Adolescent Girls in Tanzania

Maggie Bangser

Outline

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
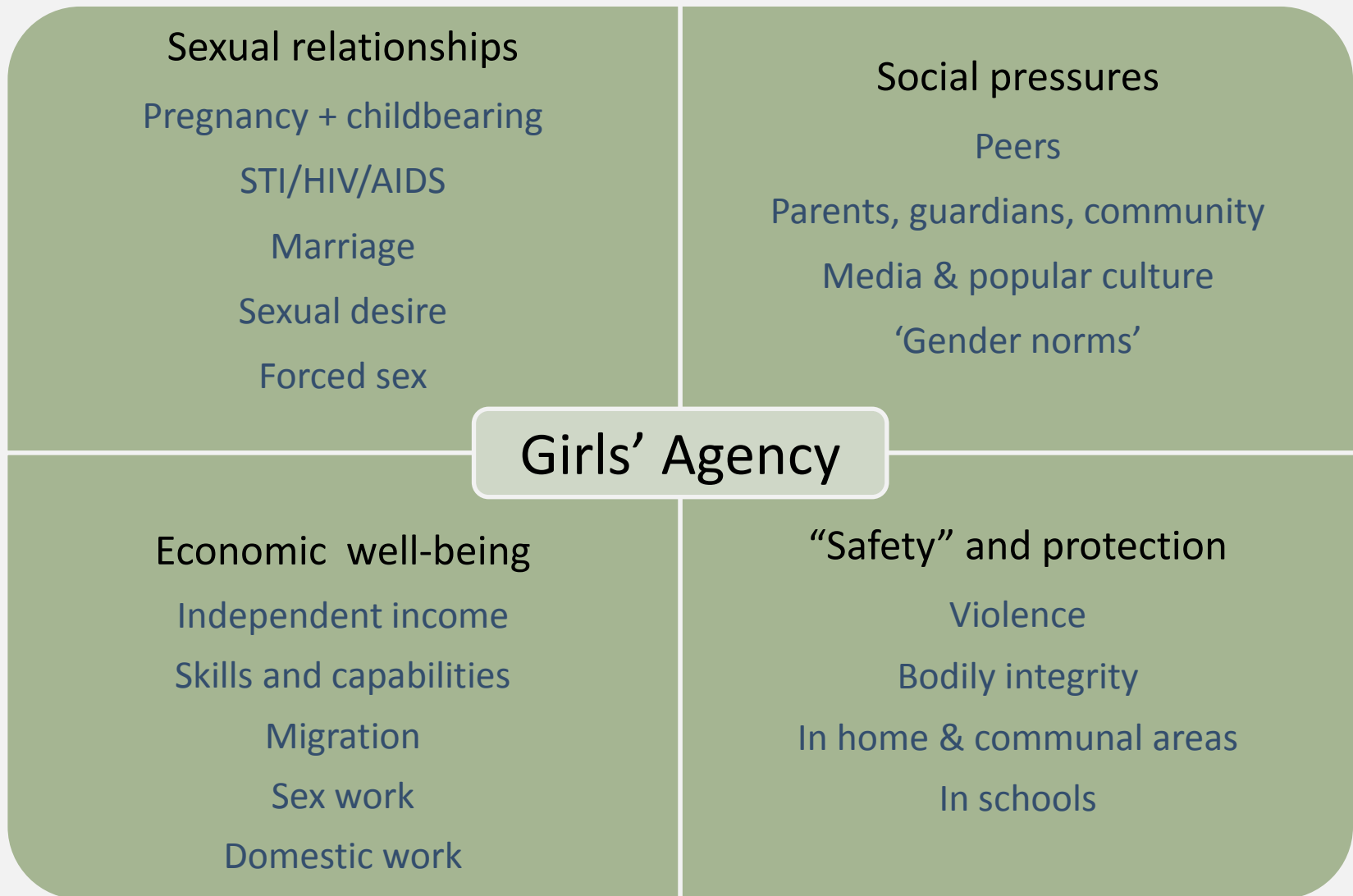- An evaluation
- Exhaustive

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

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'

Girls' Agency

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

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
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**

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012

CSEE 2010 - 2011 PERFORMANCE
Girls and Boys, Percent Pass by Division
Mainland & Zanzibar

0 - 60%

Legend:
- Girls
- Boys
- Total
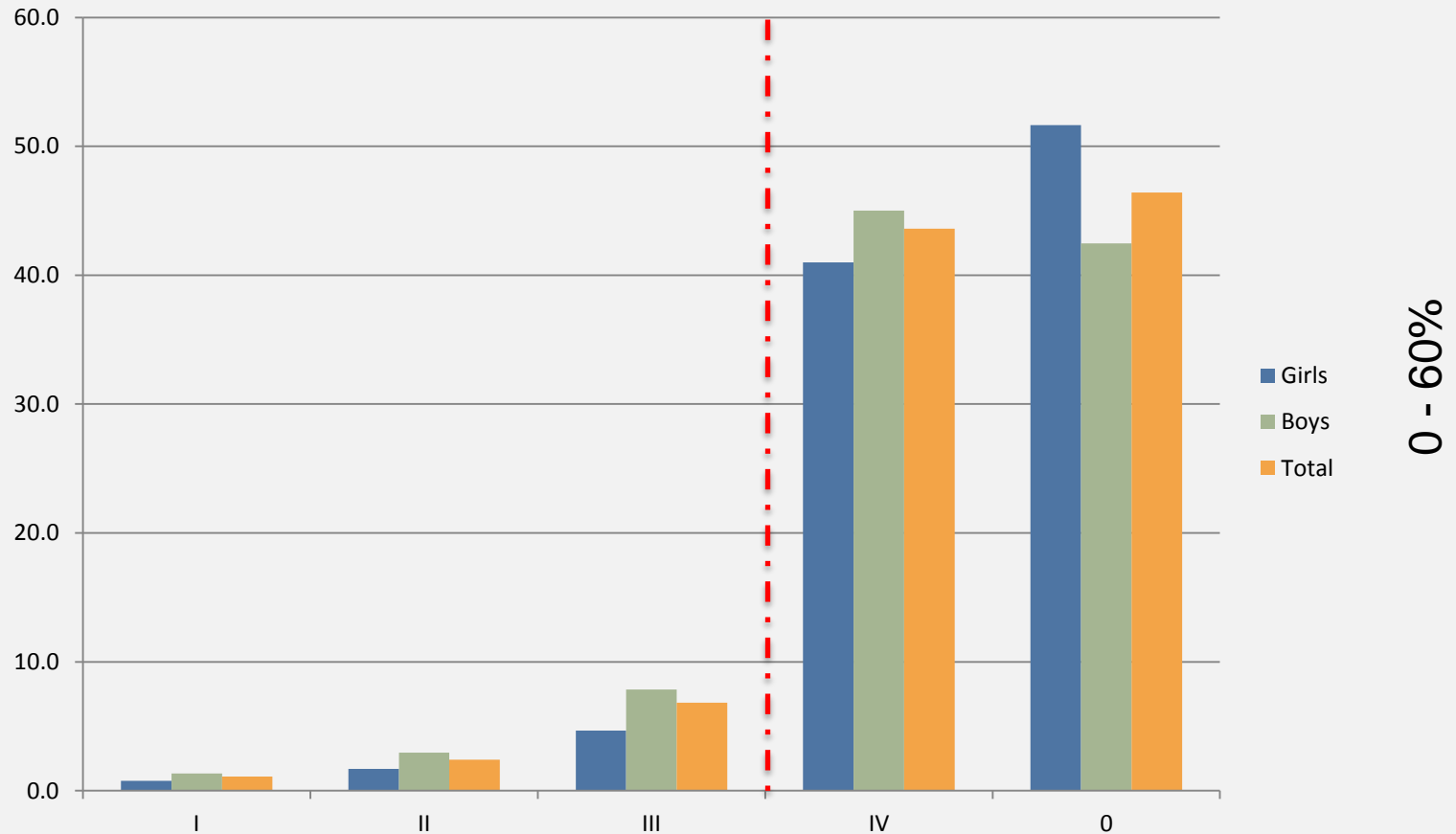
MoEVT, Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (CSEE) - 2011

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
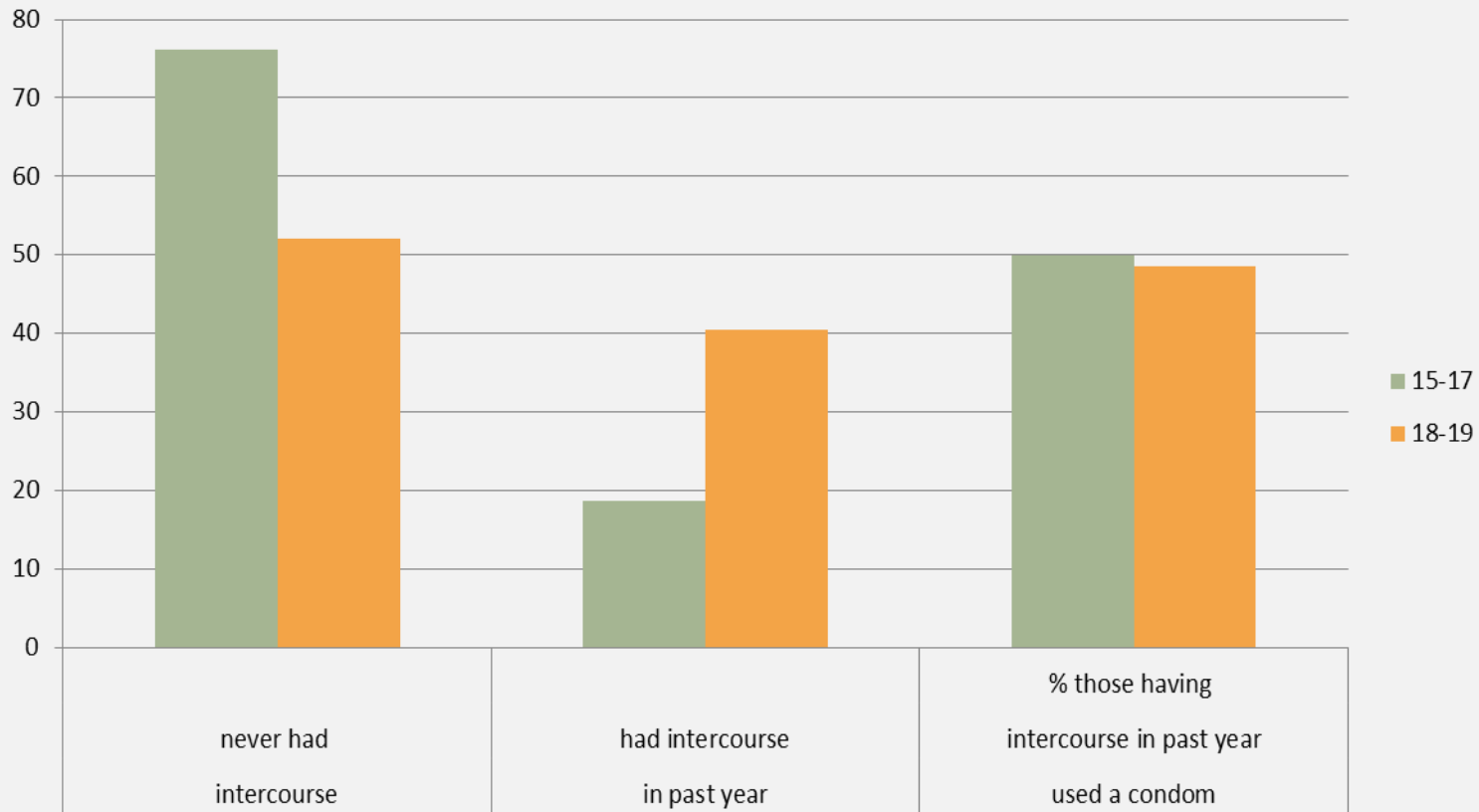
Note that 76% of girls age 15-17 report not having had sexual intercourse

THMIS, 2008

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012

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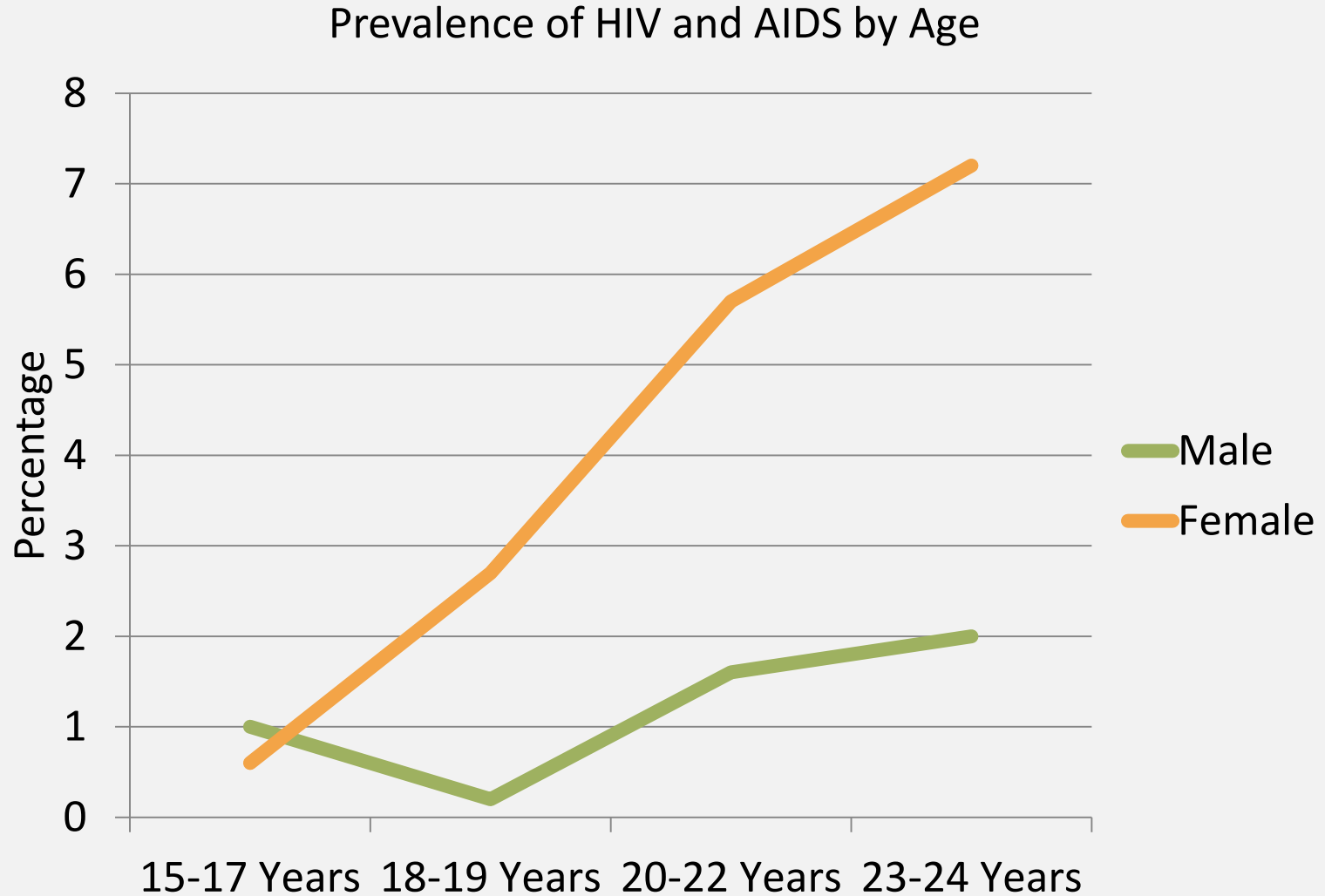
93% of 15-17 year olds   92% of 18-19 year olds

We need disaggregated data

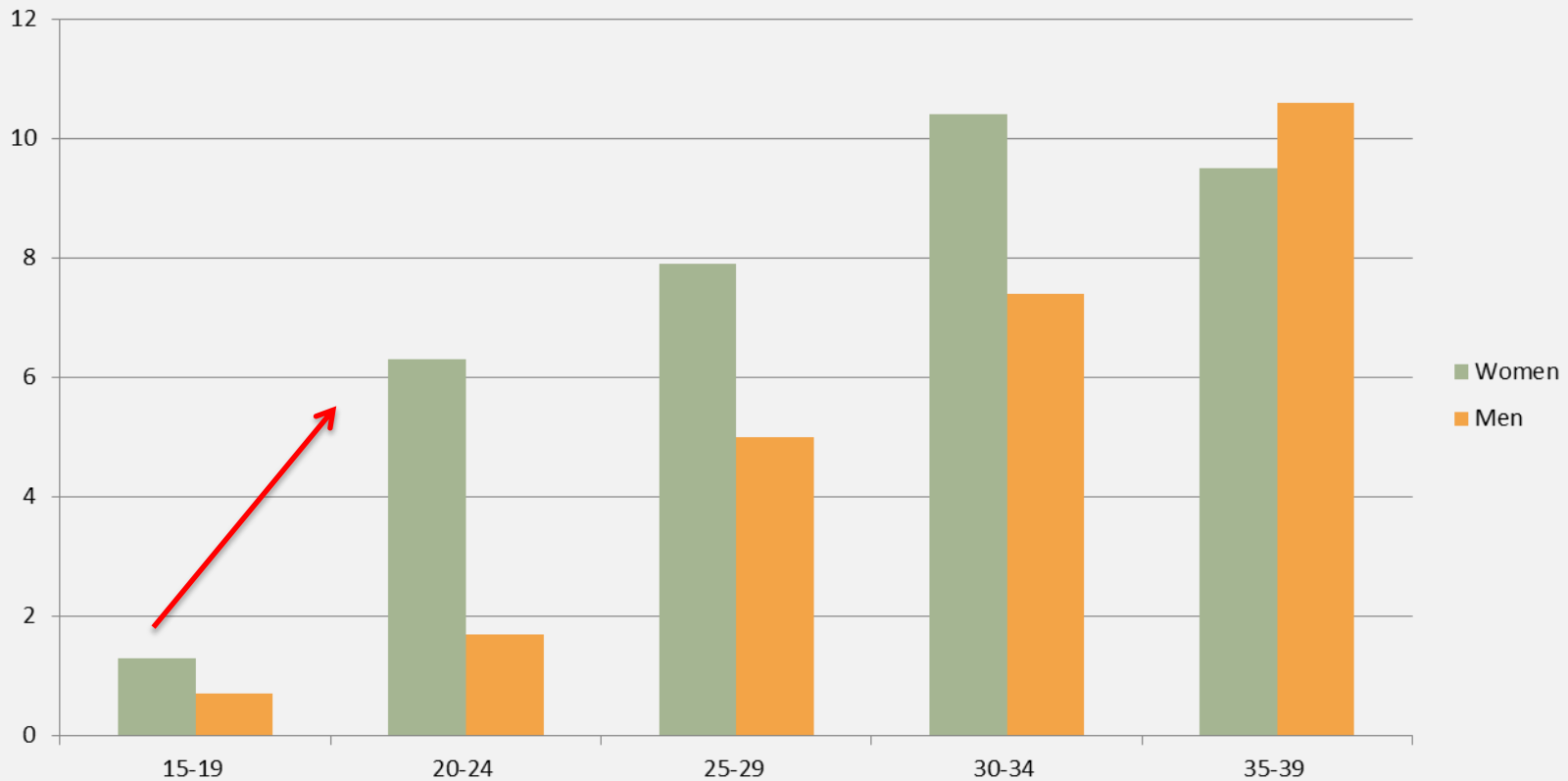High risk sexual intercourse = with a non-marital, non-cohabiting partner

Girls are significantly more vulnerable to HIV than boys

Prevalence of HIV and AIDS by Age

HIV rates for young women jump **385%** between ages 15-19, and 20-24

THMIS, 2008

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012

More adolescents know their HIV status

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

THMIS, 2008; UNICEF 2012
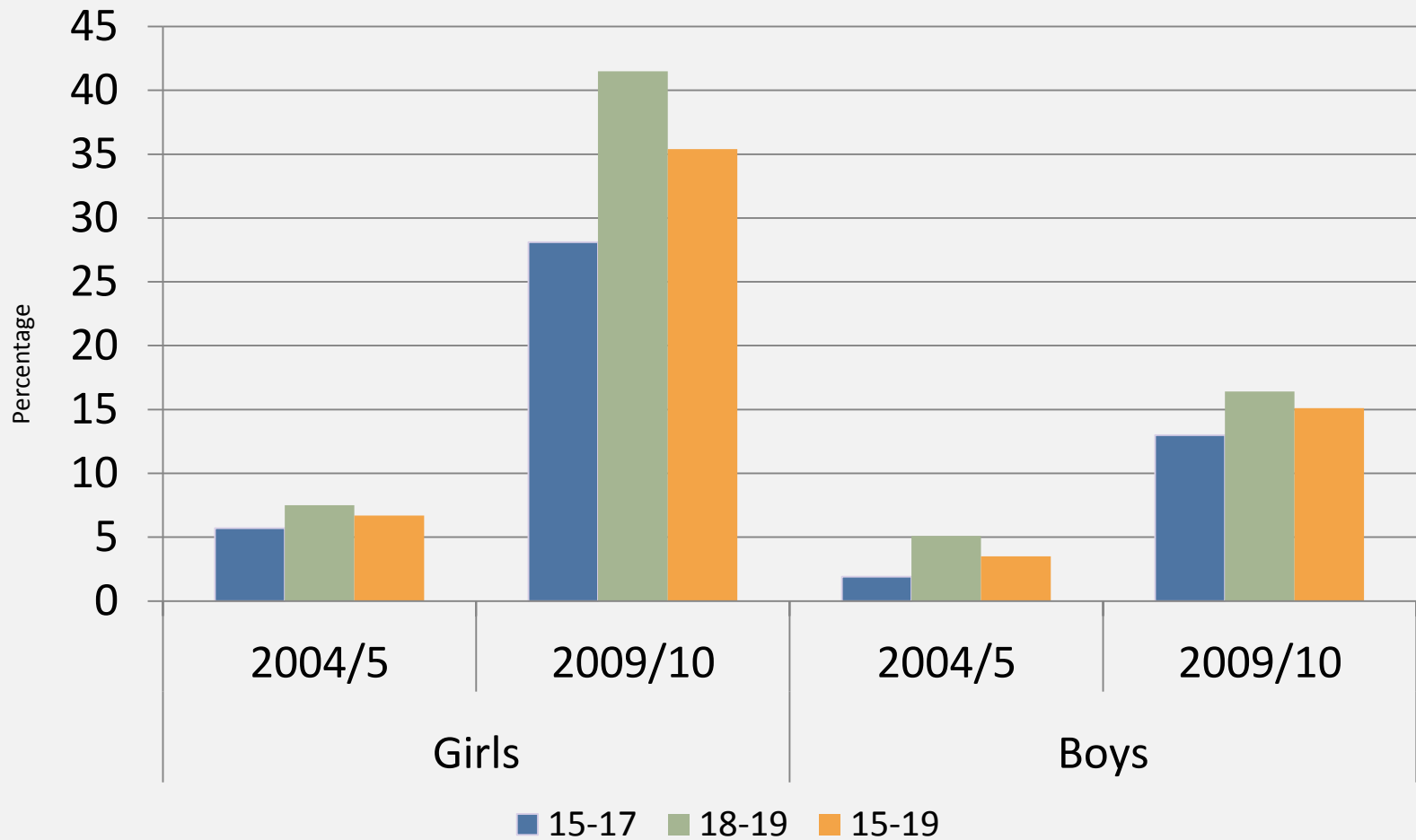
Early Marriage

Marriage and HIV Rates
15-24 year old women
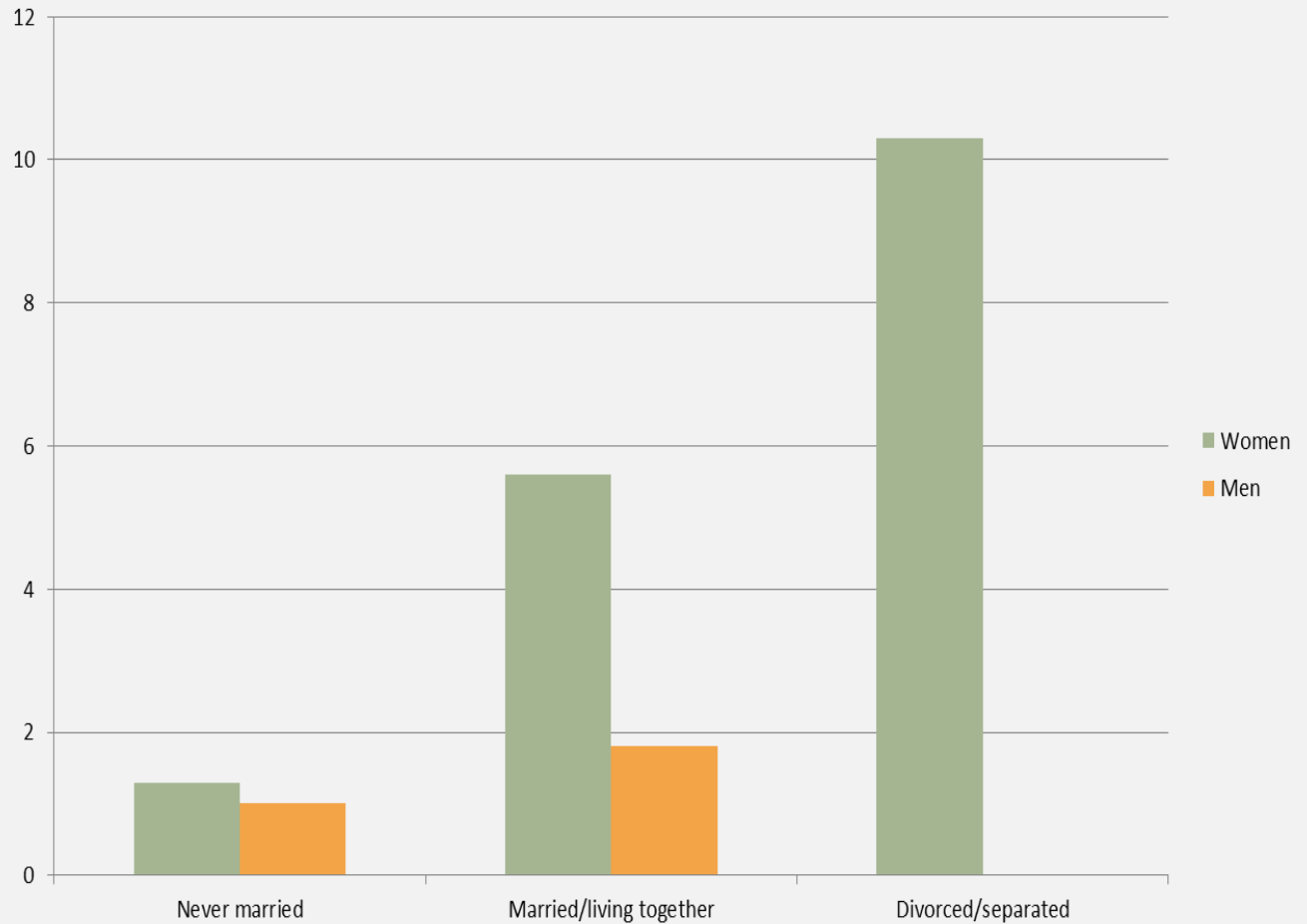
Approximately 80% of
15-19 year old women
are not married

However for those
who are, HIV rates are
higher

Legend: Women, Men

X-axis: Never married, Married/living together, Divorced/separated

TDHS 2010; THMIS 2008

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Tabora Early Marriage Study

Percent ever experiencing domestic violence	Percentage (n=167)
Husband ever slapped you	33.1
Husband physically forced you to have sex	30.7
Husband punched you	19.6
Husband kicked, dragged or beat you up	19.6
Husband pushed, shook or threw something at you	19.6
Husband tried to choke you or burn you	6.7
Husband threatened to attack you with a knife or weapon	4.7
Husband attacked you with a weapon	3.1
Experienced at least one form of violence	*40.7*
Has been beaten up by husband in last 6 months	27.2
Thinks they deserved the beating	27.3

Social isolation and violence

Typically, one-quarter to one-third
of girls do not live with either parent

Parents living in household 10-14 Year Old Females

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

THMIS 2007-08, Tabulations by Adam Weiner

Adolescent Girls/Bangser/June 2012

First sexual experience is often forced

% Whose First Sex was Forced
15-24 Year Old Females

Region	Percent	Region	Percent
Dodoma	21.2	Kigoma	26.9
Arusha	16.9	Shinyanga	12.5
Kilimanjaro	11.2	Kagera	11.0
Tanga	18.1	Mwanza	5.3
Morogoro	3.9	Mara	14.2
Pwani	10.5	Manyara	19.0
Dar es Salaam	23.5	Zanzibar N.	(34.4)
Lindi	2.7	Zanzibar S.	26.5
Mtwara	6.8	Town West	14.3
Ruvuma	10.5	Pemba N.	13.3
Iringa	17.4	Pemba S.	16.4
Mbeya	17.7		
Singida	20.4	Urban	17.5
Tabora	17.1	Rural	13.6
Rukwa	19.4		
		Total	14.7

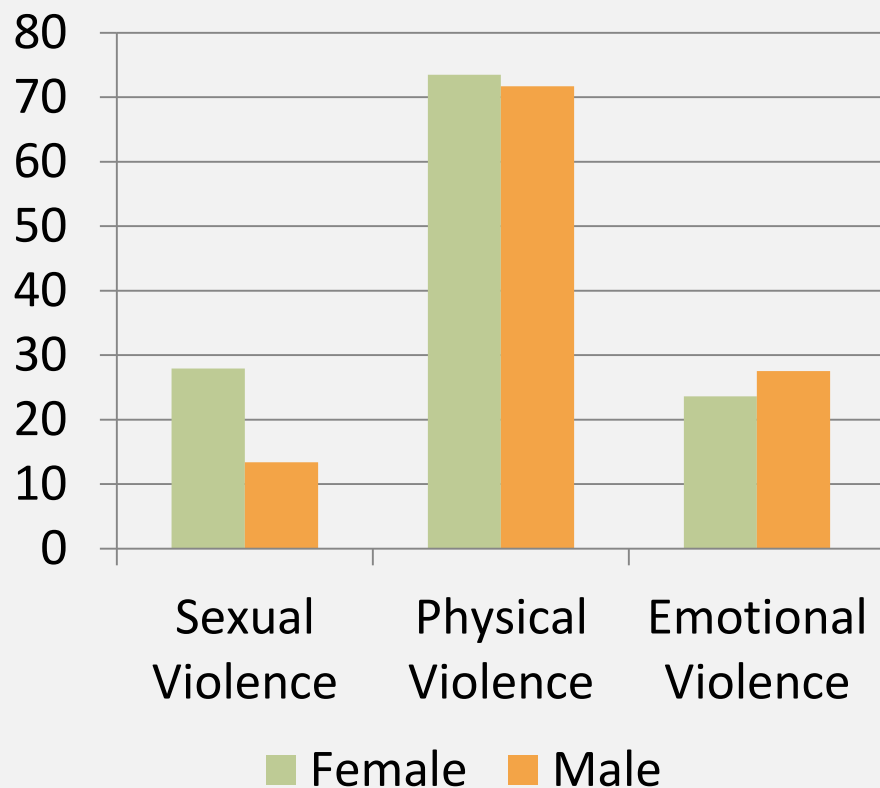Population Council, 2004 Tanzania DHS Adolescent Data Guide

Note: Number in parentheses based on fewer than 50 cases

Violence in childhood

Childhood Violence

Ages 13-14

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*

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

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?

CGD 2012; 3ie 2010; DFID 2011; Baird et.al. 2009; Baird et.al. 2012; 3ie 2010; DFID 2011

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 **C**CT 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
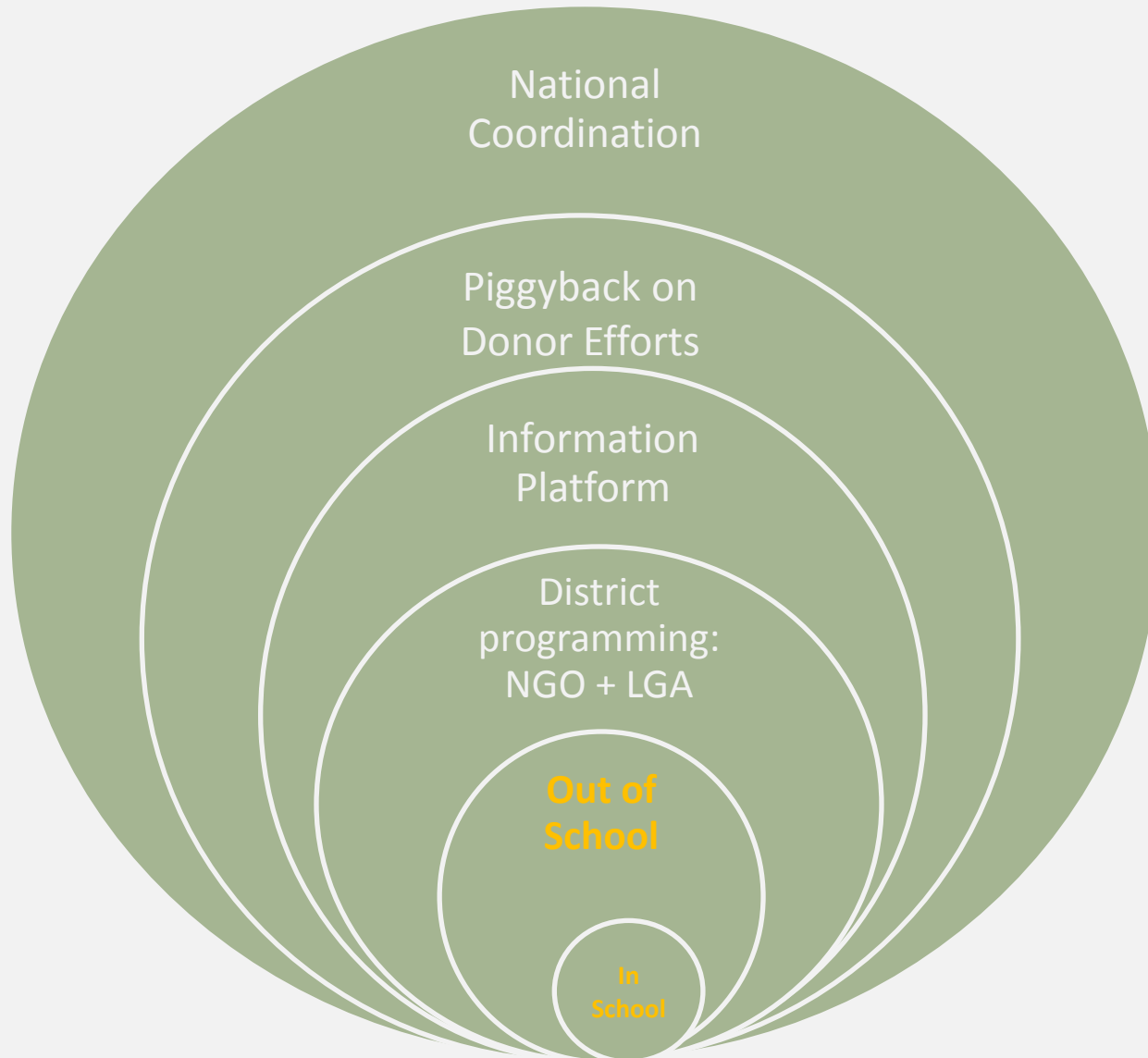
Girls' Agency

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

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

Biruh Tesfa elements

Norms

Negotiate with employers on girls' partic.

Women mentors from community

Mobilize girls house-to-house

Increase the visibility of girls

Safety and protection

Linkage with legal and social services

Life skills/GBV education

Reach out to girls with disabilities

Girls' Agency

Economic security

Savings groups

Financial literacy

ID cards provided

Core social services (ed/health)

"Wellness checkup"

Health voucher

Basic literacy, HIV/RH, etc.

Basic supplies (pads, underwear)

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

Girls' Agency

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

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

Check My School

Google Maps & mobile messaging

Log a complaint

Tracks range of information

Network of "Infomediaries"

www.checkmyschool.org

Ushahidi

Report by email, text, twitter

Mapping of incidents

News reports

Extensive replication of the model

www.ushahidi.com

Others

Fix our City, Chennai India

Stopstockouts.org, Kenya&Uganda

Sisi ni Amani, Kenya

Vikalpa citizen journalism, Sri Lanka

Ipaidabribe.com, India

Open Gov't Partnership (Tz)

LGAs post budgets, disbursements and execution reports

MSD reports online
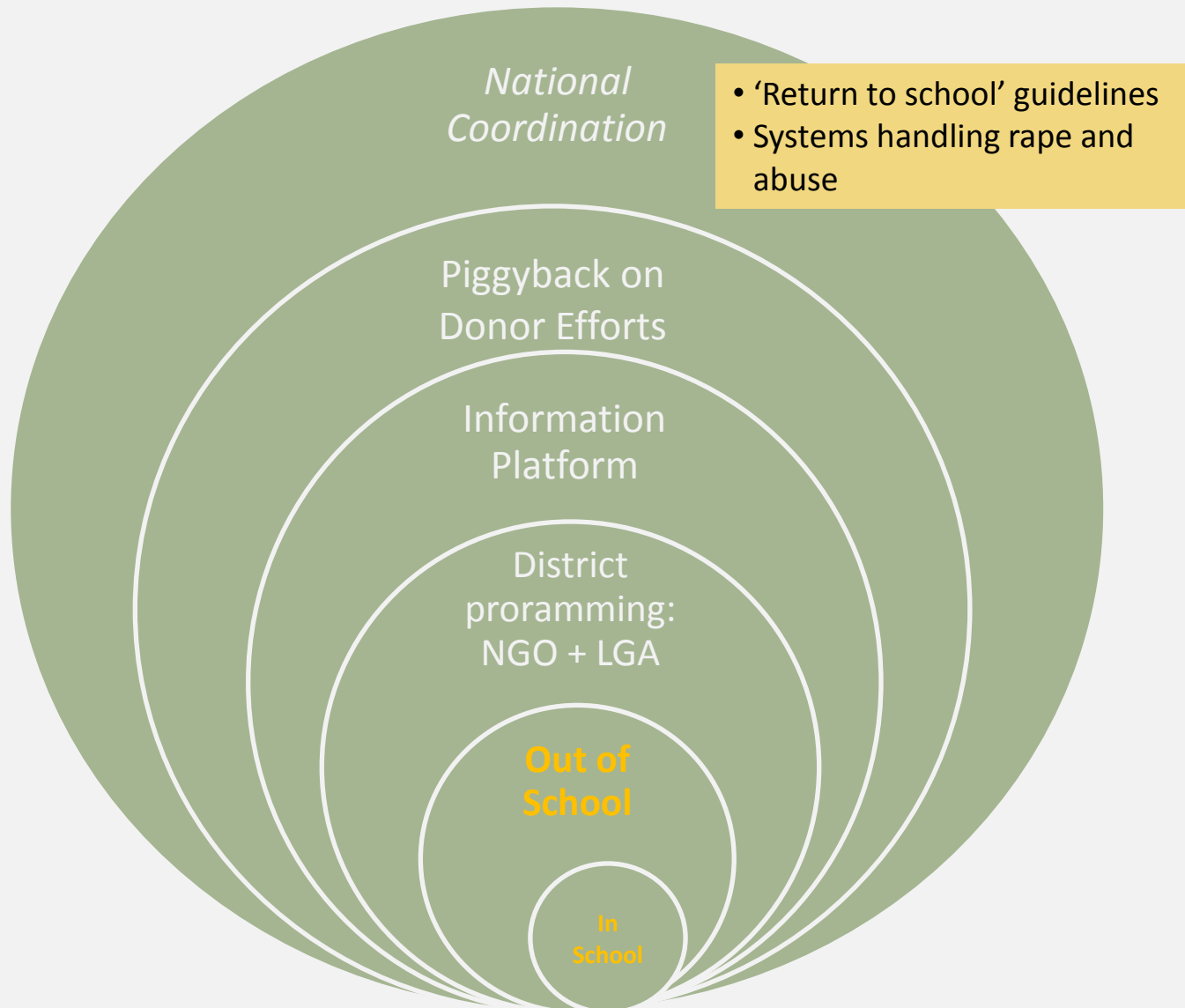
OGP complaints register

www.opengovpartnership.org

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 proramming: 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