Adolescent Girls
in Tanzania

Maggie Bangser
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania  June, 2012
With thanks to TACAIDS, UNICEF/Tanzania, USAID/Tanzania, Judith Bruce, Annabel Erulkar, Joyce Wamoyi and Adam Weiner
1. What this effort is about
2. A framework for programming
3. Girls’ lives
   Evidence from research and programs
4. Program Approach
   Purpose and core elements
   Strategies
   Principles
What this effort is and isn’t

It’s a framework for program design
  – Addressing a range of issues affecting girls
  – Across many constituents
  – Illustrating opportunities and options

It’s *not*
  – A recipe
  – An evaluation
  – Exhaustive
A framework for programming
HIV/AIDS + Unwanted pregnancy + Violence

Girls “Agency”
a girl’s ability to decide and control what happens to her, to be safe, and to pursue what she wants in life

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Build resilience, reduce risk

Sexual relationships
- Pregnancy + childbearing
- STI/HIV/AIDS
- Marriage
- Sexual desire
- Forced sex

Social pressures
- Peers
- Parents, guardians, community
- Media & popular culture
- ‘Gender norms’

Economic well-being
- Independent income
- Skills and capabilities
- Migration
- Sex work
- Domestic work

“Safety” and protection
- Violence
- Bodily integrity
- In home & communal areas
- In schools

Girls’ Agency
Which girls?

Those at greatest risk

Facing the largest gaps

in social connection and personal well-being

and who are least served
Girls’ lives
Research from Tanzania
Education
Numbers are up for girls and boys alike... 
...but outcomes are troubling

Primary school outcomes
for girls and boys

- Only 3 in 10 standard 3 pupils can read a basic Kiswahili story
- Only 1 in 10 standard 3 pupils can read a basic English story
- Only 3 in 10 standard 3 pupils can add, subtract and multiply
- Unequal conditions abound
- Teachers are often absent

2011 Uwezo findings  www.uwezo.net

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
CSEE 2010 - 2011 PERFORMANCE
Girls and Boys, Percent Pass by Division
Mainland & Zanzibar

MoEVT, Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (CSEE) - 2011

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Childbearing and Sex
Adolescent childbearing is down 12%

But there has been an increase among 15 year old girls, and a quarter of girls aged 17 have already begun child-bearing.

And inequities persist...

Childbearing is highest among girls from poorer households and those who have little or no education.

Source: UNICEF/Tz, 2012
Sexual intercourse & condom use among never married women age 15-19

Note that 76% of girls age 15-17 report not having had sexual intercourse.
Age mixing of women 15-19

Percentage of girls who had higher-risk sexual intercourse in the past year with a man who was less than 10 years older than themselves

93% of 15-17 year olds 92% of 18-19 year olds

We need disaggregated data

High risk sexual intercourse = with a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner
Girls are significantly more vulnerable to HIV than boys

Prevalence of HIV and AIDS by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-17 Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19 Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-22 Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-24 Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THMIS, 2008; UNICEF 2012
HIV rates for young women jump **385%** between ages 15-19, and 20-24.
More adolescents know their HIV status

% sexually active adolescents 15-19 who received HIV test results
past 12 Months

- Girls
- Boys

15-17 18-19 15-19

- 2004/5
- 2009/10

THMIS, 2008; UNICEF 2012
Early Marriage
Marriage and HIV Rates
15-24 year old women

Approximately 80% of 15-19 year old women are not married. However, for those who are, HIV rates are higher.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent ever experiencing domestic violence</th>
<th>Percentage (n=167)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband ever slapped you</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband physically forced you to have sex</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband punched you</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband kicked, dragged or beat you up</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband pushed, shook or threw something at you</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband tried to choke you or burn you</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband threatened to attack you with a knife or weapon</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband attacked you with a weapon</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Experienced at least one form of violence</strong></td>
<td><strong>40.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has been beaten up by husband in last 6 months</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinks they deserved the beating</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population Council, 2012
Social isolation and violence
Typically, one-quarter to one-third of girls do not live with either parent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Both parents</th>
<th>One parent</th>
<th>Neither parent</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Both parents</th>
<th>One parent</th>
<th>Neither parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dodoma</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>Rukwa</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arusha</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>Kigoma</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>Shinyanga</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morogoro</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwani</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>Manyara</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>Unguja</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtwara</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>Pemba</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruvuma</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>Pemba</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iringa</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbeya</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singida</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>23.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tabora</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THMIS 2007-08, Tabulations by Adam Weiner
Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
First sexual experience is often forced

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dodoma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16.9</td>
<td>Shinyanga</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanga</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>Mwanza</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3.9</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>14.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pwani</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Manyara</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>Zanzibar N.</td>
<td>(34.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindi</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Zanzibar S.</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mtwara</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>Town West</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruvuma</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Pemba N.</td>
<td>13.3</td>
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<td>17.4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukwa</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.7</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population Council, 2004 Tanzania DHS Adolescent Data Guide

Note: Number in parentheses based on fewer than 50 cases
Violence in childhood

Half of girls and boys report being punched, kicked or whipped *by a teacher*

Over three-quarters of girls and two-thirds of boys say this happened *more than five times*

**Childhood Violence**

*Ages 13-14*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Violence</td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Violence</td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

UNICEF/Tz VAC Study, 2012

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Transactional sex
Transactional sex can be positive despite the risks

Sex is power
- Gifts (sugar, soap, underwear) and money (~ $0.15 to $1.00) are usually negotiated at the outset of the relationship
- Bargaining power shifts from the girl to man as the relationship develops, and less is paid over time
- Men see women’s demands as a sign of women’s power

Sex without payment is demeaning
- Girls and mothers see sex without payment as equal to prostitution and stupid
- Sex should never be free
- The absence of transactional sex could lead to rape & high turnover of partners

Risks of sex are know by young women

Wamoyi et.al. (NIMR), 2010
So, what have we seen?

• **Educational outcomes** are extremely poor although enrollment is up.

• **Early childbearing** has declined, but poor and uneducated girls face particular risks.

• Girls are significantly more **vulnerable to HIV** than boys and there is a huge **jump in rates** between the 15-19, and the 20-24 year old young women.

• Girls who **marry early** are at higher risk of HIV, and vulnerable to violence.

• Many girls are **isolated**, living in unsafe and unsupported environments.

• **Violence against girls and boys is rife** including in schools.

• The realities of **transactional sex** may challenge our old assumptions.
Girls’ lives
Evidence from global programs
Extremely limited rigorous evaluation or research

Leaving us with a lot of good intentions, but too many ‘best guesses’ and lots of “patchy patchy” efforts
Childbearing, HIV and Livelihoods

• No clear causal link between adolescent motherhood and reduced educational attainment, lower earnings, and heightened poverty
  Early childbearing may be more a symptom than a cause of poverty

• HIV education programs improve knowledge & attitudes, and reduce pregnancy rates
  But have limited impact on behaviors, and no impact on HIV rates

• Specific information about risks of sexual behaviors can change behavior

• “Skill building” is vague, with inconsistent program content & quality

• No evidence on impact of microfinance for girls or effectiveness of financial literacy programs

• Few GBV efforts are rigorously evaluated for impact

CGD 2012; JPAL/MIT 2010; Jukes et.al 2008; 3ie 2009; HPI 2008

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Schools are (generally) a protective and promoting force for girls

- School attendance is more effective in reducing adolescent fertility than interventions to increase knowledge and change attitudes about SRH
- School attendance reduces risk of childbearing, child labor and HIV risk
- Informing girls and their parents of the economic returns to education can increase attendance and reduce dropout rates
- Reducing the cost of education including by providing uniforms keeps girls in school, delays marriage and reduces adolescent pregnancy

*But what about violence in schools??*

CGD 2012; JPAL/MIT 2010; Jukes et.al. 2008; Duflo et.al. 2011
Cash Transfers/Incentives seem highly promising

- Reduce HIV & HSV-2 in schoolgirls, age of marriage, marriage rate, total number of children, and teen pregnancy
- Improve re-enrollment for girls who dropped out of school
- Improve access to and utilization of education and health services, but do not necessarily lead to improved educational achievement or health outcomes
- Mixed findings on the benefit of conditional over unconditional transfers

Can demands for improved services force improvements in quality of care?
Zomba, Malawi Cash Transfer

• School enrolment and attendance
  – Increased enrolment and re-enrollment, and decreased drop out rates
  – Achievement improved in the CCT arm but not in the UCT arm

• Sex and marriage
  – Early marriage and childbearing decreased for girls not in school at baseline
  – Onset of sex reduced, mixed findings on sexual behavior
  – *Substantially higher* pregnancy and marriage rates in the CCT arm, especially among those most likely to drop out at baseline

• HIV/HSV-2
  – Lower rates among girls in school at baseline; not among girls not in school at baseline
  – No significant differences between conditional and unconditional beneficiaries

Findings suggest the benefit of a CCT for early adolescents and UCT for older girls

Baird, Chirwa, et.al. 2009; Baird, McIntosh et.al. 2009; Baird McIntosh et.al., 2010; Baird, Garfein et.al. 2012
Program Approach

Design and do costing *at scale*

Trial in two districts
What
Build girls’ agency

Four Core Elements

- Norms shaping girls’ lives
- “Safety” and formal protection
- Economic security
- Core social services (e.g., education, health)

Who
Girls not in school (at least first)
Core elements

**Norms**
- Collective (not individual) behavior change
- Government focus to girls’ needs
- Media (traditional, social)

**“Safety” and protection**
- “Life Skills”
- Community spaces for girls
- Formal protection mechanisms

**Girls’ Agency**

**Economic security**
- Savings/Financial literacy
- Practical training
- Utilize existing structures (MVC/Social Protection)

**Core social services (ed/health)**
- Access to core services
- Funding increased and better aligned
- Tracking/reporting on services
- Demand for better core services

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
National Coordination
Piggyback on Donor Efforts
Information Platform
District programming: NGO + LGA
Out of School
In School

Design at scale
Trial in 2 districts

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Utilize a promising NGO model
e.g., Biruh Tesfa
Population Council, Ethiopia

• Scale, equity, least served
  – 50,000 out-of-school slum dwelling girls, ages 7-24 across 18 cities

• Age appropriate and continuous
  – Meeting in age-segmented groups, 3 - 5 times each week

• A program of the Ethiopian Government
  – Meet in community halls donated by local gov’t with modest renovation by the project

• Evidence
  – Intervention based on formative research; baseline and end-lines done

_Potential application with a rural population_
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Biruh Tesfa elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Norms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiate with employers on girls’ partic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women mentors from community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilize girls house-to-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase the visibility of girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Safety and protection</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage with legal and social services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life skills/GBV education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reach out to girls with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls’ Agency</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic security</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID cards provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Core social services</strong> (ed/health)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Wellness checkup”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health voucher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic literacy, HIV/RH, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic supplies (pads, underwear)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Local gov’t engagement
Find a promising LGA, not just a convenient one

- **Norms**
  - Girls (and boys) in decision-making roles
  - Community safe spaces

- **Safety and protection**
  - Child Protection Teams
  - School safety
  - MVC/other funded streams

- **Economic security**
  - TASAF/social protection funds
  - Cash transfers
  - Innovation fund for apprenticeships

- **Core assets (ed/health)**
  - Deployment/retention of teachers & HWs
  - Capitation grant
  - Budgeting for health services
  - Mapping & linkages: PEPFAR/others

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Build an information platform to promote agency

- Evidence, data, and real-life stories
- Easy to access, use, and compare
- Linked to mass media, social media, mobile phones, internet
- With a focus run by and for girls
# Information Platform Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Check My School</strong></th>
<th><strong>Ushahidi</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Google Maps &amp; mobile messaging</td>
<td>Report by email, text, twitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log a complaint</td>
<td>Mapping of incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tracks range of information</td>
<td>News reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network of “Infomediaries”</td>
<td>Extensive replication of the model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.checkmyschool.org">www.checkmyschool.org</a></td>
<td><a href="http://www.ushahidi.com">www.ushahidi.com</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Others</strong></th>
<th><strong>Open Gov’t Partnership (Tz)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fix our City, Chennai India</td>
<td>LGAs post budgets, disbursements and execution reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopstockouts.org, Kenya &amp; Uganda</td>
<td>MSD reports online</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisi ni Amani, Kenya</td>
<td>OGP complaints register</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikalpa citizen journalism, Sri Lanka</td>
<td><a href="http://www.opengovpartnership.org">www.opengovpartnership.org</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Ipaidabribe.com, India | }
Piggyback on donor efforts
current and planned, Tanzania

• TASAF (National)
  – Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN) including cash transfers

• PEPFAR (National)
  – US Government’s HIV/AIDS program

• DFID Education (20-25 districts)
  – Affordable and cost-effective ways to improve the quality of education – especially for girls - and increase the participation of girls

• DFID Girls Challenge Fund (Global)
  – Increase the numbers of girls completing and achieving in school

• USAID/Tanzania Education Strategy (Mtwara, Zanzibar)
  – Improve lower primary education reading, mathematics, and science
Design at scale  Trial in 2 districts

- National Coordination
  - Piggyback on Donor Efforts
  - Information Platform
  - District programming: NGO + LGA
  - Out of School
  - In School

- ‘Return to school’ guidelines
- Systems handling rape and abuse

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012
Program principles

1. Equity lens
2. Transparent criteria
3. Measure girl-level changes
4. Work at scale
5. Rigorous evaluation
6. Broad dissemination of findings