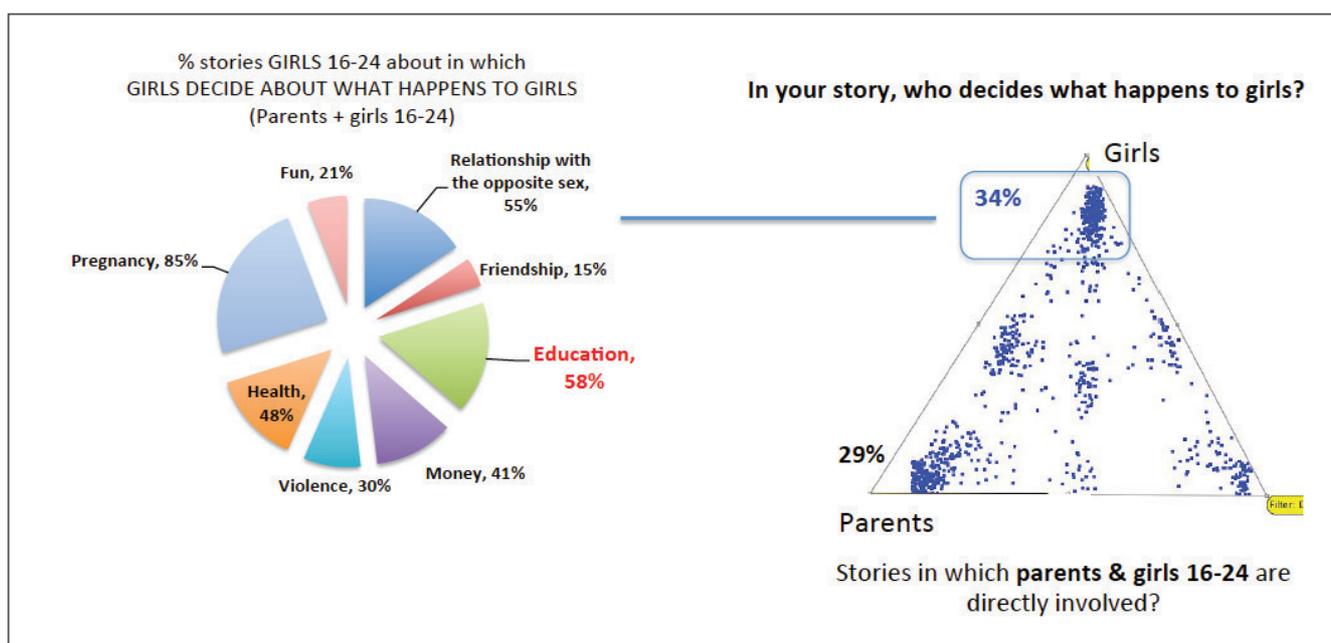
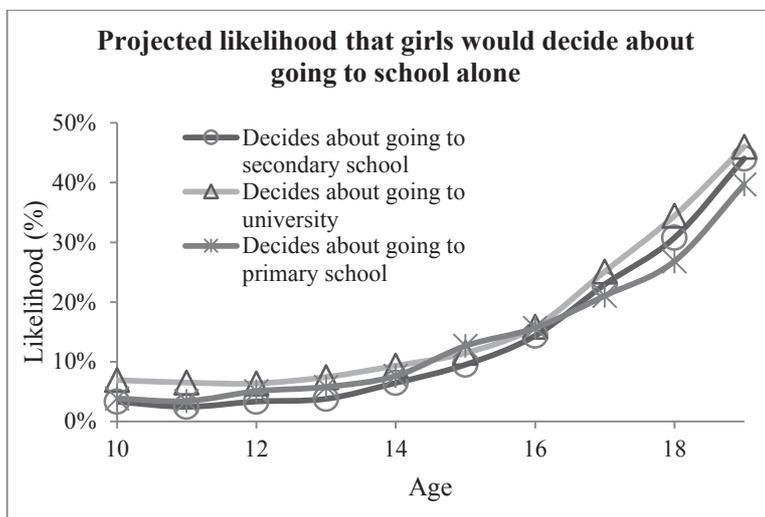


Figure 46: Decisions in which girls participate (SM Dataset)



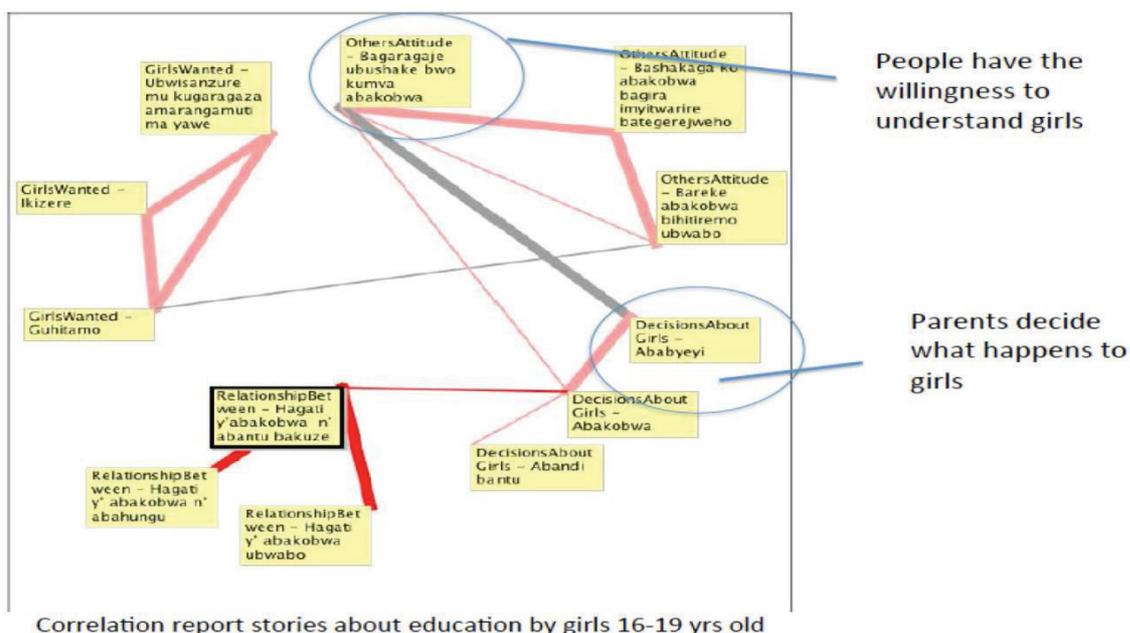
While girls are unlikely to decide about their education by themselves, they do however claim to participate in the decision-making process. The likelihood that a girl in this sample would say that she participates in the decision-making about going to school is estimated to be between 78–94% on average, depending on which group she belongs to (see Figure 47)..

Figure 47: Projected likelihood that girls would decide about going to school alone (quantitative)



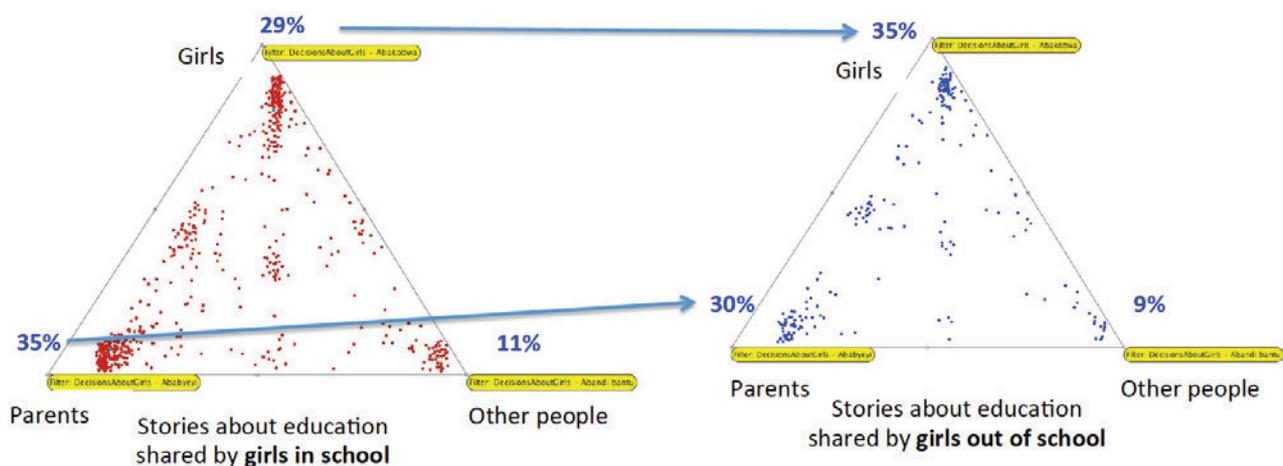
In the stories about education shared by girls 16–19 years old, there is a notable drop in the percentage of stories (20%) in which people wanted girls to follow expected behavior. And, for stories about education from girls age 16–19, there is a strong correlation between stories in which parents decide what happens to girls and stories where people showed willingness to understand girls; So, this might indicate that older girls not only decide more for themselves when it comes to education, but in the cases where parents still decide there seem to be a willingness to understand girls (see Figure 48) . .

Figure 48: Correlation report stories about education by girls 16-19 years old (SM Dataset)



The quantitative survey shows key differences between girls that are enrolled and girls that are not. Girls that are out-of-school are much more likely to say they make decisions about going to school themselves than girls in the in-school group (see Figure 49). The likelihood that a girl in the out-of-school group would claim that she makes decisions about going to secondary school herself is 48%, compared to just 9% for girls in the in-school group. By analysing the stories about education, this finding is less pronounced. Girls out of school seem to decide more what happens to themselves (from 29% to 35%), so that the pattern for stories from out-of-school girls shifts from parents deciding to girls deciding. It may be the case that this less-pronounced difference in the SM findings compared to the quantitative findings can be explained by the social-norms approach and the differences between views of the self, and views of the other – although more research would need to be conducted to confirm this.

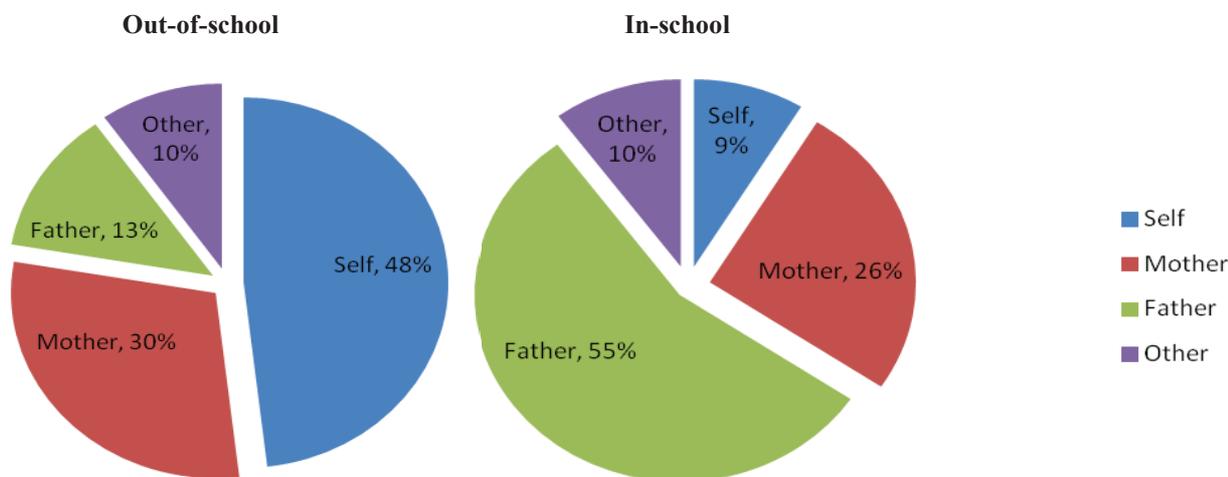
Figure 49: Decisions about education in stories told by in-school and out-of-school girls (SM Dataset)



Also, it appears that out-of-school girls tell more stories about education in which people let girls decide for themselves. This might indicate that out-of-school girls indeed make more decisions about going to school themselves (see Figure 50).

Part of this very large difference is explained by the fact that on average out-of-school girls are older than girls in the in-school group. Controlling for age and other factors however, it can be noted that belonging to the out-of-school group is associated with a 17% increase in the likelihood that a girl would make a decision about secondary education on her own. This effect also holds when controlling for differences in the vulnerability levels of children. Girls that drop out of school therefore seem to be made responsible for important decisions such as schooling much earlier in life than girls that are in-school, regardless of how old or vulnerable they are. This is not a pattern limited to education: girls that are out-of-school are much more likely to also make decisions on their own about marriage, work, children, doing household chores, etc.

Figure 50: Who makes the decision about whether you should go to secondary school? (SM Dataset)



Note: (estimated using mlogit model)

When comparing decision-making about secondary education for in-school and out-of-school girls, that girls making decisions on their own in the out-of-school group replace the role of the father in the in-school group. This can clearly be seen in Figure 50. The respective share for decision-making by the mother or ‘other’ family members does not change when girls in the in-school group are compared with the out-of-school group. The fact that girls seem to replace the father in the decision-making process could be a symptom of girls being much more likely to belong to female-headed households (which are widowed, separated, divorced, or single), but could also be reflective of negligence from the father with respect to their upbringing and the wellbeing of the family. This hypothesis cannot be tested using data from this survey, even though results are robust to controlling for the gender of the head of household.

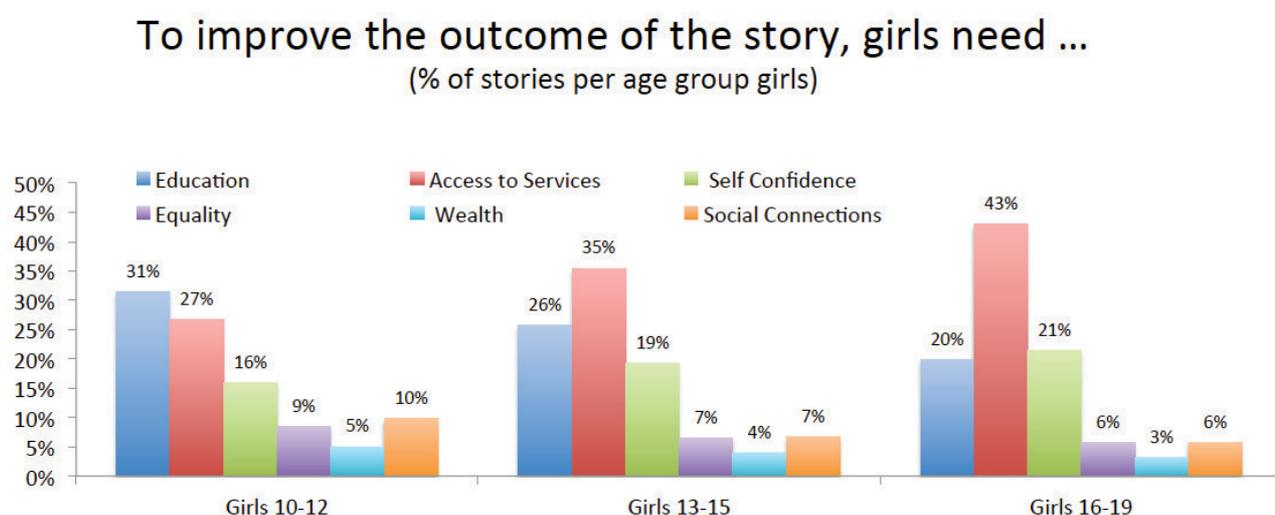
5.2.5 What girls need

In SM respondents were asked what girls needed in order to improve the outcome of their story. Options included: access to services, education, equality, social connections, wealth and self-confidence. Overall, across all girl groups, about 35% of girls responded ‘access to services’ as the number one issue girls in their story needed to improve their situation, 25% said education, and about 20% said self-confidence. Social connections, money and equality were mentioned on average less than 10% of the time (see Table 20 for breakdown by strata).

These results cannot be interpreted to signify that this is indeed what girls in society need more or less of, but differences between groups can provide some useful insights into what girls might perceive as more or less important for them and their peers.

Analysing further, a first difference can be spotted between the age groups of girls. Younger girls (10–12) seem to find education more important as a solution for their challenges in life than older girls. For stories shared by girls 10–12, there are 31% of the stories in which girls need ‘education’ while for the other age groups, especially the older girls, the dominant answer is girls need ‘access to services’. The older girls are, the less they share stories in which girls need education (see Figure 51).

Figure 51: Percentage of stories per age group indicating what girls would need to do in order to improve the outcome of their story (SM Dataset)



Secondly, based on their responses to these questions, it is interesting to note that girls in the in-school group were on average 5% more likely to say that girls needed education to improve their story than girls in the out-of-school and vulnerable groups. The effect is relatively large, but not quite of note statistically. Given that the effect is similar for girls in both the out-of-school and vulnerable groups, this result does not seem to indicate that girls that are not enrolled seem to value education less than girls that are enrolled. Rather it suggests that girls in the out-of-school and vulnerable groups perceive themselves or their peers – as projected through the stories they told – to have more pressing needs than the lack of education.

Table 22: Estimated likelihood of how girls would respond to the question of what girls in the story needed to improve the outcome of the story (SM Dataset)

To improve the outcome of this story, girls needed more ...	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Access to services	33.0%	40.5%	44.2%
Education	26.4%	20.4%	22.0%
Self-confidence	21.1%	15.7%	14.8%
Social connections	8.7%	3.8%	7.2%
Equality	8.5%	10.6%	7.1%
Wealth	2.3%	9.1%	4.7%

All other factors being equal, girls in the vulnerable group were 12–15 percentage points more likely to say that girls in their stories needed more ‘access to services’ than girls in the in-school and out-of-school groups. Girls in the out-of-school group, were 7–9% more likely to say that girls in their story needed more ‘wealth’ to improve the outcome of their story compared to girls in the other two groups. These findings outline that differing priorities that different girls assign to solutions.

5.2.6 Summary: key thematic findings about education

Lens	Key Findings
Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The vast majority of girls in all three groups believe that education, both at the primary and secondary level, is encouraged and that it is acceptable for a girl to delay marriage in order to complete school. • 70–90% of girls and boys also disagree with the statement that ‘when money is scarce and parents cannot send all their children to school, boys should be sent to school before girls’, thereby implying a certain level of gender parity in terms of attitudes towards education. • Across groups, girls that strongly agree with the fact that girls are encouraged to complete primary and secondary school are much less likely to tell a negative story in SM • Education is an important theme in SM: For adults it is the second highest topic across all stories. When asked what girls needed in order to improve the outcomes of their stories, 35% of girls responded ‘access to services’, 25% responded ‘education’, and 20% responded ‘self-confidence’. Comparing this with quantitative findings, it can be further determined that girls in school place value on education and confidence as a solution to the stories, girls out of school place value on wealth, while girls that are vulnerable place value on access to services – meanwhile recognising that all groups value the importance of education more generally. This seems to suggest that attitudes and social norms within girl cohorts towards the education of young girls are not key factors in keeping girls out of school.
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Older girls in the quantitative survey are more likely to decide for themselves whether they will go to school. This is validated by the SM findings that, in stories about younger girls and education, the parents are more likely to make decisions.
Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlling for everything else, girls’ scarcity score is a strong predictor of how much she claims to know about education opportunities. Girls in the vulnerable group are less likely to claim that they know ‘a lot’ about school and education opportunities than other in-school girls. They are also less likely to ‘strongly agree’ that girls in their communities are encouraged to complete secondary school or to strongly agree that ‘when money is scarce, boys should be sent to school first’. • Girls in the vulnerable group are similar to girls in the in-school group in terms of making decisions about going to school. However, more educated and less vulnerable children are more noticeably more likely to perceive positive attitudes and social norms towards girls’ education than out-of-school and vulnerable girls.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, the quantitative findings from the sample show that few children drop out of school before Primary 4, so the challenge of keeping young girls and boys in school starts in Primary 4 when drop-out rates begin to increase. Girls in the in-school group are more likely to report that they know a lot about educational opportunities than girls in the out-of-school group. They are also more likely to feel there is strong community support for their education: out-of-school respondents are less likely to ‘strongly agree’ that girls are encouraged to complete secondary school or to strongly agree that ‘when money is scarce...boys should be sent to school first’. • As in the social-relations section, girls in the out-of-school group are more isolated, but they are more likely to say that they make decisions about going to school themselves.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In SM out-of-school respondents tell not only more stories about education (40%) compared to in-school respondents (30%), but share also more negative stories (71% negative stories and only 7% positive stories). The experiences about education shared by out-of-school girls cause more permanent changes to their life than their peers in school. In-school girls also tell more stories about isolation, compared to out-of-school girls who tell more stories about being connected. • In-school girls were on average 5% more likely to say that girls needed education to improve the outcome of their story. Thus, girls in the out-of-school group and vulnerable groups perceive themselves and their peers to have more pressing needs than education. For example, out-of-school girls find ‘wealth’ more important to improve the outcome of their stories compared to in-school girls . • There seem to be a high number of situations related to menstruation at school (15% of the stories are about menstruation and 45% of the stories in which the word ‘blood‘ or ‘menstruation’ appears are also about education).
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys are less likely to ‘strongly agree’ that it is acceptable for girls to delay marriage for school or to ‘strongly agree’ that girls are encouraged to go to primary or secondary school. • There is also a strong gender disparity in access to non-formal forms of education: boys are 6% more likely to listen to the radio at least once per month; 17% more likely to watch television at least once per month; 20% more likely to use a mobile phone at least once a month; and 9% more likely to use the Internet.

5.3 Economic empowerment

“The life I’ve gone through: I was born a second child; I was brought up at my aunt’s; I was very well educated. I was six years old when back home in Kirehe, came a project called ‘Compassion’, so I came to my real home. I started the first year, and I would come first. I got a benefactor in that project called Compassion. When I was in the second year, that benefactor sent me one hundred thousand (100, 000) Rwf, I bought a cow with it. Now it has given birth. He even liked to socialize, in terms of friendship. Now, I am in the fifth year, I came second during the first term and during the first I came first with 95%. I have lived well; I’ve never had a bad life; I have both parents. My comrades need hope for tomorrow.”

“There is girl who was in the sixth grade and when it was time to go to nine years basic education program, she dropped out because her parents could not buy her uniform because they did not have money. When they got paid where they were working on terrace for land consolidation, they bought her a uniform and she refused to study, said that it’s Kagame only who did study. She now lives home, doing ploughing. After a while, she got a job in a coffee factory and when she got paid, she bought a goat and gave it to someone to look after it for her. Nowadays, she says that she is about to get married because her parents make her work hard and she has started hanging out with boys.”

“There was child who dropped out of school and went to Kigali. When she came back she was pregnant and infected with HIV/AIDS. As a result, she lost respect and value from the community. She could not be given a chance to participate in decision making of the family.”

“There is girl who is a good friend of me. We want to visit each other. We want to go to school, to church and to rehearse songs together. She will come to sleep at my house and I will go to sleep at her house. I will lend her a

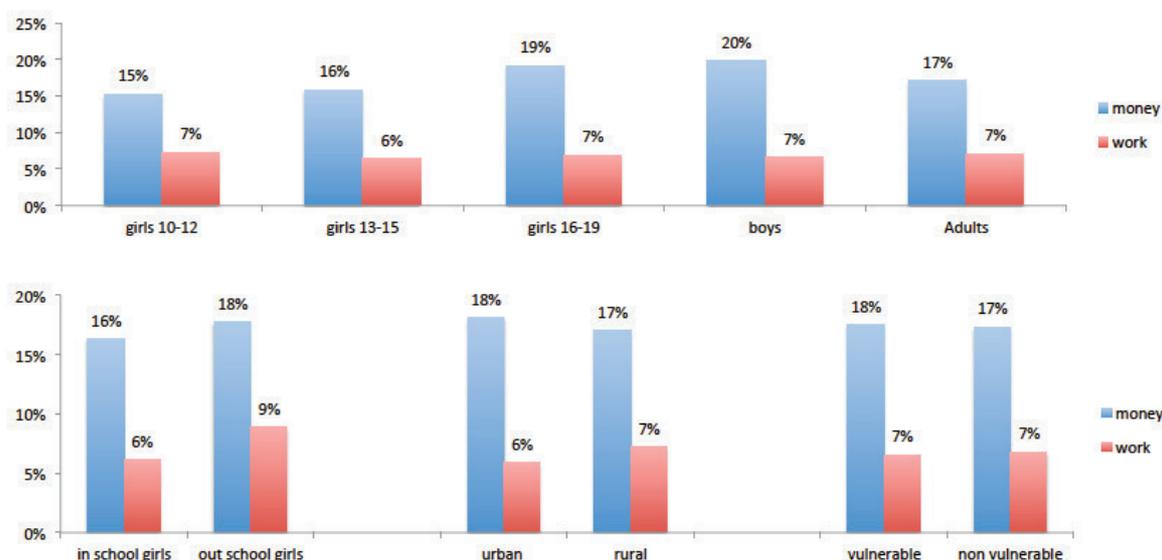
pen when she doesn't have it and she will lend me a pen when I don't have one. I will help her when she needs me and she will help when I need her."

"This is my personal story. My parents have never been kind to me. They abused me at the point that I had to leave home from last Sunday because they beat me up simply because I was playing with other children. I was part of a micro-lending cooperative and they had given me some money. My parents took it and refused to give it to me. They also refused to buy me school materials. I would like to ask you to consider the life I am living in."

Economic empowerment can be interpreted in several ways. A broad view would encompass as many concepts as human, social, financial and physical capital, access to institutions and supportive social norms. In this section however, a narrower view of economic empowerment is considered, which includes: (i) access to and control over financial capital: do adolescent girls have financial assets and what is their level of decision-making in managing them; (ii) access to and control over economic opportunities: what are adolescent girls' economic opportunities and are they able to decide for themselves; (iii) social capital: do adolescent girls benefit from community support for financial matters. What economic empowerment means varies with age - the quantitative survey discusses the economic empowerment of adolescents with a specific focus on girls compared to boys, and girls compared across the different groups. This section also verifies whether age and provinces make a difference and analyses these concepts with regards to the theme of self-confidence, agency and voice.

The SM signification framework did not focus on economic empowerment. However, respondents could indicate whether their stories were about work and/or money. Overall, there is a relatively low percentage of stories about work (7%) but a comparably more noticeable percentage of stories about money (17%), indicating that money-related issues are more prominent in the lives of girls between 10 and 19 years old compared to work-related issues. There is not much difference across the different cohorts, although older girls (16–19 years old) and boys tell more stories about money (19–20% of their stories). For out of school girls, slightly more stories about work-related issues can be observed (Figure 52).

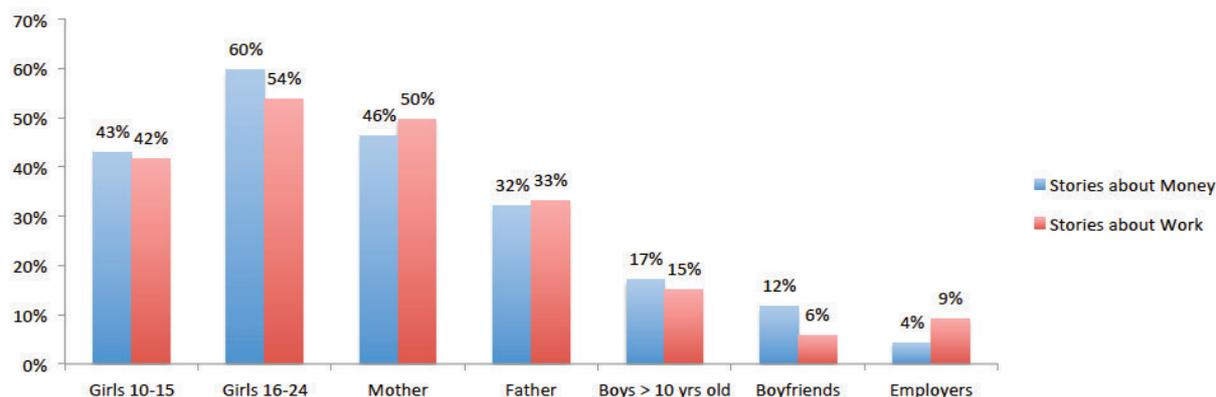
Figure 52: Percentage of stories about work and money (per cohort) (SM Dataset)



Work- and money-related issues are more pre-dominant in the life of older girls (>16 years old): 60% of the stories about money and 54% of the stories about work involve girls of the age 16–24 (compared to resp. 43% and 42% stories involving younger girls age 10–15), see Figure 53.

Although represented in a low percentage of stories, there are two times more boyfriends involved in stories about money compared to stories about work, and only 9% of the stories about work involve employers. This is an indication that the work-related experiences/stories are not directly related to work and employment as such, but are related to other aspects in the lives of girls. For example, there is a strong link between the stories about work and the stories about education (43%), violence (37%) and health (32%). In general, stories about work and money have less to do with girls' social connections than other stories, and more to do with girls' skills, especially stories about work.

Figure 53: Percentage of different people involved in stories about work and money (per cohort) (SM Dataset)

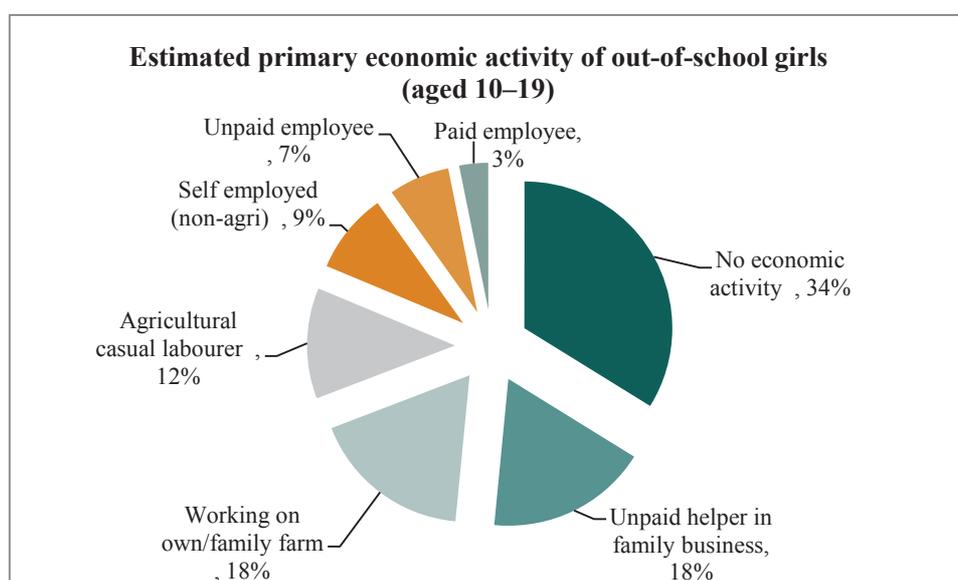


Although all stories are pre-dominantly negative, stories about work-related issues in the lives of girls are less negative than money-related issues. There are 17% positive stories and 23% neutral stories about work which are both higher than the general pattern across all the stories. In fact, work is one of the story topics that has the highest percentage of positive stories while stories about money are the most negative ones.

Primary occupation of the respondents

Virtually all girls in the in-school and vulnerable, but in-school sample report 'student' as their main occupation. This is not the case for the out-of-school group, where it can be estimated that about 42% of girls claim to work in unpaid jobs or on unpaid tasks (such as working on their own/family farm, being an unpaid employee, unpaid helper in the family business, unemployed, or mainly busy with household chores), compared to about 24% who claim to work on paid activities (e.g. being self-employed, being a casual labourer or a paid employee) and about 34% that report having no economic activity (e.g. looking for work, claiming to have no economic activity, or working on household chores). There is some ambiguity in the questionnaire on the question of farm work: one of the options was 'you work on own farm', which could be classified as a paid activity, but most girls seem to have interpreted this to mean the family farm so classify it as unpaid work. A breakdown of the reported primary activity of out-of-school girls is depicted in Figure 54. It is important to note that these results only take into account the primary occupation of adolescents, not potential secondary occupation(s).

Figure 54: Estimated primary economic activity of out-of-school girls (age 10–19) (quantitative)



The three key determinants for the primary occupation of out-of-school girls are geographic location, age and vulnerability. Starting with geographic location, there are large urban/rural differences (see Table 23). Beyond differences in schooling, the nature of the work out-of-school girls engage in urban and rural areas is very different: out-of-school girls in Kigali for example are much less likely to work on a farm, either as a casual labourer on the family farm, and in general much less likely to engage in paid work. Only an estimated 8% of out-of-school girls in Kigali report having a paid job as their primary occupation, compared to 17–32% in the other provinces. Amongst out-of-school girls in the Kigali province that do engage in an economic activity as their primary occupation, about 64% report working as ‘unpaid helpers in the family business’, 22% as ‘unpaid employees’ and the remaining 14% as self-employed in non-agricultural jobs. There appear to be stark differences between the other provinces as well, even though it is important to note that in this survey sample sizes of out-of-school girls per province are just about 56 per province on average, and hence the margins of error associated with the reported statistics are large. Out-of-school girls in the Eastern and Northern Provinces are much more likely to have an economic activity than girls in the Western Province (differences with the Southern Province are not profound).

Table 23: Estimated likelihood that out-of-school girls report engaging in paid or unpaid work as their primary occupation (quantitative)

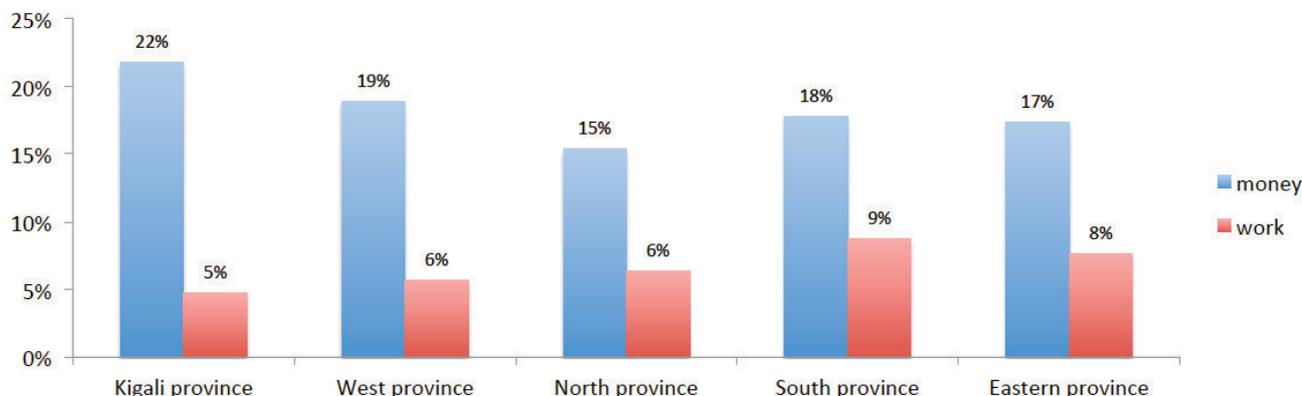
Province	No economic activity	Paid work	Unpaid work
Eastern	23.3%	28.4%	48.3%
Kigali	44.1%	7.5%	48.4%
Northern	25.3%	31.8%	42.9%
Southern	46.2%	23.2%	30.6%
Western	45.0%	17.5%	37.5%

Note: statistics reported in this table have high margins of error (about +/-17 percentage points).

Although there are no differences in the stories about work and money between respondents from urban or rural areas, there are differences between the provinces. Money-related issues seem to be more prominent in the lives of girls in Kigali compared to other provinces (22% of stories in Kigali Province are about money) while work-related

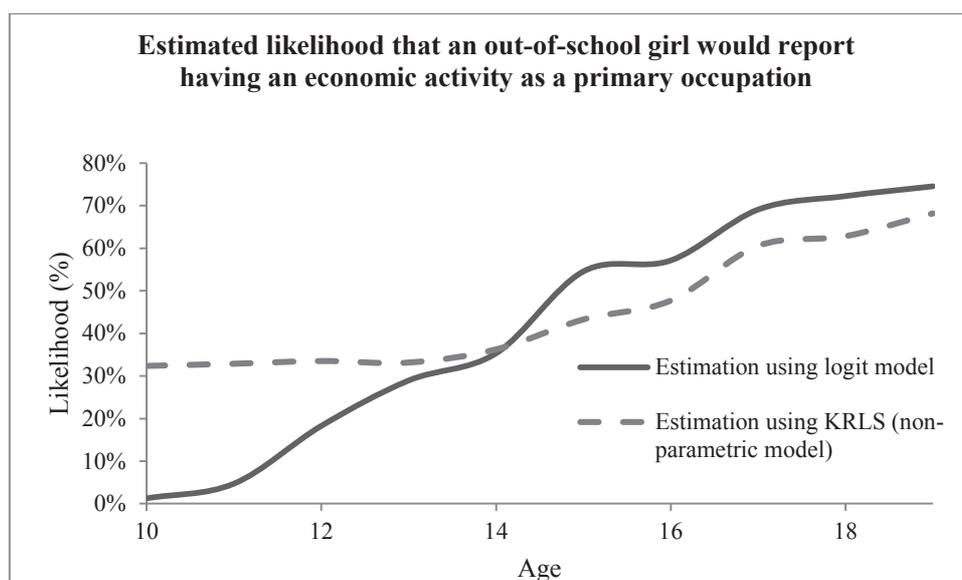
issues are least appearing (only 5% of stories is about work). In the South and Eastern Province, slightly more stories about work (8–9%) can be observed (see Figure 55).

Figure 55: Percentage of stories about work and money per province (SM Dataset)



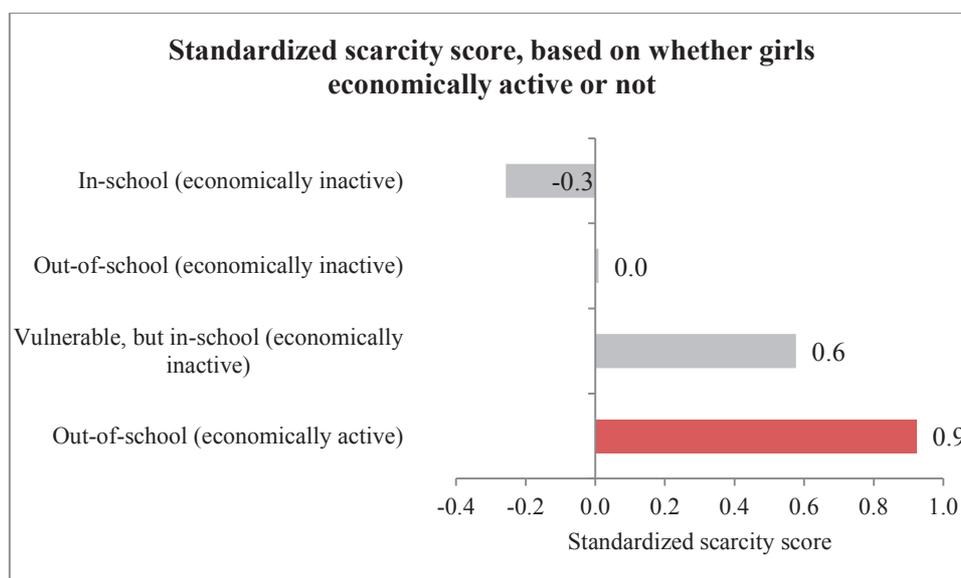
The second major determinant of the primary occupation of an out-of-school girl is age. Age is positively and notably associated to the likelihood that an out-of-school girl would report having an ‘economic activity’ as her primary occupation as opposed to being economically inactive (see Figure 56). Here ‘economic activity’ is defined as any paid or unpaid job or task (such as working on a farm, helping in the family business, being a paid or unpaid employee, etc.). Girls that report being a student, looking for a job, being inactive, or sick are classified as not having an economic activity. Using this definition it can be estimated that an out-of-school aged 19 has 68–75% chance of being economically active, compared to 0–33% for a girl aged 10. As can be seen in Figure 56, estimates are reported using two different models. Findings are reported from both models as they disagree on their predictions for 10–14 year olds, with predicted likelihoods for 10-year-olds ranging from 0–30%. This discrepancy arises because of small sample sizes, as there are very few girls that are out of school and aged 10–13 both in the population and in the sample.

Figure 56: Estimated likelihood that an out-of-school girl would report having an economic activity as a primary occupation (quantitative)



Finally, vulnerability is also a good predictor of whether an out-of-school girl is economically active or not. Girls that score higher on the scarcity index introduced in the overview section are also much more likely to be economically active, either in a paid or unpaid job (this association holds controlling for age and location). This can be seen in Figure 57, which compares the vulnerability score of in-school girls, vulnerable, but in-school girls, girls that are out-of-school and not economically active, and finally girls that are out-of-school and economically active.

Figure 57: Standardized scarcity score, based on whether girls are economically active or not (quantitative)



Note that gender does not affect whether adolescents attend school or not and whether they have an economic activity as primary occupation.

5.3.1 Assets ownership of adolescents

In general, very few adolescent boys and girls personally own any assets. As indicated in Table 24, likelihood that an adolescent owns a mattress or radio is only 3%, compared to 11% for a mobile phone. In addition, when they own an asset, in about half of the cases it is a gift, rather than a personal purchase. While few report owning any assets, the share of adolescents that report having some form of savings in case of an emergency or for future plans is relatively high at 45.7%¹⁶.

¹⁶ This result is somewhat surprising. In another survey conducted for CARE in 3 districts in Rwanda with adolescent girls enrolled in secondary school, only 18% reported having savings. In addition, in this survey, only 19% of caregivers reported owning any assets. Both figures are much lower than the 46% found here. The question itself should not have led to much confusion: it is clearly worded, includes a definition of ‘savings’ and the answer is closed-ended (yes or no). It can therefore be suspected that there might be a measurement error on this question although it is not possible to identify exactly if/what the issue might be.

Table 24: Estimated likelihood of adolescents owning a particular asset or having personal savings

Indicator	Bought	Gift	Total
Radio	1.8%	1.0%	3.1%
Television	0%	0%	0.3%
Mobile phone	4.2%	6.2%	11.1%
Mattress	0.2%	2%	2.7%
Kerosene Lamp	0%	0%	0.8%
Savings	n/a	n/a	45.7%

Ownership of assets varies according to three factors: gender, which group girls belong to, and finally age. Boys tend to fare better than girls - they are 5.7% more likely to own a radio, 5.1% more likely to own a mobile phone, and 12.1% more likely to have personal savings (differences are statistically important at the 1% level). These differences confirm the notion that socio-economic imbalances between males and females start taking hold at a very young age. The biggest difference observed between groups is between vulnerable, but in-school girls and girls in the in-school and out-of-school groups. Vulnerable, but in-school girls are much less likely to own a mobile phone (9%), sleep on a mattress (2%) or have savings on the side (17%). While their family situation is comparable to out-of-school children (according to the scarcity index), their personal situation – based on these indicators at least – appears to be slightly worse. Lastly, age matters - the older girls are, the more likely they are to own personal assets, in particular mobile phones. This study estimates for example that just 1% of girls aged 10–12 own a mobile phone, compared to 4% for girls aged 13–15 and 20% for girls aged 16–19.

It is interesting to also note difference in the likelihood of owning an asset, let's say a mobile phone, when comparing the economic activity of girls. This study estimates that the likelihood that a girl who is economically 'inactive' owns a mobile phone is 7%, compared to 12% for girls that work in 'unpaid jobs' and 28% for girls that work in 'paid jobs'. A large part of the difference between these three categories is explained by age. Controlling for age and location, it can be noted that girls that work in unpaid jobs are in fact 2.7 percentage points less likely to own a mobile phone than girls that are at-school or economically inactive, and about 6–7 percentage points less likely to own a mobile phone than girls that work in paid jobs (these results are statistically of note). The difference between them is explained by vulnerability. Controlling for their level of vulnerability (using the scarcity index), age and location, it can be noted that girls that are in paid jobs are about 6 percentage points more likely to own a mobile phone than girls that are in school or economically inactive. This seems to suggest that part of the personal income earned from paid-work is spent on the personal wellbeing of the girl as well.

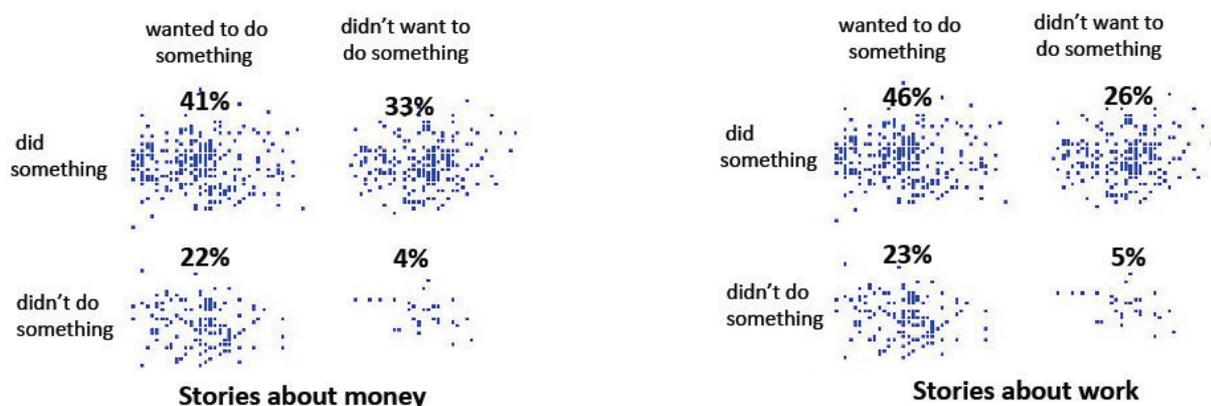
The main take away of this section is that in general adolescents own very few personal items, which means that they have a low financial capital. Girls are worse off compared to boys, and in-school, but vulnerable girls are worse off compared to other girls. Finally, financial capital is positively correlated with age – adolescents increase their ownership of assets as they grow older – and with whether girls are in a 'paid' job or not.

5.3.2 Control over assets and economic opportunities

Another aspect of economic empowerment focuses on whether children can make their own decisions about their finances and the economic opportunities available to them. Generally few children report making decisions by themselves about how to spend their money or whether they should work for pay or not (Table 25).

From the stories (Figure 58) about work however, girls seem to have slightly more control compared to the other story topics. In 46% of the stories about work, girls did what they wanted to do while the average across all stories is 38%. This also resonates with the observation that stories about work are the least negative of all stories. Generally, girls are more in control of work-related issues compared to money related issues.

Figure 58: Percentage of stories about money and work in which girls wanted/didn't want to do something versus did/didn't do something (SM Dataset)



There are, however, very large differences between groups, with vulnerability and schooling playing a big role in shaping the decision-making process on these issues. The quantitative findings shows that lack of schooling, and coming from a more vulnerable background, both increase the likelihood that girl would make decisions about issues related to money or work on her own (see Table 25). Controlling for age and location, out-of-school girls are 10% more likely than in-school girls to report that they make decisions about how to spend money on their own, and about 19% more likely to report that they decide alone about whether they should work for pay or not. The differences for girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group are slightly less stark: they are just 2.6% more likely to make decisions about how to spend money on their own (not statistically of note), but 8% more likely to report that they decide about whether they should work for pay or not. Regression analysis also confirms that vulnerability, as captured by the scarcity index, is notably and positively associated with an increase in the likelihood that children make decisions about issues such as money and jobs on their own.

Table 25: Estimated likelihood that girls would decide about a certain topic on their own per group (quantitative)

Indicator	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school, (girls)
How to spend money	1.7%	19.6%	3.4%
Whether or not you work for pay	13.8%	46.8%	20.0%

Note: these are population likelihoods, hence observed differences in the table can be driven by large differences in age between the three groups or by differences in background characteristics.

Girls that have a paid economic activity are much more likely have control over their personal finances and decision-making about economic opportunities than girls that work in unpaid jobs or that are economically inactive. Amongst out-of-school girls this study estimates that girls in paid jobs are 26% more likely to decide about how to spend money on their own compared to girls that are economically inactive, and 14% more likely to decide about how to spend money than girls that are in unpaid jobs. Similarly girls with paid jobs are 35% more likely than economically inactive girls to report that they decide alone about whether to work in a paid job or not and 27% more likely to decide alone than girls in unpaid jobs. These results hold controlling for age, location and vulnerability, suggesting that decision-making power on money and jobs is strongly tied to the professional situation a girl finds herself in.

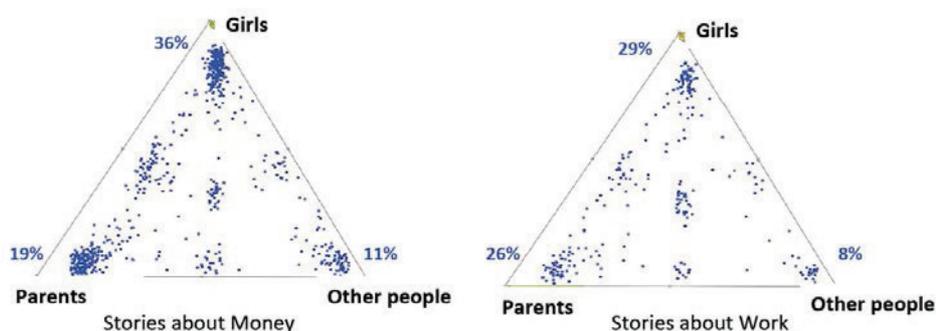
Other factors that matter are in some cases age and gender. On the topic of deciding alone about money for example, age is not significant. This study estimates the likelihood that a girl aged 19 would make decisions about how to spend money on her own is just 5%, compared to 0% at age 10. What matters much more is whether the girl is in-school or not and how vulnerable her household is. Age does matter however when it comes to deciding about whether to work for pay or not: the likelihood that a girl aged 19 would report making decisions about working in a

paid job on her own is 39%, compared to just 7% at age 10. Gender also only seems to matter in some cases. When looking specifically at the out-of-school group, gender seems to matter when it comes to decisions about work. Boys are 10% more likely than girls to say they make decisions about work on their own. This result does not hold for money and does not hold when boys and girls that are enrolled are compared.

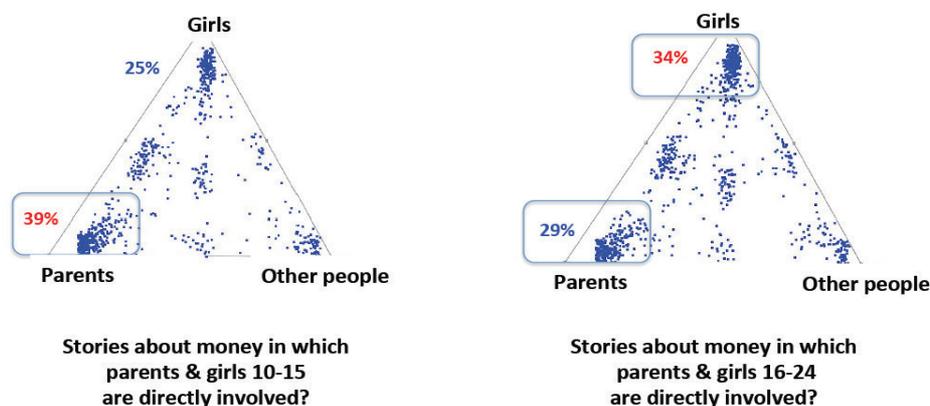
SM reveals that for issues related to work, there is an equal balance between girls and parents deciding what happens to girls. However, it seems that girls decide much more for themselves about issues related to money (36%) compared to parents (19%), especially older girls – suggesting a covariance in perceptions of girls in stories, and girls own views of themselves from the quantitative survey. For instance, analysing further the stories about money, there is clearly a difference in the pattern between stories in which younger girls and parents are involved (10–15 years old) and stories in which older girls and parents are involved (16–24 years old). Older girls seem to decide for themselves while parents are deciding for younger girls (see Figure 59).

Figure 59: In your story, who decides what happens to girls? (SM Dataset)

In your story, who decides what happens to girls?



In your story, who decides what happens to girls?

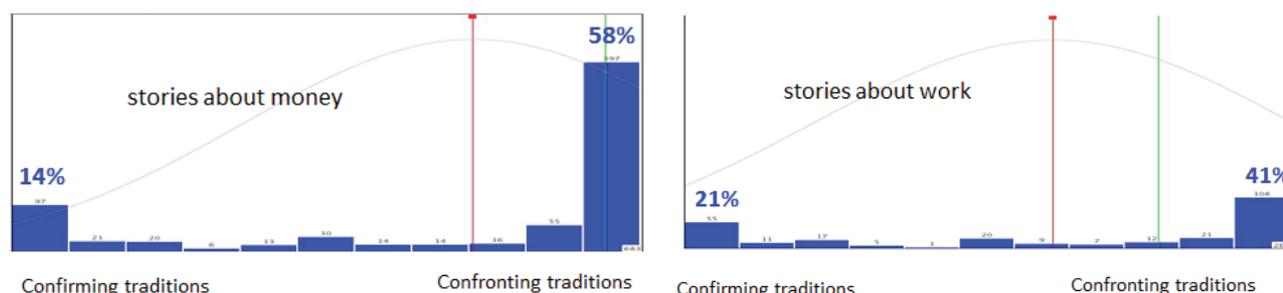


However, given this apparent decision-making space – especially with regard to money – girls are seen to be confronting traditional/decent behaviour more often on money matters compared to work matters (see Figure 60). This suggests that while around half of girls are perceived to be ‘doing what they wanted to do’ with regard to money matters, they are nonetheless facing many more challenges in terms of expectations than on issues about work – perhaps partly explained by the fact that ‘work’ includes unpaid activities, and therefore housework and other ‘duty-bound’ activities.

The story pack in the extreme side of confronting traditions (58%) – see Figure 60 – is a very negative story pack: 83% negative stories of which 53% are strongly negative and 30% are negative. There are relatively more stories shared by (especially older) boys (28%) compared to the general pattern. The majority of stories of this story pack

about money are also related to pregnancy (45%), relationships with the opposite sex (28%) and education (26%) as well as insecurity (31%), decision (23%) and isolation (21%). There are no remarkable differences between in-school or out-of-school girls.

Figure 60: Confirming and confronting traditions in stories about money and work (SM Dataset)



5.3.3 Perception of knowledge

There are large disparities between groups in terms of their perceived knowledge about economic-related matters. When asked whether they knew ‘a lot’, ‘a little’ or ‘nothing’ about these topics, adolescent girls in the out-of-school group appear to be more knowledgeable (see Table 26). However, these differences are largely driven by age. When controlling for the age and location of girls in each of the groups, vulnerability and lack of schooling are associated with a notable decrease in the likelihood that girls feel knowledgeable about issues relating to money or jobs for young people. Girls in the out-of-school group for example are 6% more likely to say they know ‘nothing’ about managing money or financial matters than girls in the in-school group, and 13.5% more likely to say they know ‘nothing’ about the topic of ‘work or jobs for young people’. Likewise, girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group are about 8% more likely to say they know ‘nothing’ about managing money or financial matters, and 17% more likely to say they know ‘nothing’ about work and jobs for young people. Vulnerability here is the dominating factor and is notably and negatively associated with knowledge about economic matters. These findings again confirm the fact that girls who carry greater responsibilities about making decisions about their own lives, are also the ones that perceive themselves to be less knowledgeable – in a way less well equipped – to actually make those decisions.

Table 26: Estimated likelihood that girls would report knowing a lot about certain economic-related topics per group (quantitative)

Indicator	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school, girls
Managing money or financial matters	12.7%	19.3%	9.7%
Work or jobs for young people	21.1%	23.3%	14.7%

Note: estimated using mlogit model. Also note that these are population likelihoods, hence observed differences in the table can be driven by large differences in age between the three groups or by differences in background characteristics.

As shown in Table 27, the perception of knowing ‘a lot’ or ‘a little’ about certain topics increases greatly with age. Everything else being equal, adolescents who are between 16 and 19 years old are 10% more likely to claim to be knowledgeable about ‘managing money or financial matters’ and 14% more likely to claim to be more knowledgeable about ‘work or jobs for young people’, compared to adolescents who are between 10 and 12 years old.

Table 27: Difference in the likelihood that adolescents would claim to know a little or a lot about certain topic per group of age cohort (quantitative)

Indicator	10–12	13–15	16–19
Managing money or financial matters	Base	7.9pp***	10.1pp***
Work or jobs for young people	Base	4.3pp	13.8pp***

Note: estimated using mlogit model. Statistically notable at the 1% level

There is a positive relationship between the perceived level of knowledge about ‘managing money or financial matters’ or ‘work/jobs for young people’ and levels of personal savings. Girls and boys that claim to know more about these topics, are also more likely to save. Controlling for age, gender, group belonging and location, adolescent boys and girls who claim to know ‘nothing’ about managing money and financial matters are 12% less likely to own savings than adolescents who claim to know ‘a lot’ about this topic; likewise adolescent boys and girls who claim to know ‘nothing’ about work or jobs for young people are about 11% less likely to have savings than adolescents that know ‘a lot’ (both results are notable at the 10% level). This suggests that boys and girls who claim to know more about financial matters are also in practice better able to manage their finances.

Note that in terms of perceived knowledge about economic-related topics, no notable differences were found between boys and girls, between urban and rural area and across provinces.

5.3.4 Control over one’s life

Closely linked to the question of knowledge about economic issues, such as managing finances and jobs, is the question of confidence. This section explores how confident girls are about their projected economic empowerment, their ability to make good decisions for themselves and their ability to have a greater control over the trajectory of their life. The quantitative survey paints a mixed picture. While a majority of adolescent girls and boys agree that they feel capable of making good decisions about their lives, that they know what they want to be in the future and what they need to do to achieve their future goals, a majority also believe that their future will be determined either by luck or by their community or family (see Table 28). A sizeable minority – about a third of girls and boys – also feel that they do not know what they want to be in the future or how to achieve their future goals.

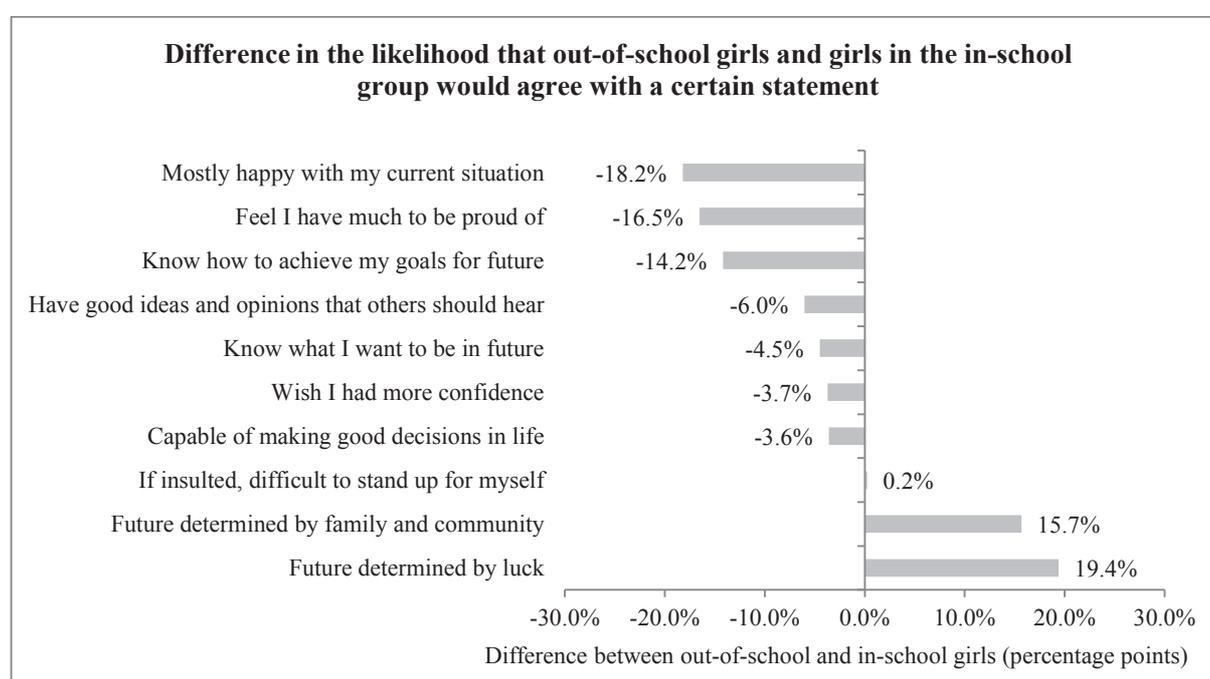
Table 28: Estimated likelihood of adolescent boys and girls level of agency per strata (percentage of the respondents who agree with the statements) (quantitative)

Indicator	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school (girls)
I feel capable of making good decisions about my life	94.9%	94.6%	93.6%
What happens in your future is determined by luck and not by you	56%	71.4%	60%
What happens in your future is determined by your family or community	55.6%	63.9%	61.7%
You know what you want to be in the future.	78.1%	70.4%	74.3%
You know how to achieve your goals for the future.	70.9%	60.3%	66.8%

Note: estimated using logit model. These are population likelihoods, hence observed differences in the table can be driven by large differences in age between the three groups or by differences in background characteristics.

As can be seen in the social connections section, schooling in particular plays a big role in shaping how confident girls are about themselves and their ability to direct their futures. This is highlighted in more detail here, as can be seen in Figure 61. Despite being by their nature more empowered to make decisions on their own, girls that are out of school not only feel they know less about the topics they are making decisions on (such as managing finances, jobs, education), but also feel less confident about making these decisions. Compared to girls in the in-school group, girls in the out-of-school group are 19% more likely to say that their future will be determined by luck; 16% more likely to say their future will be determined by their family or their community; 14% less likely to claim that they know how to achieve their goals for the future; and about 17% less likely to say they have much to be proud of, etc. It is necessary to be careful when talking about economic empowerment: it may be true that girls who are out of school have many more economic responsibilities towards their family and are much more likely to be in a job than girls who are enrolled, but it's a responsibility that they take with much less confidence and a perception of having less knowledge than girls that are in school.

Figure 61: Difference in the likelihood that out-of-school girls and girls in the in-school group would agree with a certain statement (quantitative)



In terms of gender, no notable differences were found between boys and girls on most of the outcomes when both in-school and out-of-school children were taken into account. The same proportion of boys and girls agree that they feel capable of making good decision about their life; that their future is determined by their family or community; that they know what they want to be in the future; and that most of the time they are happy with their current situation. However, girls are 15% (notable at the 1% level) more likely than boys to agree that what happens in their future is determined by luck and 6% (notable at the 5% level) less likely than boys to claim they know how to achieve their goals for the future. This suggests that while girls do not feel less happy about their situation than boys, they are more likely to indicate that they do not have control over their future or do not know how to reach their goals.

Finally, older boys and girls feel more confident and capable of making good decisions for their future. This is very much in line with the fact that older adolescent boys and girls also feel more knowledgeable about issues relating to managing money and jobs. Age brings greater economic empowerment be it in terms of responsibilities, knowledge about financial matters or jobs and confidence.

5.3.5 Summary: key findings relating to economic empowerment

Lens	Key Findings
Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall, boys and girls report that they have high social capital and high levels of knowledge on a range of economic-related topics. They make very few decisions on their own about how to spend money or whether or not to work for pay. Those whose primary activity is an economic activity are 16.3% more likely to make decisions on their own about how to spend money. About half of adolescents report owning personal savings in case of emergencies for future plans, while 42% of girls claim to work on unpaid jobs or tasks compared to about 24% that claim to work on paid activities. The two most important determinants of adolescents' being in-school are: (i) whether they live with both parents in the household; and (ii) the education level of the head of household. This suggests that adolescents' economic empowerment depends first and foremost on their parent(s)' economic empowerment. In SM there is a relatively low percentage of stories about work (7%) but a notable percentage of stories about money (17%), indicating that money-related issues are more prominent in the lives of girls between 10 and 19 years old compared to work-related issues. In stories about money, girls are perceived to make more decisions compared to parents and others – whereas it is much more shared for stories about work. There is a strong link between the stories about work and the stories about education (43%), violence (37%) and health (32%). Stories about work-related issues in the lives of girls are much less negative than money-related issues. In fact, work is one of the story topics that has the highest percentage of positive stories. In general, respondents perceive that girls seem to also be more in control about money-related issues compared to work-related issues – in contrast to quantitative findings which show that girls do not have decision-making power on money issues (with the caveat that this finding draws on different datasets). This is particularly the case for in-school girls, where only 1.7% decide on how to spend money. However, stories show that while girls have more decision-space on money issues, they are nonetheless seen to be confronting traditional/decent behaviour on money matters compared to work matters
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older girls are more likely than younger girls to own assets. There are also more likely to make decisions about money and work. Socio-economic imbalances between males and females start taking hold at a very young age. In SM older girls (16–19 years old) tell more stories about money (19–20% of their stories) and older girls perceive that decisions about money are made much more by older girls (36%), while parents are deciding for younger girls.
Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In terms of economic empowerment, in-school, but vulnerable girls are systematically worse-off than other in-school girls except for at the level of decision-making, where they are more equal. Vulnerable girls are less likely to own mobile phones or to have savings than other in-school girls. They are less likely than other girls to have someone in the community from whom they can borrow money in an emergency. In SM by contrast, there are no remarkable differences between vulnerable and non-vulnerable girls in relation to work and money, while in the quantitative survey, decision-making power relating to money and jobs is strongly tied to the professional situation a girl finds herself in.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consistent with findings showing that out-of-school girls have weaker social networks, out-of-school girls are worse off in terms of knowledge and social capital

	<p>but better off in terms of decision-making and as good in terms of assets-ownership than in-school girls.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Out-of-school girls are more likely than in-school girls to make decisions on their own about spending money and working for pay. However, they are also less likely to report that they know about topics related to work and money than in-school girls. They are less likely to have someone in the community from whom they can borrow money in an emergency, and less likely to have someone to talk to about money issues, the future, or job opportunities. • Out-of-school respondents are more likely to engage in economic or non-economic activities as their primary occupation. They spend less time on leisure activities and more time on paid and unpaid work than respondents who identify their first occupation as ‘student’. This is validated by the SM finding that out-of-school girls tend to share more stories related to work compared to in-school girls.
Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Kigali, a small proportion of adolescents have economic activity as a primary occupation compared with the other provinces. • The stories in SM confirm this, only 5% of the stories from the Kigali Province are about work. However, money related issues are more prominent in the lives of girls in Kigali compared to other provinces (22% of stories in Kigali Province are about money which is the highest percentage)
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys have slightly more personal assets than girls and are more likely to have savings. They are also more likely to know someone outside of the community from whom they can borrow money in an emergency. However, gender does not affect whether adolescents in this age group have an economic activity as their primary occupation. Adolescents’ age, parents’ characteristics and location in urban versus rural areas are strong factors of an adolescent’s primary occupation.

5.4 Violence and safety

“A girl who is a friend of mine was coming from school. When she got home, her parents were not there because they were at work. Their house keeper raped her and ran away. When her parents got home, they took her to the hospital. They found out that she had been contaminated with HIV/AIDS and she dropped out of school.”

“We studied with a girl and she once got raped. We hear that she is now pregnant. This is a problem for adolescent girls.”

“I know a girl who was molested by an older married man. He gave her sugar canes and abused. The man ran away. The girl got pregnant and gave birth by Caesarean section. She had very bad side effects from the operation.”

“There was a girl who was repeatedly harassed by her family. It would make me very sad. She was consumed by sorrow, then she got married. She had the misfortune of losing her husband, and he died without even giving her a child.”

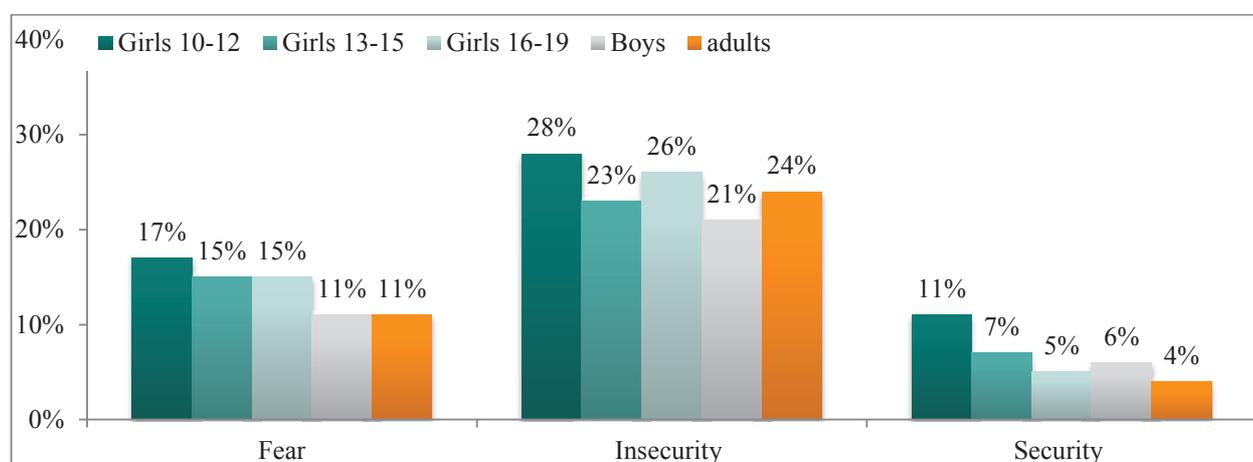
“Mukamwezi used to visit a boy and they would sleep together. One day, her mother caught them and the boy ran away. Her mother got sad and went to sue the boy and authorities intervened. One of the people responsible of the case sympathized with the boy. Mukamwezi stood up and said, “It is not our first time to sleep together.” One of the women who was present stood up and said, “Why should this woman interfere with children’s affairs?” Mukamwezi stood up again and said “If you do not believe me, let me show you proof in his house.” Another woman said that she too has witnessed that but authorities said that they have lost the case. The boy said that he

forgave her but she should pay him ten thousand for the years he would have spent in prison. The person who ruled the case said that they have power to save who they want.”

This section examines issues relating to attitudes and perceptions about violence against women and girls at the household and community level, as well as within marriage and relationships. In general, in the SM findings, violence is a common and prominent topic –41% of the stories are about some form of violence. Moreover, 30% of stories about violence happened quite often or all the time, and 50% of the stories happen sometimes (20% of the stories happen very rarely or happened never before) – suggesting that stories about common forms of violence are prevalent in the mindsets of storytellers. This in turn generates a hypothesis that perceptions of violence against adolescent girls could be normalised (and therefore neutralised) in Rwanda.

In terms of the emotional association however, 88% of the stories about violence are declared as negative (of which 55% are strongly negative) while there are only a minor number of stories about violence that make people feel confident and glad/hopeful (8%).¹⁷ Violence is strongly related to feelings of insecurity (36%), as well as fear and isolation (18%). The stories about violence are also prominently (above 50%) about situations in which girls did not want to do something, but had to do it anyway, especially older girls age 16–19 (54%). In addition, for all stories (i.e. beyond those that are about violence) fear and insecurity are major issues (relative to security) – as Figure 62 outlines. These perceptions are fairly uniform for all respondent ages, although younger girls clearly perceive these issues as critical dimensions in the stories more often than adults and older girls. This suggests that stories about violence, while notable in number, are not predominantly associated with neutral situations, and that there are a number of associated negative topics that may be related to violence in the stories.

Figure 62: Percentage of stories by age cohort about fear, insecurity and security (SM Dataset)



Another tool that helps to outline that context around violent stories is an analysis of the predominant relationships in the strongly negative stories that were either about violence, fear, or insecurity. Figure 63 shows that there is notable variation in who the main actors were in the story depending on what violent stories were about.

¹⁷ Stories about violence that are ‘hopeful’ may seem contradictory, but these stories may involve instances where an act of violence leads to a resolution, a lesson or a prosecution.

Figure 63: The balance of characters in strongly negative stories about violence, fear and insecurity(SM Dataset)

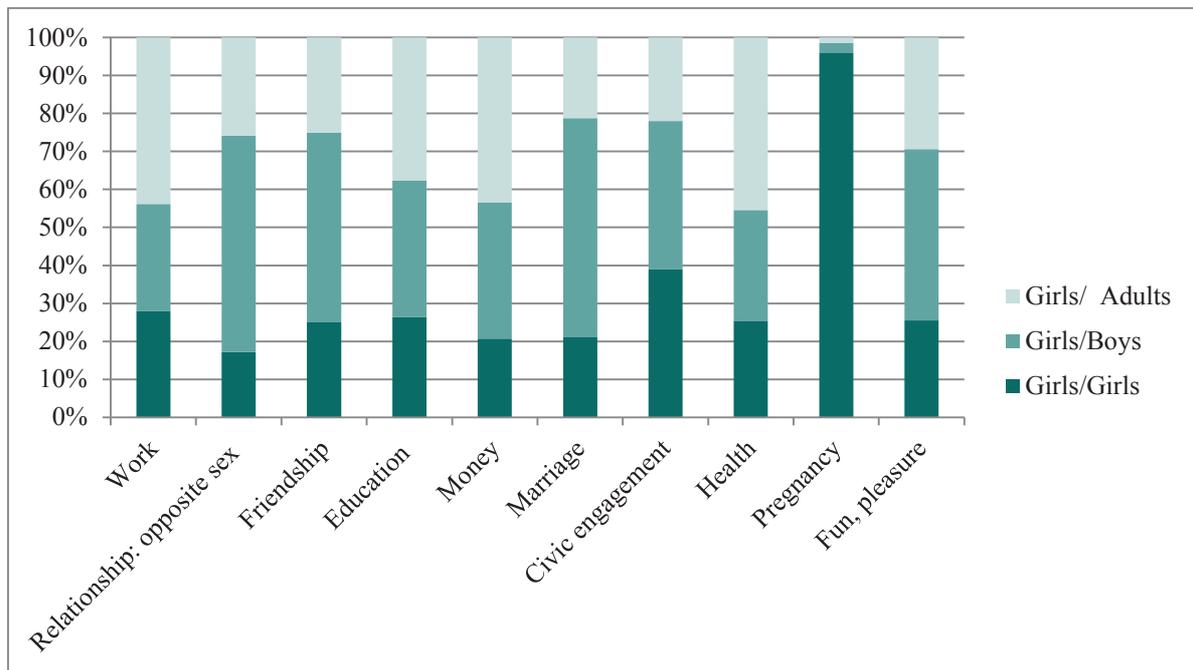


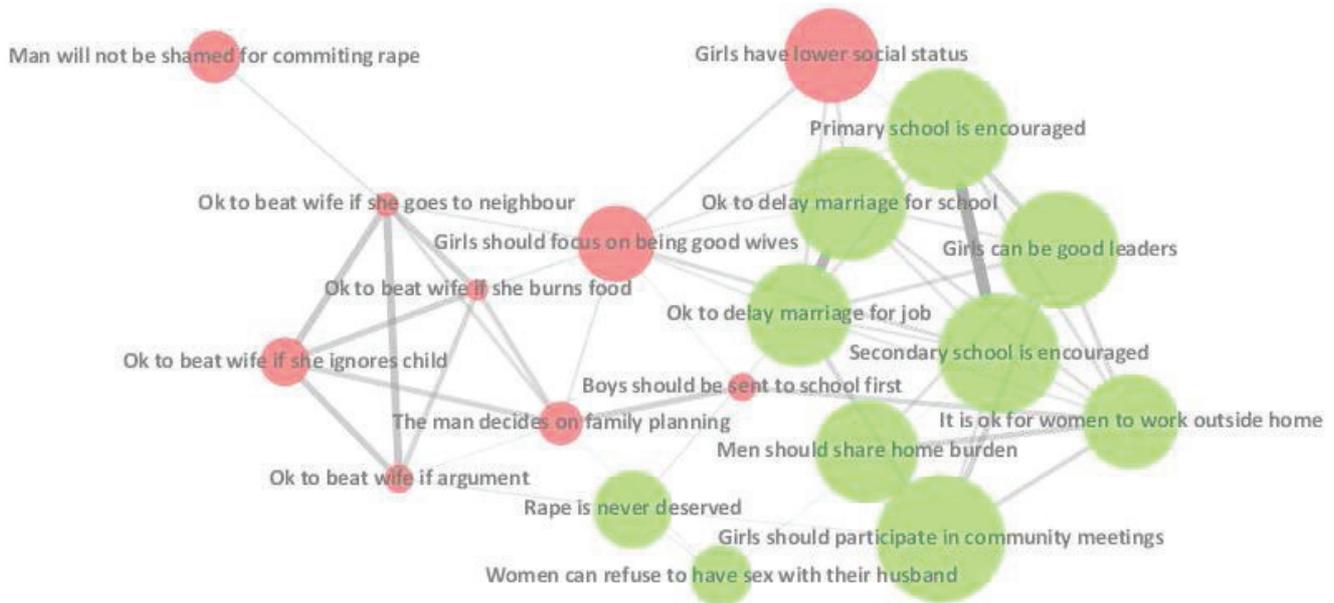
Figure 63 must be used with care given that the actual content of each of the stories is not analyzed here – only the perception toward the main actors in the stories. Nonetheless, what the figure shows is the high variability of contexts and character relationships in which violence takes place – in turn suggesting there is not one perpetrator/confidant across themes of work, education, money, health etc., and that violence is a complex issue which requires several, rather than targeted responses. Pregnancy stands out, as elsewhere in the stories, as a major outlier in which adults and boys feature negligibly.

In terms of a summary from the quantitative survey findings, a network view (Figure 64) outlines the opinions of girls relating to the rights, role and position of girls and women in their community on issues relating to violence that helps to provide more information regarding the broader views around violence. Girls were asked for example whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that ‘in their community, girls have a lower social status than boys’ or that ‘rape is never justified, even when a girl dresses badly or misbehaves towards a boy’. Statements were divided into two broad categories: statements that reflected a positive more progressive sentiment on the position of girls in society (e.g. ‘in your community, girls are strongly encouraged to go primary school’) and some that reflected a negative or more conservative sentiment (e.g. ‘it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife, if she argues with him’).

The network view in Figure 64 is based on the proximity of how these statements were understood.

Figure 64: The girl opinion space – a network view of the opinions girls have expressed (quantitative)

The diagram shows statements that are in close proximity when girls who agreed with one statement were also very likely to agree about the other. The strength of the association is highlighted by the thickness of the links connecting the two nodes. The size of the nodes is proportional to the number of girls who agreed with a given statement. If a node is larger, then it means that more girls agreed with that statement. The green nodes reflect that the statement is associated with a progressive sentiment about the position/role of girls in their communities and society. A socially discriminatory sentiment or regressive statement is presented in red.



Two very clear patterns emerge: the first is that progressive and regressive statements (or what are called positives and negatives here) tend to cluster. Girls who agreed with a given positive statement – such as ‘in my community it is acceptable for girls to delay marriage for a job’ – were more likely to agree with other positive statements rather than with a negative statement. Likewise, girls who agreed with a negative statement – such as ‘in my community it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife, if she burns the food’ – were also more likely to agree with other negative statements. The second clear pattern is that girls tended to agree much more with positive statements than they did with negative statements, such as violence against women and other statements related to the role and position of girls in their communities.

However, there are outliers within these two groups of positive and negative statements. Within the group of positive statements (green nodes), it can be noted that the two outliers are statements relating to whether rape is ever deserved and the right for a woman to refuse having sex with her husband. These statements, at the bottom-centre of the network, are both smaller than the other green nodes and less connected to the cluster of positives. While girls seem to overwhelmingly agree with the fact that they are encouraged to go to school, that it is ok to delay marriage for a job or for education (etc.), opinions seem to be much more divided on whether ‘a wife should be able to refuse to have sex with her husband’ and on whether ‘rape is never deserved, even when a girl dresses badly or misbehaves towards boys’. These appear to be much more divisive topics and are reviewed in a forthcoming sub-section.

In terms of the negative statements, illustrated by the group of red nodes, there are two broad points worth noting. The first point is that there is a highly connected cluster that forms around statements related to violence against women. In other words, girls that agree with any of the statements within the cluster are much more likely to agree with many of the other statements within that cluster than they are with statements outside the cluster. The links connecting violence-related statements are clearly stronger than the links connecting other statements. These links suggest that there is a subset of girls who agree with many of these statements and that social-norms consensus is held amongst relatively discrete groups.

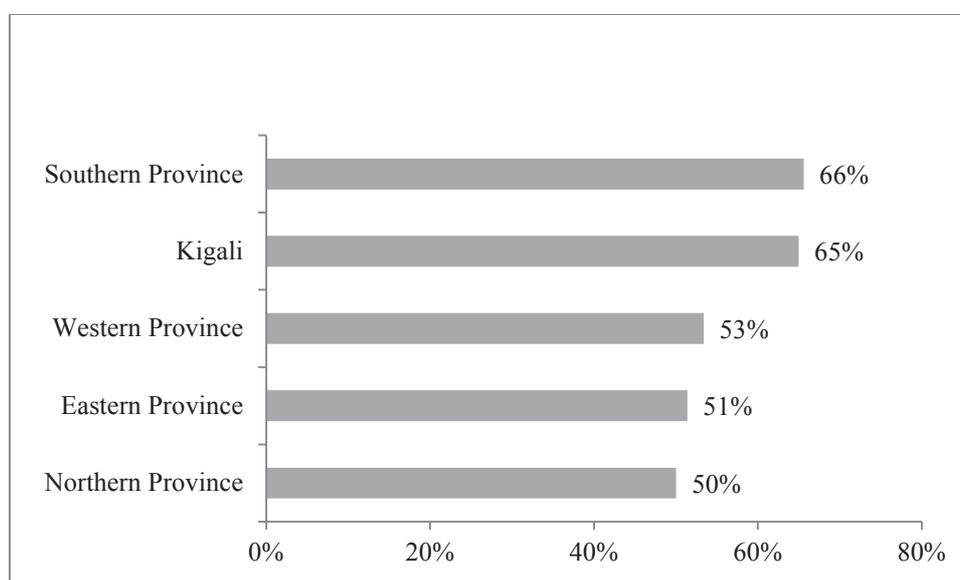
Secondly, the question of whether a man who rapes a girl will be shamed or not if others learn about it, appears to be an outlier. The statement is slightly more removed and disconnected from the rest of the network. It is only linked to one other statement: whether it is ‘acceptable for a man to beat his wife if she goes to the neighbour without telling him’. Attitudes about this statement are analysed in more depth in the next section and provide a possible interpretation as to why this statement is an outlier in the network.

5.4.1 Attitudes about rape

Opinions amongst young girls appear to be very divided on the topic of whether rape is ever deserved. The likelihood that a girl would agree with the statement that rape ‘is never deserved, even when girls dress badly or misbehave towards boys’ is about 58%, compared to 42% who are likely to disagree or not have an opinion. No evidence has been found of substantial differences in opinion between groups (in-school, out-of-school, and vulnerable) or across ages. This is unexpected as it would be assumed that education, age, or the household characteristics of girls might play an important role shaping how girls think about the issue of rape. There are notable differences of opinion on this topic however between girls and boys. Boys are about 8% more likely to disagree with the statement that rape is ‘never deserved’. There are also geographic differences, with girls in urban areas about 5% more likely to agree with the statement. As can be seen in Figure 65, attitudes amongst girls also differ slightly by region, with girls in Kigali and the Southern Province much more likely to agree that rape is ‘never deserved’.

The main finding here is that a sizeable minority of girls aged 10 to 19 throughout Rwanda believe that if a girl dresses provocatively or misbehaves towards boys then she would be to blame if she were to get raped. Responses to this statement, however, might be driven by the wording of the statement and be less reflective of whether girls believe rape is ever acceptable or not, and more about how objectionable it is for a girl to dress badly and to misbehave towards boys. This is a hypothesis that cannot be tested using the current dataset.

Figure 65: Predicted likelihood that girls aged 10–19 believe that rape is never deserved (quantitative)



The quantitative findings do not show any substantial differences however between these groups of girls when it comes to their topics of conversation, how many friends they have, how they feel about themselves (happy, confident, proud, insecure, etc.) and also their household characteristics and education levels. So while these girls have a different belief system on the position and role of girls/women in society, the data does not provide evidence to link these differences back to underlying disparities in their education, their socio-economic backgrounds, or differences in their social networks and behaviour.

Even though opinions are very divided on the question of whether rape is ever deserved, especially in rural areas, the majority of girls and boys are likely to associate the act of rape with shame. The likelihood that a girl would disagree with the statement that in her community ‘if a man rapes a girl or a woman, and others find out about it, he will not

be shamed’ varies between 58.5% and 70.5% depending on which group she belongs to. Boys are on average about 7% more likely to believe that a man who commits rape will not be shamed. On this question large differences can be observed between girls that agree and girls that disagree, be it in terms of their education levels, opinions, topics of conversation, self-esteem, agency or voice. There is also a relatively large minority that disagrees or has no opinion on the statement of whether a man that rapes a woman will be shamed if others find out about it.

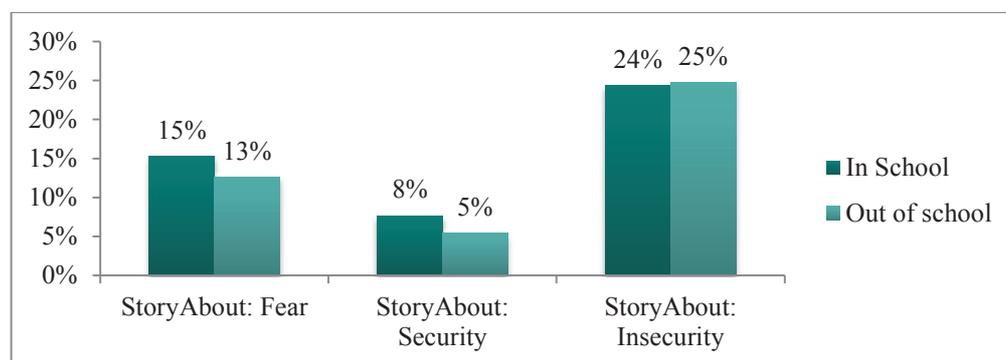
The data suggests that two competing perspectives shape opinions on this question. Girls that agree with the statement that men will not be shamed if they commit rape appear to be at the same time more conservative and more liberal in their views about the role and rights of girls/women in society. It might also be the reason why this statement appears to be an outlier in the network representation of opinions in Figure 64, as it partially links to both progressive and conservative statements:

- The conservative view would consist of saying that men will not be shamed by their community for committing rape because they have less to be ashamed about. This could explain why girls that believe men will not be shamed are on average also about 12% more likely to disagree with the statement that rape is ‘never deserved’ and about 3% more likely to believe that a woman should not have the right to ‘refuse to have sex with her husband’ or that ‘when money is scarce, and parents cannot send all children to school, boys should be sent before girls’.
- The alternative perspective seems to be based on the idea that men who commit rape are not shamed or punished enough by their community. This assessment is based on the fact that education is very strongly associated with the belief that if a man commits rape and other people learn about it he will not be shamed. This study estimates that girls that belong to the in-school group are 13.8% more likely to agree that men will not be shamed if they commit rape than girls in the out-of-school group. One possible interpretation of this very large and statistically notable difference is that girls that are in school expect a much harsher punishment for someone that has committed rape, one that in their opinion is often not matched by their communities

5.4.2 Perceptions of violence by geography and education

SM findings concur that geography and education matter more than age in terms of number of stories told relating to violence. For instance, in terms of age, this point has already been demonstrated in Figure 62, in which stories about security, insecurity and fear feature fairly uniformly by 10–19 year olds – although adults are a relative outlier. Similarly, there is subtle but clear differences between in and out-of-school respondents (see Figure 66) – also noting that in-school girls share 19% more stories about violence than out of school girls.

Figure 66: Variation in story topics by in-school and out-of-school cohorts (SM Dataset)



Furthermore, out-of-school girls were much more likely to discuss the issue ‘of girls being bothered or teased by men or boys in their neighbourhoods’ with their best friends. For 84% of girls in the out-of-school group, talking about girls being teased or bothered by men with their best friends was notable discussion topic, compared to just 62–68% of girls enrolled in school. Part of this difference can be explained by the fact that out-of-school girls are much older than girls in the other two groups.

However, taking this into account, the findings still show that out-of-school girls were about 12% more likely to discuss this topic with their best friends. These findings suggest that schooling plays a very important role in shaping the relationship between girls and boys, and that out-of-school girls are not only more likely to be confronted with marriage at an earlier age, but also more likely to be confronted with gender-based violence. As noted though, SM shows that in-school girls tell 19% more stories about violence than out-of-school girls. This suggests a difference not only in exposure to risks of gender-based violence for girls in-school and out-of-school, but that out-of-school girls may not perceive this risk to the same extent, (or are less likely to consider it so novel that it warrants a story). Given the number and extent of these hypotheses, it would be worth undertaking standalone research to determine more detail and assess the actual risk of gender-based-violence to girls of different cohorts, and how their perceptions vary accordingly.

Further nuance arises in that the stories concerning violence vary largely between rural and urban areas, rather than between provinces. Naturally, the findings in Figure 65 taken from quantitative findings (which emphasise provincial variations for attitudes toward rape more specifically) cannot be directly compared to SM findings in Figures 67 and 68 below, but the latter findings do suggest that tendency for violent stories to vary more notably across urban-rural contexts than provincial contexts.

Figure 67: Percentage of stories about violence per province for all respondents (SM Dataset)

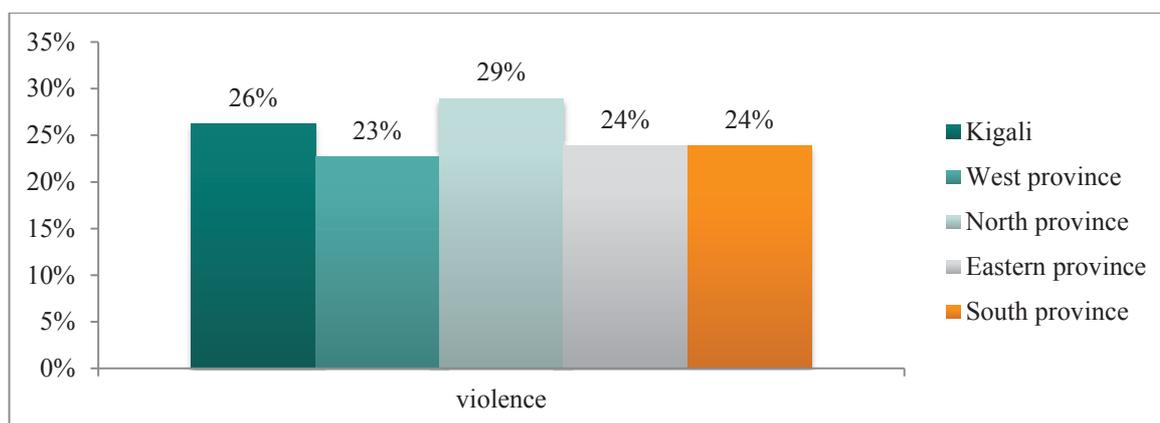
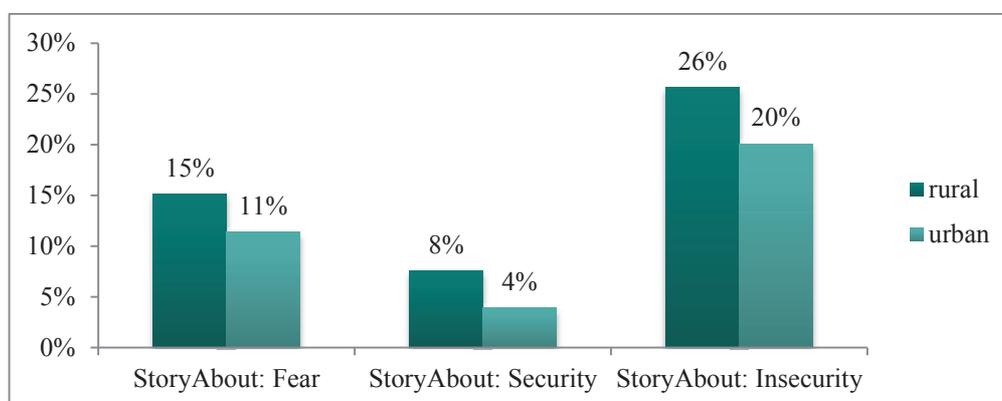


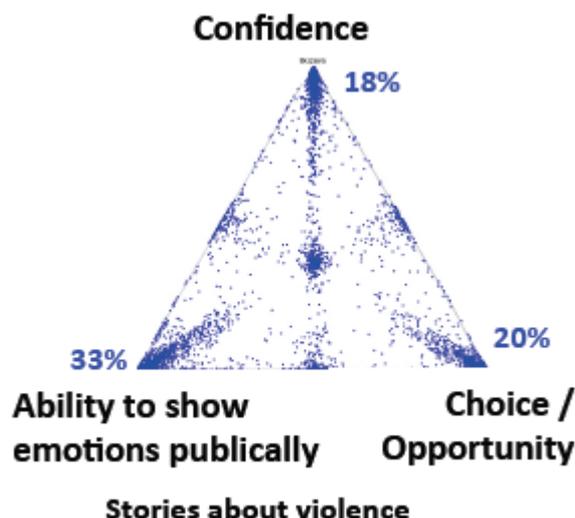
Figure 68: Percentage of stories about fear, security and insecurity by urban-rural divide (SM Dataset)



These urban-rural divisions are also starkly revealed from the stories in which girls wanted an ‘ability to show emotions publically’ compared to wanting ‘confidence’ and ‘choice/opportunity’. For instance, 50% of the violence-

related stories from urban in-school girls declare that stories are about an ability for girls to ‘show their emotions publically’, whereas this is the case for only 36% of rural girls.

Figure 69: Outline of what girls were perceived to want in the stories about violence – combining both urban and rural respondents

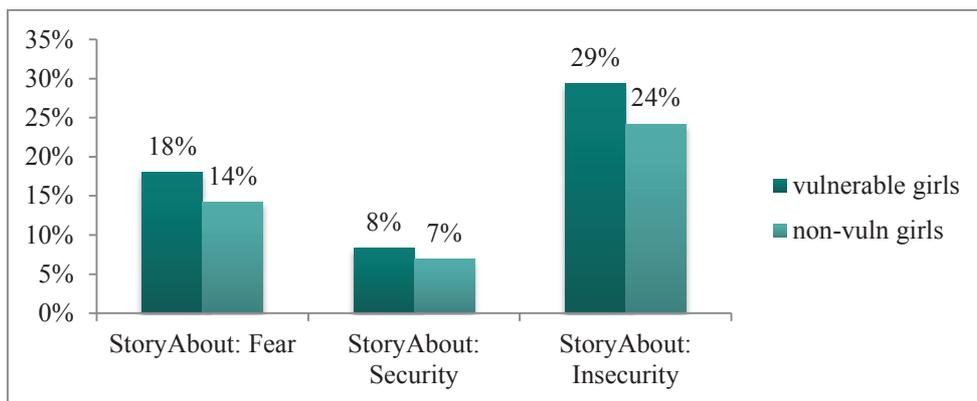


Additionally, for out-of-school urban girls, this figure drops to 28%. In other words, the particular issue of a girl ‘wanting to show their emotions publically’ becomes an issue that is dependent on both schooling as well as geography in the stories. This suggests that respondents perceive in-school urban girls as requiring less confidence in stories about violence, and that out-of-school and rural in-school girls have considerably less need to show their emotions publically – or are perhaps socialized into withholding their emotions in public. These variations are considerable enough to warrant further investigation – particularly given the subtle nuances in definitions of ‘confidence’ compared to definitions of ‘being able to show emotions publically’.

Similarly, there are notable education-based differences with regard to attitudes toward rape which translates into differences between provinces, with Kigali clearly standing out. The likelihood that a girl in Kigali would disagree with the statement that ‘a man who rapes a woman will not be shamed’ is estimated to be about 10% higher than in the other provinces. This difference is most likely to be explained by underlying differences in education levels between provinces and Kigali City, as well as increased proximity to child protection and judicial services, although further research would be required to substantiate this.

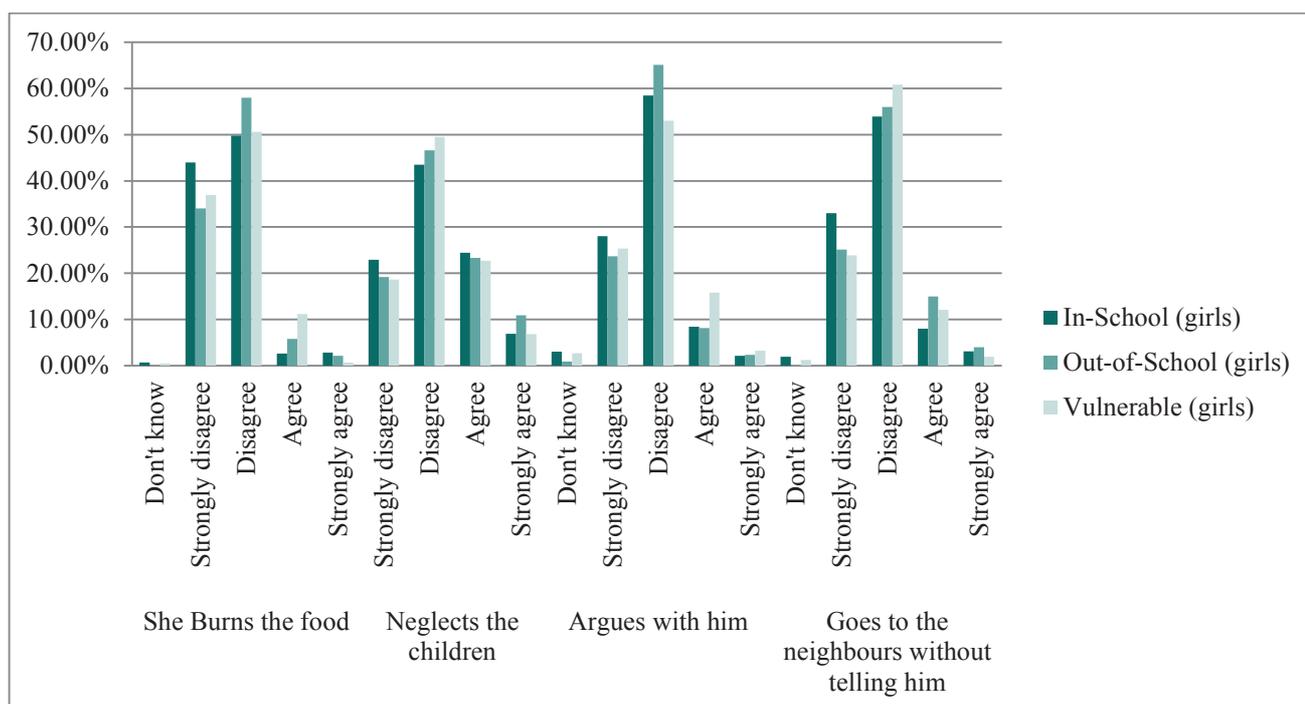
Both the stories from SM and the quantitative survey data reveal that the level of schooling and vulnerability are also associated with how girls think about issues of gender-based violence more broadly. Being out-of-school or vulnerable is marginally associated with being more likely to believe that in some cases violence against women is justified. The quantitative findings show that girls in the out-of-school and vulnerable, but in-school groups are a few percentage points more likely to agree that beating is sometimes acceptable. This may be due to a level of normalisation, given that in the story analysis, vulnerable girls provide 13% and 18% more stories about fear and insecurity respectively than vulnerable girls (Figure 69).

Figure 70: Percentage of stories about fear, security and insecurity for (non)-vulnerable girls (SM Dataset)



In some cases these differences in the statistical survey results are significant: for example out-of-school girls are 8% more likely than in-school girls to believe that it is justified for a man to beat his wife if she goes to the neighbour without telling him; likewise girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group are 8% more likely to agree that it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife if she argues with him compared to girls in the in-school group, and 5.5% more likely to agree that beating is acceptable when the wife has burned the food. Furthermore, it is clear that in-school girls routinely declare a strong disagreement with the statements in Figure 70, suggesting that there are certain characteristics about the households, levels of education, and correlating levels of confidence that adjust their views significantly. As discussed in the SM findings, in-school girls tell 19% more stories about violence than out-of-school girls, although out-of-school girls are 10% more likely to perceive that girls do something that they did not want to do in stories of violence. Overall, this suggests while violence is dominant topic in the stories for all respondents, in-school girls have a greater tendency to demonstrate positive social norms and afford more agency to girls in stories about violence than out-of-school girls.

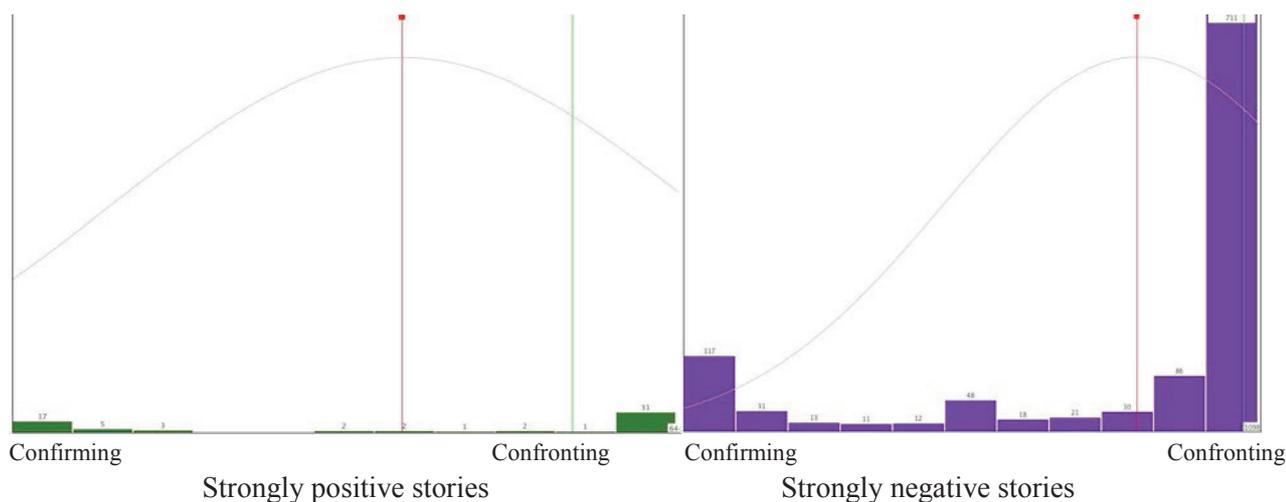
Figure 71: Estimated likelihood that girls would agree/disagree on a certain statement relating to the justification of violence in marriage, 'If she...' (quantitative)



5.4.3 Perception of violent situations relating to different criteria

It also important to understand how respondents perceive violent situations for girls – as this varies by different criteria. For instance, girls in violent situations are seen to be ‘confronting traditions’ (or decent behaviour) compared to conforming to decent behaviour (see Figure 71). This provides some perspective regarding how girls are perceived, and the perhaps the likelihood to which they will obtain access to support. The analysis shows that in all violent (strongly negative) stories, the vast majority of stories are about girls confronting decent behaviour, whereas in violent (but strongly positive) stories, the perceptions of respondents are much more balanced.

Figure 72: Confirming and confronting decent behaviour in violent situations (SM Dataset)



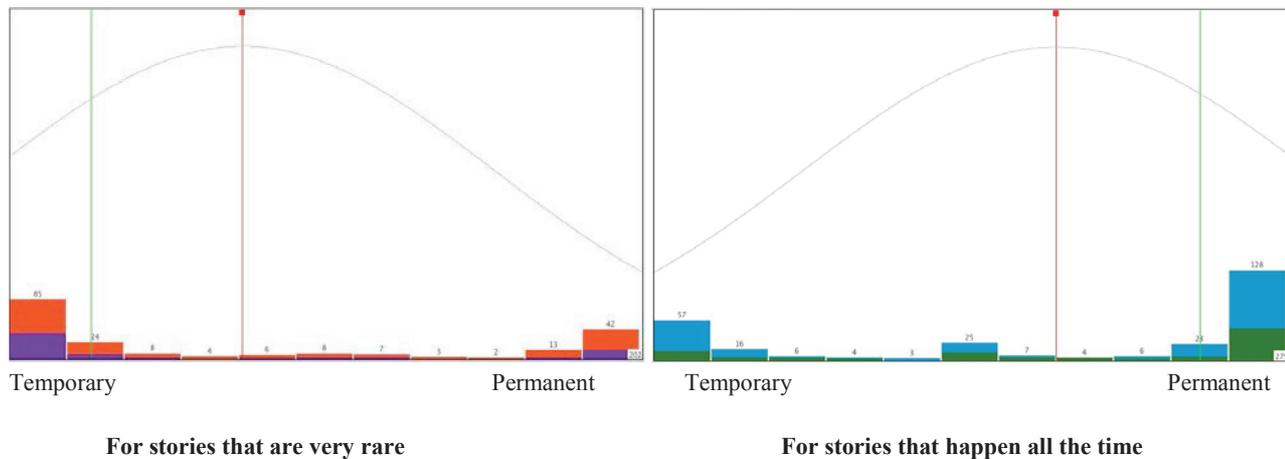
This finding suggests that respondents (68% of whom are girls) generally see that girls are strongly confronting decent behaviour in negative stories about violence. In positive stories, the difference is stark – suggesting that there may be important perceptions associated with negative violent events that may ultimately challenge how girls seek formal or informal support structures.

5.4.4 Treatment of girls and permanent/temporary changes in stories about violence

The SM research also unpacked whether respondents perceived girls in all stories to be treated too harshly, or too softly, as well as whether changes to the situation of the girl in the story were temporary or permanent. In terms of perceptions of treatment, there is a notable difference between male and female respondents: female storytellers indicate that in their stories girls have been treated too harshly (pre-dominantly girls of 20–30 years old, as well as girls of 16–19 years old) while male storytellers indicate more stories in which girls have been treated too softly. If teachers and fathers are involved in stories about violence, girls are considered to be treated too harshly – although care should be taken not to associate teachers and fathers as perpetrators, as this level of detail is not known. Fathers and teachers, for instance, may have had the role of mediator or referral person to other services.

In terms of permanent compared to temporary changes, Figure 72 shows stories about violence that happen all the time tend to result in changes to the lives of girls that are more permanent (33% of ‘rare’ stories led to permanent changes, whereas 69% of ‘common’ stories led to permanent changes). This is especially for older girls (16–19) while stories from younger girls (10–12) there is a balance of permanent and temporary changes. Confirming this, younger girls (age 10–12) share more stories about violence in which changes to girls’ lives are temporary, while older girls (age 16–19) share more stories towards permanent changes in girls’ lives. These findings suggest the need to understand how different girls (particularly age groups) might perceive the impacts of violence and thereby seek appropriate support structures – such as whether they short-term versus long-term, high-intensity versus low-intensity, formal or informal.

Figure 73: Dyad showing the degree of temporary versus permanent changes in the stories (SM Dataset)



Key: orange = 16–19 years, purple= 10–12 years, blue = 16–19 years, green = 10–12 years

5.4.5 Violence in marriage and relationships

A broad pattern from SM is that stories about marriage had the highest number of associations with highly positive experiences, in the same class as topics about civil engagement, work, and education. Stories about relationships with the opposite sex, by contrast, are mainly about pregnancy and violence, and show the second lowest number of positive stories alongside the second highest number of strongly negative stories (both eclipsed by pregnancy). So while there were relatively few stories about marriage compared to relationships (268 compared to 1,199) – the perceptions of respondents about the positive aspects of marriage and the negative aspects of relationships with the opposite sex, are notable. This may be largely explained by the values held in communities about the virtues of marriage, that perhaps girls see marriage as an escape from a difficult situation or a transition into adulthood, security and community respect, or again, or that marriage may provide a resolution in a situation of teenage pregnancy.

In the quantitative survey, the vast majority of girls and boys perceive violence in marriage as being unjustified, although notable differences between groups and scenarios are observed in which violence might arise (see Figure 63). The estimate that the likelihood that a girl would disagree with the statement that ‘it is acceptable for a husband to beat his wife’ if she burns the food, has an argument with him or goes to the neighbours without informing him was between 80% and 90%, depending on which group girls belonged to. Approximately one third of girls however, and this is regardless of their group, thought that a husband beating his wife because she had neglected their children was acceptable. One way of interpreting these result would be to say that while in general girls overwhelmingly perceive violence at home to be unacceptable, a sizeable minority of girls believe that in some cases violence against women is justified if they fail to live up to their core family responsibilities.

5.4.6 Summary: key findings relating to violence

Lens	Key Findings
Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The network analysis using the quantitative data reveals a division between a majority of girls that mainly agree with positive statements and a substantial minority that agree with negative statements – showing that progressive and regressive social norms tend to cluster together. • In SM violence is a notable and prominent topic – 41% of the stories are about some form of violence, 30% of which happen ‘quite often or some of the time’. Furthermore, 88% of these stories are negative, and respondents (68% of whom are girls) generally see that girls are strongly confronting decent behaviour in negative stories about violence, while 40% of respondents who told stories about violence say that the use of physical force would have led to an improved outcome in the story. • Girls that shared a negative personal experience in their SM story tended to have fewer friends on average than other girls. They are also much less likely to reach out to friends or family when they have issues related to health and money or to discuss their future. They tend to have fewer people to confide in outside their family. They are also much less likely to be involved in social groups and events. • Girls of different ages perceive the impacts of violence differently - further understanding of this along with the kinds of appropriate support structures is needed) might perceive the impacts of violence and thereby seek appropriate support structures –
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the stories, perceptions around topics related to violence are fairly uniform for all respondent ages, although younger girls clearly perceive these issues as critical dimensions in the stories more than adults. Similarly, perceptions of rape, unlike other dimensions of social norms, appear to be independent of age in the quantitative survey. • However, differences in perception were noted by age with respect to temporary versus permanent impacts: younger girls tend to tell stories about violence in which there are temporary changes to their lives, while older girls tell more stories about violence that lead to permanent changes in their lives. This suggests developing interventions that cater for girls’ different perspectives and expectations regarding the definition and impacts of violence, and to provide information and awareness regarding services that can respond to incidents.
Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In SM vulnerable girls are more likely than other in-school girls to have shared a negative story about violence that they were involved in.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education, strongly related with geography, is a major determinant of views on violence. For instance, the out-of-school girls are 8% more likely than in-school girls to believe that it is justified for a man to beat his wife if she goes to the neighbour without telling him; while in-school girls routinely declare a strong disagreement with the socially regressive statements, suggesting that there are certain characteristics about the households, levels of education, and correlating levels of confidence that adjust their views drastically. • Respondents also perceive in-school urban girls as requiring less confidence in stories about violence, and that out-of-school and rural in-school girls are thought to have considerably less need to show their emotions publically.
Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an interplay between geography and level of education on the topic of violence: the quantitative findings show that education-based differences translate

	<p>into differences between provinces, with Kigali clearly standing out. SM stories add variation in suggesting this is not a provincial division, but an urban–rural one.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls in urban areas are about 5% more likely to agree with the statement that rape is ‘never deserved’. This aligns with the SM finding that girls in rural areas share more stories about violence than girls in urban areas. • Attitudes amongst girls also differ by region, with girls in Kigali and the Southern Province much more likely to agree that rape is ‘never deserved’. In SM girls in the Northern Province are more likely to tell stories about violence.
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main social determinant of divergent opinion on rape is gender: Boys are 8% more likely to disagree with the statement that ‘rape is never deserved’ but were also 7% more likely to believe that a man who commits rape will not be shamed. Men and boys were also more likely to think that girls had been treated too softly in the stories – whereas girls (particularly older girls) considered the opposite. • In issues of violence, pregnancy stands out, as elsewhere in the stories, as a major outlier in which boys and adults feature negligibly, and where other girls are the predominant actors – compared to stories about money, work, education, etc. In addition, a broad pattern from SM is that stories about marriage had the highest number of associations with highly positive sensations, in the same class as topics about civil engagement, work, and education. Stories about relationships with the opposite sex, by contrast, are mainly about pregnancy and violence, and show the second lowest number of positive stories alongside the second highest number of strongly negative stories. • In terms of perceptions of treatment, there is a notable difference between male and female respondents: female storytellers indicate that in their stories girls have been treated too harshly (pre-dominantly girls of 20–30 years old, as well as girls of 16–19 years old) while male storytellers indicate more stories in which girls have been treated too softly.

5.5 Sexual and reproductive health

‘There is a girl who left school and after she had left school her parents reprimanded her and asked her why she had left school. She immediately went to Kigali. When she came back, she was pregnant. Her parents told her that she should take back that pregnancy where she had gotten it from. She went back to Kigali then came back with a baby; she gave the baby to her mother and went back to Kigali. Then the baby fell sick, the baby hadn’t even received a name because its father hadn’t come to give it a name yet. She came back to get the baby. The father missed it when he came to give it a name; he went back very sad. Now that girl has come back here, because she was chased from where she lived. When she calls the baby’s father, he tells her to leave him alone. Now she lives with her grandmother together with that baby.’

‘If you look; in ordinary life, one sees many things; there is a young girl, she had a cousin both of them where in adolescence. One day, they went to visit their grandmother; when they arrived they talked, they discussed with the old woman for a long time... then when it was time for sleeping, they made them sleep in the same bedroom. Then, because teenage girls and boys do not know much about the changes in their lives, they had unprotected sexual intercourses and the girl got pregnant. She gave birth to a baby boy and she even left school.’

‘She met a man called Felix who got her pregnant. Now her child is four years, sometimes she leaves her at her aunt’s place. When she was still pregnant she didn’t go to school: she spent 20 months without going to school. Now, she is in the third year of secondary school. She eventually improved her economic status, now she has bought a cow and the family’s economic status has improved, now they can drink milk.’

'I know a girl who behaved well, did not involve herself into prostitution just waiting for her prospective husband. They come to ask her for marriage at the age of 18 because she behaved nicely. She is now doing well with her husband and they have three children. She is happily married because she behaved well'.

This section has a strong emphasis on pregnancy, given that pregnancy was the most prominent issue that emerged in the stories. This issue is addressed in terms of disparities in views by age, gender, geography, vulnerability and level of education. Additional quantitative analysis through these axes is also applied with respect to perceptions and attitudes about the timing of having children and contraception, as well as awareness about pregnancy, family planning and early childbirth. The issue of menstruation was not part of the original survey or SM approach, but nonetheless emerged in the stories as a prominent issue – as highlighted in the participatory feedback stage. Dynamics and perceptions of respondents concerning menstruation is therefore treated as a standalone area of analysis.

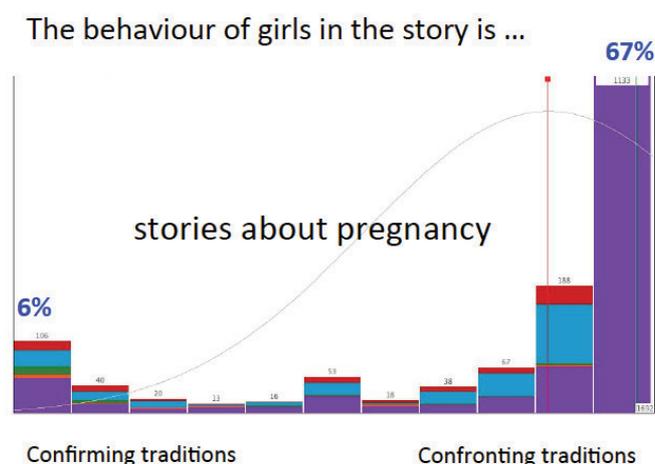
5.5.1 Perceptions concerning pregnancy

SM reveals that pregnancy is a major topic in the lives of adolescent girls in Rwanda more prominent for girls age 16–19, but still notable for girls age 10–15 years old. 46% of the stories from girls age 16–19 years old are about pregnancy (the topic with the highest percentage in the entire story set) compared to 34% for girls of 10–12 years old. 67% of the stories involve girls of the age of 16–24 while 36% of the stories about pregnancy involve girls age 10–15. Surprisingly, boys share the highest percentage of stories about pregnancy (49%), followed by adults (46%) and most of these stories involve a relationship between girls and boys. This might be an indication that boys and adults think of girls in terms of their reproductive function.

Pregnancy in the lives of adolescent girls is clearly perceived by girls, boys and adults as negative: 83% of the stories about pregnancy are negative of which 48% are strongly negative with a remarkably low percentage of stories that are positive (2–3 %). This pattern is confirmed by looking at the feelings that are connected with the stories. Compared to the overall pattern across all stories, stories about pregnancy have a higher percentage of stories associated with sad, angry/frustrated and ashamed feelings.

Not only is the emotional intensity of the stories strongly negative, respondents also perceive pregnancy for adolescent girls as very strongly confronting traditions, i.e. not accepted as decent behaviour and therefore predominantly perceived as negative. In the stories from boys and men, pregnancy of adolescent girls is even more confronting to traditions: 70% of the stories in the extreme right bar (see Figure 73).

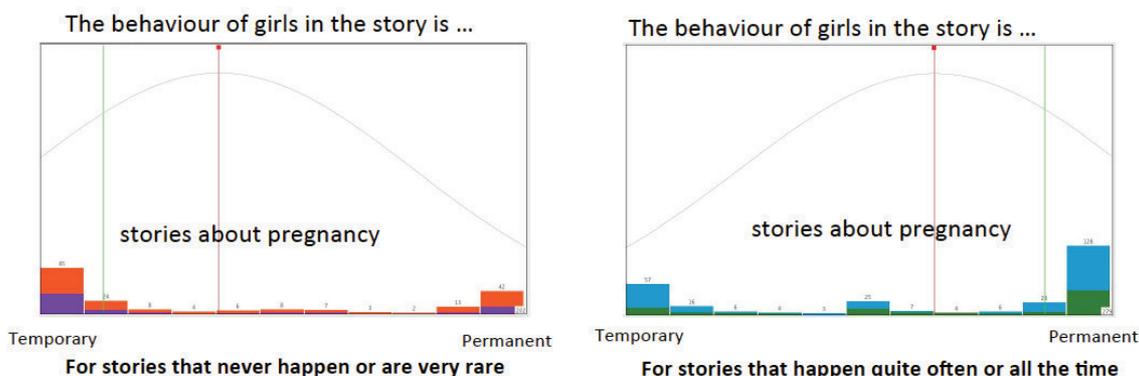
Figure 74: The behaviour of girls in stories about pregnancy (SM Dataset)



The stories about pregnancy are almost perfectly balanced between causing temporary or permanent changes in the lives of girls. This is surprising, given that one would expect that being pregnant is perceived as a permanent change to girls' lives. If this is analysed further however, for those stories that were indicated as stories that 'happen quite

often or all the time’, the changes to the lives of girls are more permanent, especially for older girls. And for those stories that ‘never happen’, or ‘happen very rarely’, changes are rather temporary (see Figure 74).

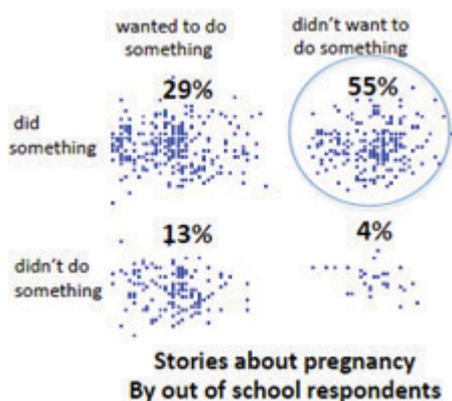
Figure 75: The perceived impact of pregnancy on girls depends on age and frequency of the event (SM Dataset)



In 46% of the stories about pregnancy, girls do something they didn't want to do and there are only 13% of the stories in which girls didn't do what they actually wanted to do, which seems to indicate that pregnancy is not something that adolescent girls want to happen at that stage of their life – suggesting that girls have limited agency. On the other hand, there seem to be some situations in which pregnancy is something that a girl might aim for in her life, and these negative statistics may refer largely to adolescent or early pregnancy. Looking at the positive stories, 45% of the stories are about situations in which girls do what they wanted to do, compared to only 34% in which girls do something they didn't want to do. This is explained in testimonies from girls in the feedback sessions that being married and having children (at the right time, mostly after finishing education) are signs of a successful life and something girls are aiming for (see Figure 81).

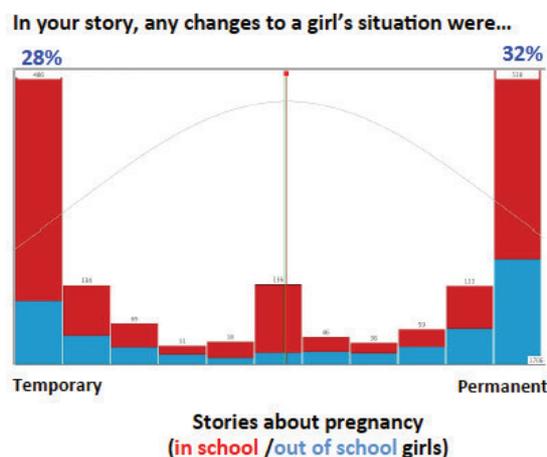
There are indications that out-of-school girls are perceived to be more exposed and faced with unwanted pregnancy than in-school girls. Out-of-school girls share 55% stories about pregnancy in which girls do something they didn't want and 29% in which girls do what they wanted to do (see Figure 75). In-school girls share 38% stories about pregnancy where they do what they wanted and 44% in which they did what they didn't want.

Figure 76: Percentage of stories in which out-of-school girls did/ didn't do something versus wanted/didn't want to do something (SM Dataset)



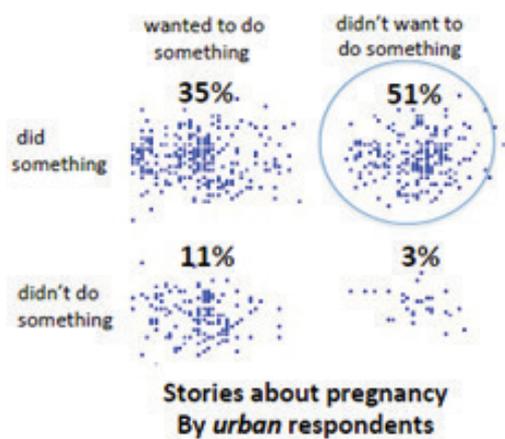
For out-of-school girls, pregnancy seems to have more permanent impact in the lives of girls compared to in-school girls (Figure 76), while non-vulnerable girls share relatively more stories about pregnancy (43%) than vulnerable girls (37%).

Figure 77: Permanence of changes to a girl’s situation in stories about pregnancy (SM Dataset)



Pregnancy seem to appear more in stories of urban adolescent girls compared to rural girls and there are indications that urban respondents are more exposed and faced with unwanted pregnancy than rural respondents and in-school girls (see Figure 77). Urban respondents tell only a few percentages more stories about pregnancy (46%) than rural respondents (42%), but urban respondents share 51% stories about pregnancy in which girls do something they didn’t want to do (compared to 35% for rural respondents).

Figure 78: Percentage of stories in which urban respondents perceive girls did/didn’t do something versus wanted/didn’t want to do something (SM Dataset)



Hardly any girls share stories about pregnancy in which they take part themselves (5% of the stories about pregnancy): 42% of these stories come from the Eastern Province, and an average of 17% from Western, Northern and Southern Provinces and only 2.5% from Kigali (two stories).

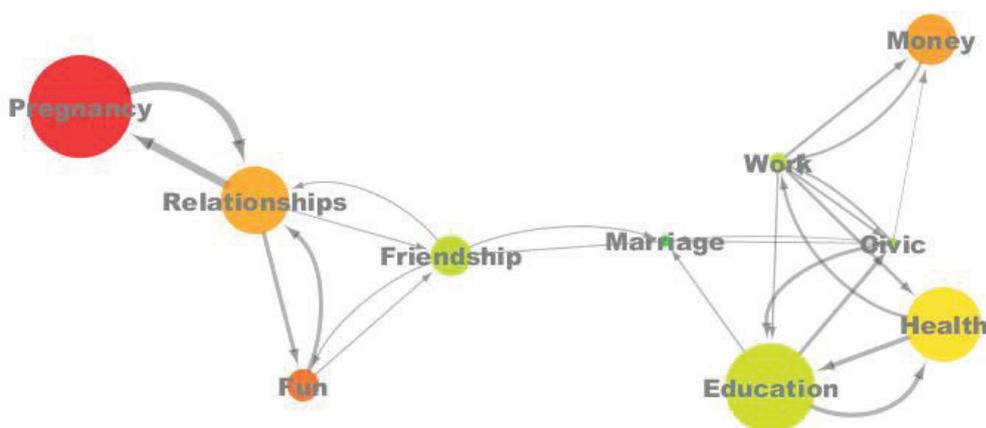
Respondents in Kigali Province see adolescent girls being pregnant as most confronting to traditions (not accepted as decent behaviour). 75% of the stories are in the extreme right bar of confronting traditions.

A network perspective on sexual and reproductive health decisions

It is useful to frame the discussion about sexual and reproductive health (SRH) by taking a network view of the stories girls told in the SM survey (see Figure 78). Girls were asked to tell a story and then to specify what that story was about, selecting from a list of possible options. Girls were allowed to select up to three options simultaneously. This makes it possible to create a link between the various topics girls selected, which included pregnancy, health, relationships, education, violence, marriage, work, civic engagement, money, friendships and fun. Two topics can be described as interlinked, when girls that said their story was about the first of these two concepts were likely to say that their story was also about the second. For example if stories that involved ‘pregnancy’ almost always also involved ‘health’, then it could be said that these two topics were inter-related. For each topic of interest, the network view in Figure 78 represents its three closest associations to other topics, the only condition being that these associations must be positive.

Figure 79: The story space – a network view of the stories girls told (quantitative)

A link between a pair of topics indicates that girls that said their story was about one of these topics, were likely to also say that their story was about the other. The links represented in this network only represent the three closest associations between one topic and the others. Pairs of topics that are highly correlated appear close to each other in the network. The strength of the link is also highlighted by the width of the edge linking the two nodes. The size of the nodes is reflective of the estimated frequency with which girls told a story that involved that topic. The colour of the nodes is green when the average age of girls that told a story about a given topic tended to be younger, and red when they tended to be older.



Examining this network representation, firstly there appear to be two broad groups of stories: the first group evolves around the themes of ‘pregnancy’, ‘relationships with the opposite sex’, ‘friendship’ and ‘fun’; the second group evolve around ‘education’, ‘health’, ‘civic education’, ‘work’ and ‘money’. The link between the two groups of stories is the topic of ‘marriage’. There is a third group of stories, which is not highlighted in this network, which involve violence. Violence was not positively correlated to any of the other topics depicted in this network.

Out of the 11 possible topics girls could choose from, pregnancy is the topic that came up the most often. This is depicted in the network by the size of the node associated with the topic of pregnancy. The red colour of the node also indicates that girls that told a story about pregnancy were generally older than girls that told a story about any another topic. This study estimates that the average likelihood that a girl would tell a story that involved pregnancy was 41%, compared to 35% for education, 32% for violence and about 30% for health. Girls in the out-of-school and vulnerable groups were about 4 percentage points less likely to tell a story about pregnancy than girls in the in-school group.

Figure 78 reveals that in the stories girls told, the topic of pregnancy appears to have come up in the context of relationships with the opposite sex, and much less so within the framework of marriage. Girls that told a story about

relationships with the opposite sex, were 29% more likely to also talk about pregnancy in their story than girls that did not talk about relationships with the opposite sex. Pregnancy also does not appear to have been discussed much in relation to health, suggesting that the stories about pregnancy were unlikely to be about the health complications arising from early childhood birth. Only an estimated 17% of stories about pregnancy also involved health.

In the stories girls told, the topic of health appears to be much more closely related to the themes of education and work than alternative topics. Girls that told a story about education were also 10% more likely to also talk about health, compared to about 9% for girls that told a story about work. This study did not find any notable differences in whether girls talked about health by age, location or group.

This quick network overview of the stories girls told during the SM survey would seem to suggest that girls perceive pregnancy through the lens of relationships, friendship and fun, and that they may be less aware of issues related to early childhood birth, contraception and family planning. Health on the other hand seems to be much more closely tied with education. More specific analysis is therefore required regarding the role of education in determining the awareness that girls have about these issues – including menstruation. The following sections seek to unpack these issues.

5.5.2 Awareness about pregnancy, family planning and early childbirth

On both the topics of early childbirth and family planning/contraception only a minority of girls claim to know a lot about them. Just 10% of girls claim to know a lot about ‘starting a family and having children/family planning/contraception’, compared to about 23% for the challenges arising with early childbirth.

Education and the household situation of girls play a major role in shaping their knowledge about reproduction and related issues. The less education girls have, the less they claim to know about family planning and contraception and the challenges related to early childhood birth. Likewise, the more precarious their family situation – be it in terms of their wealth or related to death of family members – the less they claim know about these issues. This could be because they actually know less as a result of these factors or because they feel less confident about their knowledge.

In terms of knowledge about ‘starting a family and having children/family planning/contraception’ the most dominant factor seems to be vulnerability. This study estimates that the likelihood that a girl in the vulnerable group would say she knows nothing about starting a family and contraception is about 70%, compared 40% in the out-of-school group and 47% in the in-school group (see Table 29). The findings show that girls in the vulnerable group were 22.8% more likely to say that they knew nothing about starting a family and contraception than their peers in the in-school group. Both groups of girls – girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group and girls in the in-school group are enrolled – so education was not the main differentiator between them.

On the topic of challenges that might arise with early childbirth, the opposite is true. While being vulnerable is also strongly associated with a decrease in the likelihood of knowing something about issues associated with early childbirth, the lack of education seems to be the dominant factor. Girls in the out-of-school group were on average 21.2% more likely to say they knew ‘nothing’ about issues related to early childhood birth, compared to girls in the in-school group. This compares to 12.8% for girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group.

Table 29: Estimated likelihood that girls would agree/disagree on a certain statement relating to roles and attitudes in terms of schooling (quantitative)

Statement	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in school (girls)
Starting a family and having children/family planning/contraception			
<i>A lot</i>	9.1%	12.3%	8.1%
<i>A little</i>	43.4%	47.7%	21.7%
<i>Nothing</i>	47.5%	40.0%	70.2%

Challenges associated with early childbirth for girls

<i>A lot</i>	22.5%	25.5%	13.2%
<i>A little</i>	45.1%	47.1%	39.6%
<i>Nothing</i>	32.4%	27.4%	47.2%

Health and Menstruation

<i>A lot</i>	35.7%	47.4%	30.2%
<i>A little</i>	46.3%	45.6%	45.1%
<i>Nothing</i>	18.0%	7.0%	24.7%

These findings suggest that programs that aim to address awareness about issues related to pregnancy, family planning and early childhood birth need to focus on two areas: strengthening education about these issues at school, but also awareness within households. Programs at school are likely to have the largest impact on vulnerable girls.

5.5.3 Awareness about menstruation

There are similar patterns when it comes to the topic of health and menstruation. Being out of school and/or vulnerable, are both associated with a decrease in the likelihood that girls would know much about ‘health and menstruation’ compared to girls that are in the in-school group. With all other factors being equal, girls in the out-of-school group are 9.4% less likely to claim they know ‘a lot about’ the topic of health and menstruation compared to girls in the in-school group; girls in the vulnerable group are about 6.2% more likely to say they know ‘nothing’ about this topic.

It is important to note that these differences between groups do not directly translate into differences in population likelihoods, as observed in Table 29 (above), as these are also affected by the age distribution of girls within each group. The likelihood that girls in the out-of-school group would say they know a lot about health and menstruation is 47.4%, compared to just 35.7% for the in-school group and 30.2% in the vulnerable group. This is only because girls in the out-of-school group are much older on average. Keeping age constant, girls in the out-of-school group are much less likely to claim they know ‘a lot’ about menstruation.

Age is a much more important factor when it comes to a girl’s knowledge about health and menstruation than it is for her knowledge about other selected topics, including money, jobs, education opportunities, early childbirth and family planning. Table 30 compares the difference between how much girls claim to know about certain topics at ages 10 and 19. The difference is the largest for two topics in particular: ‘health and menstruation’ and ‘challenges related to early childbirth for girls’. This study estimates that the likelihood that a girl aged 10 would claim to know ‘a lot’ about health and menstruation is just 6.8%, compared to an estimated 60.8% for girls aged 19. In other words, girls aged 19 are 9 times more likely than girls aged 10 to claim they know a lot about health and menstruation. Girls that are 19 are also 7.9 times more likely to know a lot about ‘challenges related to early childbirth’ than girls that are 10 years old, compared to 2.3 for money, 2.0 for job opportunities, 1.7 for education and 1.4 for ‘starting a family and having children/family planning/and contraception’.

Table 30: Difference in the estimated likelihood that girls aged 10 and 19 would claim to know a lot about a certain topic (quantitative)

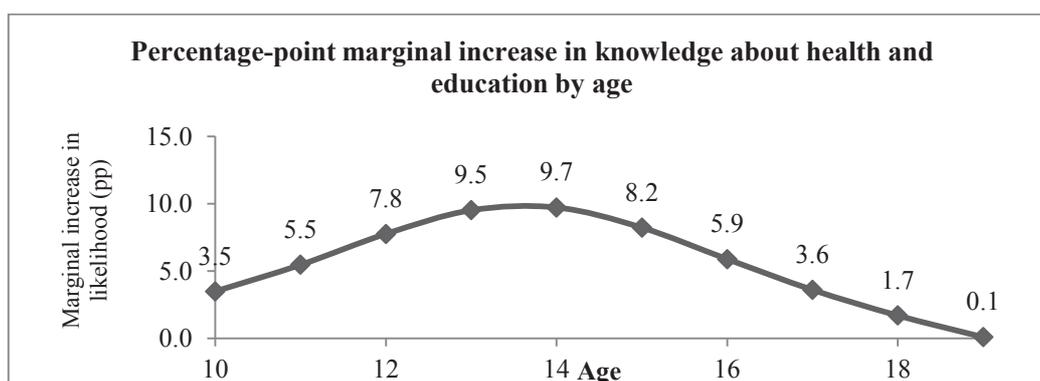
Know a lot about ...	10 years old (girls)	19 years old (girls)	Difference (% , girls)	Difference (factor, girls)
Health and menstruation	6.8%	60.8%	54.0pp	9.0
Challenges related to early childbirth	5.9%	46.7%	40.8pp	7.9
Money	6.8%	15.6%	8.8pp	2.3
Job opportunities	11.3%	22.7%	11.5pp	2.0

Education opportunities	33.0%	54.6%	21.6pp	1.7
Starting a family and having children, family planning and contraception	7.6%	11.0%	3.4pp	1.4

Note: 'pp' stands for percentage points. Estimated using the mlogit model.

Figure 79, depicts the marginal average increase in knowledge about health and menstruation by age. This figure indicates for example that girls aged 11 are on average 5.5% more likely to know 'a lot' about health and menstruation than girls aged 10; girls aged 12 are on average 7.8% more likely to know 'a lot about health and menstruation' than girls aged 11; and so on. The marginal change in knowledge about health and menstruation is positive from ages 10 through to 19 and peaks at ages 13–14. One would have expected a less symmetrical picture to emerge before and after ages 13–14, with a curve heavily skewed to the right. This would have indicated that girls learn much faster about health and menstruation between ages 10–14 – the age at which they get their period for the first time – and much slower thereafter. Instead the rate of learning of girls aged 12 and 15, 11 and 16 and 10 and 18 is about the same, making the curve almost perfectly symmetrical on both sides of 13 and 14 years of age.

Figure 80: Percentage-point marginal increases in knowledge about health and education by age (quantitative)

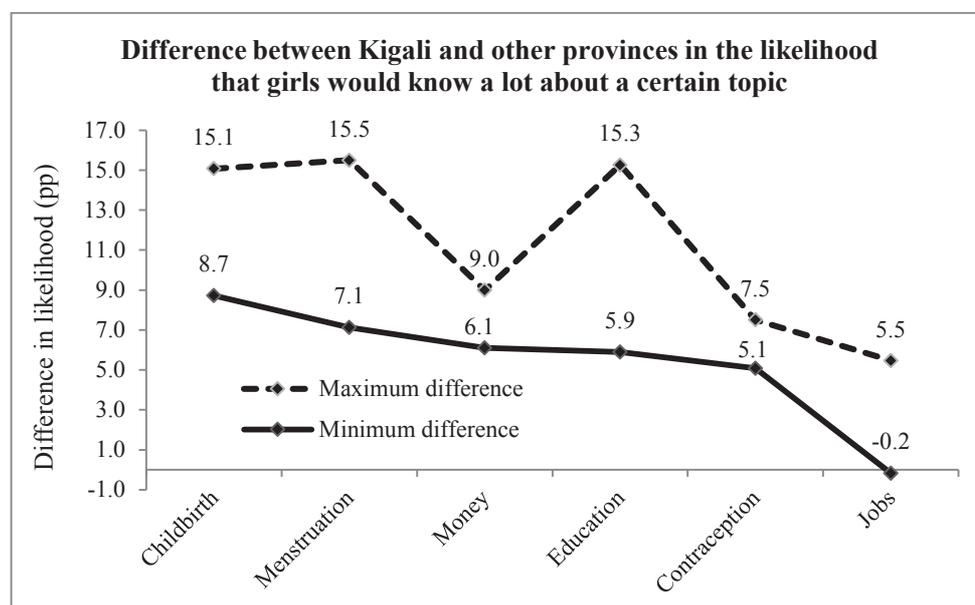


Note: estimated using the mlogit model.

There are also very large regional differences on the topic of health and menstruation, with Kigali a clear outlier. The likelihood that a girl in Kigali would claim to know 'a lot' about health and menstruation is 52% on average, compared to 39% in the Northern Province, and just 31–33% in the Eastern, Western and Southern Provinces. Thus girls in Kigali are 14–16% more likely to claim to know a lot about health and menstruation, compared to girls in the Eastern, Western and Southern Provinces and 7.1% more likely than the Northern Province. These statistics point towards a clear urban/rural divide in terms of how information and education about 'health and menstruation' are transmitted to young girls.

As Figure 80 reveals, differences between Kigali and other provinces were more pronounced on the questions of 'health and menstruation' and 'challenges about early childbirth for girls', than they were for other topics.

Figure 81: Difference between Kigali and other provinces in the likelihood that girls would know a lot about a certain topic (quantitative)



Note: estimated using the mlogit model.

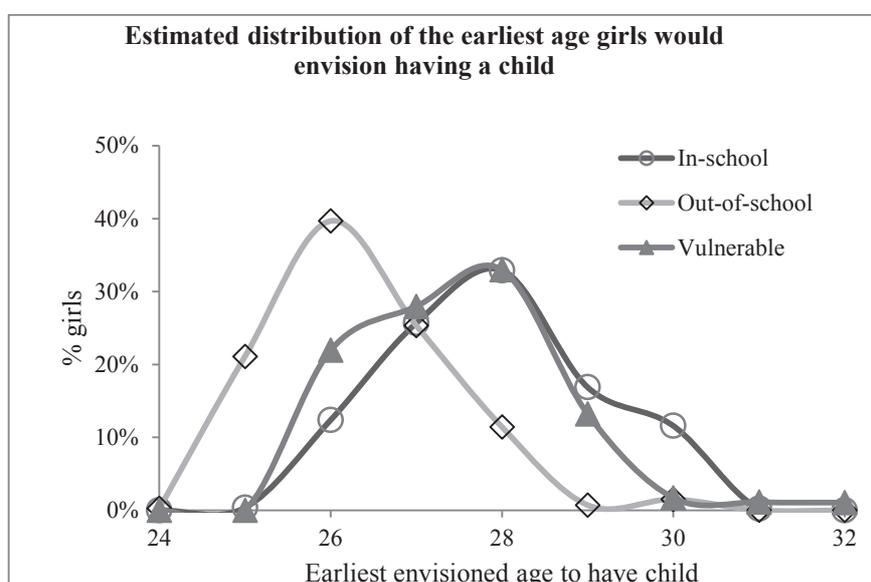
5.5.4 Perceptions and attitudes about the timing of having children and contraception

Girls perceive themselves to have a lot of say in terms of the timing of when to have a child and to some extent on the use of contraceptives in marriage. While the majority of decisions in the household are reportedly made by the parents – be it decisions about when a girl should do household chores, whether she should get a paid job, whether she should go to school, or how to spend money – the majority of girls report that the decision of when to have a child is their own. This study estimates that the likelihood that a girl would claim to make the decision of when to have children on her own ranges between 73–87%, depending on which group girls belong to. The differences between groups on the question of when to have children are largely driven by age. Controlling for age and location, girls in all three groups are equally likely to say that the decision of when to have children is theirs to make.

Boys perceive themselves to be 5% less likely to take decisions on having children on their own. This is because they seem to give a slightly greater role to the spouse and the in-laws in the decision-making process.

The earliest age at which girls aged 10 to 19 would envision having a child is somewhere between the ages of 24 and 31. The average age across groups was approximately 27.6. As can be seen in Figure 81, there are marked differences on this topic between girls that are enrolled and girls that are not. Girls that are out of school seem to be more comfortable with the idea of becoming a mother earlier in life, about one to two years on average before girls in the other two groups. There are marked differences between boys and girls. Based on this survey, the earliest age at which boys would envision becoming a father is 30 on average, more than two years after girls. Perceptions of these adolescents on the age of having the first child is similar to the mean age of childbearing for women in Rwanda according to the latest National Census (2012) with is 29.2 at the national level. According to the National Census, fertility levels peak between the ages of 25 to 29 but the median age at first birth is much lower, at about 22 years of age. By age 25–29 only about 23% of girls do not have child. Therefore, it appears that the adolescent perceptions on the optimal age when girls would envision having their first child are much higher than reality. Another explanation could be that the next generation of girls in Rwanda are going to bear children for the first time at a much later age.

Figure 82: Estimated distribution of the earliest age girls would envision having a child (quantitative)



When asked whether girls agreed with the following statement – ‘if a husband and wife disagree on whether to use family planning (contraceptives), the husband’s opinion should come first’ – a majority of girls disagreed (see Table 31). This is despite the fact that most girls disagree with the statement that ‘a wife should be able to refuse to have sex with her husband’. Again, there are large difference between groups. Girls that were not enrolled in school, controlling for age and location, were on average 11% more likely to agree that the husband’s opinion should come first on matters of family planning and contraceptives, compared to girls in the in-school and out-of-school groups. Vulnerability is not the main driver of these differences between groups, but rather education or the lack thereof. It is also important to note however that a sizeable minority of girls (about one third) responded that they agreed with this statement.

Table 31: Estimated likelihood that girls would agree/disagree on a statement relating to the use of contraceptives in marriage (quantitative)

Issue	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school (girls)
If a husband and wife disagree on whether to use family planning (contraceptives), the husband’s opinion should come first.			
<i>Don't know</i>	10.7%	16.6%	11.2%
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	18.0%	13.0%	15.6%
<i>Disagree</i>	43.6%	40.5%	43.1%
<i>Agree</i>	21.9%	23.8%	23.4%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	5.7%	6.2%	6.7%

Note: estimated using the mlogit model.

While opinions are balanced on whether women should be able to refuse having sex with their husband, girls feel they have a much greater say about the use of contraceptives in marriage (see Table 32). When asked whether they agreed with the following statement – ‘if a husband and wife disagree on whether to use family planning

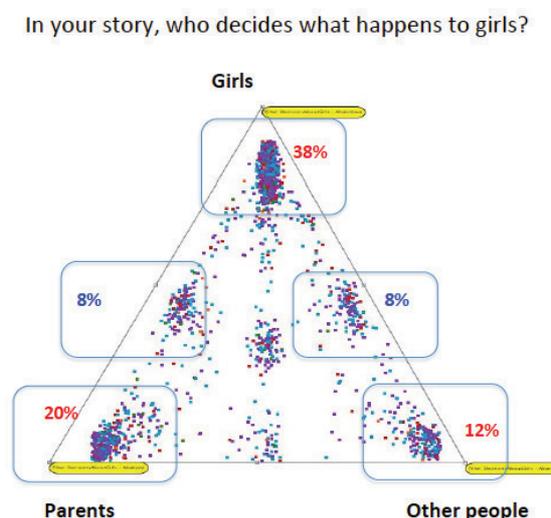
(contraceptives), the husband’s opinion should come first’ – a majority of girls disagreed, except in the out-of-school group where responses were more balanced. This is consistent with responses on the timing of having a child, which girls firmly believed was a decision that was largely theirs to make. Boys were even more likely to disagree with this statement than girls.

Table 32: Girls’ opinions of use on contraceptives in marriage (quantitative)

Issue	In-school (girls)	Out-of-school (girls)	Vulnerable, but in-school (girls)
If a husband and wife disagree on whether to use family planning (contraceptives), the husband’s opinion should come first.			
<i>Don't know</i>	11%	19%	12%
<i>Strongly disagree</i>	20%	9%	16%
<i>Disagree</i>	44%	31%	41%
<i>Agree</i>	20%	32%	24%
<i>Strongly agree</i>	29%	28%	27%

In general, the SM findings concur with the quantitative survey outcomes: girls largely decide for themselves on issues related to pregnancy. For instance, in 38% of the stories about pregnancy, girls decide for themselves what happens, and the older girls are, the more they seem to decide for themselves about issues related to pregnancy. For instance, for girls age 16–19: in 41% of stories ‘ girls decide’ compared to 17% in which ‘parents decide’, while for girls age 13–15: in 39% of stories ‘ girls decide’ compared to 22% in which ‘parents decide’ and girls aged 10–12: in 37% of stories ‘ girls decide’ compared to 27% in which ‘parents decide’ (see Figure 82).

Figure 83: Decision-makers in stories about pregnancy (SM Dataset)



Parent respondents confirm this as they seem to find that girls mostly decide for themselves what happens to them when it comes to issues related to pregnancy. For the stories about pregnancy shared by parents, they have indicated in 42% of the stories that girls are deciding what happens to them.

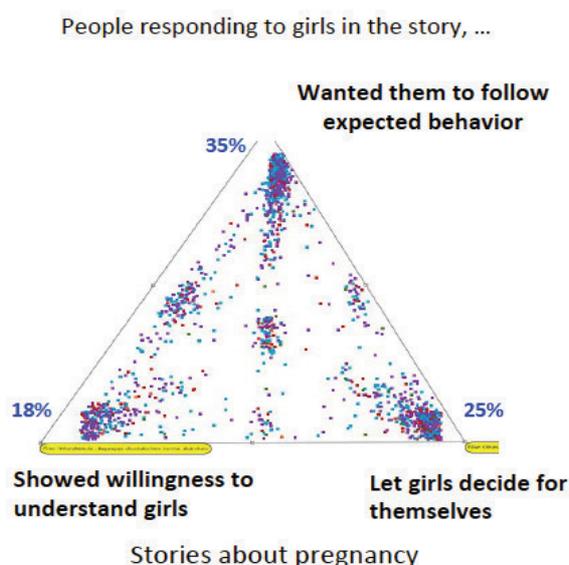
There are 45% of the stories about pregnancy in which parents are directly involved (father and/or mother appears in the story). In these stories, there are more stories in which parents are deciding (28%) but the majority is still about girls deciding (35%). In the 55% of the stories about pregnancy which do not involve parents, i.e. father and mother do not appear in the story, the pattern is 43% ‘girls deciding’ compared to 15% ‘parents deciding’.

Girls that have a relationship (boyfriends or husbands) are more likely to decide for themselves about pregnancy compared to parents. If boyfriends and husbands appear in the stories about pregnancy, girls are more likely to decide for themselves (43% in which ‘girls decide’ compared to 16% in which ‘parents decide’). Only 16% of the stories about pregnancy in which boyfriends or husbands appear, also contain parents.

Only 14% of the stories about pregnancy shared by out-of-school girls are about parents deciding and 40% are about girls deciding, while in-school girls share 24% of the stories in which parents decide; parents in stories from out-of-school girls seemed to be even less involved in decisions when it comes to pregnancy (14%). These findings contrast with those that can be seen in Figures 75 and 77, in which girls ‘do something they did not want to do’ in relation to the subject of pregnancy. This suggests that while girls are indeed making the decisions, they may not be doing so in an empowered fashion and therefore are dealing with pregnancy in a relatively negative and isolated manner – particularly out-of-school girls.

This hypothesis that girls are relatively under-supported, or dealing with pregnancy in a challenging environment, is partly confirmed when observing that girls are expected to follow decent/traditional behaviour, especially by boys/men, in stories about marriage. It can be assumed that this might be referring to sexual intercourse, getting pregnant, and/or in dealing with the consequences of being pregnant. From all the topics, pregnancy has the highest percentage of stories in which people wanted girls to follow expected behavior (35%) and one of the lowest topics in which people showed willingness to understand girls (18%) – see Figure 83.

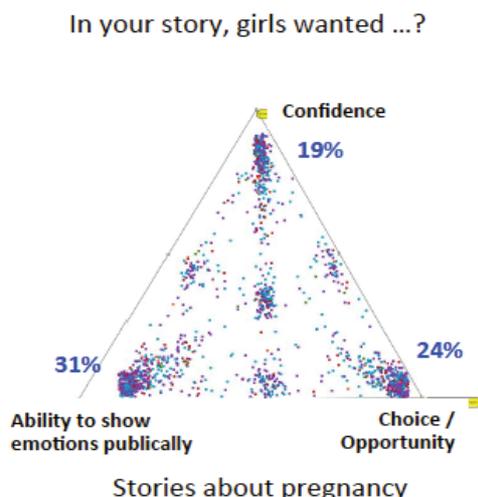
Figure 84: Responses to girls in stories about pregnancy (SM Dataset)



These findings are only marginally more exaggerated in stories from males. Analysing differences in the gender of the respondents, male respondents share 38% of stories about pregnancy in which people want girls to follow expected behavior, and 13% in which people show willingness to understand girls. Female respondents share 33% of stories about pregnancy in which people want girls to ‘follow expected behaviour’ and 18% in which people show ‘willingness to understand girls’. This pattern is confirmed by the stories in which boyfriends are directly involved in the story, especially if the stories are told by girls, 40% of stories are about people wanting girls to follow expected behavior.

Finally, when dealing with stories about pregnancy, respondents perceive that girls want more ability to show their emotions (speak up/voice), as well as have more chances to choose for themselves. In 31% of the stories about pregnancy, girls want the ability to show emotions publically and in 24% (which is slightly higher than the general pattern) of the stories girls want choice/opportunity (see Figure 84).

Figure 85: Girls' desires in stories about pregnancy



5.5.5 Summary: key findings relating to sexual and reproductive health

Lens	Key Findings
Overall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overall, 46% of the stories from girls aged 16 to 19 are about pregnancy (the topic with the highest percentage in the entire story set – the vast majority of which are negative). Surprisingly, many (36%) of these stories involve girls 10–15. • Adolescent girls report that they do not know a lot or talk a lot about issues related to sexual and reproductive health. Only a minority of girls claim to know a lot about ‘starting a family and having children/family planning/contraception’ or about challenges associated with early childbirth. The majority of girls do not talk with their friends about marriage or having children, boyfriends, or being teased by men or boys in the neighbourhood. • Most respondents do not feel that social pressures will force them to get married at an early age. Regardless of their age or group, girls see the decision of when to get married or when to have children as their own. They also agree that, in their communities, it is acceptable for girls to delay marriage either to complete school or to take up a job. Girls typically envision getting married between the ages of 24 and 27 and having children between the ages of 26 and 28, although this varies across groups. • 39% of the stories about health are also about education and many are focused on menstruation. Pregnancy also does not appear to have been discussed much in relation to health, suggesting that the stories about pregnancy were unlikely to be about the health complications arising from early childhood birth. Only an estimated 17% of stories about pregnancy also involved health. • Of all topics, pregnancy has the highest percentage of stories in which people wanted girls to follow expected behaviour and the lowest percentage of stories in which people showed willingness to understand girls. Girls in the stories are also perceived to be making their own decisions in this context – but further SM analysis shows that around half the time, girls are doing something they did not want to do. • By contrast, the quantitative findings show that in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable groups are equally likely to say that the decision of when to have children is theirs to make.
Age	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age is a much more important factor when it comes to a girl’s knowledge about health and menstruation than it is for her knowledge about other selected topics,

	<p>including money, jobs, education opportunities, early childbirth and family planning.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This might have indicated that girls learn much faster about health and menstruation between ages 10–14 – the age at which they get their period for the first time – and much slower thereafter. Instead the rate of learning of seems to be at an equal pace across girls aged between 12 and 15, 11 and 16 and 10 and 18. • In SM older girls tell more stories about pregnancy.
Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vulnerable girls report lower levels of knowledge and understanding of sexual and reproductive health than other girls in school. They were much more likely to say that they knew nothing about starting a family and contraception or about the challenges associated with childbirth than girls in school. They were also less likely to know about health and menstruation. • Girls in the vulnerable group envision getting married and having their first child slightly earlier than other in-school girls.
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The less education girls have, the less they claim to know about family planning, contraception, challenges related to early childbirth, and health and menstruation – although there is a marginal difference in the number of stories told by in-school, out-of-school and vulnerable groups. • Out-of-school girls are also more likely to make decisions on their own and less likely to share and discuss issues with other people, to envision getting married and having their first child earlier than other in-school girls, and 21.2% more likely to say they knew ‘nothing’ about issues related to early childhood birth, compared to girls in the in-school group (compared to 12.8% for girls in the vulnerable, but in-school group). • Girls that were not enrolled in-school, were on average 11% more likely to agree that the husband’s opinion should come first on matters of family planning and contraceptives, compared to girls in the in-school and out-of-school groups. • From the stories, there are similar indications that out-of-school girls are perceived to be more exposed and faced with unwanted pregnancy than in-school girls – given that out-of-school girls share more stories about pregnancy in which girls do something they didn’t want to do.
Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are very large regional differences on the topic of health and menstruation. The likelihood that a girl in Kigali would claim to know ‘a lot’ about health and menstruation is 52% on average compared to 39% in the Northern Province and just 31–33% in the Eastern, Western, and Southern Provinces. • In the stories, pregnancy appears more in those from urban adolescent girls compared to rural girls and there are indications that urban respondents are more exposed and faced with unwanted pregnancy than rural respondents and in-school girls. Although not surprising, hardly any girls share stories about pregnancy in which they take part themselves (5% of the stories about pregnancy): 42% of these stories come from the Eastern Province, and an average of 17% from Western, Northern and Southern Provinces and only 2.5% from the Kigali Province (2 stories).
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In SM boys share more stories about pregnancy than other groups. Very few girls share stories about pregnancy in which they take part (only 5%).

5.6 Participatory feedback

The participatory feedback stage focused on several specific areas. Given the need for comparability across groups, and the relatively restricted timelines (two days of focus groups) these areas were limited to the following topics: ability to envision choice, education, marriage, control over body (for older groups)/health (for younger groups), and violence/safety. These topics were selected because they referred to particularly surprising patterns from the SM analysis. Overall, 21 story packs were developed – investigating patterns in manner, as outlined in Figures 85 and 86 below.

Figure 86: Example of question relating to a story pack of strongly positive stories about education (SM Dataset)

Stories about education, that are strongly positive and proud, glad or hopeful, involving girls 10-24 and confirming tradition [ref: 3.1SP1]

Question 1: what is happening in the stories? Can you find out why these stories are positive and confirming tradition?

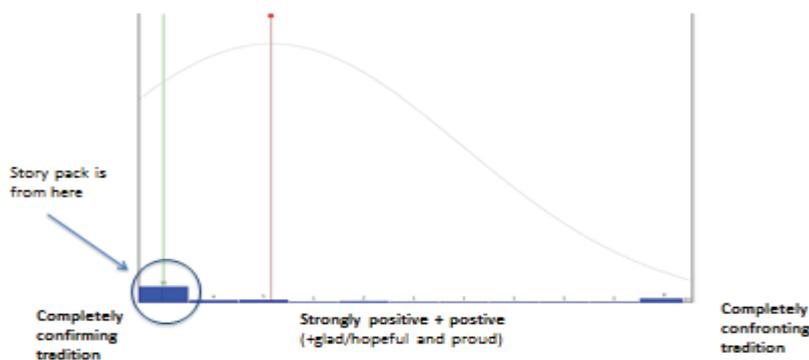
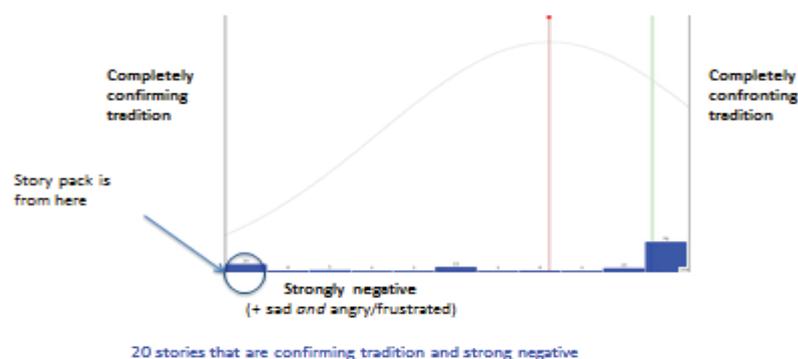


Figure 87: Example of a question relating to a story pack of strongly negative stories about education (SM Dataset)

Stories about education, that are strongly negative and sad, angry or frustrating, involving girls 10-24 and confirm culturally acceptable behaviour [ref: 3.1SP2]

Question 2: What is happening in the stories? Can you find out why these stories are negative and confirming tradition?



Each of these topics provided several related story packs in which participants were also requested to provide guidance regarding the degree to which the stories in the packs reflected the filters and lenses which had been applied to them.

In the focus groups, participants were therefore asked three levels of questions:

- The first set asked participants about the direct content of the stories in order to explain contradictions or correlations.
- The second set looked at the relevance of the content of the stories to the coding (in order to confirm/contrast SM's coding structure).
- The third set requested inputs on whether the stories were reflective of the lives of participants more generally, and whether there might be any responses to challenges outlined in the stories.

This activity was also undertaken with the fieldwork enumerators in a standalone SM exercise to retain their tacit experience having conducted 8 weeks' fieldwork.

Overall, this process revealed three key findings. Firstly, the participants (girls, boys and adults) noted that girls in the stories, as in their communities, were mostly learning not by best practice, or through role models, but through learning what not to do. In other words, in discussing the content of the negative stories, respondents understood mostly how to avoid risks, rather than embrace opportunities. For example:

'...when I see other girls who survive in a bad life, I decided to work hard to have a bright future. Sometimes you confirm that when you see a girl get pregnant and her parents take her away from home.' Girl respondent, rural feedback site

Secondly, in reading the stories about education, many of the participants outlined the relatively minor role of parents in discussing socially sensitive topics with their daughters – including safe sexual practices, sexual reproductive health and menstruation. The issue of menstruation in particular was discussed in great depth by girl focus groups. The reasons for this gap, according to participants, was based on fear of promotion of sexual activity or sexual exploration, the 'cultural taboo' of the topic, the lack of interest of parents, and the lack of parenting time available for parents to engage meaningfully. Participants also noted that these gaps were also not filled in the school environment, but rather by peer groups – some of whom were well informed on the subject matter, while others were not.

Thirdly, the majority of the story packs matched the expected content, as well as the experiences of the participants in their everyday lives. However, a minority of packs showed notable variation in expected content – in particular the pack about marriage. In reading the stories about marriage, very few of the stories gave explicit mention to marriage or formal ceremonies of any kind. The discussants outlined that 'marriage' was often used interchangeably with more formalised relationships, in which partners shared a household, a long-standing relationship, or a child. This complicates the SM findings, and may be an area for further research given the uniquely positive associations attributed to stories about marriage, and that participants also suggested that what girls need in long-term relationships is an awareness of their legal rights regarding marital procedures.

Similarly, some participants' assisted in problematising the instruments used in the packs. The issue of 'choice' as outlined in some of the triads for example, was seen to be unclear. They suggested that choice could be seen in a both a positive or a negative light, depending on the circumstances in which the choice was made, and that sometimes a lack of choice itself could be envisioned as a highly empowering concept – such as in the case of fulfilling the obligation the rights holder to attend school.

Finally, the issue of 'agency', as outlined in one of the triads, was clarified in enumerator feedback sessions as potentially vague. Despite having undertaken several translations and fieldwork pilots, the issue of agency could have been understood as having agents to fulfil actions, rather than individual capacity to enact. This issue was again maintained during the analysis stage, but was considered to be minor given that it was paired with 'confidence' as a dual concept.

Consequently, several adjustments were made in the ongoing research process. A key insight was the importance of menstruation to the girls, and the associated risks and insecurities relating to lack of information provision and awareness. The sections on Education on Reproductive Health therefore both amplified the messages and findings from both the quantitative survey and the SM data set – which was a departure from the original focus of analysis. The discussions in turn led to broader insights (including interventions and responses) around adolescent sexual health education and rights awareness with parents, boys and girls alike, which were incorporated into the conclusions and recommendations section. Adjustments in understanding the term ‘marriage’ also nuanced the conclusions and recommendations, although unlike the findings regarding menstruation this finding did not lead to any adjustments in the research process due to the fact that marriage was already a core component of the research. Rather, it led to broader contextual parameters in understanding how marriage may be understood in different contexts.

The issue over the definition of ‘choice’ was taken into account in the analysis mainly by seeking triangulation from other data on the meanings or contexts attached to different choice contexts. For instance, where a triad tool in SM outlined that a certain group of girls were seen to have ‘choice’, further tools were drawn upon to determine the context and nature of that choice. The use of the ‘stones’ tool for instance, provide context to the choices made by girls in showing whether the final decision they made was indeed something they wanted to do in the first place.

Collectively therefore, the participatory feedback process provided several new research process and research content findings that led the team to make significant adjustments. Summary lessons for any initiatives seeking to conduct similar participatory analysis can found in the methods section of the conclusions and recommendations.

6 Discussions and recommendations

The section focuses on a series of distilled insights and recommendations for action with respect to methodology, programming activities (by theme) and by areas for further research. Collectively, these findings aim to provide a foundation through which GHR can develop and reframe internal initiatives and advocacy messages, and to develop a niche competency as an evidence-based practitioner and advocate of social norms change. In addition, some findings outline a broader usefulness for other Girl Hub country offices as well as central planning activities – particularly with respect to methodological lessons and opportunities for further research.

6.1 Methodological recommendations

6.1.1 Refine the process of focusing down on subject matter

- As outlined in the methods section, a certain degree of associated ‘noise’ was lost when focusing down into certain subject matter within the SM framework, particularly when looking to remove extraneous factors from perceived causal relationships. This is only a key issue if the research aims to develop ‘manageable’ story packs for anecdotal review, given that several filters have to be applied to the data in order to reduce to a number of between 20–50 stories. In doing so, a form of ‘data mining’ is undertaken, in which findings are likely to lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy.
- One potential experiment that can be undertaken to address this issue is to use qualitative text management software (such as MaxQDA or Invivo) to extract stories and apply a different codification structure. This procedure will allow all the stories associated with certain terms to be assessed (after codification), and furthermore, enables the opportunity to add new search terms to the software at a later stage.

6.1.2 Additional text analysis for other qualitative research studies

- Given that the nature of the stories in the study is highly open-ended, this data source can be utilised for a large variety of qualitative research studies, including studies examining prominence of HIV and AIDS terms, domestic versus school violence, water and sanitation, etc.
- This process of additional text analysis does however add codification to the text, and thereby reintroduces researcher bias and layers of interpretation.

6.1.3 Further exploration of the ‘negative bias’ of adolescent girls’ experiences

- Further in-depth exploration could be undertaken to look at why negative stories dominate the perceptions/experiences of adolescent girls and to examine the implications of social-norms approaches. It may well be the case that ‘negative bias’ is a prevalent factor in this study – given that it is common feature in qualitative research (see methodology discussion).
- The ‘social-norms approach’ provides a logic through which to understand this negative bias given that it investigates, amongst other issues, the phenomenon of ‘pluralistic ignorance’. In other words, the degree to which individuals see the attitudes and behaviours of broader society as contrasting to their own. On the other hand, it also uses the concept of ‘false consensus’ – a situation in which an individual incorrectly perceives others to have the same views, when in fact they do not (Perkins, 2003; Berkowitz,

2004). Given that the tendency for extreme (and often negative) stories to take precedence in the mind-sets of study participants has been observed (ibid.), this provides a framework through which to begin explain the prominence of negative stories and to frame corresponding interventions.

- This approach on social norms was not prioritised at the outset of the study, and has latterly come to frame certain conclusions below. However, this approach does provide a framework in which highly memorable or extreme stories are commonplace, and may be useful in explaining the content in the story database.

6.1.4 Outline strict criteria for database sequencing at the outset of the study

- This study utilised a mixed method parallel sequencing approach, in which the emergent findings from both the quantitative study and the SM study mutually reinforced each other. As was known from the outset, the abductive nature of the study would provide no hypotheses or expectations regarding findings (and hence the internal validity of ‘surprising’ findings), and how to prioritise these findings as issues that were worthy of triangulation in the sibling dataset. In other words, prioritisation of comparable areas between the two datasets became dependent on several issues, including the degree of surprise in a finding relative to literature review findings, as well as the quality and significance of the findings themselves. Consequently, the analysis approach was iterative, complex, and managerially intensive. In retrospect, a range of prioritisation criteria for emergent findings would have been helpful to systematise this complex approach.
- For initiatives that are constrained by either time or resources, or do not necessarily use an ‘abductive’ approach for generating hypotheses, it is recommend that a fixed sequencing approach is taken (quantitative→ SM, or SM→ quantitative survey). Perhaps also a formal stepped approach in which quantitative findings inform SM which in turn re-inform quantitative findings. While this approach was taken in the study, these steps were taken on a more informal basis.

6.2 Insights with implications for Girl Hub Rwanda initiatives

6.2.1 Social relations

- Stories from the Sensemaker dataset about relationships with the opposite sex are mainly about pregnancy and violence, with 80% of these stories also being negative, with boys and/or boyfriends featuring frequently in these stories. Given the extent of these negative experiences recommendations might include extending the provision of support services for adolescent girls including those related to family planning and psychosocial/GBV counselling.
- Another interpretation, given the findings in the literature review regarding the low adolescent pregnancy rates in Rwanda, is to conduct a review of best practices around awareness raising on this subject. The aim of this activity would be to determine to what extent this positive social norm or negative association with adolescent pregnancy, is a consequence of public or other service-delivery intervention or community-driven norms. In either instance, lessons for replication into other themes can potentially be explored.
- Stories about marriage from the SM findings have more positive associations than those about relationships with the opposite sex. The increased role of parents in stories about either relationships or marriage has a substantial effect in determining the nature of the stories – suggesting parents are perceived to play crucial positively enhancing roles. Interventions and further research would do well to investigate current social norms amongst both parents and children regarding modern parenting practices, and whether they match the actual needs of children.
- There is a strong sense in the quantitative datasets that it is girls who make the decision regarding when to get married or when to have children. The SM findings add complexity in showing that girls often make such decisions in isolation and relative negativity. In positive stories however, parents are shown

to have a much stronger role. It would be interesting to explore further how this agency comes about, why certain girls may have agency compared to others, or whether it is perhaps only a perception of agency.

- The quantitative data shows that when it comes to perceptions about marriage, vulnerable girls are arguably exhibiting more discriminatory norms toward girls and women. Thus vulnerable girls are more likely than others to agree that ‘women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers’. They are also more likely to believe that violence against women is justified in some cases. This suggests that there are opportunities for GHR to review its activities to determine whether and how it explores raising the awareness of both girls and their carers/members of their household about the rights of all girls/women, given that the data shows that the school environment may potentially not have been a sufficiently corrective environment.
- In terms of broader social networks, a majority of girls (75%) from the quantitative survey report that they have a support structure outside of their homes. Furthermore, girls are much more likely to turn to their mother for help and advice about problems than to their friends. However, there is little variation in the degree to which mothers and fathers are perceived to encourage girls to follow expected/decent behaviour, suggesting that social-norms interventions should not necessarily compartmentalise maternal attitudes as positively reinforcing of progressive social norms. The implication for GHR is to retain a nuanced understanding of the role of parents and guardians as possessing progressive and discriminatory social norms simultaneously.
- As could be expected, the quantitative data shows that vulnerable, but in-school girls have a weaker social support structure outside their homes than other in-school girls. In turn, out-of-school girls have a weaker social support structure than in-school girls and are similarly less connected. This would suggest that not only are more efforts needed to encourage girls to return to school or undertake other forms of learning and skills-building activities (see education section), but also that additional/innovative ways of bringing out-of-school girls together is required to build their confidence levels. Out-of-school girls need particular attention in this regard, given their overwhelming deficit in self-confidence compared to both vulnerable, but in-school and in-school girls.
- A somewhat counterintuitive finding emerging from the SM data is that in-school girls tell marginally more stories of isolation (which are closely associated with violence, fear and insecurity), than their out-of-school counterparts. Although further exploration is needed on this finding/perception, one possible explanation could be that schools could have an isolating effect on girls, perhaps because of their often rigid, male-dominated and hierarchical structures. As such, efforts could focus on ways in which schools could become friendlier, social-capital generating environments, e.g. through establishing out-of-school activities, clubs, etc. (see also education section).
- The SM data shows that for all girls (10–19), the importance of social connections in improving story outcomes is considered to be minor in relation to other factors (access to services, education etc.). However, looking at social connections as a standalone issue, the quantitative findings show that the number of social connections for girls decreases by age in reality, whereas the stories suggest that perceptions of the importance of social connectivity increase with age. This provides two conclusions; firstly that the majority of adolescent girls may undervalue the importance of social networks in problem-solving (given findings on the importance of social networks in schools, developing confidence and on SRH information sharing, etc.) and secondly, that social connectivity declines at a point in girls lives when it is most needed. Responses to these findings may include sensitizing girls (particularly out-of-school girls) about the value of social capital. However, this sensitization will need to be conducted in parallel to the mapping and coordination with supportive services for girls – such as youth clubs and vocational training facilities.

6.2.2 Education

- Although the quantitative data shows in-school girls are more connected than out-of school girls, the SM data shows that in-school girls tell more stories about isolation compared to out-of school girls (who tell more stories about being connected). Further exploration is needed to understand why school-going girls may nonetheless prioritise or perceive their stories to be about isolation when in fact they are shown to be better connected and confident. However, if this disconnect is shown to be present, then potential responses – as outlined in the participatory feedback stage – may include expanding the role and messaging around school clubs and other activities which could bring girls together to develop peer networks; providing school counselling facilities/train teachers to girls facing stressful situations; linking girls with external counselling and other facilities; and working with teachers and parents (through e.g. PTAs and community dialogues) to understand why negative stories are emerging linked to education/what are the challenges faced in-school/during school time and how these can be mitigated
- Findings from the participatory feedback stage highlighted that the content of in-school girls' stories often involved issues around menstruation, and that education and menstruation often appear in the same story. While difficult to interpret, this could lead to a suggestion that more information should be provided on issues of SRH). However, anecdotal feedback from focus groups strongly suggested a failure in the responsibility of both parents and teachers to educate girls on menstruation – a role fulfilled by peer networks. Consequently, responses should focus on the need for teachers to be trained on how to deliver SRH and sex education in the medium term, that a review of the school curriculum may also be required in the long term, but that girl peer networks are rightly informed regarding health and hygiene issues around menstruation to ensure that short-term needs are also addressed.
- Given that both girls and their parents place a high value on education – shown in both datasets - with delayed marriage consequently seen as an acceptable life strategy, it is important that this positive perception of education for all (boys and girls) is capitalised/built upon. At the same time, it is also critical for those out-of-school that strategies be developed to encourage them to attend school. Both demand and supply side initiatives would be necessary:

On the demand side strategies might include: continuing outreach activities with parents/carers of children who are out of school of the importance of sending their children to school, which may include engaging with parents of children who are in school in different forms of peer exchange and sharing; providing some form of incentives to send children to school (depending on the context it could include a cash transfer, school meal, a cash or in-kind payment for the household) thus removing the economic barriers they may face in attending school; providing more information in an easily accessible/appropriate way to children who are not in schools about the value of education – this could also be carried out through peer-to-peer exchanges.

On the supply side strategies might include: providing skills and vocational training possibilities, given that older children may face difficulties in going to school (e.g. they may face stigma); and developing a range of approaches to attract more children, especially girls, e.g. recruiting more female teachers, offering catch-up classes at different times, and offering evening classes.

- While both datasets show that all girls see the underlying value in education – many are being disenfranchised by several drivers, and barriers that prevent further attainments. It is also important that the SM research indicates that girls are, for the most part, not leaving school on a voluntary basis, but nevertheless perceive economic gains (wealth) as the key driver of positive change in the stories they tell. For in-school girls however, the main solution to their stories is education and confidence, whereas vulnerable girls emphasise access to services as an area of improvement in the stories. Again, this underlines the differences between the realities and perceptions of girls in terms of how they understand their short-term material and practical needs, compared to their longer-term strategic interests. This supposition indicates that GHR can advocate for responses to girls' situations that are aware of this interplay. GHR can advocate or support activities to provide out-of-school girls with the option of economic empowerment (which is more likely to assist in the short-term) in combination with

sensitisation around re-integration into the school system, or support in vocational training opportunities.

6.2.3 Economic empowerment

- In terms of economic empowerment, the quantitative survey shows that what matters more than age is whether the girl is in-school or not and how vulnerable her household is. This suggests much attention needs to be given to contextual definitions of economic empowerment, and that perhaps ‘economic independence’ may be more appropriate in some circumstances. For instance, while out-of-school girls are more likely than in-school girls to make decisions on their own about spending money and working for pay, they are also less likely to report that they know about topics related to work and money than in-school girls. Focus should then be given to the notion that ‘economic independence’ is only one form of capability that may lead to economic empowerment in the longer-term. Thus, while supporting economic-strengthening initiatives – such as access to credit and assets that may be important for out-of-school girls – due diligence should be given to vocational training activities as well. Given the gender-mainstreaming challenges in technical and vocational education and training structures (TVET) within Rwanda outlined in the literature review, this is likely to be a longer-term engagement.
- The SM data shows that money-related issues are perceived to be much more within the control of girls, whereas the quantitative survey shows that while girls perceive high knowledge and social capital on money matters for girls in stories, they report much more limited decision-making power themselves. This difference may be accounted for in the outward perception of community-level norms on the topic of money, compared to the more individualized or internal perspectives of girls. Consequently, this can be seen as positive social norm and that sensitization issues on the rationale for economic development targeting girls may not be as productive as targeting others at the household and community level.
- Related to the above, while the SM findings show that there may be perceptions of girls having decision-making ability with respect to money, there are also strong perceptions that girls are simultaneously confronting ‘decent behaviour’ and traditional expectations. This is a complex interplay, which may suggest a high prevalence of positive deviance in the face of substantial resistance and is worthy of further investigation. GHR can conduct life-history analysis of a cohort of girls to determine more details about the support for positive deviance while considering linking with organizations that conduct wider community awareness-raising activities on the subject of girls’ rights to economic empowerment.
- In terms of economic empowerment, the quantitative survey finds that vulnerable girls can be considered to be the key target demographic given that they are less likely to own mobile phones or to have savings than other in-school girls, as well as out-of-school girls. They are also less likely than other girls to have someone in the community from whom they can borrow money in an emergency. Investigations into additional conditional cash transfers at the household level can therefore be considered, or where these exist, GH can support an assessment regarding the degree to which they are catered for.
- The quantitative survey shows that socio-economic imbalances between males and females start taking hold at a very young age, and boys are shown to have more personal assets, are more likely to have savings, and are more likely to be able to access credit or financial support outside of the household. As shown in the literature review, this is part of a broader patriarchal environment in which ‘son bias’ exists. In terms of particular entry points, the findings show the greatest gender imbalance to be between girls and boys out-of-school (compared to vulnerable or in-school groups) given that boys are 10% more likely than girls to make decisions on their own. This points towards targeting out-of-school girls with gender-transformative credit services, and both development of access to and sensitisation around TVET services.
- In terms of geography, while there are subtle variations in the SM dataset about money and work across the provinces, there are no indicative suggestions that policy or programmatic interventions should be adjusted accordingly. The findings are similar for the quantitative survey except for the case of Kigali, wherein a noticeable minority of girls work for cash remuneration. This may reflect active social policy

and other interventions on child labour – including social norms – as well as levels of education and other support networks. Further work could determine the foundations of this statistic given that it may provide several ‘lessons learned’ that could be applied to other urban contexts in Rwanda.

6.2.4 Violence and safety

- Given the structuring of a consensus around norms statements in the network diagram on girls views of violence, the findings support a strong sense of inward projection amongst group members. In other words, this suggests there are crudely two groups of respondents in the study – a larger group who outline progressive statements that effectively support the positive perception of girls, and a relatively separate and smaller group of respondents that declare regressive statements. First, this is encouraging in terms of sensitisation responses because it provides an evidence-based argument for the value of ‘positive externalities’ or value-added in terms of social-norms communications messages. Second, the findings suggest that the girls associated with the pool of regressive statements experience ‘pluralistic ignorance’, i.e. these individuals experience or remember extreme events and presume them to be representative of the majority, thereby adjusting their catalogue of social norms accordingly. The evidence indicates these cohorts are largely out-of-school and vulnerable girls (who are largely in-school). GHR may consequently advocate externally on the basis of this strong ‘value-added element’ whilst also targeting communicating strategies to redress the entrenched regressive norms associated with out-of-school and vulnerable girls.
- While an association with school is an important factor in terms of perceptions around violence, the issue of geography overrides this factor. Both datasets show that while subtle variations exist across provinces in terms of attitudes toward violence, the main factor can be considered to be urban-rural geography (given its close relationship with educational performance statistics). These findings go beyond expected results that urban girls are generally less conservative than rural girls to demonstrate that the issue of ‘showing emotions publically’ is much more of a concern for urban girls than for rural girls. The research did not unpack the meaning of these terms in detail and further investigation into the actual story packs could reveal further explanation why this might be the case.
- The quantitative findings show that as isolated girls (those with fewer friends and social support networks), reported more highly negative violent stories. Programming activities can therefore aim to develop and maintain social capital networks for this group and in terms of targeting, these are largely out-of-school girls. However, the type of interventions should be sensitive to the time-burdens of these girls, given their already relatively work-laden timetables, and should consider that there is likely to be resistance to such programming given that these girls do not perceive the value of enhanced social capital as part of a solution to girls’ situations. There would therefore be a need to canvas and profile best practice regarding these interventions – in particular, psycho-social support capacity within the security sector, while also examining more infrastructural issues – such as the development and advertising of safe spaces for out-of-school girls.
- The quantitative survey research show that alarming clusters of norms around rape are occluded, complex, and apparently fairly independent of circumstantial variables, other than geography. This suggests that there are strong cross-cutting views on rape throughout Rwandan society and that sensitisation programmes, while being aware of indicative variations by geography and gender, can be relatively centralised and communicated with ‘blanket’ messaging to girls of all ages and educational circumstances. On broader violence issues found in the SM dataset relating to severity of treatment however, it must be maintained that there are clearer gender-based perception differences – with men declaring that girls are routinely treated too softly. This suggests that targeting boys and men on the topic of aggressive and unproductive notions of masculinity is nonetheless necessary in all communications strategies. GHR can therefore assess the degree to which its communications activities are adequately aware of both regressive social norms statements on sexual violence, as well as understandings of hyper-masculine identities as they are performed in Rwanda.

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- The SM dataset shows that stories about pregnancy stand-out not only in their association with stories about violence, but also the notably different pattern of relationships involved in these stories (overwhelmingly girls and girls) – there may be an indication that respondents perceive that girls –as a general rule – do not have support structures, when in fact the quantitative findings show that support structures differ. This potential disconnect between perception and reality can be explored, and will have implications about confirming to girls that certain support structures may in fact be available in situations that involve both violence and pregnancy.

6.2.5 Sexual and reproductive health

- A potential entry point into the topic of SRH for adolescent girls, shown in the SM findings, is through discussing the observed space between stories around pregnancy, and stories about health. Given the notable gap in connectivity between these issues, there appears to be a disassociation in the minds of storytellers between these issues. This issue can also be shown by contrasting the prevalence of stories about pregnancy in the SM dataset, with the findings that adolescent girls report very little knowledge about SRH and family planning, and do not prioritise this as a topic of conversation in any of their social networks.
- Both datasets show that girls think they have decision-making power over pregnancy, but this not reflected in the data. In other words, there is a disconnect between aspiration and reality. Girls across all groups declared that they determine when they have their first child, but further analysis of both sets of data shows that while the majority of girls may be making such decisions, they are doing so in a challenging environment, where access to information is limited, and social norms discriminate against teenage pregnancy. They are therefore making decisions in relative isolation and with potential negative associations – which are likely to include stigma. This is particularly the case for out-of-school girls.
- The findings suggest that programs that aim to address awareness about issues related to pregnancy, family planning and early childhood birth need to focus on two areas: strengthening education about these issues at school and awareness within households. Programs at school are likely to have the largest impact on vulnerable girls. Sensitisation interventions need to tread a fine line between maintaining negative social norms around early marriage, and actively promoting or sustaining views that could be stigmatising. Concrete low-cost measures to assist pregnant girls might include mentoring or ‘buddy’ approaches – which can also be applied in case of SGBV (see above).
- Work with service providers can be undertaken to provide adolescent/youth-friendly SRH services for girls and boys that prioritises the role of boys in maintaining negative attitudes and discriminatory social norms – both inside and outside schools. This is based on the finding the pregnancy is also a notable issue for boys – and one which the data suggests they have strongly negative views on with respect to girls. It also makes programmatic sense to explore and harness the role of men and boys in adjusting and maintaining discourses around pregnancy, particularly on expected responsibilities and stigma.
- SRH services can look specifically at adjusting expectations around adult (particularly teachers and parents) roles in providing comprehensive information to adolescents on menstrual processes and health given the importance attributed to this issue in the SM dataset and participatory feedback evidence base. Such activities would acknowledge the specific gaps in certain rural areas (Eastern, Western, and Southern Provinces) as well as for vulnerable girls in school. Suggestions from the participatory feedback stage include increased number of girls’ groups on SRH – both inside and outside school, as well as the need increased connectivity and sharing space with adults.
- Sensitisation programmes for adolescent girls should bear in mind the limited linkages between economic empowerment and SRH. The quantitative findings show that out-of-school girls, despite having more assets and access to income, are more likely to become pregnant early. In terms of programming, particularly for this demographic, a suite of integrated approaches or bundled interventions are most likely to have more impact than standalone economic strengthening or standalone sensitisation approaches. The latter approaches should also recognise that while out-of-school girls

perceive wealth to be the most relevant solution in their contexts – other factors, such as further education or access to services may be of equivalent or greater value.

- In addition to level of education, the rural–urban divide is notable in both the datasets. Issues of teenage pregnancy, for instance, are perceived to be less pronounced in urban than rural environments – with particularly high perceived incidence in the Eastern Province. The GHR mapping platform can assess the degree to which this is reflective of national statistics, or targeted sensitisation interventions, for instance.

6.3 Opportunities for further research

- Findings from the section on education provide an example of where further research can be undertaken to assess the difference between attitudes and behaviours at the individual level, compared to perceptions of social norms at the collective level. For instance, discussions in the education section show that there are stark differences between the quantitative findings and SM when looking at the degree to which girls decide for themselves about education. The quantitative findings show that girls perceive their own decision-making agency to be stronger, whereas in SM there is considerably less perception of agency (although girls, overall, are still perceived to decide more than parents). There are similar clarifications required regarding boys' perceptions: it may not be clear whether boys perceive their communities to be less supportive of girls' rights on educational matters, or whether they themselves are less supportive of those rights. In practice, of course, the social-norms approach shows that these are interlinked – and that there are opportunities for correcting 'pluralistic ignorance' and/or 'false consensus' on these discriminatory norms.
- The economic empowerment findings show that share of adolescents that report having some form of savings in case of an emergency or for future plans is relatively high at 45.7%. In contrast to recent work conducted with CARE, where adolescent savings were reported to be 18%, and 19% for adults, this is notably high.
- Given the notable prominence of pregnancy (including adolescent pregnancy) as an issue in the stories, and the relatively conservative nature of the corresponding statistics (compared to regional averages) outlined in the literature review, there is likely to be value in understanding the degree of the relationship of positive social norms in reducing and maintaining low adolescent pregnancy compared to the role of other macro-policy interventions, such as economic strengthening or social protection mechanisms.
- The issue of 'work' in the SM study conflated a number of issues – including domestic work, productive in-kind and paid productive work. Given the noticeable differences in perceptions from respondents in stories about 'work' compared to 'money', further clarification may help to further explain variations.
- Outlier cases and relative importance of the positive deviance approach could be explored. Given that many of the respondents outlined how girls' largely learn from negative experiences, rather than positive experiences associated with role models, enquiries can be made to assess the efficacy of existing mechanisms used to amplify positive deviance stories and promote them as routine resources for adolescent girls.

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Annexe 1: Sensemaker® survey

Method of Collection? <input type="checkbox"/> Pen/Paper Individual <input type="checkbox"/> Pen/Paper Group Process <input type="checkbox"/> Ipad	Are you at a school? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Enumerator Code:	<input type="checkbox"/> The respondent will also respond to the questionnaire
Date / Hour:	Questionnaire Code:

National Attitude Study on Adolescent Girls' Lives Girl Hub Rwanda

Understanding the lives that girls live... Welcome to the story process!

We are collecting experiences about young girls' lives, to understand what matters to girls and what is important to them. By hearing your stories, we can get valuable ideas about how to improve our work as well as others working towards improving the overall wellbeing of girls in Rwanda. So please tell us about a true experience.

Your narrative / story should reflect something that is important to you. So it can be a whole range of things, it's up to you to decide what you want to tell us. You can tell as many narratives/stories you would like. Your narrative is and remains anonymous. Your voice is what we are hearing but we do not need your name or anyone else's.

To participate, all you need to do is: Write the experience or moment that you want to share - Give it a title - Answer some questions about your story to show us what it means to you. We will also be talking to boys, parents, grandparents, aunts and others since their ideas and experiences are also important for us to get ideas of what is important to you.

Thank you for participating in this Story Initiative. We will look at the stories and the answers you give to guide our work. We will also be sharing the findings regularly with other organizations also working to improve the future of girls in Rwanda.

National Attitude Study on
Adolescent Girls' Lives
GIRLS HUB RWANDA

Please share a story

For girls: Think about what it is like being a girl? What happened recently to yourself or another girl? Please share the story of what happened?

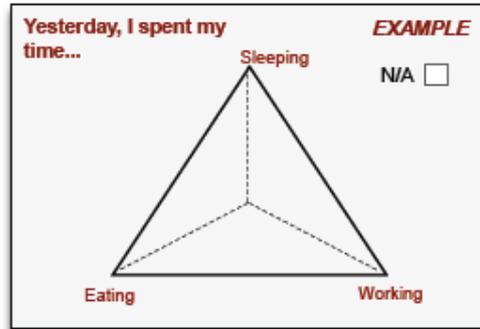
For others (boys, adults): Think about what it is like being a girl. What do you know of that happened recently to a girl? Please share the story of what happened?

A large rectangular area with horizontal dotted lines for writing.

Give your story a title?

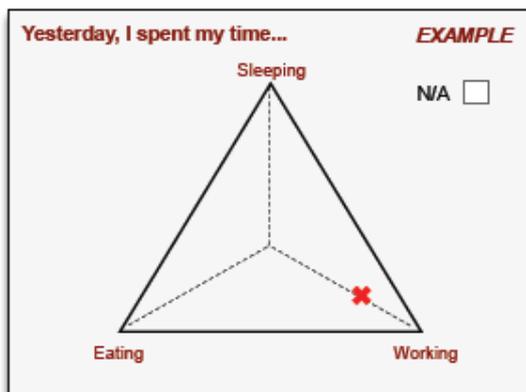
Please tell us more about your story

-We would like you to use the *triangle questions* to think further about your story. Please mark the spot on each triangle which best reflects the experience in your story. You could choose one specific corner if that fits best, or between two corners or in the middle if it is a bit of all three. Please see the example below about how you spent your day yesterday. You spent your day eating, working and sleeping. Each option is available on one of the triangle's angles. You have to pick a point between all three angles that most represents your day.

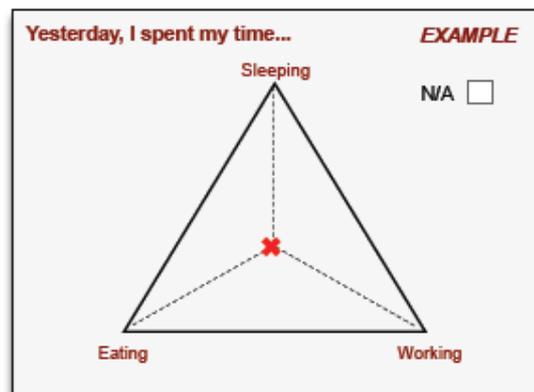


- So, if you work a lot and do little eating and sleeping you'll put the point here. See it's close to the 'work' angle and equally distant from 'eating' and 'sleeping'.

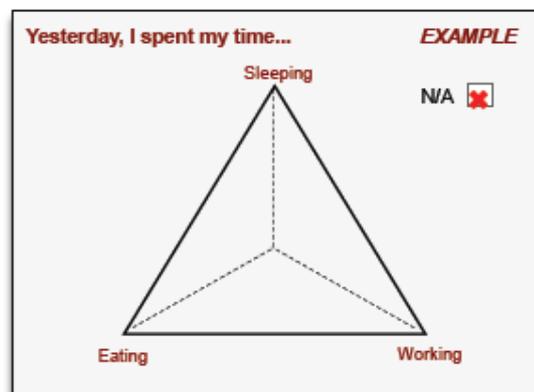
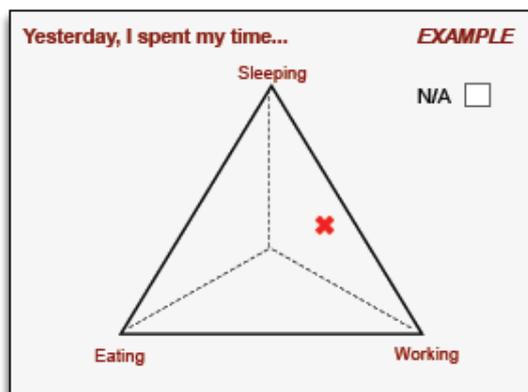
- If you do all three equally you'll put your point here, where it's equally distant from all three points.



- If you do a lot of work and sleep, but don't eat very much you'll put your point here, where you're equally close to work and sleep but far away from eat.



- If none of the answers are applicable to your experience, then please tick the *N/A box* (not applicable).



Now, please tell us more about your story

- We would like you to use the *triangle questions* to think further about your story. Please mark the spot on each triangle which best reflects the experience in your story.

A. This story has to do with girls' ...

Skills N/A

Social connections/
friendships Confidence/
agency

B. The events in your story involve relationships...

Between girls and girls N/A

Between girls
and adults Between girls
and boys

C. In your story, who decides what happens to girls?

Girls N/A

Parents Other people

D. In your story, girls wanted ...

confidence N/A

ability to show
emotions publically choice /
opportunity

**E. The people in your story who responded to girls...
wanted them to follow expected behaviour**

N/A

Showed willingness to
understand the girl(s) Let girls decide
for themselves

EXAMPLE 1: One story shows that Clemence wanted to go to a dance but her shoe broke so she could not go. In this case, we would drag the symbol from the left hand side (e.g. girls) to the grid on the right (e.g. girls wanted to do something but didn't do it). In the same story, Jean was tired and didn't want to go to the dance. But his friends convinced him to go. In this case, we would drag the symbol from the left hand side (e.g. boys) to the grid on the right (e.g. boys did something but didn't do it).

N/A

♦	Girls
♣	Boys
X	Adult men
♥	Adult women

	Wanted to do something	Didn't want to do something
Did something		♣
Didn't do something	♦	

F. Your story shows [girls, boys, adult men, adult women] wanting/not wanting to do something and doing/not doing it...

Still thinking about your story - please drag a symbol from the left hand side (e.g. girls) to where you think it belongs on the grid on the right (e.g. girls wanted to do something but didn't do it).

N/A

♦	Girls
♣	Boys
X	Adult men
♥	Adult women

	Wanted to do something	Didn't want to do something
Did something		
Didn't do something		

G. As a result of your story, the situation ...

N/A

♦	Girls
♣	Girls in the future

	Improved/ got better	Stayed the same	Deteriorated/ got worse
Self			
Household/ family			
Community			

EXAMPLE: Please mark the spot on each line which best reflects the experience in your story.

EXAMPLE: In this story, Ariane ...likes cooking. In this case, we put the X here: N/A

Loves cooking	Likes cooking	Is Neutral about cooking	Doesn't like cooking	Hates cooking

H. Please mark the spot on each line which best reflects the experience in your story

H1. In this story, any changes to a girl's situation were... N/A

temporary permanent

H2. In the situation in the story... N/A

Physical force would have made the result worse Physical force would have improved the result

H3. In this story... N/A

Girls are treated too harshly Girls are spoiled and treated too softly

H4. Your story shows behaviour or life path for girls that is... N/A

Completely confirming of tradition Confronting traditions and overturning them

Please answer the following questions by ticking the boxes that apply

1. Who was directly involved in your story? (pick up to 3)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girls or boys younger than 10 | <input type="checkbox"/> Boyfriend |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girls of 10-15 | <input type="checkbox"/> Mentor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girls of 16-24 | <input type="checkbox"/> Health workers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mother | <input type="checkbox"/> NGO workers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Father | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious leader |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother | <input type="checkbox"/> Youth Centre People |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather | <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Husband | <input type="checkbox"/> Police |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employer | <input type="checkbox"/> Other |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other men/women | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prefer not to answer | |

2. Your story is about... (pick up to 3)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education | <input type="checkbox"/> Friendship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Marriage | <input type="checkbox"/> Health |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pregnancy | <input type="checkbox"/> Work |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Money | <input type="checkbox"/> Fun, pleasure, recreation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Relationships with opposite sex | <input type="checkbox"/> violence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Civic engagement | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other | |

3. To improve the outcome of the story, girls need ...

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Equality | N/A <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wealth | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Access to Services | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Self Confidence | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social Connections | |

4. Your story is about... (pick up to 3)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Isolation | <input type="checkbox"/> Confidence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Violence | <input type="checkbox"/> Being connected |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insecurity | <input type="checkbox"/> Being able to take action |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Decision | <input type="checkbox"/> Fun and enjoyment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fear | <input type="checkbox"/> Ambition |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Security | <input type="checkbox"/> Self respect |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Value | <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom | |

5. Your story is about a ...

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Universal/common need | N/A <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Specific problem | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Solution | |

6. The emotional intensity of your story is ...

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly negative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Negative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Neutral |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Positive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly Positive |

7. How common is this sort of story?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> never happened before |
| <input type="checkbox"/> very rare |
| <input type="checkbox"/> happens sometimes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> quite common |
| <input type="checkbox"/> all the time |

8. What is your connection to the story?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I was part of it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I saw it happen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I heard about it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I read about it |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prefer not to say |

9. When did your story take place?

- | |
|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> this month |
| <input type="checkbox"/> a few months ago |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6-12 months ago |
| <input type="checkbox"/> more than 1 year ago |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I can't remember |

10. How do you feel about this story (pick up to 2)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> glad/hopeful | <input type="checkbox"/> indifferent | N/A <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> proud | <input type="checkbox"/> ashamed | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> encouraged | <input type="checkbox"/> confident | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> angry/frustrated | <input type="checkbox"/> sad | |

11. This story took place in ...

District (droplist)
Sector (droplist)
Village (droplist)

About you...

12. Your sex is ...

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Female | <input type="checkbox"/> Male |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|

13. You are a ...

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girl (in school) | <input type="checkbox"/> Parent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Girl (out of school) | <input type="checkbox"/> Sector Education Officer (SEO) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Boy | <input type="checkbox"/> Village leader |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher | <input type="checkbox"/> Other..... |

14. How old are you?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 10 - 12 | <input type="checkbox"/> 31-45 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 13 - 15 | <input type="checkbox"/> 46-60 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 19 | <input type="checkbox"/> over 60 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 20 - 30 | |

15. You live in ...

District (droplist)
Sector (droplist)
Village (droplist)

16. Can we share your story with other people?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

17. Have you ever heard of the Ni Nyampinga radio show?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

18. Have you ever heard of the Ni Nyampinga magazine?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

19. Have you every listened to the Ni Nyampinga radio show?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

21. Have you ever read the magazine Ni Nyampinga?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

20. If yes, how many times have you listened to Ni Nyampinga radio show?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Once |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Once or Twice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 Times |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Over 7 times |

22. If yes, how many times have you read Ni Nyampinga radio show?

- | |
|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Once |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Once or Twice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 Times |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Over 7 times |

Annex 2: Quantitative survey

GIRLHUB RWANDA: NATIONAL ATTITUDES SURVEY ON ADOLESCENT GIRLS' LIVES

INFORMED CONSENT: Hello, I am from Laterite, a research firm based in Kigali, that has been hired by GirlHub, a NGO that works with adolescent girls. We are going to conduct a research project in your locality. Our goal is to collect information from sampled adolescent girls in your locality. Under this research project, we will record information on your background, social networks and your perceptions and attitudes about adolescent girls. We will want to know detailed information about you and your perceptions of adolescent girls in your sector. The information you give us is completely voluntary. We would like to inform you that you can stop giving information at any point of time. In addition, you can refuse to answer any question at any time. All of your answers will be kept in the strictest confidence, and your name will never be connected to any of the answers you provide. The information will be used only for research purpose and you will neither benefit nor lose anything for your participation.

Q.	Do you agree to participate in this survey? CIRCLE CORRECT OPTION	Yes01
		No02 (END SURVEY)

SECTION 1. SURVEY EXECUTION NOTES

1	Time Start: CODE USING A 4 DIGIT NUMBER	STTIME	_____ hrs
2	Date (dd/mm/yy)	DATE	[][][][]
3	Name of respondent	NRESP1	
4	Gender	RESPGENDER	
5	Telephone of respondent (if applicable)	TRESP	
6	Name of school (if applicable)	NSCHOOL	
7	Interviewer code	INTV	[][]
8	Supervisor code	SUP	[][]
9	Umudugudu	UMUD	
10	Cell	CELL	
11	Sector	SECT	
12	District	DIST	
13	Province	PROV	
14	Sample	SAMPLE SELECT FROM CODES BELOW 0=Caregiver 1=Girl In-School 2= Girl Out of School/Vulnerable 3=Boy	[][]

SECTION 000. HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Person ID	001. Relationship to head of HH	002. Gender	003. Age	004. Marital status	005. Primary Occupation	006. Highest Education Level
		PLEASE TELL US WHO YOU LIVE WITH IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD STARTING WITH YOURSELF (EVEN IF THEY MAY BE AWAY FOR LONG PERIODS OF TIME TO WORK, GO TO SCHOOL OR VISIT RELATIVES.) SEE CODESHEET 1	1= Female 0= Male	TWO DIGIT CODES E.G. 19	SEE CODESHEET 2	SEE CODESHEET 3
#	RSHIP	GENDER	AGE	MSTAT	OCC	EDUC
1	Self	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
2	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
3	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
4	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
5	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
6	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
7	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
8	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
9	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []
10	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []	[] []

Q007.	If parents are not listed in Q001 (i.e. Codesheet 01 or 02) ask: ARE YOU PARENTS ALIVE?	PARLIV	Yes, only one parent01 Yes, both parents02 No03
Q.008	Of the members in your household listed above, who is the head of your household?	HHMEM	[] []

<u>Relationship to head</u> CODESHEET 1	<u>Marital Status</u> CODESHEET 2	<u>Primary Occupation</u> CODESHEET 3	<u>Highest Ed level Attained</u> CODESHEET 4
01=Head	01=Single	01=Working own farm	0 = < THAN A YR
02=Spouse	02=Monogamous married	02=Self employed (non agricultural)	1 = 1 ST GRADE
03=Own child	03=Polygamous married	03=Agricultural casual laborer	2 = 2 ND GRADE
04=Step child	04=Separated	04=Paid employee (informal & formal)	3 = 3 RD GRADE
05=Parent/parent-in-law	05=Divorced	05=Productive non-money raising	4 = 4 TH GRADE
06=Brother/sister	06=Widowed	06=Unpaid family helper in business	5 = 5 TH GRADE
07=Nephew/niece	07=Other	07=Looking for work	6 = 6 TH GRADE
08=Son/daughter-in-law		08=No economic activity	7 = 7 TH GRADE
09=Brother/sister-in-law		09=Household chores	8 = 8 TH GRADE
10=Grand child		10=Student	9 = 9 TH GRADE
11=Other relative		11=Fishing	10=10 TH GRADE
12=Worker		12=Sick/disabled	11=11 TH GRADE
13=Unrelated		13=Other	12 = 12 TH GRADE
14=Adopted child			13 = UNIVERSITY: 1 ST YR
15=Grandparent			14 = UNIVERSITY: 2 ND YR
			15 = UNIVERSITY: 3 RD YR
			16 = UNIVERSITY: 4 TH YR

SECTION 100. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

#	Question	Variable Name	Answer Options	Answer	Skip
Q100	What is your religion? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION.	RESPRELIG	Roman Catholic	01	
			Protestant	02	
			Seventh Day Adventist	03	
			Muslim	04	
			No religion	05	
			Other (Specify)	06	
Q101	I want to talk about the items that a household or individual might own or possess. I want to know what your household or you personally possess? SEE CODESHEET BELOW AND CIRCLE CORRECT OPTION 01: Yes, Household possesses 02: Yes, personally possess 03: No, neither Household or personally possess	ELEC	Electricity	01 02 03	IF RESPONSE IS "2" FOR ANY OPTION, ASK Q103. IF "1 OR "3", SKIP TO Q104
		RADIO	Radio	01 02 03	
		TV	Television	01 02 03	
		MOB	Mobile Phone	01 02 03	
		KERLAMP	Kerosene Lamp	01 02 03	
		MATT	Bed/Mattress	01 02 03	
Q102	For the items that you personally possess, where did you get this items from? SEE CODESHEET BELOW AND CIRCLE CORRECT OPTION 01: Bought with own money 02: Gift 03: Found it	ELEC	Electricity	01 02 03	ONLY ASK IF RESPONSE TO Q102 IS "2"
		RADIO	Radio	01 02 03	
		TV	Television	01 02 03	
		MOB	Mobile Phone	01 02 03	
		KERLAMP	Kerosene Lamp	01 02 03	
		MATT	Bed/Mattress	01 02 03	
Q103	Do you have any savings that you keep in case of emergencies or for future plans? Savings could include cash or non-monetary assets CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	SAVNG	Yes	01	
			No	02	
Q104	What is the main material of the walls of your house? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	WALL	Cement and bricks	01	
			Cement block, wood and stone	02	
			Unfired bricks	03	
			Trees and mud	04	
			Tress and grass	05	
Q105	What is the main source of lighting of your house? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	LIGHT	Electricity	01	
			Paraffin/Kerosene Lamp	02	
			Battery power lamp	03	
			Oil Lamp	04	
			Firewood	05	
			Candles	06	
			No Lighting	07	
Q106	Now I would like you to tell me how many hours you spent in the past week doing these activities: SEE CODESHEET BELOW AND INDICATE CORRECT OPTION: 01: Less than 1 hour 02: 1-5 hours per week 03: 5-10 hours per week 04: 10-20 hours per week 05: 20-40 hours per week 06: More than 40 hours per week	ATTSCH	Attending school or training	[] [] []	
		TRAVSCH	Travelling to and from school or training	[] [] []	
		HWK	Doing homework/studying	[] [] []	
		WORKIN	Work inside the house (unpaid, including child care and chores)	[] [] []	
		WORKOUTNUP	Work outside the house (unpaid, including assisting relatives)	[] [] []	
		WORKOUTPD	Work outside the house (paid, or for self-employment)	[] [] []	
		AGFARM	Agriculture/Farming	[] [] []	
		READBK	Reading a book/newspaper/magazine	[] [] []	
		GIRLCLB	Going to girls club	[] [] []	
		SURF	Surfing the net/chat/email	[] [] []	
		PLAYFR	Playing/hanging out with friends	[] [] []	
		PLAYSP	Playing sports	[] [] []	
RELGATH	Going to religious gathering (church/mosque etc)	[] [] []			
Q107	How often do you listen to/watch/use/read the following SEE CODESHEET BELOW AND INDICATE CORRECT OPTION: 01: Never 02: Everyday 03: Once a week 04: Atleast twice a week 05: Once every 2 weeks 06: Once a month	LISTRADIO	Radio	[] [] []	
		WATTV	Television	[] [] []	
		USEMOB	Mobile Phone	[] [] []	
		USECOMP	Computer	[] [] []	
		USEINTNET	Internet	[] [] []	
		NEWSMAG	Newspaper/Magazine	[] [] []	

SECTION 300. SELF-ESTEEM, AGENCY & VOICE

#	Question	Variable Name	Answer Options	Answer 1	Answer 2
Q300	<p>I will read some statements about personal feelings and I want you to tell me if the statement applies to you.</p> <p>CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION</p> <p>01: Agree 02: Disagree</p>		<p>You wish you had more confidence.</p> <p>If someone insults you, it is difficult to speak up and defend yourself</p> <p>You feel you have much to be proud of.</p> <p>I feel capable of making good decisions about my life</p> <p>What happens in your future is determined by luck and not by you</p> <p>What happens in your future is determined by your family or community</p> <p>You have good ideas and opinions that others should hear.</p> <p>You know what you want to be in the future.</p> <p>You know how to achieve your goals for the future.</p> <p>Most of the time, I am happy with my current situation</p>	<p>Agree Disagree</p> <p>01 02</p>	
Q301	<p>Now I would like to know who mostly makes decisions about the following matters in your household – you, your parents, other relatives, and whether you take part in the decision making</p> <p>SEE CODESHEET BELOW AND INDICATE CORRECT OPTION:</p> <p>01=Self 02=Spouse 03=In-laws OR older person in household 04=Parents 05=Employer 06=Other relatives 07=N/A</p>		<p>How to spend money</p> <p>Whether or not you work for pay</p> <p>Whether or not you go to primary school</p> <p>Whether or not you go to secondary school</p> <p>Whether or not you go to tertiary school or university</p> <p>Who decides/decided when you would get married</p> <p>When to have children</p> <p>Whether you should do household work</p>	<p>A. Who makes the decision? Use Codesheet (2 digits)</p> <p>[] []</p>	<p>B. Do you take part in the decision-making</p> <p>Yes No</p> <p>01 02</p>
Q302	<p>I would like you to tell me how much you know about the following topics.</p> <p>CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION</p> <p>01= A lot 02= A little 03= Nothing at all 04= Dont know</p>		<p>How much do you know about:</p> <p>School and educational opportunities</p> <p>FOR GIRL: Health and menstruation</p> <p>FOR BOY: Health and puberty</p> <p>Managing money or financial matters</p> <p>Work or jobs for young people</p> <p>Starting a family and having children / family planning / contraception</p> <p>Challenges associated with early childbirth for girls</p>	<p>[] []</p>	
Q303	<p>I will read a series of things that people may do or experiences that one may have. I want you to tell me if you have done or felt this in the last one week.</p> <p>CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION</p> <p>01: Yes 02: No</p>		<p>You have been scared to look an adult in the eye</p> <p>You have expressed your opinion to someone</p> <p>You have been proud of something that you did or said</p> <p>You have been scared to say something you wanted to say</p>	<p>Yes No</p> <p>01 02</p> <p>01 02</p> <p>01 02</p> <p>01 02</p>	<p>RESPONDENT IS IN SCHOOL, CONTINUE TO Q304, IF NOT IN SCHOOL, SKIP TO SECTION 400</p>
Q304	<p>I will read a series of things that people may do or experiences that one may have. I want you to tell me if you have done this in the recent past.</p> <p>CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION</p> <p>01: Yes 02: No</p>		<p>In the last week, you have raised your hand in class</p> <p>In the last week, you have asked a question in class</p> <p>In the last week, you have asked someone for help or assistance</p> <p>In the last month, you have responded to someone when they did or said something you didn't like.</p>	<p>Yes No</p> <p>01 02</p> <p>01 02</p> <p>01 02</p> <p>01 02</p>	

SECTION 400. GENDER ROLES & ATTITUDES

#	Question	Variable Name	Answer Options	Answer 1
	Now I want to talk about your situation in your household. I will read a statement. Please tell me if you agree, strongly agree, disagree, or strongly disagree:			
Q400	In the past week did your caregiver/spouse encourage you to go out and spend time with friends, attending youth clubs, or play team sports? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q401	When money is scarce and parents cannot send all children to school, boys should be sent before girls? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q402	Rape is never deserved, even if girls dress badly or misbehave towards boys CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q403	In your community it is acceptable for girls and women to work outside of the home. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q404	If a husband and wife disagree on whether to use family planning (contraceptives), the husband's opinion should come first. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q405	In your community, if a man rapes a girl or woman and others find out about it, he will not be shamed? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q406	In your community, it is ok for a girl to delay marriage so she can stay in school. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q407	In your community it is okay for a girl to delay marriage for a job CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q408	In your community, girls are encouraged to complete primary education CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q409	In your community, girls are encouraged to complete secondary education. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99

Q410	Girls should be able to participate in community meetings and activities. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q411	In your community, girls have a lower social status than boys. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q412	A wife should be able to refuse to have sex with her husband. CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q413	413. Girls make as good leaders as boys CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q414	Girls should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q415	Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q416	I am going to read a series of statements and I want you to tell me if you think it is ever acceptable for a man to beat his wife in the following situations. If she burns the food CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q417	I am going to read a series of statements and I want you to tell me if you think it is ever acceptable for a man to beat his wife in the following situations. If she neglects the children CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q418	I am going to read a series of statements and I want you to tell me if you think it is ever acceptable for a man to beat his wife in the following situations. If she argues with her husband CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99
Q419	I am going to read a series of statements and I want you to tell me if you think it is ever acceptable for a man to beat his wife in the following situations. If she goes to the neighbours without telling him CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION		Strongly Disagree Disagree Agree Strongly Agree Don't know	Circle correct option 01 02 03 04 99

SECTION 500. MARRIAGE, PREGNANCY & COMMUNITY SUPPORT

#	Question	Variable Name	Answer Options	Answer	Skip																							
Q500	Have you ever been married or lived together with a person as married? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	MARRIED	Yes No	01 02	IF NO, SKIP TO Q112																							
Q501	How old were you when you got married? TWO DIGIT CODES E.G. 19	MARRAGE	N/A	[]																								
Q502	What is the earliest age at which you would like to get married? TWO DIGIT CODES E.G. 19	MARAGEARL	N/A	[]																								
Q503	Do you have any children? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	CHILD	Yes No	01 02	IF NO, SKIP TO SECTION 200																							
Q504	What is the earliest age at which you would want to have children? TWO DIGIT CODES E.G. 19	CHILDAGE	N/A	[]																								
Q505	I will read some statements about your community and I want you to tell me if the statement applies to your situation CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION 01: Yes 02: No		<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> <th></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>There is someone in your community outside of your family from whom you can borrow money from in an emergency</td> <td>01</td> <td>02</td> <td>[]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>There is someone in your community outside of your family whom you could stay with if you had a problem</td> <td>01</td> <td>02</td> <td>[]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>There is someone in your community outside of your family you could confide in about violence in the home</td> <td>01</td> <td>02</td> <td>[]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>There is a female in your community outside of your family who you look up to and would like to be in the future.</td> <td>01</td> <td>02</td> <td>[]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Is there someone in your community outside your family you can confide in</td> <td>01</td> <td>02</td> <td>[]</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No		There is someone in your community outside of your family from whom you can borrow money from in an emergency	01	02	[]	There is someone in your community outside of your family whom you could stay with if you had a problem	01	02	[]	There is someone in your community outside of your family you could confide in about violence in the home	01	02	[]	There is a female in your community outside of your family who you look up to and would like to be in the future.	01	02	[]	Is there someone in your community outside your family you can confide in	01	02	[]	If yes, ask, "Who?" SEE CODESHEET BELOW
	Yes	No																										
There is someone in your community outside of your family from whom you can borrow money from in an emergency	01	02	[]																									
There is someone in your community outside of your family whom you could stay with if you had a problem	01	02	[]																									
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Is there someone in your community outside your family you can confide in	01	02	[]																									
				SELECT THE CORRECT OPTION 01: Teacher 02: Friend 03: Relative 04: Umudugudu head 05: Public sector official (e.g. Sector Education Officer, etc.) 06: Other																								
Q506	Have you heard of a radio program called 'Ni Nyampinga'? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	RADNYAM	Yes No	01 02																								
Q507	Have you heard of a magazine called 'Ni Nyampinga'? CIRCLE THE CORRECT OPTION	MAGNYAM	Yes No	01 02																								



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