



Question guide: researching norms about early marriage and girls' education

September 2015



Knowledge to action:
Researching gender
norms that affect
adolescent girls

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The material in this Note was written by Fiona Samuels, Nicola Jones and Carol Watson, compiled by Sophie Brodbeck, and copy edited by Margaret Griffiths.

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Series editors: Rachel Marcus and Caroline Harper.

Overseas Development Institute

203 Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NJ

Tel. +44 (0) 20 7922 0300
Fax. +44 (0) 20 7922 0399
E-mail: info@odi.org.uk

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Introduction

- This Question Guide outlines visual and innovative tools that have been used and adapted across countries as part of the Department for International Development (DFID)-funded Overseas Development Institute programme, Transforming the Lives of Adolescent Girls and Young Women, which involved research in Ethiopia, Nepal, Uganda and Viet Nam.
- The Guide has been compiled from the programme's second year of research, which focused on social norms and social norm change around early marriage and education. It is intended as a *guide*, depending on the reader's specific focus. Questions should be adapted and validated across different contexts.

Introductory materials

Introduction when starting any exercise/interview [tweak as appropriate]

'We are exploring how people in this community think about marriage and education of girls and boys. We are talking with boys and girls and their parents to understand how you and others feel about these ideas/customs and whether you think there has been any change over time and why. We think your views are very important and should inform discussions around policies and programmes that aim to improve adolescents' wellbeing. We'll be writing a report – there won't be any immediate effects but longer term we would hope your views will be included.'

Basic information to ask in every individual interview

ID [to be decided per country]
Age _____
Gender _____
Marital status _____
Place of birth _____
Place of residence _____
Occupation _____
Education level – own _____
Education level – siblings _____
Education level – parents _____
Parents' occupations _____
Marital status (includes polygamy) of parents _____
Residence/living arrangements _____
Migration status of respondent and family _____
Ethnicity/ caste _____
Religion _____

Background information to collect at the beginning of every group meeting

Before conducting any of the tools, it is useful to gather the below information.

Date _____ Location _____
Number of participants (at beginning) __ (at end) __
Kind of participants (older men/women; younger men/women) _____
Ages (average) _____
Time start _____ Time end _____
Facilitator(s) _____
Note-taker _____
Language in which the interview was conducted _____
How was the process? Was it participatory; did everyone take part in the discussion; did anyone dominate? Did anyone walk out, why; was it difficult/easy to manage, why; were people comfortable/uncomfortable, why? etc.

Daily report format

It can be useful to complete the below information following any data collection, as part of your daily debriefing process.

- Date _____
1. Tools/interviews used today
 2. Key findings – surprising, interesting – to start also grouping/clustering together
 3. Key areas to probe further/follow up
 4. Key challenges/limitations (related to questions; tools; context; etc.) (includes any need for clarification)
 5. Most expressive/interesting/illuminating expressions/quotes
 6. Keep track of/note interesting issues arising out of informal conversations (in a queue; bar; taxi; etc.) and observations
 7. Names of key contacts and additional/follow-up interviews

1. Community mapping and timeline: exploration of norms and what holds them in place

Instructions

Respondents:

Per research site, undertake one discussion with each of the following:

- Younger people male and female mixed (18-30) involving youth leaders, non-governmental organisation workers, ok if they are from outside the community as they may have an interesting perspective (e.g. young teachers or government employees)
- Middle-aged people, male and female mixed (30-50), involving community leaders and respected persons who feel free to talk
- Older men (60+) (male only – for grandfathers' perspectives; could be the village elder or others)

Procedures

Plan to take at least two hours. Start with the conceptual mapping (general discussion first), then proceed to the community timeline. You can start with the marriage theme then education in one group, and reverse the order with the other group in case things get more rushed towards the end.

Materials needed: flip chart and markers; tape; pins; drawing board.

Thematic focus

- What sorts of norms and practices are there in this community around early marriage and other marriage practices? Around girls' schooling?
- Are there differences between girls and boys?
- Have these norms and practices shifted over time? If so, how and why?
- What sorts of interventions, if any, exist or have existed to change these norms?

Question guide

1.1 Marriage

We would like to talk about marriage in this community.

Forms/types and practices

What do you understand by marriage in this community?

- Can you please describe the most common forms of marriage and marriage processes/practices here?
 - Forms: religious/civil/customary/cohabitation
 - Types: monogamy/polygamy
 - Practices: preparation; bride wealth; arranged/by choice; marital residence patterns

- Are these forms/types of marriages/ practices common throughout this district? Or do they vary by group? Explain
- Are there any advantages or disadvantages of one form/ practice over another (for men/women?)
- Have these practices changed over time? Since when? Why/why not/causes? What are your views/feelings on these changes/lack of change?

Evolving marriage practices

Before and after exercise: ask group participants to provide two statements following the same pattern reflecting reality in their communities.

- We used to think X about marriage but now we think Y
 - We used to do X but now we do Y about marriage
- Give hypothetical examples that illustrate change, stasis or partial change, to avoid leading them in a particular direction.

In-depth discussion of age at marriage

Explore changes or lack thereof around early marriage norms and practices in their community and their views on these changes/non-changes – positive/ negative and why.

- What is the usual age for marriage in this community (for girls/boys)? Has this been changing? How/why?
- What do most people think is the appropriate age for girls to marry in this community and why? Is it different for boys and why?
- Do you know what the legal age for marriage is (for girls/boys)? What do you think about this?
- Do some girls marry later or not at all? Who/which girls (individuals or groups)? Why? And how do people here think about this?
- Have these attitudes evolved over time; if so, how and why? Are you able to link any of these changes to events in your timeline?
- Are there some ideas/customs/attitudes that promote or discourage girls' marriage at an early or late age [separate when you ask people so as not to get muddled!]? Have these ideas/attitudes, etc. changed over time? Why? In what ways?
- Are there specific people/groups who actively work to maintain girls marrying at age X [fill in early expected age of marriage]? Who are these people? Why does their opinion carry weight/why are they influential?
- Are there specific groups working to move the desirable age of marriage for girls? Who are they? [If national level actors] How are their views communicated/ conveyed at local level? Does their opinion carry weight here? Why?
- What are some of the positive or negative consequences for a girl who marries very early or very late?

Incentives

For each probe as follows: are the gains economic? Social? Legal? Mixed?

- What are the incentives for parents to marry their girls at an early or later age?
- Why are the incentives for girls to marry at an early or later age?

Sanctions

For each probe as follows: are the consequences economic? Social? Legal? Mixed?

- If a girl's parents want her to get married early and she refuses, what happens?
- If a family is not willing to marry their daughter off early, what happens?
- If the expected age of marriage here differs from the legal age, how do people decide what to do? What motivates this decision-making process? What happens?
- If a girl gets married or cohabits early without informing her family what happens?

Special questions on children outside of marriage

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- Is it common for girls in this community to have children before they are married? Has this been changing over time? If so, how and why?
- What effect (positive/negative) does having a child have on an unmarried girl's life (physical, social, economic, schooling, marriage prospects, others)?
- How is having a baby when not married viewed by others (parents; peers; relatives; authorities; future marriage partners) and how does the unmarried girl view herself?
- What differences are there in having a baby when married or unmarried?
- Does having a baby when not married create any particular problems/challenges for the girl?
- How does the community view boys who have fathered children when not married? How do they view themselves?
- Do boys who have fathered children when not married usually take some responsibility for them? If so, what? If not, why not?

Laws, programmes, policies and services

- What are some of the existing laws, programmes or policies around marriage – particularly early marriage?
- What do you think could/should be done to strengthen laws, programmes or policies around marriage – particularly early marriage?
- What are some of the existing laws, programmes or policies around adolescent pregnancy?
- What do you think could/should be done to strengthen laws, programmes or policies around adolescent pregnancy?

- What are some of the services that exist for young married couples? How could these be strengthened?

1.2 Education

We would like to talk about education services in this community and differences between education for girls and boys.

Services

- Can you please describe what exists here (primary; secondary; tertiary; alternative; skills training; religious; informal education)? [This is supposed to be a quick answer]
- Since when have these services been available? [Remember to add to timeline exercise later]
- What do you think about these services (accessibility; quality; value)

Comparative value of education for girls and boys

The following for quick and animated discussion:

- 'Education is important for boys' – why or why not?
- 'Education is important for girls' – why or why not?
- Is education more important for boys than for girls? Why or why not?
- Until what age or grade do you think it is appropriate for girls to get an education and why?
- Is it different for boys and why?
- Do some girls not go to school? What influences this? Are there any particular groups of girls who are less likely to go to school and why? Is it different for boys? Why?
- Are there some ideas/customs/attitudes that promote or discourage girls' education? Do these change with the age of the girl? Have these ideas/attitudes, etc. changed over time? Why? In what ways?
- Are there specific people/groups who actively work to resist girls' school attendance beyond primary level? Who are these people? Why does their opinion carry weight/why are they influential?
- Are there specific groups working to promote girls' education beyond primary level? Who are they? [If national level actors] How are their views communicated/conveyed at local level? Does their opinion carry weight here? Why?
- Have attitudes and practices around girls' education changed over time? How? Why? In some places more than others? What do you think about these changes?

Incentives

For each of the scenarios below probe: are the gains economic? Social? Legal? Mixed?

- Why would parents want their girls to leave school after their primary education? [The emphasis here is on what they hope to gain.]
- Why would girls want to leave school after their primary education?

- Why would parents want their girls to continue in school?
- Why would a girl want to continue in school?

Sanctions

For each of the scenarios below probe: are the consequences economic? Social? Legal? Mixed?

- If a family wants their daughter to continue in school beyond what most girls do, what happens?
- If the expected level of education for girls here differs from the legal level of compulsory education, how do people decide what to do? What motivates this decision-making process? What happens?
- If a girl tries to stay in school beyond what her parents want, what happens?
- If the parents want the girl to continue her schooling and she refuses, what happens?

1.3 Intersection of early marriage/pregnancy and girls' education norms

To be integrated into the above discussion.

- How does marriage affect a girls' education trajectory? [Does it prevent girls from staying in school?]

- How do people feel about this (parents; parents-in-law; community members; teachers; local authorities; religious authorities; husbands)?
- Are these feelings/attitudes and practices/consequences different for particular groups of girls [probe for social class; ethnicity; religion; etc.]?
- Does this change if the married girl has a child? If so, how and why?
- What about having a child outside of marriage – how does this affect a girl's education trajectory?
- How do people feel about this (parents; parents-in-law; community members; teachers; local authorities; religious authorities; husbands)?
- How does later education [education beyond primary education/expected norm] for girls affect marriage practices and prospects (girls' individual outcomes; family outcomes)?
- What are some of the laws/policies and programmes to support girls' education?
- What do you think could be done to strengthen laws/policies and programmes to support girls' education?

2. Focus group discussions with adolescent boys and girls

Instructions

Respondents:

- Total of five groups (approximately five or six participants per group)
- Girls and boys – 14/15-19 years; in and out of school; married and non-married:
 1. Unmarried girls– in school
 2. Unmarried girls – out of school
 3. Married girls – out of school
 4. Unmarried boys – in school
 5. Unmarried adolescent mothers – out of school (special questions)

Materials needed: flip chart and markers; tape; pins; drawing board.

Thematic focus

- Ideals of being a woman/man; wife/husband
- Social norms and practices around marriage and education
- Changes in the above

Additional background information to collect

Kind of participants (girls/boys; married/unmarried; in/out of school; adolescent mothers).

Question guide

2.1 Ideals of masculinity and femininity

Warm-up exercise

Start with drawings of girl/women and boy/men – then use post-its to brainstorm on characteristics of ideal boy/girl/man/woman.

- What are girls expected to do and how are they expected to behave? What about boys?
- What types of things are girls told they shouldn't do [e.g. girls are not supposed to do ...]? What about boys?
- What are the key roles and responsibilities of boys/girls; men/women in the family?

Views on girls

- Do you think many girls are able to meet those expectations [referring back to the drawings]?
- Are they difficult to achieve?
- Do girls feel under pressure to live up to those expectations? If yes, where do you think the pressure comes from? What do you gain by living up to this ideal and what happens if you don't?
- Do some people/individuals have different expectations for girls and women (peers; adults; religion/ethnicity; socioeconomic status; occupational status)?

Views on boys

- Do you think many boys are able to meet those expectations [referring back to the drawings]?
- Are they difficult to achieve?
- Do boys feel under pressure to live up to those expectations? If yes, where do you think the pressure comes from? What do boys gain by living up to this ideal and what happens if they don't?
- Do some people/individuals have different expectations for boys and men (peers; adults; religion/ethnicity; socioeconomic status; occupational status)?

2.2 Views on marriage and fertility

Age

- What do you think is a good age for girls to be married? Why? How about for boys? Why? Do adults feel the same?
- What is the usual age in this community?
- Has it changed? Since when, and what drove that change?
- Do you know what the legal age for marriage is (for girls/boys)? What do you think about this?
- What are some of the advantages (practical/economic/social) for girls in marrying early? In marrying later [what do you mean by later if not already mentioned – use the specific age that they have already given]? Not marrying at all?
 - For parents; girls; other family members (e.g. brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins)
- What are some of the disadvantages (practical/economic and social) of marrying at an early age? Remaining single?
 - For parents; girls; other family members (e.g. brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins)

Qualities of a marriage partner

Get the group to fill in the blanks; ask for quick responses.

- A good wife is/does _____?
- A good husband is/does _____?
- A bad wife is/does _____?
- A bad husband is/does _____?

Probe reasons for these, change over time, similarities and differences with their parents, vary according to different types of girls/boys (socioeconomic status; religion; ethnicity; etc.)?

Some themes you might like to explore would be ideals of virginity vs. experience; marrying for love vs. marrying for money, etc.; children or marriage.

Rationale for marriage

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- Do most girls want to get married in this locality? If so, why/why not?

- What are your expectations from marriage – positive and negative [including probes around children; protection/family honour; economic security; emotional wellbeing; etc.]?
- What if a girl in this locality doesn't get married? What are the advantages and disadvantages? What are her alternative options?
- Do most boys want to get married in this locality? If so, why/why not?
- What are their expectations from marriage – positive and negative [including probes around children; family honour; economic security; emotional wellbeing; fear of gender-based violence; concerns about care work burden; etc.]?
- What if a boy in this locality doesn't get married? What are the advantages and disadvantages? What are his alternative options?

Choice of marriage partner

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- Do girls get to choose their husbands? Why/why not? Who makes the choice and enforces it? Are there particular groups of girls who have greater agency/flexibility in the process? Has this been changing over time?
- What are your feelings about arranged marriages? What happens if girls don't follow arranged marriages?
- Do boys choose their wives here? And has this custom been changing over time – if so, how? Why?
- What do girls think about polygamous relationships?

Marriage arrangements

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- What are the differences between different forms of marriage (religious, civil, customary, cohabitation)? Which type is most practised here and what do you think about it?
- Is bride price given at marriage in this community? Why/why not? By all groups or some? What does it consist of? How do you feel about it? What if it is not given?
- Are there any special preparations for girls and boys before marriage (physical/informational; other)? Who conducts this preparation? When does it occur?
- Where does the married couple live after marriage (with the boy's parents; with the girl's parents; with other relatives; alone)?
- What happens if there are problems in the couple? Who can you turn to? How do they help you?
- Do you think there could be any programmes that could help you in married life?

Fertility/children

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- What is the usual size of the family here? How many children would you want?

- What about the gender of the child? Does it make any difference to you, your husband, your parents/parents-in-law?
- What if you can't have a child?
- What if you have a child when you are not married?
- How are these views/expectations different between you and your parents/grandparents? Now/long ago?

Access to services

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- What do girls do when they get pregnant? Who do they turn to? Where do they go?
- What are some of the problems and/or challenges adolescent girls face when pregnant, when giving birth and after giving birth (health; social; material; etc.)?
- Do adolescent girls have access to reproductive health services in this community (contraception; safe deliveries)?
- What are some of the obstacles to using these services (e.g. awareness; language; attitudes of service providers; perceptions of quality/confidentiality; distance; costs)?
- Do you have to be married to have access to these services?
- Is there sufficient information about sexual and reproductive health accessible to girls in this community? What do you think could be done to improve this situation?
- In the case of domestic/gender-based violence, who can girls turn to for help? Are there specific services? What about legal aid?
- If a girl is divorced/abandoned/widowed, how is she supported (e.g. do families take them back in)? Is there legal protection? If there is, do the courts treat girls equitably?
- What do you think could be done to strengthen services for girls who are having trouble in their marriages?

Special questions on children outside of marriage

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- What effect does having a child have on unmarried girls' lives (physical; social; economic; schooling; marriage prospects; others)?
- How does having a baby make the unmarried girl feel?
- How is having a baby when not married viewed by others (parents; peers; relatives; authorities; future marriage partners; etc.)?
- What differences are there in having a baby when married or unmarried?
- Does having a baby when not married create any particular problems/challenges for the girl? If so, what?
- How do boys feel about having children when not married?
- Do boys who have fathered children when not married usually take some responsibility for them? If so, what? If not, why not?

2.3 Views on education

- [For those out of school] Have you all been in school at some point? [For those in school] What grade are you in school?
- Do most children go to school here and until what age? Are there any differences between boys and girls? Has this been changing?
- What are the expectations for sons vs. daughters? If there are differences, why? Has this been changing over time?
- Who should ensure all children go to school and to what age? Is it different for boys and girls?
- Are the experiences of boys and girls similar or different in school? If different, why?
 - Treatment by teachers – favouritism, discipline, abuse
 - Treatment by peers
 - Language
 - Teaching/learning experience
 - School environment – safety/sanitation
 - Leadership/participation in schools
 - Extra-curricular activities
 - Sports
 - Discipline/subjects
 - Performance
 - Retention/dropouts
- What has your school experience been like? Are you learning important and useful things? Do you think it is preparing you well for your future? What could be done to improve this?
- What about your future plans about school? Beyond school? What thinking informs these plans? Are there barriers to you achieving those plans?
- If you have children, what would be the ideal school trajectory for your children?

2.4 Intersections between marriage/pregnancy and education for girls

Integrated into the above if easier.

- Should an 18-year-old girl be in school or married? What are the advantages/disadvantages? What is most common here, and are things changing over time?
- Is it common for girls to be withdrawn from school for marriage? At what age? What do you think about this? Has it been changing?
- What do you think about married girls and schooling? Are you aware of any laws on this? Do you have any friends or relatives who have had any experience of this?
- What about unmarried girls with children and schooling? Are you aware of any laws on this? Do you have any friends or relatives who have had any experience of this?
- What do you think might be done to support married girls or unmarried mothers to continue with schooling?

- Do you think more educated girls have more problems finding husbands than less educated girls? Why/why not? Is this changing?
- Does education have any influence in the marriage payments? For the girl? For the boy? Has this been changing at all over time?
- Do you think being more educated makes you a better wife, mother, daughter-in-law? Or do you think this may create problems [e.g. ...]? Is this changing over time?
- Do you think education makes boys/men better husbands/sons-in-law/brothers/fathers? Is this changing over time?

3. Body mapping

Background

- The body map is a participatory tool that helps young people explore their experiences, views and feelings on particular issues and discuss what they see as differences between girls and boys
- For Uganda, this tool has been significantly modified and adapted from the example provided in the initial tools, based on experiences in the pilot test
- The body map exercise can be used in place of the more formal focus group discussion guidelines with younger adolescent girls (11-14) (or, in shortened form, can be used as a warm-up for the focus group discussion)

Instructions

- Explain the purpose of the exercise, which is to explore key issues of adolescent girls' lives in an interactive and visual manner
- Hang two large pieces of flip chart paper on the wall. On one sheet, ask one or two participants to draw a large picture of an adolescent girl; on the other sheet, ask one or two other participants to draw a large picture of an adolescent boy (you can show them an example if needed). Encourage as much detail as needed to get in all of the features
- Ask participants to point out and discuss key differences between the two figures (encourage this with prompts such as, are girls bigger/stronger than boys? Do boys and girls wear the same clothes? Do boys and girls look the same? This should be a very brief discussion – as warm-up)
- Then conduct a more detailed guided discussion according to the chart, probing for differences between boys and girls on each topic. (Do NOT attempt to write responses onto the picture itself.) The pictures are just for a visual reference point

Requirements

- Large flip chart paper and marker pens should be available
- Requires one facilitator and one note-taker, taking verbatim notes of discussions, which may also be recorded
- As with all exercises, reporter should write down names, ages, gender, ethnic group or religion of participants,

along with the location of the exercise, the time of start and end, the name of the facilitator and the reporter

Question guide

- *Activities:* what are your main activities? At home, in school, working in the fields, playing with your friends? How do you spend most of your time? Is this the same all year round/all week long? Has it always been the same, or has it changed over time? Which activities do you like the most/least? Which activities do you wish you could do but cannot (and why?) Do you have to ask permission to do certain activities? From whom? How do boys spend most of their time? Is this different from girls? If so, why do you think this is so?
- *Places:* where do you go/where do you spend most of your time? What is your favourite place? Are there places you would like to go but can't? Why not? Do you have to ask permission to go certain places? From whom? Are there any places you are afraid to go? Why? Do you like to go places alone, or do you prefer to be with others (friends; family)? Do boys and girls mostly spend time in the same places or different ones? Are there places boys can go that girls cannot? If so, why do you think this is?
- *Learning:* what kinds of things do you learn about and where (in school; from parents, friends, religious authorities, health staff, others?) Who do you like learning from the most? What do you most enjoy learning about? What do you not like to learn about? Are there things you would like to learn more about? What kinds of things? Do you also teach others things (siblings/friends)? If so, what kinds of things? Do you think boys and girls like to learn the same things/learn things in the same way? Do you think there are any differences in what boys and girls are allowed/encouraged to learn?
- *Communication:* who do you talk to the most/least (in your family/outside your family)? What do you talk about? Is it different with different people? How? Is it easier for you to talk to people your age/adults? Do you talk about the same things with you sister as with your brother? Your mother as with your father? Do you

always listen to what your parents/caregivers tell you? Do you think they always listen to what you tell them? Do boys talk the same ways as girls? Do you think boys like to talk about the same things as girls? If not, what are some of the differences?

- *Physical wellbeing*: what kinds of sickness/illness/pain do you sometimes suffer from (headaches; stomach aches; colds; fever; etc.)? Who takes care of you when you are sick or are in pain? If you have already begun menstruating, do you ever suffer from pain at that time? What do you do about it? Are there things or people who hurt you/are violent towards you (or do you know of friends who have been hurt by someone)? What happened? Who helped? Do you think boys and girls suffer from the same things?
- *Emotional wellbeing*: what makes you happy? Sad? Angry? Frustrated? [Use the flip chart paper to draw pictures of faces – or have them draw these pictures themselves, and then talk about them.] What kinds of things do you worry about? If you are ever feeling depressed, or lonely, who do you turn to? Do you think boys and girls feel happy and sad about the same things?

Probe based on gender, age, disability, ethnicity, geography, socioeconomic background, socio-political context, living context (e.g. internal displacement from homes and communities; orphan status); positive, as well as negative impacts.

Follow-up discussion questions

- How do you define adolescence? What is unique about adolescence compared with childhood or adulthood (include differences between girls and boys)?
 - Try to get participants to tell you, in their own words, about the stages of life (baby; child/girl; adolescent; woman; older woman). It may be they have no specific word for adolescent – this will be important to find out – to see if they see any transitional stage between being a girl and becoming a woman. Then discuss the same for boys. You could use visual aids to help: draw

pictures of a baby, a young girl, an older girl, a woman and an old woman on the flip chart and ask them to describe them

- What do adolescents in this community value and why (include differences between girls and boys)?
 - The question is about what they think is important or worthwhile (in the present/for the future; for themselves; for their community)? Do they think adolescents and adults value the same things?
- What are the challenges for achieving a sense of wellbeing and social justice? How have these changed over time and why (include differences between girls and boys)?
 - This question is about fairness – do they think the rules they live under are fair to them? Do people (adults; other adolescents) always treat them fairly? What things do they think are unfair in their lives (this could be about themselves, their families as a whole or others)?
- What are the key coping strategies and sources of resilience for adolescents (positive coping mechanisms: family support, friends, religious guidance, migration; negative coping mechanisms: transactional sex, drug use/alcohol, violence)? If they are (include differences between girls and boys)
 - What do they do when they encounter difficulties or hardships? What do others do? What do they think of these strategies? Do they think adolescents and adults cope with difficulties in the same way?
- What are the key opportunities for overcoming vulnerabilities experienced by adolescents (include differences between girls and boys)?
 - What are the things they think will help them most to be strong and succeed in life? Education? Friends? Connections? Marriage? Land?

4. Focus group discussions with parents

Instructions

Respondents: mothers and fathers who have adolescent girls – four per site (two with mothers and two with fathers)

Materials needed: flip chart and markers (if optional drawing to be done)

Thematic focus

- Comparative views of men and women on ideals of masculinity and femininity
- Comparative views of mothers and fathers on social norms around marriage and education for sons and daughters
- Views and perceptions on changes over time
- Views and perspectives on laws, policies and programmes to address these issues

4.1 Marriage

- What do you think good parents are expected to do *vis-à-vis* marriage for their children (help find partner; save money/assets to provide to daughter/son when they get married; etc.)?
 - For their daughters?
 - For their sons?
- Where does this ideal come from (e.g. religious leaders; better-off families; based on own experience)? Who advocates/articulates/gives voice to this ideal or how is this ideal transmitted to families?
- Is this ideal possible to attain? Why/why not?
- What happens if you can't attain this?
 - How do your children react?
 - How do other family members react?
 - What about friends/close contacts?
 - What about other community members?
- How do you react to/behave towards other families/parents who can't attain this ideal (tolerant; look down on them; shun them; other)?
- What happens if your daughter expresses dislike about your proposed husband for her? How do you react?

Why? Just because she disagrees with you or also because of concerns about societal reactions?

- Have these ideals/values been changing over time?
- Is migration changing these ideals about marriage at all?

4.2 Education

- What are your views on education? Do you think it is valuable? Why/why not?
 - For girls?
 - Probe in terms of income-generating potential; type of work they can obtain; quality of teaching; potential to help in the household – with domestic chores, caring for other family members; issues relating to distance/transport/safety *en route* to school?
 - For boys?
- Until what age do you ideally think children should be educated? Why?
- Is it different for boys and girls?
- Is your ideal level of education realistic given other constraints (income; time; distance)?
- Do you think it is feasible for a child of a poor family to reach the highest level of education?
- If someone is uneducated, are they treated differently in this community? Why? By whom? Does it depend whether they are male or female?
- What do children gain if anything from being well educated (e.g. different type of occupation; more productive farmer; increased social capital)?
 - What are the risks (e.g. children leave locality; disagree with parents; get into trouble without parental supervision)?
 - Do men find girls more/less marriageable if they have a higher level of education?
- Are there any drawbacks from low levels of education?
- What is your preference – migration? (Where relevant) Education? Marriage? A combination? Why?
- Are there good role models for girls in this community in terms of girls' education? Girls' income-generating options? Successful marriages?

5. In-depth interviews with unmarried boys (15-19 years) who have adolescent sisters

Instructions

Respondents: a mix of in- and out-of-school boys.

Materials needed: flip chart and markers; tape; pins; drawing board.

Thematic focus

- Boys' views of ideals of being a woman/man; wife/husband
- Social norms and practices around marriage and education
- Changes in the above

Warm-up

We'd like to start by drawing the members of your family and then talking about their main roles and responsibilities within the household.

- Similarities and differences with siblings
- Roles of parents
- Have these always been so or are they changing? If changing, why?

Now we'd like to sketch your community and ask you to identify places where boys and girls go – either jointly or separately.

- What do you do in these different spaces?
- If there are differences between girls and boys, why?
- Have these always been so or are they changing? If changing, why?

5.1 Ideals of masculinity

- What are the characteristics of an ideal boy in your community? Of an ideal man? Are there any common sayings or proverbs that people use around here?
- Do you think many boys obtain this ideal?
- What do you think about this in your own case? Is it important to you? If it is, is it difficult to achieve?
- Do you feel under pressure to live up to that ideal? If yes, where do you think the pressure comes from? What do you gain by living up to this ideal and what happens if you don't?
- Do some people/individuals have different ideals (peers; older brothers; adults; media)?
- Whose views do you listen to and why?

5.2 Views on girls – ideals of femininity

- What are the characteristics of an ideal girl in your community? Of an ideal woman? Are there any sayings or proverbs used around here?
 - Do you think many girls obtain this ideal? Is it important to you that girls live up to this ideal?
 - If it is, do you think it is difficult to achieve (e.g. what about your sister)?

- Do you think girls feel under pressure to live up to that ideal? If yes, where do you think the pressure comes from? What do they gain by living up to this ideal and what happens if they don't?
- Do some people/individuals have different ideals (peers; adults; teachers; media; elders)?
- Who do you listen to and why?

5.3 Views on marriage

If doesn't want to get married, probe as to why and then move on.

- What would you look for in a girl you would like to marry? What sort of girl would you want to avoid?
- When you are married, what do you think will make you a good husband? Do you envisage any obstacles in becoming a good husband (employment prospects; housing arrangements; assets; land; affordability of marriage; meeting parents' expectations for a marriage partner)?
- What sort of boys do you think girls seek to avoid?
- What do you think your father's view is in terms of ideal wife/ ideal husband? If different, what accounts for this difference?
- What do you think is the best/most appropriate age for a girl to marry? For a boy to marry? Why? What is the expected age in this community? Has this changed over time?
- Who, if anyone, provides you with information or guidance on marriage and sexuality? What sorts of things do you get information/guidance on? Is it helpful? What are the gaps? What else would you like to know more about? What about girls – who helps them?
- Do you or your parents have to prepare in any way for you to get married (economic contributions; rituals; sharing of information on what to expect – aunts, etc.)? If so, how? What about your sister? What are your views on these customs? Have they been changing over time and why?
- Do boys choose their wives here? What about you – what do you want? What is likely to happen to you in reality? And has this custom been changing over time – if so how? Why?
- Do girls get to choose their husbands? Why/why not? Are there particular groups of girls who have greater agency/flexibility in the process? What about the case of your sister or close relative? Do you expect to have multiple wives? What are your views on this?

5.4 Views on education

- Do most children go to school here and until what age? Are there any differences between boys and girls?
- What about in your family? What are the expectations for sons vs. daughters? If there are differences, why?
- Are the experiences of boys and girls similar or different in school? If different, why?
 - Treatment by teachers – favouritism, discipline, abuse
 - Treatment by peers
 - Language
 - Teaching/learning experience
 - School environment – safety/sanitation
 - Leadership/participation in schools
 - Extra-curricular activities
 - Sports
 - Discipline/subjects
 - Performance
 - Retention/dropouts
- What has your school experience been like? Are you learning important and useful things? Do you think it is preparing you well for your future?
- What about your future plans about school? Beyond school? What thinking informs these plans? Are there barriers for you to achieve those plans?
- If you have children, what would be the ideal school trajectory for your children?

5.5 Intersections between marriage and education for girls

- Should an 18-year-old girl be in school or married? What are the advantages/disadvantages? What is most common here, and are things changing over time?
- Is it common for girls to be withdrawn from school for marriage? At what age? What do you think about this? Has it been changing?
- What do you think about married girls and schooling? Are you aware of any laws on this? Do you have any classmates or relatives who have had any experience of this?
- What about unwed girls with children and schooling? Are you aware of any laws on this? Do you have any friends or relatives who have had any experience of this?
- Do you think more educated girls have more problems finding husbands than less educated girls? If so, why/why not? Is this changing?
- Does education have any influence in the marriage payments? For the girl? For the boy?
- Do you think being more educated makes girls better wives, mothers, daughters-in-law? Or do you think this may create problems (e.g.)?
- Do you think education makes boys/men better husbands/sons-in-law/brothers/fathers?

6. Key informant interview (for general exploration of issues related to child marriage and education)

6.1 Key informants within governments, donor organisations, etc.

- Government: ministries of gender, community development and youth; education; health (sexual and reproductive health for adolescents); women's affairs; labour; other
- Donor community if relevant: DFID, UNICEF, UNFPA
- Academics: legal experts; others
- Local government representatives: LC; technical departments (gender; community development; youth; other)
- Teachers, health workers, community development workers, child protection officers, police, justice officials
- Religious leaders
- Cultural leaders
- Other elders, including women's group leaders

Additional background information to collect

Name of key informant _____

Gender _____

Ministry/department/agency/institution/district/sub-district/parish _____

Function _____

Background information (will depend on respondent)

- Key programmes and policies respondent is involved in
- Overview of issues around young people in general, and adolescent girls in particular – what are the key challenges?
- What are some of the programmes underway to address these challenges?

Background issues on district/locality

- Population; main sources of livelihood; religions; ethnic groups
- Services: schools/training institutes; health structures; social centres; commercial centres
- Overview of issues around youth/young people
- Overview of key issues around gender

Question guide

6.1.1 Overview of marriage forms and practices that may inhibit adolescent girls' capabilities (probe throughout for changes over time)

- Forms of marriage (monogamy; polygamy)
- Type of marriage contract (civil; religious; customary)
- Customary practices (arranged marriages; marriage by abduction)
- Practice of bride price; age differential between husband and wife
- Women's roles/rights/responsibilities within marriage;
- Issues of consent to marriage; issues to do with the dissolution of marriage (divorce; widowhood; abandonment)
- Domestic violence, etc.
- Issues around the proposed reforms in the Marriage and Divorce Bill

Existence and scope of problem of early marriage (or district/sub-district where appropriate)

- Is there a problem? At what age do girls normally get married? Does it vary from place to place? By ethnic group and/or religion? By urban/rural area? At what age do you think girls should get married? Boys?

Causal factors for persistence in social norms and practices around early marriage

- Why do girls continue to marry at early ages? How are social norms for early marriage enforced? Who is most responsible for keeping these norms alive? Are these factors different in different places?

Consequences of early marriage

- Educational, physical, psychosocial, etc.

Changes in social norms and practices around early marriage

- Any changes over time? In particular regions? Urban/rural? How/where/why are norms and practices around early marriage changing?

Adolescent pregnancy and childbirth outside of marriage

- Is this a common problem? Or is it rather rare? Does it vary from place to place? What factors lead to differences?
- Has the situation been changing over time?
- Is pregnancy/childbirth out of marriage accepted by the community (by families; religious leaders; others)
- Existing laws, policies and programmes to address this?
- What more needs to be done?

Laws/policies and programmes to address issues of early marriage and adolescent pregnancy (in particular) and gender-equitable marriage practices (in general)

- Existing laws, programmes and policies? Who is doing what? What seems to be working best? What are some of the key challenges?
 - At national level (if appropriate)
 - Implementation at local level (if appropriate): who is doing what? What seems to be working best? What are some of the key challenges?
- Recommended laws, programmes and policies? What more is needed? Suggestions for moving forward
- Examples of successful programmes: ingredients of success? Quality/quantity of any monitoring and evaluation?
- Programming landscape: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats?
 - Coordination across actors
 - Sustainability of interventions
 - Funding
 - Exit strategies

6.1.2 Girls' education: progress and challenges

- Key issues in girls' education nationally/at district/sub-district level today (primary; secondary; tertiary)?
- Factors contributing to progress in girls' education nationally or at district/sub-district level?
- Challenges to progress in girls' education nationally or at district/sub-district level?
- How are social norms around girls' education changing over time (or remaining the same)? Does this vary from place to place? How/why?
- Any specific linkages between early marriage/girls' education (including drop-outs owing to early marriage/pregnancy; lack of parental investment; parental desire for bride wealth; etc.)?
- Existing laws/programmes/policies to promote girls' education (UPE; USE; re-entry policies/programmes for pregnant girls/adolescent mothers; etc.)? Describe progress and challenges at national/local level where appropriate
- Problems of gap between policies/programmes on paper and implementation on the ground
- Recommendations on what more is needed to move forward on girls' education nationally or at district level/sub-district level

Specific suggestions/recommendations for the research

- Other key issues to explore
- Further references/and sources of information
- Additional stakeholders/programmes/key informants
- Particular information regarding district

6.2 Key informants in programmatic work

For example, programme officer, programme designer, donor manager, etc.

Additional background information to collect

Name of key informant _____
Gender _____
Organisation/institution _____
Function _____

Question guide

- Basics (aims; duration; budget; staffing levels; capacities; partners)
- How long have you been involved in the programme? What is your role in the programme?
- How did you get involved?
- What were the origins of the programme (national headquarters; international good practice; scaled up from a project)?
- Relevance to national policy? Which one is it trying to contribute to?
- What was the programme design process? Were you involved; if so, how? Were local beneficiaries involved in the design; if so, how?
- Does the programme design consider social norms; if so, how?
- Have the objectives of the programme been met? Have there been unexpected results/impacts? Overall, what have been the key achievements or what do you think they will be? How do you measure this?
 - Do you have a logframe/theory of change?
 - Did you do a baseline?
 - What indicators do you use?
 - How were they developed (by you, your partners, your beneficiaries)?
 - What monitoring and evaluation have you undertaken? How are the results of monitoring fed back into the on-going programme to improve it?
- Do you think the relative effectiveness of the communications component owes to its strength alone or is it because it's part of a broader package of interventions?
- What sort of support do you get from other staff or agencies, if any?
 - Strengths/weaknesses of that support?
- What coordination is there with other relevant interventions in the sector (issues of decentralisation)?
 - Opportunities for strengthening going forward?
 - Barriers to full achievement of original goal/ongoing challenges?
 - Exit strategy/sustainability strategy?
- If you had an opportunity to scale up, what would you keep? What would you do differently?

7. Intergenerational trio

Instructions

- Start – if possible – by interviewing the grandparents or mothers in order to have a baseline to compare with the daughters
- The first set of questions is for the grandparents and parents
- The second set of questions is for adolescent girls

Respondents:

- Three generations of women – grandmother, mother, daughter
- Two with in-school girls; two with out-of-school girls; all unmarried
- Likely because of girls marrying and moving away that would be working with younger girls – 13-15 years olds? [Key is the three generations – even if a younger girl would be ok]

Thematic focus

- To explore shifts in the relative importance and framing of norms and practices around marriage and education across three generations

A. Question guide (grandmothers and mothers)

Specific background information on grandmothers/mothers

Person interviewed _____
Relation _____
Age _____
Ethnic group _____
Religion _____
Current marital status _____
When married (age/date) _____
What type/form of marriage (monogamy/polygamy; civil/religious/customary/cohabitation) _____
How many children ___ Ages ___ Where living _____

Residence after marriage/currently/since when
Household living arrangements: extended or nuclear family (who is living in the household; who is considered the head of the household) _____
Schooling _____ Level ____ If left early, when and why _____
What is your occupation (subsistence; income, etc.)
What is/was your husband's occupation (subsistence; income) _____

7.1 Marriage

Age at marriage

- When you were a child, what were the ideas and customs/beliefs as to when a girl should get married? And what age did they usually get married?
- What were the ideas/customs/beliefs as to why a girl should get married at a particular age (e.g. honour; fertility; virginity)?
 - Have these ideas on age of marriage been changing over time? Since when? What do you think about the changes?
- What were the reasons for you to get married at the age you did (e.g. filial piety;¹ obedience; resistance; reluctant agreement; willingness)?
 - Were your reasons for getting married at the age you did in line with common attitudes and customs? Why/why not?
 - If they were in line with typical attitudes/customs, what were the positive gains you expected from following the attitudes/customs? And were these gains realised?
 - If it wasn't in line with typical attitudes/customs, what were the expected consequences from resisting the typical attitudes/customs? And what happened in practice (to you or to others)?
- Did your family support your approach or not? Why/why not?
 - If they didn't support you, was there ever any threat or practice of violence? Would violence have made a difference to your views/practice?

Type and forms of marriage

- What was the type and form of marriage that was typical in your day (religious/customary/civil; polygamous/monogamous) and what type did you have?
 - Is this changing today? If so, since when? How and why?
- Did you choose your partner? Why/why not? How did you feel about that?

- Have these processes been changing over time? Since when? How, why, why not? What do you think about the changes?

Processes and preparations for getting married

- What was the process for getting married when you got married (economic preparation [bride wealth; dowry]; materials to prepare; rituals; etc.)? What were your views about this?
 - Has this process been changing over time? Since when? How, why, why not? What do you think about the changes?
- Who told you what to expect during the marriage process and after marriage? What was your experience?
- Who if anyone provided you with information or guidance on marriage and sexuality? What sorts of things did you get information/guidance on? Was it helpful? What were the gaps? What else would you have liked to have known more about?
 - What about girls today – who provides them with information/helps them prepare for marriage? Explain any differences from your day.

Main reasons/expectations of marriage

- What were the main reasons to get married when you were growing up (children; security; companionship; social acceptability; prestige; other)?
- What were your reasons?
 - Have reasons for getting married changed today? If so, how? Since when? What do you think about the changes?
- Before you got married how did you view marriage? What did you think it would bring you? Did you have any concerns? After you got married, did your views stay the same or change? Why?
- Who did you turn to when you had problems in your marriage? What kind of help did you receive?
 - If your daughter/granddaughter has problems in her marriage, who can she turn to and how can they help her? What kind of services do you think could be provided to support people in marriage and family life?
- What were your expectations in terms of marriage age for your daughter? And for your granddaughter? Have they been met? Why/why not?

Special questions on children outside of marriage

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

1 This refers to the virtue and primary duty of respect, obedience and care for one's parents and elderly family members

- Was it common in your time for girls in your community to have children before they were married? Did you know of girls who did?
 - Has this been changing over time? If so, how and why?
- What effect (positive/negative) did having a child have on an unmarried girl's life in your day (physical; social; economic; schooling; marriage prospects; others)?
 - Has this been changing over time? If so, how and why?
- What about the boys who fathered children outside of marriage? How were they usually viewed? What did they usually do in your day? Did they take responsibility for them?
 - What happens today?
- Which is worse for your daughter/granddaughter – getting married at an early age or getting pregnant without being married?

7.2 Education for girls

Her experiences

- Did most girls go to school when you were growing up? Why or why not? If so, until what age?
- If you went to school, tell us about your schooling experience. Was it any different from your brothers'? If so, how?
- If you went and dropped out, would you have liked to continue in school? Why/why/not? What prevented you from this?
- Did school experiences vary for boys or girls? If so, how and why?
 - Attitudes/treatment by teachers
 - Attitudes of parents
 - Length of schooling
 - Time for homework
 - School environment/facilities
 - Getting to school – distance/transport
- Have you been influenced by any particular role models (teachers; older sisters; successful business women; community leaders)?
- How? In what way? How did this change your perspective as to what you could be? Relationships with others, etc.?
- Did going to school/not having gone/having dropped out have an influence on your later life (material; psycho-emotional; intellectual; social capital)?

Perceptions of changes

- Do you think ideas/attitudes/customs around girls' education have changed since your day? If so, how and

why? What were the drivers of change? What do you think about these changes?

- What were your expectations in terms of education for your daughter? And for your granddaughter? Have they been met? Are they the same or different *vis-à-vis* your expectations for your sons/grandsons?

7.3 Intersections between marriage and education for girls

To integrate into discussion above if easier that way; make sure you probe perceptions of change over time.

In your day ...

- Would an 18-year-old girl have been in school or married? What were the advantages/ disadvantages?
 - Have things been changing over time and if so how?
- Was it common for girls to be withdrawn from school for marriage? At what age? What did you think about this?
 - Has it been changing? What is it like today?
- What did you think about married girls and schooling? Were you aware of any laws on this? Did you have any friends or relatives who have had any experience of this?
 - What about today?
- What about unmarried girls with children and schooling? Were you aware of any laws on this? Did you have any friends or relatives who had any experience of this?
 - What about today?
- Were there any special programmes that helped married girls or adolescent mothers continue their schooling?
 - What about today? Should there be? What kinds?
- Do you think more educated girls had more problems finding husbands than less educated girls in your day? Why/why not?
 - Is this changing nowadays? What is it like today?
- Did education have any influence in the marriage payments? In what way? For the girl? For the boy?
 - Is this changing nowadays? What is it like today?
- Do you think being more educated would make you a better wife, mother, daughter-in-law? Or do you think this would have created create problems (e.g.)?
 - Is this changing nowadays? What is it like today?

- Do you think education makes boys/men better husbands/son-in-laws/brothers/fathers?
 - Is this changing nowadays? What is it like today?

B. Question guide (daughters)

Specific background information on the daughter

Name _____
 Age _____
 Ethnic group _____
 Religion _____
 Marital status _____
 If married, type of marriage _____ Children _____
 Current household living arrangements (extended or nuclear family; who is living in the household; who is considered the household head) _____
 In school ___ If not in school, what level reached (if any) _____
 What level of education do your siblings have _____
 If they dropped out, did your brothers leave school at the same age/grade _____ What about sisters _____ If different, why _____
 Would you have liked to continue in school ___ Why/ why not _____
 What is your occupation (subsistence; income; etc.) _____

7.1 Marriage

Age

- What are the current ideas/customs/beliefs as to when a girl should get married?
- At what age do girls usually get married today? Is this different from the time of your mother/ grandmother?
- What are the ideas/customs/beliefs as to why a girl should get married at a particular age (e.g. honour; fertility; virginity)?
- [If married] At what age did you marry? Was this in line with general expectations? If not, what happened when you married at the age you did? Did anyone try to stop you from this?
- [If not married] At what age do you expect to get married? Is this in line with general expectations? If not, what will happen if you do not get married at the age you are expected to?

Types and forms of marriage

- What type of marriage is typical today (religious/customary/civil) and what type do you have/ expect to have?
- What about polygamy/monogamy? Which is more common today and what type do you have/expect to have?

Processes/preparation

- What are processes for getting married today (economic preparation [bride wealth]; materials to prepare; rituals;

etc.)? What are your views about this? Do you think these processes are changing?

- Did/do you expect to choose your partner? Is this what is usually done? What happens if you refuse to marry a partner chosen for you?
- Who usually informs girls about what to expect during marriage? Has anyone told you what to expect during the marriage process and after marriage? What was your experience?
- Has anyone provided you with information or guidance on marriage and sexuality? If so, who? What sorts of things did you get information/guidance on? Is it helpful? What were the gaps? What else would you like to know more about?

Expectations of marriage

- What do you expect to get out of marriage? What do you think it would bring you? Do you have any concerns?
- Who do you think you can you turn to if you have problems in a marriage (relatives; religious leaders; others)? Are there any services to support you in your family life?
- Do you think there have been any changes in ideas/ attitudes/customs around marriage from the time of your mothers/grandmothers to today? If so, how and why? What were the drivers of change? What do you think about these changes?
- Do you expect your marriage to be the same as or different from the marriage of your mother? Please explain.

Special questions on children outside of marriage

Probe for all: have there been any changes over time?

- Is it common for girls in your community to have children before they are married? Do you know of girls who have?
 - Has this been changing over time? If so, how and why?
- What effect (positive/negative) does having a child have on an unmarried girl's life (physical; social; economic; schooling; marriage prospects; others)?
 - Has this been changing over time? If so, how and why?
- What about the boys who father children outside of marriage? How are they usually viewed? What do they usually do? Do they take responsibility for them?
- Which do you think would be worse for you – getting married at a very early age or getting pregnant without being married?

7.2 Education for girls

- If you went to school, tell us about your schooling experience.

- Where? When? For how long? Did you stop? Why did you stop? How did you react? Would you have liked to continue? What was/is positive? What was/is challenging?
- Do school experiences vary for boys or girls? If so, how and why?
 - Attitudes/treatment by teachers
 - Attitudes of parents
 - Length of schooling
 - Time for homework
 - School environment/facilities
 - Getting to school – distance/transport
- Have you been influenced by any particular role models (teachers; older sisters; successful business women; community leaders)?
 - How? In what way? How did this change your perspective as to what you could be? Relationships with others, etc.)
- Do you think that going to school/not going to school will have an influence on your later life (material; psycho-emotional; intellectual; social capital)?
- Do you think ideas/attitudes/customs around girls' education have changed since over time (since your mother's/grandmother's time)? If so, how and why?
 - What were the drivers of change? What do you think about these changes?

7.3 Intersections between marriage and education for girls

Integrate into the above, if easier. Probe perceptions of change over time.

8. Marital networks

Instructions

Respondents:

- Start with girl and husband as the centre of analysis (Questions A). Then interview the parents and in-laws (Questions B).

Thematic focus

- Intra-household relations including power relations and decision-making
- Views and expectations of marital roles and responsibilities
- Sources of support for married girls

Materials required: flip chart and markers

Today

- Is an 18-year-old girl likely to be in school or married? What are the advantages/disadvantages? Have things been changing over time and if so how?
- Is it common for girls to be withdrawn from school for marriage? At what age? What do you think about this? Has it been changing?
- What do you think about married girls and schooling? Are you aware of any laws on this? Do you have any friends or relatives who have had any experience of this?
- What about unmarried girls with children and schooling? Are you aware of any laws on this? Do you have any friends or relatives who have had any experience of this?
- Are there any special programmes that help married girls or adolescent mothers continue their schooling? Should there be? What kinds?
- Do you think more educated girls have more problems finding husbands than less educated? Why/why not? Has this been changing?
- Does education have any influence in the marriage payments? In what way? For the girl? For the boy?
- Do you think being more educated will make you a better wife, mother, daughter-in-law? Or do you think this may create problems (e.g.)?
- Do you think education makes boys/men better husbands/son-in-laws/brothers/fathers?

Additional background information to collect on the network

Names of full network:

Girl _____
 Husband _____
 Girl's mother _____
 Girl's father _____
 Boy's mother _____
 Boy's father _____
 Paternal aunt _____

Notes on the process: Any challenges in identifying/locating/interviewing the different members of the marriage network? Did they live in different communities/areas?

A. Question guide for the girl and her husband (marriage network)

Additional background information to collect on the marriage network

Name _____
Relation (husband or wife) _____ Age _____
Residence _____
Ethnic group _____ Religion _____
When married (age/date) _____
Any children ____ How many/gender and ages _____
Residence after marriage (with parents/parents-in-law/
on their own [specify if same or different village]) _____
Current household living arrangements (extended or
nuclear family; who lives in the household) _____
Schooling: In school _____ Level ____ If left when
and why (age/level) _____ How did you feel about it
at the time _____
What level of education do your siblings have _____
If they have dropped out, did brothers/sisters leave school at
the same age/grade _____ If different, why? _____
Would you have liked to continue in school _____
Why/why not _____
What is your occupation (subsistence; income; etc.) _____

Views on marriage and childbearing

- What type and form of marriage did you have (customary/religious/civil; monogamy/polygamy)? How did you feel about this and why? Were the views the same as your parents'? If no, how was this difference resolved?
- Was your marriage arranged or did you choose your partner? What are your feelings about this? Was your opinion sought? Is this the same as or different from the situation for your parents?
- Did anyone provide you with any information, instructions or physical preparation before you were married? Please explain. Are these preparations the same as in your parents' time?
- What did you or family have to prepare for your marriage (e.g. bride-wealth/goods)? How did this make you feel? Is there any change in this practice from your parents' time?
- How is life different for you now compared with for unmarried peers or relatives? How do you feel about these differences?
- Did your marriage have any impact on your education/schooling? In what way?
- Has anything about your education had any impact (positive/negative) on your marriage?
- What did you expect from married life? What has really happened? Has marriage fulfilled your aspirations or not? How/why?
- What is the biggest change being married has made in your life?
- Do you have children (how many/ages/gender)?

- How many children are you expected to have? How many would you like to have?
- Does it matter if they are girls or boys?
 - To you? To your husband/wife? To your parents? To your in-laws?
- What would happen if you don't have children?
- Do you (your wife) have access to sexual and reproductive health services? Do you (your wife) use them now/before marriage? Why/why not?
- [For girl] What does your husband or in-laws think about this?
- [For boy] What do you think about this?
- What are your hopes and worries for your family currently and for the future? Do you think your marriage is different from that of your parents? In what way and how?

Intra-household power relations/decision-making

- How would you characterise your experience as a married woman/man?
- What is expected of you?
 - By mother-in-law/father-in-law?
 - By your own mother/father?
 - By your husband/wife?
- What do you feel about these expectations?
- Is it difficult or easy to meet these expectations?
- What happens if you don't meet these expectations?
- Who is considered the head of your household?
- What roles, responsibilities and decision-making authority does that person have?
- What resources are under that person's control?
- What roles, responsibilities or decision-making authority do you have? What resources do you have control over?
- Do you think your experience within your married household is common around here? Why/why not?
- Do you think these roles and relations in the household have changed over time?
- Have household living arrangements (i.e. who is living together in the household) changed over time?

Time use chart

- If you have a child, did you (your wife) give birth in hospital or at home? Were there any complications? Ask the husband and the wife to draw a pie chart indicating how they spend their time on different activities; then discuss the difference and the implications.

Sources of support

- On a scale of 1-10 with 1 very unhappy and 10 very happy, where would you put yourself and why?
- In many households there are tensions/differences between household members at different times. Does this happen here and if so between whom? How are the tensions manifested – does this ever result in violence? If

so, how do you deal with this situation? Do you feel you have adequate support?

- What links, if any, do you have with your natal family (mother/father/siblings)? If so, with whom, how, how frequently? Would you like more or less contact or ok with the *status quo*?
- What links, if any, do you have with your childhood friends/friends from your natal residence? If so, with whom, how, how frequently? Would you like more or less contact or ok with the *status quo*?
- What is your main source of emotional support?
- What kinds of additional forms of support/programmes of support do you think would be useful to you to support you in your family life (include all forms of support – psycho-social/legal/education/economic/etc.)?

B. Question guide for parents and parents-in-law (marriage network)²

Additional background information to collect about mother, father, mother-in-law and father-in law

Name _____
Relation (girl's father/mother; boy's father/mother)
Age _____
Religion _____ Ethnic group _____
Current marital status _____ When married (age/date) _____
What type/form of marriage (monogamy/polygamy; civil/religious/customary/ cohabitation) _____
How many children ___ Ages __ Where living _____
Residence pattern after marriage _____
Current household living arrangements: extended or nuclear family (who lives in the household) _____
Schooling _____ If left when and why _____ What were your feelings at the time _____
Would you have liked to continue in school _____
Why/why not _____
What is your occupation (subsistence; income; etc.)

Themes to focus on with parents and parents-in-laws

Their own marriage

- Tell us a little about your married life? How would you characterise your experience as a married woman/man?
- What was expected of you (at first/over time)?
 - By mother-in-law/father-in-law?
 - By your own mother/father?
 - By your husband/wife?
- How did you feel about those expectations?
- Was it difficult or easy to meet those expectations?
- What happened if you didn't meet these expectations?
- Who was/is considered the head of your household?

- What roles, responsibilities and decision-making authority does/did that person have?
- What resources are/were under that person's control?
- What roles, responsibilities or decision-making authority do/did you have? What resources do/did you have control over?
- Do you think your experience within your married household is common around here? Why/why not?
- Do you think these roles and relations in the household have changed over time?
- Have household living arrangements (i.e. who is living together in the household) changed over time?
- How would you describe an ideal wife/husband?

Their view on their daughter/son's marriage

- What are your hopes for your children's marriage?
- How was the partner selected – and what criteria led to the choice or acceptance of the choice?
- Did you and your child agree on this?
- Would the decision have been different if it were a son/daughter?
- Did you and your spouse agree? Why/why not?
- What do you think about the ages at which your daughter/daughter-in-law was married?
- What preparations (economic; information; guidance; skills training) were entailed in the marriage transaction? What did you think about this? Did it go as expected? How is this similar or different to your day?
- What are your views and expectations about the spouse? Are they being realised?
- Were there trade-offs with the daughter/daughter-in-law's schooling? What were your feelings about that? Satisfied/regrets?
- What are your expectations of your daughter/daughter-in-law/son/son-in-law?
 - Economic support; care work; psycho-emotional support; reproduction – children; community standing; social capital.
- What are your expectations for grandchildren?
 - How many? Grandsons vs. granddaughters? Care expectations? What happens if the couple doesn't have any?
- Do you know of any problems or tensions in the marriage/tensions (of your children)?
 - What kinds? What do you do? What do your counsel your children to do? Are there support structures?
- Frequency of interaction between parents and married daughter?

2 For our fieldwork in Uganda, we used an additional module for paternal aunts, given their significant role in girls' lives. See *Adolescent girls in the balance: changes and continuity in social norms and practices around marriage and education in Uganda (2014)* for more details on this.

- What do you think would be good to have as programmes of support for married couples (man/

woman) (include all forms of support – psycho-social/legal/economic/educational; etc.)?

9. Case studies (typical cases and outliers)

Instructions

Respondents:

- Girls/ young women aged 16-25 years. The below are examples rather than exhaustive.

Apparently positive

- Girls with tertiary education – e.g. from the community but could be residing elsewhere now such as capital cities
- Girls who are married but continued with their education
- Girls who have a child but continued with their education
- Girls with a successful business/income-generating opportunity
- Girls who proactively escaped early marriage
- Girls who entered into love marriages/relationships

Apparently negative

- Girls who were married early (and willingly) and have very constrained life opportunities
- Unmarried girls who had a child early and have very constrained life opportunities
- Girls who dropped out of school early or who never had an education (e.g. housemaid)
- Girls who were married early but unwillingly but gave in because of social norms
- Girls who were trafficked or forced into marriage
- Divorced/separated/widowed/abandoned girls
- Girls who were married at a young age as a second/ third etc. wife into polygamous households

Thematic focus

- Examples of adolescents would fall at one end of the spectrum or the other (full compliance with norms/non-compliance with norms)
- Perspectives on these situations (feelings about; reasons for; consequences of; etc.); available sources/ programmes of support; recommended additional support needed

Materials needed: Flip chart and markers; tape; pins; drawing board

Additional background information to collect

Case study type _____
 Current residence (place) _____
 Household (with whom?) _____
 Education _____
 Marital status/children _____
 Ethnicity _____ Religion _____
 Parents' marital status/residence _____
 Parents' main occupation/livelihood (mother/father)
 Current livelihood (herself/her husband, if applicable)

Note: describe why this girl was selected for a case study – i.e. she is an example of _____

Warm-up: timeline

Start by drawing a timeline of their life until now – divided by positive and negative experiences/key events – and ask them to talk about their life history and how they evaluate it.

Themes

Include (but as appropriate depending on girl in question):

Life stages including positive and negative experiences

1. Education
2. Adolescent transition (e.g. menstruation; sexuality; etc.)
3. Marriage
4. Pregnancy/childbirth
5. Child-rearing
6. Family relationships and fortune/misfortunes
7. Occupational/income-earning history
8. Care work – within their natal home, marital home
9. Health history
10. Migration history

Informal and formal support

1. Support people (peers; friends; networks; organisation)
2. Access to services (health; school; justice; credit/ economic assets; legal aid)
3. Access to media, technology, phones and internet and the role this has played in their life and wellbeing
4. Role models; people they look up to; inspiring individuals (can be family; service providers; famous people)
5. Recommendations for other types of support needed (psycho-social; legal; economic; information/ education; other)

Assessing life quality – past, present and future

1. Assessment of their life trajectory compared with siblings and/or others and drivers of their life trajectory
2. Views on role community and family attitudes/ values/practices/beliefs have played in shaping or constraining their trajectories
3. Aspirations and how they have evolved over the course of adolescence
4. Aspirations for their own children/future offspring



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Overseas Development Institute
203 Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NJ
Tel +44 (0)20 7922 0300
Fax +44 (0)20 7922 0399

www.odi.org

