Participation in sexuality education curricula: does it lead to local ownership?

A case study in Ethiopia

Annemarie Schaapveld

Amsterdam, July 2013
Figure 1: Condom Commercial (DKT Ethiopia, 2013)
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Annamarie Schaapveld
Amsterdam, July 2013

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Abstract

During the last decades the discourse in development aid changed to participation, in which local stakeholders are included in the process and their ownership of it is promoted. Although the relationship between participation and local ownership has been theorized consistently, it seems few studies have empirically tested this in relation to SCE curricula. This qualitative research offers in-depth knowledge about the nature and outcome of participation initiatives in CSE curricula and the relation to local ownership of stakeholders. Data for this research was collected during five months of fieldwork in the Oromiya-region, Ethiopia. A case study was chosen and qualitative interviews were held with staff members of two donor-organizations, five local organizations and 16 teachers who are implementing a CSE program.

This research shows that the participation of local stakeholders in the adaptation of the curriculum leads to a limited amount of influence on the content. Although many topics could be added to the program, it seems that topics could only be eliminated when they did not impair the comprehensiveness of the program or when country laws ruled that certain topics be eliminated. Thus, the essence of the program could not be changed. The findings however, show that stakeholders have a sense of ownership of the curriculum, especially teachers feel included and involved in the decision-making of the curriculum content and all stakeholders are motivated to continue the program. In this research it is shown, that stakeholders can have a high sense of ownership, considering that ownership relates to motivation, ‘negotiated’ discourses and feeling of involvement in the process. Moreover, these findings indicate that the feeling of ownership in this case-study is influenced to a greater extent by the involvement in the process than by the outcome of stakeholders’ participation. This is in contrast with most of the literature, where it is emphasized that both the involvement in the process and the effect of participation enhances ownership.

Keywords:
Comprehensive Sexual Education, SRHR, Local Ownership, Participation, Discourses, Ethiopia
For a long time already I am interested in educational topics, and the sexual and reproductive health and rights of youngsters. During my studies I was able to become a geography teacher and my bachelor research focused on the livelihoods of young adults in a fishing village in India. Other issues that captured my interest during my master program were the cooperation and power relationships between donor organizations and local stakeholders. For this research I had the opportunity to combine my interests and to get an understanding of participation processes in sexual education curricula.

The completion of this thesis would not have been able without the support of many others. First and foremost, I thank all interviewees and participants in all the organizations and schools I visited for their openness, incredible friendliness, interesting conversations, their time, honesty and discussions. You all really impressed me with your commitment to your students. I want to sincerely thank the staff-members of the donor organizations, who introduced me to this project, who invited me to trainings and workshops and helped me where they could. For the same purpose I want to thank everyone at coordinating organization, betam ahmesugenalew, for the good atmosphere in the office, the trust I got, the delicious misa and bunna’s afterwards, the great discussions we had and the travels we did together. Equally important has been the support of my supervisor Hülya Koşar Altinyelken. The needed pep talks and the very constructive feedback were essential for the completion of this thesis. I would also like to express my appreciation to Mieke Lopes Cardozo, who provided me with a number of ideas for this thesis and kept reminding me of the link with theories, while being in the field. In addition, I would like to thank Margriet Poppema for being my second reader.

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<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condom Use</td>
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<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>CDA</td>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
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<td>CSE</td>
<td>Comprehensive Sex Education</td>
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<td>CSA</td>
<td>Central Statistical Agency Ethiopia</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GOE</td>
<td>Government of Ethiopia</td>
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<tr>
<td>GUSA</td>
<td>Government United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICPD</td>
<td>International Conference on Population and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD (DAC)</td>
<td>Organization for economic Co-operation and Development (Development Assistance Committee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STI</td>
<td>Sexual Transmitted Infection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRHR</td>
<td>Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<td>YICOTW</td>
<td>Youth in Charge of the World program (fake name)</td>
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Chapter 1 Introduction

In 2013 the television program “Big Brother Africa” was aired on Ethiopian national TV, causing an extensive debate among Ethiopian viewers regarding their sexual norms and values. A female Ethiopian contestant had sex with one of her fellow male contestants, while the camera was running. On Facebook many viewers expressed their disapproval of this act. There was widespread disagreement with the way she represents Ethiopia: “It is really a disgusting activity you did. You disregard the Ethiopian culture and its people” (comment on Facebook). Others are supportive of her and claim that “she really represents the current Ethiopia” (comment on Facebook). The debate clearly shows the difficulty people experience when sex is expressed openly, especially in the conservative Christian Orthodox country of Ethiopia. This example shows that Ethiopia is struggling with the mixture of ‘Western’ influences and its traditional culture, where sex and sexuality is not openly discussed. The debate is a perfect introduction to my research, in which the adaptation process of the internationally developed comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) curriculum ‘the Youth in Charge of the World program’ (YICOTW) is investigated. A working-group, consisting of staff-members of local organizations, teachers and students, was established in order to adapt the curriculum to the Ethiopian context. In this working-group, the members discussed which sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) issues should be addressed in the curriculum.

Figure 1: Cartoon “Chasing ‘Big brother’ Betty”

Source: Facebook, 2013
In Ethiopia, sexual education is not provided by the government, however some reproductive information is given in biology lessons in grade 10, when students are about 14 to 16 years old. Every school has HIV or gender clubs, but the sex-related information that is given in these clubs generally pursues abstinence. Organizations and schools that are willing to give sexual education are therefore dependent on curricula that are developed outside of Ethiopia. These curricula are often realized by donor organizations, who need to address certain goals and who are held accountable by their funders. Therefore, a difference of interest between the goals and values of donor organizations and local stakeholders can occur. During the last decades the discourse in development aid changed to participation, in which local stakeholders are included in the process and their ownership of it is promoted. However, there are some points that need to be raised. Firstly, whether participation of local stakeholders indeed leads to a sense of ownership and secondly, whether CSE curricula can both fit to the local context and remain comprehensive. This qualitative research offers in-depth knowledge about the nature and outcome of participation initiatives in CSE curricula and the relation to local ownership of stakeholders.

1.1 Purpose of the study

Sexual and reproductive ill-health is one of the most important health problems among young people. Sexual reproductive health (SRH) plays a substantial role in social and economic life, as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including HIV, (unsafe) abortion and unintended pregnancies all place substantial burdens on individuals, families, communities and governments. This is despite the fact that these issues are preventable or reducible (UNESCO, 2009a).

Although it is important that young people can make well-informed decisions on sex and sexuality, few young people receive adequate information and preparation for their sexual lives. As a result, this leaves them potentially vulnerable to abuse, exploitation, STIs, coercion and unintended pregnancy. In many contexts young people get conflicting and confusing messages about sexuality and gender, due to the silence about the topic, the disapproval of open discussion of sexual matters by adults and embarrassment to talk about sexuality (UNESCO, 2009b: 1). Effective sexuality education can provide young people age-appropriate, scientifically accurate and culturally relevant information (UNESCO, 2009b: 2). According to UNESCO: “the primary goal of sexuality education is that children and young people become equipped with the knowledge, skills and values to make responsible choices about their sexual and social relationships in a world affected by HIV” (2009b: 2). Evidence demonstrates that CSE programs effectively change young people’s behavior, as they seem to delay their first sexual intercourse and - when they already have sex - increase the use of contraceptive methods (Landry et al., 1999). CSE covers:
“A broad range of issues relating to both physical and biological aspects of sexuality, and the emotional and social aspects. It recognizes and accepts all people as sexual beings and is concerned with more than just the prevention of disease or pregnancy” (IPPF, 2010: 6).

To make CSE programs effective, it is assumed that cultural relevance and local ownership are important for the long-term maintenance of a program (Flynn, 1995; Castro et al., 2004). In order to enhance local ownership and cultural relevance, local stakeholders should participate in the program adaptation.

In this research, a case study in Ethiopia is chosen to investigate the nature and the effect of participation. Furthermore it is investigated to what extent participating stakeholders in the adaptation of a CSE program experience a sense of ownership of this curriculum, and if their participation leads to ownership. The case-study concerns the YICOTW program that focuses on in- and out of school youth in the ages 12-19. The program combines building of IT-skills with creative expression. YICOTW aims to contribute not only to the improvement of the SRHR of young people, but also to their social and economic development (website donor organization, 2011).

Firstly, Ethiopia is chosen because the lack of sexual education leads organizations and schools to use curricula from outside the country. Secondly, the curriculum had been adapted and piloted in the last year. This meant it was the suitable time to investigate this process and to interview the respondents about their sense of ownership. Stakeholders were interviewed at different levels; staff-members of donor organizations, the coordinating Ethiopian organization and local implementing organizations. Furthermore interviews were held with teachers and school principals.

1.2 Research questions and conceptual scheme

The central research question of this study is as follows: What is the nature and outcome of local stakeholder’s participation in the YICOTW curriculum adaptation process and to what extent did this participation lead to local ownership?

In order to respond to this question the following sub-questions are developed:

- Which discourses are used by stakeholders at multiple scales involved in the YICOTW program?
- What is the nature of local stakeholders’ participation in the adaptation process of the YICOTW curriculum and to what extent did they influence the curriculum content?
- To what extent did participation in the adaptation of the YICOTW program facilitated a sense of ownership among local stakeholders?
The main concepts in this research will be ‘negotiated discourses’, ‘participation’ and ‘perceived local ownership’. In the conceptual scheme below, the main concepts can be seen in relation to each other. The purple square consists of the different stakeholders involved at multiple levels in the YICOTW program and how they are related. Stakeholders are defined as “those individuals or groups that have an interest or a claim within a process of change” (Dale, 1995 in Campbell and Vainio-Mattila, 2003: 428). In the blue circles three dialectic relationships are shown. The first relation is between the negotiated discourses regarding SRHR and the nature of participation. The second is between the nature of participation and local ownership. The third is between local ownership and negotiated discourses regarding SRHR. The blue arrows show that the relations between different stakeholders influence the negotiated discourses and the nature of participation.

Negotiated discourses are used because Winckle (2008) states that reproduced discourses in sex education programs depend upon the extent to which donor-organizations, local organizations and teachers are able to negotiate on the discourses of pedagogy and laws of regulation in curricula. In this research discourses are important, because when the discourses of local stakeholders are similar to discourses used in the curriculum and by donor organizations, their sense of ownership will be higher. Participation of local stakeholders is assumed to lead to local ownership, which considerably contributes to program effectiveness. Perceived local ownership is used to refer to the sense of ownership of stakeholders, to what extent they consider the program to be adapted to the Ethiopian context, if they are internally motivated to teach the curriculum, and if they can relate their own perspective towards sex and sexuality to the curriculum.

Figure 1: Conceptual Scheme (Source: Own work)
1.3 Relevance

Over the years participation and local ownership have become buzz words in development aid (Edward and Klees, 2011; Chesterman, 2007). In the literature it is assumed that active participation enhances ownership, which leads to increased capacity and promotes program maintenance (Bracht and Kingsbury, 1990; Flynn, 1995; Shediac-Rizkallah and Bone, 1998). The concept of ownership has also been criticized, due to the fragmented evidence of its existence, the broadness of the concept and its constantly changing targets (Boughton and Mourmonas, 2002 in Narten, 2009).

Despite these critical views, ownership can be a guiding concept in development aid (Narten, 2009). Although the stakeholders’ sense of ownership towards curriculum adaptation is often mentioned as an important factor for the success of a program, ownership seems to be an under-researched concept in this context (Ketelaar et al., 2012). And although the relationship between participation and local ownership has been theorized consistently (Jones et al., 2001), it seems few studies have empirically tested this in relation to SCE curricula. Therefore, this research will be a contribution to the existing literature. Several studies show that such programs are generally ineffective when stakeholders and teachers do not feel a sense of ownership of a curriculum (Pint, 2005). Likewise, Pint et al (2005) insist that only when teachers have a sense of ownership, they will effectively carry out the program in the classroom. In addition, ownership will increase the capacity of stakeholders to talk about sex and sexuality and it will help them to develop different values towards SRHR issues. Without their ownership it will be very difficult to implement CSE programs. Organizations and teachers need to acknowledge the importance of sexuality education and need to be motivated to talk about sex and sexuality, even though this is difficult in their country context.

This research is of societal relevance, especially to the involved stakeholders in the YICOTW program, because it gives them knowledge of the effect of participation, the effect of trainings and the relation between participation and ownership. Furthermore, it investigates to what extent the sense of ownership differs among stakeholders and why. With that knowledge donor and local coordinating organizations can adjust their strategies to the needs of stakeholders.

1.4 Structure

The next three chapters introduce the theoretical, contextual and methodological framework used in the construction of this research. Subsequently, the qualitative analysis is presented in three different chapters. Chapter five investigates the SRHR discourses used and to what extent these are ‘negotiated’ by different stakeholders. In chapter six, the nature of participation in the curriculum adaptation is discussed and the outcome of this participation is investigated by comparing three curricula. Chapter seven presents local stakeholders’ sense of ownership, followed by an illustration.
of the implications of this ownership in the implementation of the curriculum. Finally, in the conclusion chapter, the main research findings are highlighted and a set of recommendations for policy, practices and further research are suggested.
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Critical Realism
With regard to ontological and epistemological perspectives, this study most closely adheres to the theoretical perspective of critical realism. According to critical realists the world does exist independently from our knowledge and from our thoughts about the world. This relates to the ‘intransitive’ and the ‘transitive’ dimensions of knowledge. The objects of science are the intransitive dimensions of science. The transitive dimensions of science are formed by the theories and discourses used in investigating the objects of science. When the theories and discourses change, this does not mean that the objects of science change too, it only means that the way we see these objects changes (Sayer, 2000), because social phenomena are socially constructed in discourse (Fairclough, 2005: 916). Besides the differences between the world and our experience of the world, critical realists distinguish between the real, the actual and the empirical. The real is whatever exists, social or natural, and “the realm of objects”, “their structures and powers” (Sayer, 2000: 11). All objects have certain structures and causal powers or capacities to behave in particular ways. The actual refers to what happens if and when these ‘real’ powers are activated. Lastly, the empirical refers to what we experience. Objects are, or are part of, structures. In the term structure the assumption lies that a set of “internally related elements whose causal powers, when combined are emergent from those of their constituents” (Sayer, 2000: 14).

In this research critical realism is important, because Fairclough’s (2005) interpretation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on a critical realist social ontology is used. Different stakeholders in this research are using different discourses, because they have different empirical experiences. In this research different structures, such as the power-relations between the involved stakeholders, the context in which stakeholders define their views on SRHR and the influence of participation will determine local ownership of the YICOTW program.

2.2 Negotiated Discourses on SRHR
Underlying the word discourse is the idea that language is constructed according to different patterns, people use different language and different expressions when they take part in different domains of social life. Discourses are used by people in relating to one another, cooperating with one another, distinguishing themselves, competing, cooperating, dominating and seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another (Fairclough 2003: 124). Thus, different discourses show the social relations of stakeholders in the policy environment, which indicates the effectiveness of the translation of discourses into non-discursive aspects of social life (Fairclough, 2003: 126).
The discourses used in SRHR education are produced within a specific domain and are quite similar and repetitive (Allotey et al., 2011). Education strategies for SRHR education are influenced by these similar and repetitive language, or discourse. SRHR generates strong opinions, opinions embedded in a certain context, based on social values, ideology, religion and morality (Allotey et al., 2011: 57). The ways in which discourses of sexuality in sex education programs are implicated in its production, will not only depend upon how students understand themselves as female, male, masculine, feminine, homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual or transgendered, it will depend upon the ways in which the text and discourses of pedagogy in sex education programs constitute sexuality, and the laws of regulation and regulatory practices which prevail within the social, cultural and historical setting of this practice (Winckle, 2008). These discourses of pedagogy and laws of regulation are determined by the discourses donor-organizations, local organizations, and teachers use and to what extent stakeholders are able to negotiate about these different discourses.

2.3 Partnerships between Northern and Southern NGO’s

Partnerships between non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) in the North and in the South have become a key part of the international development processes. The term partnership implies one of mutual benefits and corresponding equal relationships (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). There is an inherent contradiction between this implied mutuality and equality and the fact that in reality partnerships between Northern and Southern NGO’s are generally imbalanced in favor of the North, given their control over resources (Mancuso Brehm, 2001: 11). Partnerships in the international development arena draw on both the exchange of resources and the trust-based notion of partnership between NGO’s (Mancuso Brehm, 2001: 11 and Fowler, 2000: 3). In the context of social development the ‘partnership model’ is a four-way relationship. Partners are the grassroots organizations and members of the community, the Southern NGO, the Northern NGO and the northern constituencies (Mancuso Brehm, 2001:12). As the partnership between Southern and Northern NGO is a means to good development practice, the grassroots organizations and communities should hold the other two actors accountable (Mancuso Brehm, 2001:12).

The formal interdependence of roles between Northern and Southern partner-organizations is that Southern NGO’s have primary responsibility for development efforts in their own countries. These ideas about equality and responsibility of Southern NGO’s have been generally accepted; however, Northern NGO’s find it difficult to generalize these ideas in practice. Moreover, southern NGO’s have to accommodate to the formal monitoring and evaluation demands of northern partners, in order to receive funding (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). Fowler (2000) sees partnership as a “politically correct” mode of relating, beyond what is possible. He sees the aid system as a chain of dependency-inducing relationships, where cooperation and solidarity...
are very hard to create and sustain; therefore partnerships can be unequal, unfair, more of a master-servant relationship (Townsend and Townsend, 2004). Fowler regards partnership as a “terminological Trojan Horse”, foreign penetration through aid, legitimising a deep penetration of foreign concerns in domestic processes, in this way southern NGO’s are accountable to their donors, instead of to the local community (Fowler, 2000: 7).

On the other hand, individual NGO’s have access to distinct resources and they have their own strengths and weaknesses, therefore interaction with other NGO’s can be complementary. Most Northern NGO’s are in a good position and place to attract the Northern donor public and to undertake policy influencing and advocacy, moreover they have the scope to be flexible and rapid in their funding and to provide experience and contacts. Southern NGO’s have the local knowledge and local presence (Kazibwe, 2000: 7). In the partnership of the Northern and Southern NGO’s they can combine their strengths, act as a link between their respective constituencies and strengthening their legitimacy (Mancuso Brehm, 2001: 7). Important dimensions of partnership are “mutuality”, “clearly defined expectations”, “rights and responsibilities”, “accountability” and “transparency” (Mancuso Brehm, 2001:14). Mutuality refers to the principle of interdependence. Therefore it is important that both parties need the relationship, “both parties should have a valuable contribution to make as equal, autonomous organisations” and both parties should participate on an equal basis (Mancuso Brehm, 2001: 14). Clearly defined expectations, rights and responsibilities are essential to effective partnership. The process of negotiation is important, as well as the flexibility to adapt to different contexts.

In addition, transparency and accountability are seen as important factors in order to get local ownership over a program (Moore et al. 1996 in Campbell and Vainio-Mattila, 2003: 428). Local NGO’s should be accountable to the grassroots organisations and members of the community, not only to their Northern partners. Transparency is important, because in practice accountability is often one way from the local NGO in the south to the NGO in the north. In these cases northern NGOs will have a greater institutional knowledge of their southern partner, leading to a lack of transparency (Mancuso Brehm, 2001: 14-15). Accountability denotes the mechanisms that are used to check partner organizations in North/South relations, to make sure they do not abuse their power and that they carry out their duties effectively (Renzio et al., 2006).

2.4 Participation

From the 1980s onwards donor-organizations realized that meaningful involvement of the poor in their own development would help to make aid sustainable and context-specific. This in contrast to the thinking of donor agencies in the early days of development, who thought that development should be delivered to poor countries (Long, 2001). Paulo Freire is seen as the pioneer in the work of
participation. His theory was based on the conviction that every human being is capable of looking critically at his world and deal with it in a critical way. Participatory development initiatives can achieve major impacts, like the empowerment of the participants to take more active roles in development efforts (Long, 2001). The World Bank’s definition of participation is: “A process through which stakeholders influence and share control over their own development initiatives, decisions, and recourses which affects them” (World Bank, 1994).

Edwards and Klees (2012) aim to unpack the concept of participation and distinguish three different perspectives on participation in development and especially in education governance: neoliberal, liberal, and progressive. The neoliberal perspective is inspired by the efficient operation of free markets and proponents advocate school privatization, public-private partnerships, parental choice, users’ fees and school management decentralization to the community level. The spaces of participation in this approach are individual participation in the market and community participation in school councils. Liberal forms of participation involve individuals, communities and civil society organizations in processes at local, national and international levels. Participation should inform, improve, legitimate and strengthen policies and plans mostly designed by donor organizations and international NGO’s. Liberal forms of participation have been criticized because they often “serve to reify, rather than alter or redirect, those processes and structures into which they feed” (Edwards and Klees, 2012: 58). The third perspective is the progressive perspective on participation. Proponents of this perspective understand participation as a tool that should “lead to and reflect more just and democratic relations among peoples” (Edwards and Klees, 2012: 59). Participation should empower individuals or groups to change balances of power and to exhibit more equal and equitable relationships as well as involve average people in the making and implementation of those decisions and policies that affect their lives. Ideally, participation is a bottom-up process, however, critics argue that in many cases of progressive participation the process is still top-down.

An extensive literature reflects on the actual limits of participation in development aid. According to Kapoor (2004) liberal forms of participation tend to reproduce the perspectives of dominant actors and participation becomes an act which is “managed, co-opted, and tokenistic” (Edwards and Klees, 2012: 58), where the participants are treated “largely [as] objects rather than subjects” (Kapoor, 2004: 126). Kapoor (2004) further argues that the perspective of dominant actors is often reproduced in the facility of participatory processes. Especially when participation is “molded to fit bureaucratic or organizational needs,” or when it is invoked “instrumentally to ‘legitimate the implementing agency’” (Kapoor, 2004: 126). Participation is also seen as an institution’s need for compensatory legitimation according to Weiler (1983). Official organizations
“may attempt to regenerate [their] own legitimation by tolerating or actually instituting various schemes for citizen participation” (Weiler, 1983, p. 272).

The involvement of different stakeholders into curriculum reform is often seen as a partnership, or in the words of Fullan (1999: 61) “across-boundary collaboration”. The word partnership seems to promise an integration of top-down and bottom-up strategies for reform in education. Curriculum reform is complex, given the range of potentially conflicting interests and therefore it needs to be clear what the possibilities are for all parties to contribute to the reform and to be clear about the power-relations that inevitably exist (Kirk and MacDonald, 2001).

2.5 The principle of local ownership

The emphasis on local ownership has become common in international development. Its roots go back to the 1980s, when the idea of a participatory development emerged as a guiding principle of international aid. In 1995 the OECD’s Development Assistance Committee declared that “for development to succeed, the people of the countries concerned must be the ‘owners’ of their development policies and programs in order to “back the efforts of countries and people to help themselves” (OECD DAC, 1995: 2). The principles of aid effectiveness are determined by the OECD in 2005 in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. This declaration proposes a shift that will give the government of recipient-countries more scope to make decisions based on their own priorities. The importance of national ownership is the underlying principle, which assumes that governments will make good use of foreign aid if they are allowed to decide their own priorities (Hyden, 2008: 260).

According to Chesterman (2007) local ownership in practice includes responsiveness of international actors, stages of consultation, participation, accountability and effective control, and, finally, full sovereignty (Chesterman, 2007 in Hurwitz, 2005: 349). These six senses of ownership however, are not intended to be exhaustive or definitive (Chesterman, 2007). Theunissen (2009) argues that when donors intervene at the programming stage and in the management and execution of a program, the principle of ownership is subverted. Substantive local ownership means that domestic actors should design, manage and implement policies and programs. The role of external actors is only a supporting and facilitating one. Thus, local ownership requires the devolution of planning and decision making from external actors to internal actors (Earl et al, 2001; Nuno Castel-Branco, 2008). According to Messerli and Abdykaparov (2007) programs can only reach sustainability when the community is involved in all steps of the change process and when they have true ownership. It is important to build up the capacity of the community to manage new processes and innovations on their own. Local ownership is assumed to be important to program effectiveness and long-term maintenance (Flynn, 1995). Only in this way the best, most adapted curriculum can be
created, which can be integrated into existing structures and managed by the staff of the schools. In order to achieve local ownership, participation is thus an important factor.

Although most authors emphasize the necessity of local ownership, critique is given on the implementation of local ownership. The first problem is that it is often not clear what is meant by ‘ownership’. Ownership became a buzzword, however “it was far from clear how ‘we’ would help ‘them’ to ‘own’ a given strategy” (Chesterman, 2007). The six senses of ownership mentioned before, are simply intended to demonstrate the wide range of possible meanings. Moreover, Chesterman (2007) points out that there is a contradiction in local ownership by external actors, as mostly they suggest the need of action on the part of the donor community. Reich (2006) explains that when local ownership is seen as a concrete project objective it cannot be seriously implemented. Local ownership is often used to cover up ‘business as usual’, instead of working towards more transparency of the decision-making process. Saxby (2003) suggests that the literature on local ownership in the development discourse is hardly used to signify full control over all aspects of the process by local stakeholders. He emphasizes that ownership is used to refer to the capacities of different stakeholders, their power to take responsibility for a development agenda and to sustain support for this agenda. According to Reich (2006) local ownership is an utopia, given the inequalities in current funding practices. The buzzword ‘local ownership’ does not have a singular definition in the literature, and it is beyond the scope of this research to investigate all the six senses of local ownership of Chesterman (2007). Therefore in this research Moore’s idea of local ownership will be combined. Moore explains that ownership refers to the relationships among the stakeholders in a development project. A high level of ownership is reached when:

1. The intended beneficiaries substantially influence the conception, design, implementation and operations and maintenance of a development project;
2. The implementing agencies that influence the project are rooted in the recipient country and represent the interests of ordinary citizens;
3. There is transparency and mutual accountability among the various stakeholders.

(Moore et al. 1996 in Campbell and Vainio-Mattila, 2003: 428)

Furthermore Kealey et al (2000) state that teacher training is regarded as essential for the effective implementation of curricula in schools. Motivation is one of the components that is important in teacher training. To overcome all of the impediments of implementation, teachers must want to participate in the implementation and have the desire to gain knowledge and skills (Kealey et al., 2000). Nathan (2007) explains that local actors have little commitment to externally impose products, because domination and paternalism by external actors generate resistance among local
actors. Although Nathan is explaining local ownership of the security sector, this statement is very useful for this research as well. When local stakeholders have little ownership over a sexuality education program, they are less motivated to teach this program. Therefore it is important for this research to portray the motivation of stakeholders to participate in the program.

2.6 Curriculum adaptation and implementation

2.6.1 Fidelity and Fit

In the adaptation of education curricula, participation of local stakeholders is important for the local fit. Castro et al (2004:41) explain that the challenge regarding prevention programs is “to develop culturally informed and responsive programs that deliver the best science while also addressing the practical concerns of a local community”. Although Castro is talking about prevention science in general, this especially counts for comprehensive sexuality education, because a CSE program should be based on certain international standards without being ‘culturally blind’, in a way that the community will accept the program. Castro et al (2004: 41) explains: “the ideal strategy is to design an effective science-based prevention intervention that is also culturally relevant”. According to IPPF (2010) the seven essential components that should be included in comprehensive sexuality education are: gender; sexual and reproductive health and HIV; sexual rights and sexual citizenship; pleasure; violence; diversity and relationships.

Effective community-based program design should involve both ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches. In the top-down approach experts are included in the program design, whereas the bottom-up approach involves mobilizing the community to address a common public health concern. When a program is adapted to the local context it will motivate and sustain local community participation. Furthermore adaptation that effectively motivates the local community, should involve “modifications of program activities that create cultural conflict or that prompt reactance (behavioural resistance) among consumers, based on a program’s imposed conflicts with a cultural group’s values or traditions” (Castro et al., 2004: 44). When following Castro (2004) it would mean that program activities should be modified in order to reduce cultural conflict. Participation can be used to point out the sensitive issues that might create cultural conflict. In comprehensive sexuality education it is however difficult to avoid topics which are in conflict with values or traditions of a community. In many cultures people are not allowed and not used to talk openly about sex and sexuality, let alone to talk about sensitive issues, like sexual orientation, different types of sex, masturbation. This would be in contrast with the goals of a comprehensive sexuality education program, where in order to be comprehensive and effective, these issues should be in the curriculum.
Teacher-training is found to be a key component of a successful SRHR education program. Ideally, teacher training supported by NGO’s should be linked to the governments from the national to the local level, because working together with governmental agencies can help to ensure coordinated activities and will ensure that messages are acceptable and consistent (Tijuana et al, 2004). Effective training will “help teachers to examine their own attitudes towards sexuality and behaviors regarding HIV prevention, understand the content they are teaching, learn participatory teaching skills and gain confidence to discuss sensitive and controversial topics” (Tijuana et al, 2004: 4). Only then, teachers will be able to improve students’ knowledge, attitudes and behavior regarding SRHR issues. Important is that teachers are not seen as objects to be changed, but as respected parties in curriculum adaptation (Randi and Corno, 1997 in Squire et al., 2001).

2.6.2 Universalism versus Cultural Relativism

In the discussion on curriculum reform of SRHR education the nexus between universality and cultural relativism is important, because certain aspects of ‘effective science-based prevention interventions’ are seen as universal. The seven components that should be included in CSE programs can be seen as universal, as CSE are proven to be the most effective sexuality education (Kirby, 2008). As most CSE programs are based on Human Rights, it will be important to discuss if human rights are universal. Universalists believe in the existence of a set of standards that all cultures espouse. These universal principles surpass cultural differences and are seen as the authority for adopting international human rights (Brennan, 1989; Freeman, 1999). All people have the same rights and culture is irrelevant to the validity of moral rights (Healy, 2006). Cultural relativism on the other hand, means that there is infinite cultural diversity and that all cultural practices are equally valid. The extreme cultural relativist argument is that “culture is the sole source of the validity of a moral right or rule” and there are only cultural specific standards, not a common one (Donnelly, 1984: 400).

The literature on human rights, universalism and relativism is exhaustive, and it is beyond the scope of this research to offer a thorough discussion of this issue. However, it is important for this research to get more knowledge about the discourse of sexual rights. Sexual rights refer variously to sexual orientation, gender identity, erotic practices, reproduction, health, intimate relations, bodily integrity, autonomy and the potential for pleasure (Wilson, 2002). Sexual rights are expressed mostly within the pre-existing human rights and through the themes and priorities that have already been established by the UN or other authorities. At the Beijing conference on Women in 1995 the terms ‘sexual orientation’ and ‘sexual rights’ for example were especially clustered in sections dedicated to health and violence. Practically, human rights are relevant to sexual rights, because human rights offer a morally powerful and legible way to change political views. In 2004, Paul Hunt, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health, issued a report which was highly
provoking. In the report it is stated that: “sexuality is a characteristic of all human beings. It is a fundamental aspect of an individual’s identity. It helps to define who a person is”. Therefore, a ‘recognition of sexual rights as human rights, including ‘the right of all persons to express their sexual orientation, with due regard for the well-being and rights of others, without fear of persecution, denial of liberty or social interference’ should be incorporated in the fundamental human rights principles and norms (Hunt 2004: 15 in Corrêa et al., 2008: 164).

The sexual rights debate at the level of the UN would never have occurred without the contribution of new global political actors, including feminist and gay and lesbian movements, transgender and intersex rights groups, se workers, people living with HIV, and youth organizations, often originated in local conditions, separated from the so-called ‘West’. They requested to give attention to diverse sexualities and gender identities, in different contexts and cultures. Although Wilson (2002) claims that it “would be a mistake to read the opposition to sexual rights as inherently more local, authentic, or cultural than the claims for sexual rights themselves”. Therefore, the language of human and sexual rights should be used very carefully, very self-critically, “and always with an eye to deconstructing its implicit exclusions” (Correa et al., 2008: 161). Human rights alone can never fulfil justice, because they remain bound to texts, formal procedures and rules. Furthermore diverse critiques argue that rights imply a false notion of individual autonomy, ignoring obligations to the community and kinships. However, rights are never fixed or steady, and different generations and constituencies are giving rights new local and temporal meanings (Correa et al., 2008).

2.6.3 Role of teachers

Teachers play a critical role in SRHR education, as they are seen as the trusted gatekeepers of information; they have the responsibility to act alongside parents and communities in ensuring the protection and well-being of children and young people. Research has shown that teachers are able to influence the degree of penetration of education reforms at the school level. Intended program reforms tend to be very different from the interpretations of teachers’ priorities and their desirable classroom practices. Teachers might adopt, mediate, resist, or reject reforms, as they will compare the reform with their own knowledge, beliefs, teaching practices and contextual factors (Fullan, 2007; Altinyelken, 2010). Therefore, “the image of the teacher as a neutral conduit between policy and child is naïve and distorted” (Schweisfurth, 2002 in Altinyelken, 2010: 31).

A number of factors influence the capacity of teachers and their motivation to internalize change and implement SRHR programs, like knowledge, skills, identity and beliefs (Altinyelken, 2010). When looking at the discourses teachers use in this research, especially knowledge and values are considered important factors that influence the way teachers are willing to implement the YICOTW
program. Three factors are considered important in relation to teachers’ beliefs. First, teachers need to be confident that the program would benefit their students, education and society in general. Thus their professional and personal motivation is important (Weatherley and Lipsky, 1977 in Altinyelken, 2010). Second, to implement CSE programs specific knowledge, skills and capacity is required. Third, the context is important, as it is important that the school, fellow teachers and parents support the teachers in carrying out their teaching tasks (Bandura, 1997 and Ford, 1992 in Altinyelken, 2010). Sex education is unlikely to succeed if teachers have other values which conflict with the program, or if they feel uncomfortable with the content or style of delivery (Ingham and Mayhew 2006, 222). In many societies, as well as in Ethiopia, discussing sexual matters is considered a taboo. Teachers are concerned that the parents do not agree with sex education or teachers believe that sex education will increase sexual activities among young people (Iyer and Aggleton, 2012: 2 and Tijuana et al., 2004), therefore contextual factors might influence the beliefs of teachers and therefore their motivation.

Related to the implementation of a program and the beliefs of teachers are the roles teachers have when teaching about controversial topics. Kelly (1986) presents four roles teachers can adopt when they are teaching about controversial or sensitive topics. These are roles of ‘exclusive neutrality’, ‘exclusive partiality’, ‘neutral impartiality’ and ‘committed impartiality’. Advocates of ‘exclusive neutrality’ argue that teachers should not introduce any topics which are controversial in the broader community into the curriculum. The position of ‘exclusive partiality’ is characterized by a one-sided presentation where it is discouraged to challenge this preferred point of view. ‘Neutral impartiality’ implies that controversial issues should be discussed in-depth in a critical dialogue and all sides should have a fair hearing. However, teachers should not reveal their personal opinion in order to give the students the opportunity to consider all relevant positions. The fourth role Kelly presents in his paper is ‘Committed Impartiality’ where teachers should state their own views on controversial topics and they should insure that students with a competing perspective will have a fair hearing.
Chapter 3 SRHR Education in the Ethiopian Context

This research took place in the Oromiya region in Ethiopia and in the capital Addis Ababa. The Federal Republic of Ethiopia is a country situated in the Horn of Africa and has borders with North and South Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea. About half of the population in Ethiopia is Orthodox Christian, one third is Muslim, 18 percent is Protestant and three percent are followers of traditional religion (CSA, 2011). Ethiopia’s economy is dominated by agriculture, as shown in the below figure, the main export products are coffee and chad (Finance Maps of the World, 2013). In 2012 the percentages basically were the same, agriculture counted for 46,6 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), industry for 14,6 percent and services for 38,8% (Index Mundi, 2013).

Figure 3: GDP by Sector in 2006/07

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GDP by Sector in 2006/07 (percentage)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade, hotels and restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ezega (2013)

In the below figure the GDP annual growth rates are shown and although Ethiopia’s economy has grown at an annual rate of nearly 10 percent per year, it still is one of the poorest countries in the world.
Figure 4: GDP annual growth rates

About 29.6 percent of the population is living under the poverty line (World Bank, 2013) and the GDP per capita is 229.68 US Dollars (Trading Economics, 2013). Ethiopia is a ‘donor darling’ of the Western countries and in 2010 Ethiopia was the fourth largest recipient of official humanitarian aid, and the country received the equivalent of 11 per cent of its Gross National Income (GNI) as aid in 2010 (Global humanitarian assistance, 2013). In 2006/2007 the largest donors to Ethiopia were the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the US, England and the European Commission (Aid Effectiveness, 2013).

This research takes place in the Oromiya region, which is one of the eight regions of Ethiopia and is located in the center of Ethiopia, as appendix three shows. The Oromiya region has the most inhabitants of the country, about 27 million according to the 2007 Population and Housing Census (CSA, 2011). Most people (87.7%) live in rural areas. The population growth of this region is about 2.9% annually. The language in the Oromiya region is Oromo. The capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, is an independently administrated city and is not part of the Oromiya region. About 3 million people live in Addis Ababa, most of them are from the Amharic ethnic group (49%) who speak Amharic. Other large groups living in Addis Ababa are the Gurages (18%) and the Oromos (17%) (UN Habitat, 2002).

3.1 SRHR in Ethiopia for young people

In Ethiopia about 44 percent of the people is younger than 15 years old (World Bank, 2011) and many sexual health issues are problematic, especially for Ethiopian women, adolescents and youth. Young people face challenges in attaining educational and livelihood goals, as well as facing
reproductive health and HIV risks (Population Council and UNFPA, 2010a:1). Young women face challenges in terms of limited access to education, early and unwanted marriage, unsafe and exploitative work roles, coercive sexual relations, maternal injury and death due to childbirth without skilled assistance and unsafe abortion. Furthermore, female genital circumcision is common practice, more than 50% of the females are circumcised (Population Council and UNFPA, 2009:29 and MOH, 2006a:6), where female genital mutilation (FMG) is more common in the older age groups. Especially in the Afar (90%), Oromiya (77%) and SNNPR (75%) regions large proportions of girls are circumcised (Population Council and UNFPA, 2010a: 29).

The median age for first sexual intercourse is 16 for girls and 20 for boys, where about 94% of the girls initiate the first sex within marriage in contrast with boys who often initiate sex outside marriage. While the legal age to marry in Ethiopia is 18 for both boys and girls, early marriage is still common and the median age of marriage of women in the age of 25-49 is 16,1 year (MOH, 2006a:9-10). In addition, in the gender survey of the population council (Population council and UNFPA, 2010b) it is stated that 25 percent of the respondents (all females) were married before the age of 15. The majority of the marriages (70 percent) of respondents was arranged, where 45 percent of urban marriages was arranged against 82 percent of rural marriages (Population Council and UNFPA, 2010b). Abduction -the unlawful kidnapping and forced marriage of a young girl- is common in certain parts of Ethiopia as well, especially in the SNNPR (13%) and Oromiya (11%) regions. Nationwide, 8% of married women (15-49) reported that they have been abducted (MOH, 2006a).

Fertility remains high in Ethiopia, as well as the adolescent fertility rate, with 104 births per 1000 women aged 15-19 years old. This not only affects the health of young women and their children, it has also has implications on long-term education and employment prospects. Furthermore, women aged 15-19 who give birth are at the highest risk of infant and child mortality as well as a higher risk of morbidity and mortality for the young mother (World Bank, 2011). Moreover, abortion places many young women at risk because it is usually conducted under unsafe conditions (MOH, 2006a).

The (HIV prevalence rate is 1,5%. The prevalence rate is higher in urban areas with 4,2% compared to rural areas with 0,6%. The prevalence rate among women is higher than man, with 1,9% and 1,0%, respectively (CSA, 2011), because women remain highly vulnerable for HIV. In fact, women are twice as likely to become infected with HIV through heterosexual intercourse as men, in many countries women are less able to negotiate about condom use and they are more likely to have sex against their will (Avert, 2013). The population of Ethiopia is 73,8 million (according to the 2007 census, CSA, 2011), thus about 1,1 million people are living with HIV or AIDS. However, only 20 percent of the women and 21 percent of the men have ever been tested, therefore the HIV
prevalence rate can be different. Nevertheless, the CSA (2011: 195) indicates that only 19 percent of the women and 32 percent of the men have comprehensive knowledge about AIDS. Comprehensive knowledge about AIDS is defined as (1) Knowing that both condom use and limiting sex partners to one uninfected partners are HIV prevention methods and (2) Being aware that a healthy-looking person can have HIV and (3) Rejecting the two most common local misconceptions in Ethiopia, that HIV/AIDS can be transmitted through mosquito bites and by supernatural means. Comprehensive knowledge varies by background characteristics. Respondents age 15-24, those that have never married but did have sex, urban respondents, those with secondary education or more, and respondents from the wealthiest households have the highest levels of comprehensive knowledge about AIDS.

3.2 Government Policies and Laws Relating SRHR issues
Several policies and laws of Ethiopia are related to SRHR issues. This section will give an overview of the most important policies and laws.

3.2.1 Policies
Ethiopia had no health policy until the early 1960s when a health policy initiated by the World Health Organization was adopted. The current health policy was adopted in 1993 and gives special attention to the health needs of the family, in particular women and children and those in the forefront of productivity (TGE, 1993: Article 8). In addition the health problems and related needs of adolescents are addressed (TGE, 1993: Article 10). Furthermore Ethiopia’s Reproductive Health Strategy (2006–2015) identifies six priority areas: social and cultural determinants of women’s reproductive health; fertility and family planning; maternal and new-born health; HIV/AIDS; reproductive health of young people; and reproductive organ cancers. Moreover the health problems of adolescents are addressed in the National Adolescent and Youth Reproductive Health Strategy (MOH, 2006b), which envisions:

“To enhance reproductive health and well-being among young people in Ethiopia ages 10-24 so that they may be productive and empowered to access and utilize fully reproductive health information and services, make voluntary informed choices over their reproductive health lives, and participate fully in the development of the country” (MOH, 2006b).

In order to achieve this the Ministry of Health (2006b) wants to (1) meet the immediate and long term reproductive health needs of young people through increased access and quality of reproductive health services for adolescents and young people; (2) to increase awareness and knowledge about reproductive health; (3) to strengthen multi-sectoral partnerships and create an
enabling positive environment at all levels; (4) to design and implement innovative and evidence based programs.

In addition, the HIV and AIDS policy has the overall objective to provide an enabling environment for the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS in the country and to reduce new infections, AIDS related morbidity and mitigate its impact (MOH, 2010). The policy aims to promote the provision and monitoring of ART; voluntary counseling and testing for HIV, prevention of MTCT; prevention and treatment of tuberculosis; treatment of STIs; social, spiritual and peer support; respect for human rights; and reducing the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS.

3.2.2. Laws

According to the law, abortion is permitted under certain circumstances. Abortion is assumed legal under the following circumstances: (1) If the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest; (2) If the continuation of pregnancy endangers the life of the mother or the child; (3) if the birth of the child is a risk to the life or the health of the mother; (4) if the pregnant women is physically or mentally unfit to raise the child (Article 545 of the Ethiopian Criminal Court (revised in 2004)). Furthermore homosexuality is illegal according to the law. Article 629 states that: “Whoever performs with another person of the same sex a homosexual act, or any other indecent act, is punishable with simple imprisonment” (ILGA, 2013).

Although Ethiopia signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN in 1948, the Charities and Societies Proclamation law prohibits local NGOs from engaging in human rights advocacy or political related activities. Furthermore the law also restricts charities from having more than 10 percent of foreign funds. Ethiopia argues that the law will improve transparency and accountability of civil society organizations and the government can in this way regulate the activities of both local and foreign NGOs. Civil rights groups on the other hand argue that the law both contravenes fundamental human rights and it restricts the civil society from accomplishing its work as the law has introduced a web of bureaucracy. Since the law was introduced in 2009, dozens of NGO’s have been banned (AllAfrica, 2013).

3.3 Response in the education sector:

The government of Ethiopia (GOE) is mostly focussed on integrating HIV/AIDS prevention in the education sector. It acknowledges the fact that education is important in the fight against HIV/AIDS as a large number of students and teachers will benefit from this knowledge:

“Educating teachers and students means educating families and communities, particularly in rural areas where other means of communication are limited. Education sector capacity building and a
virtual integration of HIV/AIDS in the education system means building a responsible generation and making a sustainable investment for development” (GOE, 2004: 7).

Teachers are seen as key partners for delivering HIV/AIDS prevention education (MOE, 2009: 3). The Ministry of Health points out that education is “an important determinant of the quality of life and is strongly associated with healthy reproductive health outcomes such as seeking out ANC, contraceptive use, and knowledge of HIV/AIDS” (MOH, 2006a: 6). The main strategies pointed out in the strategic plan for intensifying multi-sectoral HIV/AIDS response (2004) to integrate HIV/AIDS education into the curriculum of all levels of schools are to use effective communication and appropriate technology, strengthen civic education, mainstream HIV/AIDS into education and to promote peer education (GOE, 2004:12). In the five year partnership framework between the GOE and the government of the United States (GOE and GUSA, 2010: 10), the importance of evidence-based prevention is acknowledged by the GOE and the desire to increase comprehensive HIV knowledge and behavior-change among the adult population. In Ethiopia HIV/AIDS prevention programs are focussed on the ABC strategy, promoting abstinence among the young and the never-married, and being faithful and the use of condoms to married people (CSA, 2011: 190).

Teachers explain that mostly topics about reproductive health are included in biology and physics in grade 10. Especially body changes and lessons on HIV/AIDS and STIs are included. Respondents state that HIV/AIDS information is well implemented but education on sex and sexuality are not mentioned in the lessons. Furthermore, most schools provide HIV/AIDS clubs, gender clubs and/or health clubs to the students. In these clubs groups of students get more information about SRHR issues, although mostly abstinence is promoted to youngsters. Teachers are not trained to teach in these clubs and they are organizing these clubs voluntarily.

The Ministry of Education argues they are more focused to give SRHR information to students in higher education. First, rules about sexuality education in secondary schools are decided by officials of the region, therefore it will depend on the region officials if and to what extent they provide SRHR education in schools. Another reason is that higher education students are seen as the most vulnerable group: “Other is that higher education is the most vulnerable area. They are living in one area, one campus” (Staff-member Ministry of Education). It is still a general belief that secondary school students do not need sexuality education yet, although studies point out that especially girls are having their first sexual intercourse when they are in secondary school. On secondary schools and in higher education abstinence up to marriage is mainly promoted. The Ministry of Education however is aware that young people “are doing it anyway” (staff-member) and therefore it is also promoted to be faithful or to use condoms.
Chapter 4 Methodology

This is an exploratory investigation with an ethnographic nature. The research has been completed in five months, between September 2012 and January 2013. Multiple methods that are qualitative in nature are used. For this research the YICOTW is selected as a case-study. A case study investigates a real-life phenomenon in depth in order to understand important contextual conditions that are highly pertinent to the phenomenon of study (Yin, 2009). Case studies opt for analytical rather than statistical generalizations and case studies can penetrate situations in ways that are not possible in numerical analysis (Altinyelken, 2010). In order to get in-depth, detailed information on the effect of participation and to see if local stakeholders can have ownership over internationally developed projects the choice for a case-study was logical.

Purposive sampling is used to get in contact with the respondents. The goal of purposive sampling is to sample sites and participants in a strategic way based on the relevance of these participants to the research questions. In using purposive sampling, this research is not aiming at generalizability. Organizations and participants are selected because of their relevance to understanding a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2008: 415). A snowballing technique has been used in order to interview strategic participants and organizations. In using a snowball technique, the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others (Bryman, 2008: 184). Initial contact was made with the donor organizations. Through the donor organizations contact was established with the coordinating organization, which helped to approach the local organizations and teachers included in this research.

This thesis will draw from Fairclough’s (2005) interpretation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Every context and every situation has its own language (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2004). Because socializing and organizing cannot be reduced to linguistic logic only (Iedema, 2007:931), discourse in CDA is interpreted as different semiotic forms of texts, like written texts, spoken language, visual images, and body language (Fairclough, 2005:924). Discourse analysis is the analysis of these patterns. The objective of Fairclough’s CDA is not simply the analysis of discourse per se, but the analysis of the relations between discourse and non-discursal elements of social relations, in order to reach a better understanding of these complex relations. Discourses in this research are essential to understand power-relationships between northern and southern NGO’s and between NGO’s and teachers as the executive actors, and to reveal ‘negotiated’ discourses relating to SRHR issues, which partly determines the local stakeholders’ ownership of the YICOTW program. CDA is used in this research because it helped to critically examine organizational beliefs regarding SRHR, YICOTW policies, YICOTW practices as well as personal discourses of the involved stakeholders.
4.1 Unit of Analysis and Sample
First the YICOTW curriculum will be described, which is used as a case study in this research. In order to ensure the privacy of the participants the name of the curriculum is invented and the names of the donor –organizations, the coordinating organizations, local organizations and the names of schools will not be revealed in this study.

4.1.1 YICOTW Program
The YICOTW is a computer-based CSE program, developed by two Dutch organizations in cooperation with an Ugandan organization. The YICOTW program targets in- and out school youth in the ages of 12-19 in several countries in Africa and Asia. It combines building IT-skills and creative expression. YICOTW aims to contribute not only to the improvement of the SRHS of young people, but also to their social and economic development. The pilot program in Ethiopia runs at eight schools in the Oromiya district and reaches about 4000 students (50% female) in grade 9 (Alliance, 2011). According to Rijsdijk et al (2011), the YICOTW program was developed by drawing from a combination of evidence-based approaches in sex-education, like rights-based approaches, health promotion, behavior change and adolescent developmental approaches, drawing on a combination of computer skills, creative expression, and at the same time focusing on SRHR. Through this combination young people are empowered not only to obtain SRHR knowledge and skills, but also to develop their creative and IT skill in preparation for job opportunities.

The Ethiopian YICOTW program consists of 16 lessons. The first three lessons are about the students themselves and the world around them and their emotional and body changes during puberty. The next four lessons are about the world around them in terms of friendships and relationships, gender, Harmful Traditional Practices (HTP) and human entitlements. After this the lesson of sexuality comes in and continues with five lessons on the consequences of sexuality like pregnancy, diseases, violence and drug-abuse. The last three lessons are about the future and how to share knowledge with others.
4.1.2 Sample

Various stakeholders are involved in this project, an overview of which can be seen in the figure below. There are two donor organizations from the Netherlands: Organization 1 has expertise on SRHR and is also one of the developers of the YICOTW program; and organization 2 initiated the pilot program in Ethiopia and arranged the funding for the YICOTW program. Moreover, an Ethiopian civil society organisation is involved as the coordinating organization. It does have a SRHR policy and is originally focused on quality education. At the moment they are developing expertise on SRHR issues as well. In addition, there are four local organizations, none of which have a SRHR policy. One of the focus points of the local organizations is youth and education. The focus lies on primary and secondary education, youth centers, and out of school children. Concerning SRHR education, before this program the organizations mainly focused on HIV prevention. These HIV prevention programs mainly were public events like drama’s and plays, they were abstinence based, and less focused on sexual health. According to the organizations, these programs were less impact-focused than the YICOTW program, because they did not check afterwards if the people joining these events really understood what was being said and done.
Donor organization 1 and donor organization 2 are working together closely to implement the YICOTW program. The coordinator in Ethiopia officially is a partner of donor organization 1, while during the pilot the contact between the coordinator and donor organization 2 was extensive. In the YICOTW program four local ‘implementing’ local organizations are involved. They form the Y-cluster together and are in close contact with each other and the local coordinator. The last level included in this research is teachers, who are implementing the curriculum in schools. The YICOTW program is implemented in one or two project areas of each organization. The coordinator has three schools were the program is implemented. In the following figure the demographics of the respondents are shown.
Figure 8: Demographics of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Research Techniques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff-members donor organizations</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Female: 1</td>
<td>45 - 65</td>
<td>Interview: 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male: 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff-members coordinating organization</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Female: 3</td>
<td>24 - 46</td>
<td>Interview: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male: 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff-members Local Organizations</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Female: 2</td>
<td>28 - 55</td>
<td>Interview: 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director: 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff-members in working-group</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Female: 2</td>
<td>24 - 35</td>
<td>Interview: 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional staff-members: 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teachers</strong></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Female: 11</td>
<td>24-35</td>
<td>Interview: 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working-group members: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male: 24</td>
<td></td>
<td>Focus group discussion: 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-facilitators: 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New teachers</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional Teachers: 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School principals</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>All Male</td>
<td>35-55</td>
<td>Interview: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff-members Ministry of Education</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Both Male</td>
<td>41-43</td>
<td>Interview: 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Member Advisory Board</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Interview: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff-member Dutch Embassy</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Interview: 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Female: 17</td>
<td>24-65</td>
<td>Interview: 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male: 43</td>
<td></td>
<td>Focus group discussion: 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Research Methods

Qualitative methods are used in this research including document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and unstructured observations. Furthermore a field log was kept.

4.2.1 Collection of documents

The documents that are collected involve the YICOTW curricula from Ethiopia, Uganda and Ghana. Uganda’s curriculum is used in both Ethiopia and Ghana as the standard curriculum, which needed to be changed to the local context. The curricula of Ethiopia and Ghana were also compared with each other in order to see what changes were made in different contexts. The curriculum of Ghana is
chosen as a reference curriculum because this country is situated in the West of Africa and has a totally different culture from Ethiopia. Furthermore the documents involve mainly policy documents and reports of the organizations, like policies on SRHR issues and reports on workshops and trainings. These documents are important, as it was not possible to observe the workshops and trainings.

4.2.2 Semi-structured interviews
Semi-structured interviews are flexible tools for probing into complex and deep issues, to understand the perspective of an individual actor. They provide both in-depth knowledge of how interviewees experience and perceive certain issues, and are still guiding participants to discuss key issues, by using an interview guide. Questions may not follow exactly the way outlined in the schedule and if the interviewee touches on other interesting issues regarding the research, questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as well (Bryman, 2008: 438).

Semi-structured interviews are carried out with the various stakeholders involved in the YICOTW program. As shown in the sample, three staff-members of the donor organizations are interviewed. From the coordinating organization four people are interviewed: the director, the program manager and two staff-members. In each local organization, the program manager and the director are interviewed, as well as two additional staff-members who were involved in the curriculum before. Moreover, 16 teachers are interviewed, eight teachers who participated in the working-group and eight additional co-facilitators. With eight teachers and the involved program managers of the coordinating and the local organizations a second interview was held, to get more in-depth knowledge.

The intention beforehand was to interview the eight students participating in the working-group as well, because they would have been an important source for this research. Unfortunately the students already passed grade 10 and went to vocational education or preparatory secondary school, therefore they were not around when I was in the school areas.

Other key interviews were held with two staff members of the Ministry of Education, with a staff member of the Dutch Embassy and with a program officer of the Oromiya HIV prevention and control office. These interviews gave an overall understanding of governmental policies and understandings of SRHR issues.

4.2.3 Focus group discussions
In focus group discussions several participants are included, the topic is pre-defined, and the accent was upon interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning (Bryman, 2008: 474). This technique will allow the researcher to develop an understanding of why people feel the way they do about certain issues. In focus groups, individuals will often argue with each other and
challenge each other’s views. In this way it might be the case that a more realistic view on what people think will be developed.

Four focus groups were conducted with teachers not involved in the YICOTW program. In these focus group discussions the intention was to investigate the view of other teachers on SRHR issues and on the YICOTW curriculum. In these focus groups four to six teachers participated. They were selected on the basis of availability at the moment of the interview. The intention was to include teachers from different subjects and different ages, but it was impossible to plan this beforehand.

One focus group was conducted with the new teachers of the YICOTW curriculum. This interview was done at the first day of the ‘master training’. The eight new teachers from each school, who never worked with the YICOTW curriculum, were included in the interview in order to investigate if their knowledge and views on SRHR was different from the teachers who were already teaching the YICOTW program.

4.2.4 Observations
Unstructured observations of trainings and workshops are important to understand the way donor-organizations teach the SRHR issues and what different discourses are used in the trainings. An observation was performed during the finalizing of the curriculum by the working-group. In addition, I was invited to the presentation of the program after the pilot phase. During this day, the lessons were presented by the students and the teachers. Furthermore, the teachers’ ‘Master-training’ was observed, which is a five day training in order to give the teachers the needed skills to train new YICOTW teachers. Unfortunately it was not possible to observe lessons given by teachers to students, because the YICOTW lessons were not given in the research period.
4.2.5 Field log

A field log was maintained during the entire research period. Here personal experiences, thoughts of the research and questions were written down. The field log was mainly used to prepare the next interviews and to give an overall insight in the research progress.

4.3 Analysis

The nature of the data is qualitative, and thus inductive. Almost all interviews are recorded and afterwards a transcription is made. One respondent did not allow the interview to be recorded and for some others the voice recorder was not working. These interviews are transcribed right after the interview, in order to minimize the loss of data. After reading all the primary data again, the data is divided into categories and themes with the help of the computer software programme Atlas.ti. The codes and categorizations are made according to the main themes in the theoretical framework. A discourse analysis is done of the interviews with respondents, policy documents, evaluations and training documents provided by the different stakeholders regarding the YICOTW program. Participation, power relationships and local ownership were the main themes in this analysis. In this way a coherent and interesting analysis is made.
4.4 Ethics and Limitations

I am aware of the fact that ethics play an important role in social science research. Before the interviews and observations I informed the respondents about the nature and purpose of this research. I informed them that they had the right to refuse the interview and to quit anytime during the interview or that they could ask me afterwards not to use information they had told me. Furthermore I asked them if they agreed upon the fact that the interview would be taped. They had the right to disagree with this. Some respondents took the opportunity to disagree with taping the interview or to ask if I could not use specific information they had told me. This information of course has not been used in this research.

Furthermore I am aware of the fact that this research has limitations that influence the research and the outcomes. A first limitation is that I did an internship at the coordinating organizations and that I am from the Netherlands, like the donor organizations. Most of the time I travelled together with staff-members of the coordinating organization and they introduced me to all respondents. I explained to the respondents that I am an independent researcher, without any interest in a certain outcome of this research. Furthermore, I fully informed the respondents about the nature of my research. I explained that the aim of my research was not to evaluate teachers’ and organizations’ qualities, but to but to investigate their position regarding SRHR, their ability to change the program and their sense of ownership of the program. Furthermore I made clear that anonymity is ensured. Even though I explained this I had the feeling that the teachers in first instance did not fully trust me. They for example gave hardly any critique on the program or the adaptation process. Of course this can have many reasons; they indeed don’t have any critique on the program, they are not used to give critique or they don’t trust the interviewer. After I got to know them better I got more information and they opened up a bit. This was also due to the fact that the local organizations helped me with explaining them who I was and what the intention of my research was.

A second limitation was relating to the issue of reciprocity. Because my respondents are the owners of the information it is important to share the information with them during the research period, therefore a presentation was organized to present my preliminary findings to the respondents to get their feedback on my findings. Unfortunately this presentation was cancelled due to another workshop where most of the participants of this research had to go to. Therefore I could not ask them for feedback on my research findings during the research period.

A third limitation is language. The limitation of language has two implications. The first is related to the level of English; I have a different English accent than the respondents in this research. Therefore it was sometimes difficult to understand each other. This of course has implications for
the data I got from the interviews in a way that it was sometimes difficult to get more in-depth knowledge about a certain topic. I decided not to use a translator, because the YICOTW curricula is given in English and because many of the respondents argued that it was easier to talk about sex and sexuality in English than in their local language. By using the English language I could get more open information about sex and sexuality, although this has a second implication that people seem more at ease to talk about these issues than they really are in their local language.
Chapter 5 Discourses

Issues related to SRHR are often viewed from different perspectives. The narrative people use in different cultures is related to the openness towards sex and sexuality and has to do with religious beliefs and education level. The main discourses stakeholders use are based on health, human rights or faith. In the following sections first the meaning of the discourses will be explained. Then an analysis will be presented to explain what discourses are used by which stakeholders. To conclude, a comparison will be made among the discourses to distinguish differences and similarities.

5.1 Approaches to SRHR education

The term SRHR contains both sexual and reproductive health, and sexual and reproductive rights. Some people are mostly focusing on a human rights based perspective, including the right to a healthy life, and to healthcare, others focus more on the health part, by focusing on the prevention of diseases.

To start with the health-based discourse, in the health literature, giving evidence-based information is highly important to increase the health of people. This links back to the ‘right to know’ and it implies that people should make their own decisions supported by evidence-based information in order to stay healthy. The World Health Organization (WHO) gives the following comprehensive definition of sexual health: “Sexual health is the integration of the somatic, emotional, intellectual and social aspects of sexual being, in ways that are positively enriching and that enhance personality, communication, and love” (WHO, 1975 in Coleman, 2011: 1). This definition is interesting, because it approaches sexual health not only as the absence of disease, it includes the somatic, emotional, intellectual and social aspects of sexual beings and the importance to be able to have a satisfying sex life (Coleman, 2011). This health based approach both considers the prevention of disease and the attainment of sexual pleasure (Lewis, 2004).

Despite this definition, the public health response to SRHR has been and continues to be overwhelmingly focused on risk, disease and other negative outcomes of sex, like unwanted pregnancy. This ‘discourse of fear’ is used often in combination with the health discourse. Ill-health is still the determinant and safer sex is the mainstream theme within this discourse. Discussions about positive sexual experiences like pleasure, love and desire remain on the margins in the health discourse (Knerr and Philpott, 2011: 2; Rao Gupta, 2000: 8). Knerr and Philpott suggest that when sexual pleasure is mentioned in the health literature, it is largely seen as destructive or as a contributor to the spread of disease.
Second, the human rights discourse is in comparison to the health discourse, based on international human rights law and upon the right to SRH information, services and autonomy (Oronje, 2011: 2). The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994, has been important in the rights-based discourse, because all participating countries recognized that SRH is fundamental to individuals, couples and families, as well as to the social and economic development of communities and nations (Hunt and de Mesquita, 2006: 3). Furthermore in 2003, the Commission on Human Rights calls upon: “States to protect and promote sexual and reproductive health as integral elements of the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health” (United National High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2003: 1). Sexual and reproductive rights of young people are often described as follows (Leerlooijer, 2008: 10): The right to be yourself; the right to know; the right to protect oneself and be protected by others; the right to have access to health services; the right to be involved. The rights approach to SRH thus goes beyond the provision of reproductive and sexual health care, the principles of human rights are incorporated to SRH. The rights approach depends upon the freedom-agency of the individual to make free decisions regarding health and body (Goicolea, 2010). Sexual rights as international human rights are promoted worldwide as a response to the conservative political forces, continuing to generate and maintain oppressive constructs and misconceptions about sexuality. The sexual rights discourse is challenging taboos around sexuality (Amado, 2006: 117).

Third, the faith based discourse is based on (conservative) moral beliefs concerning sex and sexuality, which is often used by religious institutions, conservative governments and other actors. 70% of the world’s people identify themselves as members of a faith community and religion plays often a crucial role in the lives of these people (Marijnis and Ooijens, 2009). Religious leaders can have a powerful position and they can have a big influence on the way SRHR is viewed. Some of these institutions are more conservative than others, so it should be taken into account that there are different flows of thinking within this discourse (Marijnis and Ooijens, 2009). Marijnis and Ooijens (2009) point out that promoting positive behavior among young people should according to this discourse be based on moral well-being and responsibility. Here only conservative moral beliefs are discussed, however, as said before some institutions, leaders and organizations are more conservative than others, and thus not all proponents of the faith-based approach are having the same conservative opinions. Klein (2011: 123) discussed the traditional religious approaches to sexual morality as the idea that morality is about limiting sexual expression rather than a code of ethical decision-making or personal responsibility. The number of partners and the quantity of intercourse are seen as a direct expression of morality. Furthermore there are rules defining who
may engage in sex not based on physical maturity but on marriage and there are hierarchies in sexuality, for example penis-vagina intercourse is more sexuality legitimate than oral sex and homosexuality is seen as not natural.

The following part will distinguish the different SRHR discourses which are used by the involved stakeholders. Afterwards the different views and narratives will be used to see to what extent involved stakeholders have the same ideas on teaching SRHR issues to youngsters and to what extent they have different views. I should note that the local organizations, both the coordinating as well as the local organizations, don’t have a policy on SRHR. Therefore the narratives used are mainly the narratives of the individual staff-member who is responsible for the YICOTW program, and who followed (some of) the trainings and workshops. They are the experts of their organization on SRHR topics. Furthermore the narrative is used by the director of the organization, who has the final responsibility. In general the other members of the local organizations were more conservative in their narrative than the involved staff-members.

5.2 Health Based Discourse
The health based discourse is the most used narrative by all stakeholders. They all emphasize the importance to give evidence-based information to students about sex and sexuality in order to let them make well-informed healthy decisions.

5.2.1 Donor organizations and the coordinating organization
Donor-organizations and the coordinating organization emphasize the importance of giving the right information about sexuality to youngsters. They all want to enable young people to make their own, informed choices for a healthy sexual and reproductive life, based on evidence and information about human rights. The reflection on SRHR issues should not be based on moral or religious reasons, but on evidence, because “other people may not have the same religious values as you” (Respondent 5). Some issues might be immoral; however, they are not unhealthy. The following quote shows the importance of giving evidence-based information according to the coordinating organization:

“When it comes to sexuality education we refer everything has to be evidence and fact based and human rights based. Even in the UNESCO guidelines. It is international. In every training, we have to keep our opinion at home and we have to come with a professional mind. So if we come with a professional mind it has to be on evidence and fact based. And it has to be always from human rights approach. This is the international standard. We tried to expose that in their [participants] minds” (Respondent 5).
The donor-organizations are expecting from the other stakeholders as well that they give evidence based information as the following quote shows:

“Organizations sometimes are not capable or do not want to recognize the sensitive issues in the curriculum. Well, actually, this means that you have to train this organization more thoroughly. And this organization should know better, why are we against including these sensitive issues? You cannot resist spreading evidence” (Respondent 2).

5.2.2 Local Organizations

All four local organizations agree that it is highly important to give facts and evidence on SRHR issues to students. Two local organizations emphasize that the strength of the YICOTW program is not to focus on diseases. The YICOTW program approaches youngsters in a positive way and through this program they can make well-informed choices to have sex or not, with whom, and how.

The organizations emphasize the importance of giving young people information based on evidence, next to information they have from the Bible and religion. In this way young people can compare these two information sources and they can make up their mind what to believe and how to behave. It is believed by the local organizations that young people are less dogmatic and more progressive than their parents or other elder community leaders and they “are easy to change” (Respondent 15). Meant by ‘easy to change’ is that youngsters are easier convinced by biological evidence based information than elders, therefore they will accept that certain myths are incorrect. Furthermore these organizations think it is important to acknowledge that sensitive sexual behaviors and practices are already practiced in Ethiopia, especially by young people. That is why they need to know the facts, to protect themselves. Respondent 15 states that information is important to stay healthy “during this period of exercise”. He emphasizes that young people are the backbone of society, and if they are healthy, the society will be healthy and they can work for the development of their country.

The other two organizations are using a more fear-based health discourse. These organizations believe that the priority of sexuality education is to teach about the epidemic of HIV/AIDS, and how youngsters can protect themselves from STIs and pregnancies. Evidence-based information is highly important for the youth, because “They should get the right information to protect themselves from any danger of puberty” (Respondent 10). Youngsters are considered to have a (too) positive view on the world while they are facing many dangers as the following quote shows: “They don’t know the world, they don’t have experiences. They only see what is shining in front of them, they don’t see the darks. So they have to have the real information on SRHR” (Respondent 10). In order to prevent youngsters from diseases and pregnancy, abstinence should be
promoted among the students, although they should have access to condoms and birth-control pills when needed. Other practices in society are dangerous for the health of people, like female genital mutilation, early marriage and abduction. Therefore, people need to be informed about the negative consequences of these practices.

5.2.3 Teachers
Teachers are using the health-based discourse the most in comparison with the other discourses. On the question why they think sexual reproductive health education is important most teachers answer that it is important in order to prevent students from getting diseases, to become pregnant, and to lead them not to make ‘bad’ choices. With these ‘bad choices’ they mean to engage in sex at an early age, to have unprotected sex and to have anal or oral sex. Almost all teachers in general stress that it is important to give students the right information on SRH topics, so that they can make their own decisions. Information about love, drugs, friendship, virginity, boy- or girlfriends, HTPs, and homosexuality, are mentioned often, all topics which are included in the YICOTW program. A male teacher explains that in Ethiopia there is a myth that when a girl has large breasts she already had sexual intercourse. He thinks it is important to give the right information about these myths, because they can be harmful for the psychological health of students. Other teachers explain that information should be given about the ABC methods. Most of them think it is important to encourage abstinence before marriage, however, if students cannot abstain they should be faithful to one person or use condoms. It is important for the students to know how to use condoms and how to use other contraceptive methods in order to stay healthy.

Figure 10: “Contraceptives”: poster made by students

Source: Annemarie Schaapveld (October 2012)
5.3 Human Rights Based Discourse

5.3.1 Donor Organizations and the Coordinating Organization

The human rights based discourse is mainly used by the donor-organizations and the coordinating organization. Donor-organization 1 envisions: “a world where all people are equally able to enjoy sexual and reproductive health and well-being, and exercise their sexual and reproductive rights” (Website). This vision is based on the principles to recognize and respect human rights, and in particular, sexual and reproductive rights. Furthermore, they claim to base their activities on evidence and make them culture and context-sensitive. Donor-organization 2 envisions the UN convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) as a powerful framework to promote and protect children’s rights (Website).

The coordinating organization, explains why human and sexual rights are so important in teaching about SRHR issues, as they think it is important that every person can decide upon their own body, that everyone has the right to start with sex when they are ready for it, that no one should force them into sex and that every person has the right to choose his or her sexual orientation. Abortion for example in their opinion should be made legal in all cases. In the following quote the human rights narrative can clearly be seen:

“Now we try to teach them [teachers participating in the curriculum] from the rights point of view, not from a religious point of view, but from a rights point of view. Each person has the right to do whatever he likes and be whatever he likes, he can choose himself when to have sex and what orientation he practices” (Respondent 8).

5.3.2 Local Organizations

The rights discourse is not popular among the local organizations, which mostly are using health or faith based narratives. However, one organization thinks it is highly important to inform youngsters about sensitive issues, like oral, anal sex and sexual orientation, and the possibility of transmission of HIV and STI’s and how they can protect themselves, because they have the right to know this and they have the right to practice any sexual activity: “Everyone has the individual right to practice the type of sex that he wants” (Respondent 8).

5.3.3 Teachers

Among teachers, the human rights based discourse is the least used narrative. However, some teachers mention that everyone has the right to make their own decisions, that boys and girls have equal rights, and that diversity needs to be respected (this was said in relation to sexual orientation).
One teacher even mentions sexual rights: “What is expected from me is to inform what exists, as it [sexual activities] is part of sexuality. Do it or don’t do it I will not say, this is not expected from me. Rather that is part of sexual rights” (Co-facilitator 3). Other teachers think abortion should be a right for all girls, because now, many girls get injured or die because of unsafe abortions.

5.4 Faith Based Discourse

The faith-based discourse is mainly used by one local organization and some teachers. Donor organizations and the coordinating organization do acknowledge the importance of religion in Ethiopia and respect this. However, they think it is important that people acknowledge that young people are actually having sex and they should have information about this issue.

5.4.1 Local Organizations

Only one organization appears to be very conservative on SRHR issues. Youngsters should not practice “unwanted” activities (respondent 12), referring to sexual activities, because before marriage this is immoral. Furthermore abstinence before marriage is promoted, especially for girls, because “no male would dare to marry a girl who is not a virgin” (Respondent 12). They however claim not to focus on abstinence only, but also on condom-use and being faithful, “for youngsters however, it is better to abstain” (Respondents 12). Although they acknowledge that sex and sexuality is natural, they emphasize that sexual rights are against their culture and religion. The following quote is typical for their view on sexual rights:

“Sexual rights are about homosexuality. It may allow all kind of sex. As if somebody has its own rights. Religion is not allowing this kind of sexual rights. We do not accept it. By sexual rights we mean that a person can exercise any kind of sexual behavior. But if we assume this kind of right, it is against for example Christianity and against the bible. It is written that a male can marry a female. Otherwise it is against the bible. So the culture, the religion, has its own specific ways of sexual exercise. By sexual rights a person can involve in any kind of activity” (Respondent 12).

They emphasize the fact that they respect human rights. On the other hand however, they think they should be reserved to promote sexual rights, because of their local reality and their culture. According to the director:

“It is not to violate human rights, this is to respect culture. Everyone is religious affiliated, culture bounded, we don’t live in an open society. The illiteracy is about 50 % of society. What do you expect us to do? This is not America, this is not England” (Respondent 11).
These two quotes show the faith-based narrative this organization uses, and their struggle with sexual rights, which in their opinion violate their religion and culture.

5.4.2 Teachers
Among teachers only a small part uses a faith-based narrative towards SRH issues. This faith-based narrative is often used in relation to sexual orientation and different types of sex. They often mention that homosexuality is not important in the Ethiopian context, because it does not exist in Ethiopia, and because of cultural and religious values. The anal organ and the mouth for example are not sexual organs because “God did not create these organs for this purpose” (Teacher 2). Some teachers explain that condoms should not be used by youngsters until marriage, because they need to abstain. Also their opinion towards abortion is sometimes negative. Some teachers explain that abortion should not be allowed, because it means that the baby will be killed. They think that killing is against the bible.

Teachers, who are not included in the curriculum and new teachers, who were not trained yet during the interview, seems to be more conservative than the teachers teaching the YICOTW curriculum and they are using the faith based discourse more often. All of them do emphasize that sexuality education is important, for giving information to students about reproduction, sexuality, and ABC methods, but most of them think that only abstinence should be promoted in schools. Furthermore it should only be focused on ‘normal’ heterosexual behavior, because this already is very difficult to discuss in schools. Teachers included in the YICOTW curriculum, almost all say that their view on sexuality education changed, due to the knowledge they got and the discussions that were raised during trainings and workshops. Therefore, the trainings influenced the discourses used by teachers.

5.5 Concluding remarks
To conclude this chapter, it can be stressed that the narratives used by different stakeholders are different from each other. All stakeholders use a health based discourse, often focused on disease prevention. Donor organizations and the coordinating organization use this health based discourse in combination with a human rights perspective. Local organizations as well as teachers sometimes combine this discourse with human rights, sometimes with a faith-based narrative.

Fairclough (2005) argues that discourses are used by people in relating to one another. In this research the spaces where narratives are exchanged and debated among each other are mainly the trainings and workshops given by the Donor-organizations and the Coordinating Organization. In these workshops and trainings the staff-members of these organizations are seen as the ‘experts’ on the topic. Therefore it could be argued that the human rights and the health based narratives are
reproduced. This can be seen in the discourses used by the local organizations and teachers who are often mentioning the importance of ‘evidence’, ‘research’ and ‘facts’. They tend to reproduce the dominant discourses which are used in the workshops. It is surprising that only some of the local organizations and some of the teachers use a faith based narrative. This may be an outcome of the extensive trainings and workshops they followed, as they gained knowledge during these trainings. This is also mentioned by the respondents during interviews.

However, many of them still use the dominant discourses of society. Most of the local stakeholders seem to ‘mediate’ between the language used in society and the language that is used in the trainings. They seem to use the health-based narrative to be able to talk about sex and sexuality and to get a positive response from the community. Because talking about sex and sexuality is difficult and uncommon in the Ethiopian context, in this way they can explain to others why it is important to inform the students about these topics, namely to protect them from diseases. This is easier to explain to the community than when you are talking about human or even sexual rights for example. Some of the local actors still mainly use a faith-based narrative. They are especially referring to their religion, when it comes to issues that are too sensitive for them. Therefore it seems to be that when mediation between discourses is not possible, stakeholders fall back on religious values. Furthermore these discourses are in general clashing with human rights narratives. When faith-based discourses are used in teaching the curriculum, it might undermine the human right perspective of the donors.
Chapter 6 The Process and the Nature of Participation

In this chapter the process and the nature of participation will be discussed as well as the outcomes of this participation which are based on the changes that are made in the curriculum. First, the preparation phase and the purpose of participation will be explained. Second, the discussions that arose in the working-group and the actual changes in the curriculum will be discussed. This is followed by an analysis of the nature of participation.

6.1 Preparation phase

The adaptation process of the YICOTW curriculum is based on Intervention Mapping (IM) principles. Intervention mapping provides a planning framework for the development of theory- and evidence based behaviour change programs. In practice, most of these programs are an adaptation of an existing program (Leerlooijer et al., 2011). This is also the case for the YICOTW program. The steps that need to be followed according to Intervention Mapping are the following: (1) needs assessment, (2) adaptation of objectives, (3) adaptation of methods and practical applications, (4) revision of program materials, (5) planning or revising an implementation protocol and (6) planning evaluation (Leerlooijer et al., 2011).

The following steps were taken in Ethiopia in order to prepare the piloting of the YICOTW program. First the donor-partners approached the coordinating organization in 2010 and they informed them that the funding for the YICOTW program was approved. They created the opportunity for the staff-members to go to Uganda and Kenya to see what the YICOTW program is about. Second, a call was organized for local partners who were interested to join. The O-Cluster won this call. In the following weeks the Regional Advisory Board (RAG) was formed, including experts from the Oromiya HIV prevention and control office, experts from the ministry of education and governmental members from zone\textsuperscript{1} level. The role of the advisory group is to work on the advocacy of the YICOTW program, to help when difficulties arise and to control the quality of the curriculum. The fourth step was that the donor-organizations gave an introduction workshop to the coordinating organization, the local organizations and the RAG. In this introduction workshop an overall idea was given of the YICOTW curriculum, the experience of other countries was addressed and training was given on sex and sexuality. Fifth, project areas and the members of the working-group were chosen. Afterwards the working group got training how to modify the curriculum and teachers got a training focused on facilitation skills.

\textsuperscript{1} Ethiopia is divided into 11 regions, which are subdivided into 68 zones, which are further subdivided into 529 Wereda (Statoids, 2008).
The working-group received a three-day training organized by a staff-member of the coordinating organization and a partner from Kenya. The training included an introduction to SRHR and to the YICOTW curriculum and an explanation of the adaptation process. After two curriculum adaptation workshops, where the curriculum was adapted to the local context, the adaptation of the curriculum was validated by the directors of the local organisations, government members from Zone and Wereda level and the Advisory board. In the end there was a workshop to finalize and check the whole program together with the Kenyan partner.

After the adaptation of the curriculum the piloting process started. Teachers and co-facilitators were trained on their facilitation skills in an interactive way. Assignments were given to present YICOTW lessons in a participatory way and how to include students as much as possible. After the first four lessons an evaluation meeting was held, to discuss challenges and opportunities teachers faced, this was done as well after the 8th, 12th and 16th lesson.

6.2 The purpose of participation

In the working-group staff-members of the coordinating organization, local organizations, teachers and students participated. Teachers are selected based on the following criteria: ‘having a positive view on youngsters’, ‘being young themselves’, ‘willing to learn about SRH’ and ‘motivated to teach in their free time’. Students were selected on the basis of their willingness to learn about SRH topics, their English and communication skills and availability to travel to the different workshops. After selection the group consisted of 13 males and 10 females as can be seen in figure 4. The staff-members of the local organizations did not always participate in the meetings and in all organizations the involved staff-members changed regularly.

Figure 11: Working-group participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Age 15-18</th>
<th>Age 20-30</th>
<th>Age 30+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local organisations</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The coordinator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The working-group was set up by the donor organisations in order to make the program effective in the local context, to make the program sustainable and to give ownership to the local stakeholders. The donors argue that when people do not have ownership over this program, they will probably think it is not useful, or that it is again imposed on them by the West. Furthermore a
sexuality program should address those issues that are important among young people and the donors stress that the curriculum should be acceptable to the teachers who are going to teach the program. Furthermore, the donor-organizations emphasize the influence local stakeholders have in this adaptation process, although to a certain extent. They explain that the local stakeholders can change the illustrations, the lay-out, the text and the way topics are explained. However, they need to stick to certain principles, principles in favor of comprehensiveness, because in several studies it has been proved that comprehensive sexuality programs are more effective than for example programs that promote abstinence only (Kirby, 2008). When the working-group has problems with certain issues, negotiations will be held. Because the CSE program is based on human rights the donor organizations will try to make the program as comprehensive as possible, as it is important that information will not be selected. However, it is important that stakeholders agree on the included topics. If after negotiation, teachers for example really disagree on a subject “you should not do it, in that case it is impossible to implement” (Respondent 3). When lessons are added this is positive, because in that way the program will be more comprehensive.

During the adaptation process in other countries the donor organizations also experienced difficulties, as working-groups can be uncritical, while they, as facilitators, are trying to motivate the working-group to be critical and to change certain things in the program. According to the donor organizations this might have to do with the culture and habits of participants, maybe they are not used to be critical towards “Western experts’, and that is in the end how they are looking at us” (Respondent 2). According to the donor organizations in Ethiopia, this was not that much the case, as they had the feeling participants did express their opinions. Moreover, not all the critique coming from the working-group will be easily accepted as the following quote shows:

“Because if they already dare to say that homosexuality for example is too sensitive, we would not accept that, we would insist that this topic must stay in the program” (Respondent 2).

The working-group needs to come with valid arguments why topics should not be included, the argument that a topic is too sensitive or that it is immoral in the local context is not seen as valid by the donor-organizations.

6.2 Working group discussions

In the working-group the participants were supposed to adapt the Ugandan curriculum to the Ethiopian local context. First changes were made in the design of the program and the names of the peer-educators. Because of the many differences in language, culture, ethnicity and religion, the decision on the names of the peer educators was difficult, because the names had to represent
Ethiopia. The argument mainly consisted of a disagreement to use Amharic names or Oromo names, two languages in Ethiopia. Amharic stakeholders thought Oromo names would not represent Ethiopia and the other way around, various stakeholders from Oromiya though that Amharic names would not represent Ethiopia. Finally two Amharic names are chosen, as Amharic is the official language in Ethiopia. During the interviews some respondents made clear still not to agree on this decision.

Other major discussion points were more content-based and were about the inclusion of sensitive issues in the curriculum. The first was about virginity. The discussion about virginity is not whether to talk about virginity in the curriculum, because virginity is highly valued, especially for girls. Moreover it was about the possibility of testing virginity and the belief that girls bleed when they are having sexual intercourse for the first time. In the working group two groups existed. The first group believed (after they were given the information and evidence from research by the donor organizations) that it is impossible for doctors to see if a girl is a virgin or not and that bleeding does not always occur during the first sexual intercourse. The other group argued that doctors are professionals, and when a doctor gives a certificate to a girl that she is a virgin, it must be true. During the interviews it was clear that many stakeholders (both male and female), still believe that a girl will bleed when she is having sexual intercourse for the first time.

The second issue of discussion concerned the inclusion of masturbation. Although not many stakeholders mention masturbation as a sensitive issue in the interviews, in the first round of curriculum review report it is stated that:

“Masturbation remained a very controversial issue on this slide [in presentation on sexuality]. Participants could not reach consensus especially on the conclusion that says ‘Masturbation is not harmful to health at all; in fact it can be a very safe way to explore your body and your sexuality’”.

It seems that many participants in the working-group believe that this conclusion is promoting masturbation, which they do not agree upon. Interesting is that in the observed workshops people easily talk about masturbation and agree that this sexual practice is not harmful at all. Probably the view of participants on masturbation changed over time, due to the different trainings and workshops.

The last and biggest discussion in the working-group was about anal sex and sexual orientation. Many stakeholders do not understand why these topics should be included in the program and they don’t believe that homosexuality comes by birth. Again two groups dominated the discussion. One group wanted to keep the issue of homosexuality, the opposite group wanted to skip issues on sexual orientation and different types of sex.
Mostly the local organizations and teachers seem to disagree with keeping homosexuality in the curriculum. Arguments are that homosexuality is immoral, it is against religion and the culture, it would lead students to practice anal and oral sex and it would promote homosexual behavior. Many of the respondents do not believe that homosexuality comes by birth. Another argument is that the anal organ and the mouth are no sexual organs, because God did not create these organs for this purpose. Furthermore information is not relevant for Ethiopia, as homosexuality does not exist here, maybe only in the bigger cities in “dark places” (Teacher 1).

Many respondents maintain that information about homosexuality should be given to students, although they personally reject homosexuality. Students should get evidence based information they say, however many respondents are not really clear with what they precisely mean with this. The law of Ethiopia, which prohibits homosexuality, is seen as evidence as well. Some respondents argue that students should learn about the negative consequences and how students “can prevent themselves from it” (Teacher 6). They should get a warning to watch out for homosexuals as homosexuals are paying boys for having sex with them. In addition, according to a small number of respondents homosexual feelings should be controlled and information should be given how to get heterosexual feelings. Although many teachers are afraid of promoting homosexuality they do give information on the topic as the following quote shows: “we don’t permit them to do it, but we make them to get the right information” (Teacher 5).

The group who wants to keep these issues in the curriculum is smaller. Especially the coordinating organization and local organization 1 are outspoken on this issue. Important to keep in mind as well, is that the coordinating organization has a strong voice in the working-group. They stress that homosexuality is a human right and therefore students need to have the right information about homosexuality, that it is natural and not unhealthy. They emphasize that homosexuality exists in Ethiopia already for a long time, because it has a meaning in the local languages. The respondents who did agree with keeping this issue in the curriculum, all explain that their opinion changed over time, due to the knowledge they got in the trainings as the following quote shows:

“Everyone wanted to delete the issue of sexual orientation. [...] Including me myself. [...] But if you come back and see the reality, people are practicing and everyone they are doing it. It’s this one, which YICOTW is addressing. When they have the information, they can decide upon their own” (Respondent 8).

Also some teachers changed their opinion during the trainings and they explain that they learned that homosexuality is not a choice and that it is not unhealthy to practice anal sex and
homosexuality is not a mental illness. The following quote shows the disagreement in the working group and the changing attitudes by some:

“We were fighting each other and lastly we got that it is a behavior of sex, and we respect it, it is diversity of sex” (Teacher 4).  

When the personal opinion is asked most of the participants reject homosexuality, because of their culture and religion and because it is illegal according to the law. The teachers however stress that they give evidence-based information to the students, without giving their personal opinion. This role –to stay neutral and to reveal personal opinions- is what they have learned in the trainings by the donor-organizations. Furthermore it became clear in the master-training that most stakeholders think that homosexual people should have the same rights as heterosexual people. Thus although many of them don’t agree with homosexuality and don’t want to keep the subject in the program, they think homosexual people have the same rights.

6.3 Program-changes

In this section the actual changes that are made in the program will be discussed. The Ethiopian variant will be compared with the Ugandan curriculum, as this curriculum was the basis for the adaptation process. Furthermore, the two programs will be compared with another variant, namely the program from Ghana. This is done in order to see how much the curricula in three different contexts differ from each other. In this way it can be shown how much influence participants have on program change. At the end of this section the changes of the curriculum will be compared with the discussions of the working-group in order to see what effect their participation had on the actual curriculum.

In comparison with the Ugandan curriculum the design of the Ethiopian version in general has been changed. The most important changes in the design are the different peer-educators, who have Ethiopian names, looks, haircuts and school uniforms. Furthermore, the church building is changed for school buildings, in order to not represent any religious background and most of the pictures and illustrations are changed into Ethiopian examples.

Besides the design of the program, the biggest changes in the program are two additional chapters; a chapter on drugs and a chapter on culture and HTPs. The chapter on drugs was added because according to situation analysis, drug abuse has become very common among young people in Ethiopia. Especially Chad and alcohol are highly used among young people. Furthermore, Ethiopia

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2 ‘We’ in this quote cites to part of the group, to the ones who do want to keep sexual orientation in the curriculum.
does not have a minimum age level for using alcohol and therefore the awareness of the dangers of alcohol abuse is limited. Respondents are afraid that drug abuse will affect sexual practices of youngsters and that girls are more often the victim of sexual harassments or rape. The lesson on culture and harmful traditional practices focuses on the difference between culture and HTPs. The working-group decided to include this lesson because culture and HTP affect the life of young people in general and their sexual and reproductive health in particular in several ways. HTPs are seen as a harmful component of culture, inherited from the past generations. The community uses these practices as a solution for problems, as many parents are arranging their daughters’ marriage at a young age, both for economic reasons and to ensure that she will marry as a virgin. The presentation in the curriculum states that female genital cutting, early marriage, widow inheritance, wife beating, polygamy, sexual harassment and abuse have negative implications for young people. The presentation in the curriculum mostly focuses on the meaning of culture and on the implications of early marriage on both boys and girls.

Figure 12 and 13: “Drug abuse” and “Let us stop FGM!” posters made by students

Other context-based changes are the examples and proverbs used in the curriculum, like in lesson 2: the example of Juliet who is 14 and who is worried that she will fail her exams, because then her father will stop paying her school fees, is changed in “Kidist 14: I’m worried that I will fail my exams, then my father will force me to get married”. This example is changed, because the schools are free in Ethiopia, while child marriages are happening often. Another example is from the lesson on gender, in addition to the examples from other countries where men and women are equal, this Ethiopian example is added: “In Awrampa in Ethiopia male and female are equal, for example males
make enjera [food]”. Also myths that are used in Ethiopia are included in the program about pregnancy like: “Washing after sex with Coca-Cola prevents pregnancy” and “brush sex does not cause pregnancy”. In the lesson on sexuality and love more Ethiopian examples are given what girls might say to convince boys to have sex like: “Are you a bisexual?” and “Are you a transgender?”

Furthermore changes are made in the actual information that is given to the students on sex and sexuality. In the lesson on body change, more clear illustrations are used to give information on the male and female reproductive orphans and the menstruation cycle. Furthermore the sentence “Do not force anyone to satisfy your sexual needs!” is added at the end of the lesson on sexuality and love. In the lesson on pregnancy it is added that girls who are pregnant, “may practice unsafe abortion, commit suicide, or may be discriminated from society”. In this lesson it is also added that some boys and girls want a baby because of economic reasons; in this way they might be able to be part of a family that is rich. Lastly in the lesson “love shouldn’t hurt” an extra step is added to the steps that should be taken when being abused, namely that you should tell your parents what happened and report it to the police and the following slogan is added: “Do not harm others for your satisfaction”! Interesting is that in the review report it is stated that the working-group decided to add a demonstration of a female condom. In the final program this is not added.

The last type of changes is based on the law. First, the lesson about human rights is totally changed to “human entitlements”, as NGO’s are according to the law prohibited to advocate for human rights. The words ‘right’ and ‘advocating’ are skipped and changed into ‘entitlements’ and ‘promoting’. Also the following sentence is skipped: “You have the right to form groups to advocate for your right, and to express your ideas”, because this would undermine the Ethiopian law and it might bring program-makers and teachers into danger when this is added to the program.

Figure 14: Human Entitlements: poster made by students
Second, the statement that people are homosexual not by choice but by birth, is taken from the program, because by law homosexuality is illegal. When stating this in the program “we are saying that the law is wrong” (Respondent 5). Third, in the review report it is said that an addition should be made, because in Ethiopia abortion is legally possible in certain circumstances. In the final program, however, this change cannot be seen and it is still stated that abortion is illegal in Ethiopia.

When looking at the working-group discussions discussed in the previous section, the main discussion points and disagreements on the program were about the testing of virginity, masturbation, homosexuality and anal sex. In the interviews as well the disagreements with the program were mainly about the testing of virginity, homosexuality and anal sex. In the program however, all issues are still in the program. On the testing of virginity the program still states: “Virginity testing is only done on girls, not on boys. However, it is not possible, even medically, to tell if a boy or a girl is a virgin”. In the review report it was argued that this sentence should be modified to Ethiopian norms and values, which is not done in the final curriculum.

Furthermore the explanation of masturbation stayed the same in the program:

“Masturbation is stimulating the genital organs by hand –either by yourself or another person, usually leading to an orgasm. Both boys and girls masturbate, although more boys tend to do it and more often. Even man and women who are married masturbate. Masturbation is not harmful to health at all, in fact it can be a very safe way to explore the body and your sexuality”.

The working-group decided that this last message should be revised, in order not to encourage people to practice masturbation. However, most of the respondents changed their attitude towards masturbation, because they learned that the myths they believed in were incorrect.

Although the statement that homosexuality comes by birth is taken from the curriculum, the explanation what homosexuality is, is still there. In the interviews it appeared that most stakeholders disagree on this. According to many of the respondents, the working group decided to change the explanation of sexual intercourse, which according to them is not “bringing the penis into the anus”, but only “bringing the penis into the vagina”. Teacher 2 explains why:

“Because students, if they get this statement, they understand this is as an option. Intercourse is not only putting penis in vagina, another option is anal sex. So this is not good. We discussed on it and we took a lot of time and we came to the conclusion that this is not good. We will explain anal sex in another segment. And leave it out of the sexual intercourse”.

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3 1th round curriculum review and adaptation meeting, 2011
Surprisingly this was not mentioned in the review reports, and the change is not made in the final curriculum.

When comparing the curriculum with another curriculum in Ghana the biggest change is again the lay out. Furthermore the statement that homosexuality comes by birth is taken out of the curriculum, like in the Ethiopian curriculum. Other issues that are taken out are the explanation on why boys and girls can be friends and the following statement: “even children may touch their private parts, because it feels nice” (YICOTW curriculum Ghana). However, the explanation of masturbation is still there. Furthermore local examples are added to the curriculum. The order, topics, explanations, and essence of the program are again not changed.

6.4 Nature of Participation

6.4.1 Local Stakeholders’ Perspective

In general all Ethiopian stakeholders were positive about the set-up of the working-group. They had the feeling that their opinion was respected, that open discussions were possible and that they had a say in what would be changed, although not all suggestions are actually changed. However, several issues remained difficult to accept for many of the participants. Some local organizations and teachers mention they are afraid that when they would raise critique, they would be excluded from the program or that the budget would be cancelled as the following quote shows: “We don’t want to incorporate it in the program. However it must be incorporated, otherwise the budget will not be released, we may assume” (Respondent 12). As they were highly interested in the overall program, they did not want to risk this. The coordinating organization might have increased this thinking as the staff-members made clear to all participants that if they were not willing to participate other people would be interested. Respondent 5 states that:

“If you don’t like it, we can find another teacher in the school. Also in the school, if you don’t like the program in the very beginning, we can find another school, because there are so many schools interested in the program. We made that very clear with all the groups” (Respondent 5).

This response is understandable because participants should be motivated from the beginning onwards to invest time in the program and to implement it in the schools. This is also what the coordinating organization meant with this comment. On the other hand, it probably increased the pressure on participants. The donor-organizations responded to this issue that especially organizations should deliver quality, and not increase the myths of society. Organizations, although they are faith-based, should look at sensitive issues like masturbation and homosexuality, in a professional way. Their professional view and their personal values and norms should be kept
separate. Respondent 3 gives the example that “masturbation may be a sin for them, but it is not unhealthy, which are two different things”.

6.4.2 Participation in the YICOTW curriculum

The nature of participation in this case study can be called liberal, according to Edwards and Klees (2012). The governance of liberal forms of participation is often intended by NGO’s and the strategy includes workshops and trainings. Individuals, communities and civil society organizations are often included in the participation process, to inform them, and to improve, strengthen and legitimize the policies and plans produced. In this case study the invited participants are local organizations, teachers and students in order to engage them in dialogue, to give them knowledge on the topic and to share information with them on agenda-setting and policy making of the program. Liberal forms of participation often serve to reify, to maintain and not to challenge the status quo, therefore they have been criticized. The comprehensiveness and the human rights background of the YICOTW program can be seen as this ‘status quo’. In the previous section it is shown that the essence or ‘status quo’ of the program cannot be changed by the participants. The core and order of the program are fixed, while other issues which did not cause conflict, can be changed or added to the program. Therefore participation in this case study can be seen as an instrument to legitimize a program (Kapoor, 2004 and Weiler, 1983), although the donor-organizations really have the intention to involve the working-group in decision-making and even emphasize that when a topic is really non-discussable it will be eliminated. Such topics are often not criticized too much by participants, because they are afraid to lose the whole program. It seems to be that sensitive topics are only changed, when they really are in contradiction with the law and when this might lead to problems in implementation of the program.

While donor-organizations emphasize the importance of local ownership, full ownership is not given to the local stakeholders. Participation is used to include local stakeholders in the adaptation process, to give them knowledge and to make sure that they support the program, not to give them full ownership. In participation processes, the perspective of dominant actors is often reproduced (Kapoor, 2004). As the former chapter showed, stakeholders in this project indeed use ‘negotiated discourses’, formed in the participation process. This does not mean however, that this is necessarily something negative, participants rather see this in a positive way. They explain their changed discourses, due to the knowledge they gained. Although full control over the program is not given to local stakeholders, donor organizations do take the effort to include local stakeholders in the process and indeed listen to them. Donor-organizations also have goals where they need to relate to in their programs and they need to be accountable to their own funders, who have certain expectations. Although, participation in this case study can be seen as supporting the agenda of the
donor organizations (Saxby, 2003), on the other hand, participation in this process has also empowered the different stakeholders, with knowledge, skills and new ‘negotiated’ discourses.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter it has been shown that the essence or ‘status quo’ of the program cannot be changed by the participants. The donor-organizations emphasize the importance of comprehensiveness, because according to research these programs are more effective than for example programs based on abstinence only. It is emphasized by the donor organizations that the working-group is highly influential in changing the curriculum. However, subjects cannot be eliminated, because they are too sensitive and donor-organizations are negotiating with the working-group to keep these topics in the program. In the working-group the main discussions are about sensitive sexuality issues. Especially sexual orientation is a topic many local stakeholders want to eliminate from the program. According to the donor-organizations, stakeholders need to have a professional view on sexuality, which is based on evidence. Therefore they should keep their personal opinion to themselves. Although in general local stakeholders are positive about the set-up of the working-group and about the overall program, some stakeholders accepted difficult topics, because they were afraid that the program would be cancelled.

Due to these reasons, the nature of participation in the working-group can be called Liberal according to Edwards and Klees (2012). The donor-organizations give the working-group information about their policies and plans and the participation is used to improve and strengthen the curriculum. Although the donor-organizations are sincere to involve the working-group in decision-making, in reality participants have limited influence. It seems that topics can only be eliminated when it does not harm the comprehensiveness of the program or when country laws are demanding that topics should be eliminated. Therefore participation in this case-study can be seen as an instrument to legitimize a program. However, it can also be seen as empowering as participants gained knowledge, skills and they were able to ‘negotiate’ their values and opinions based on broader perspectives than before.
Chapter 7 Perceived Local Ownership

Local ownership is seen as important for the effectiveness and sustainability of projects and programs. In order to investigate local stakeholders’ perceived ownership over the YICOTW program, Moore’s et al (1996) concept of local ownership is used. Therefore, the nature of participation in the curriculum adaptation process, the extent to which participants were able to change the content of the curriculum and the transparency and mutual accountability among various stakeholders will be investigated. Furthermore the motivation of stakeholders to participate in the program is important for their sense of ownership (Nathan, 2007) and it is crucial that local stakeholders can set their own targets (Yamin and Boulanger, 2013). Here SRHR discourses are coming in, as the narratives of different stakeholders show their general understanding of SRHR. First, stakeholders’ perspective on their feeling of ownership will be addressed, then the impact of local ownership on the implementation of the curriculum will be discussed.

7.1 The Perspective of the Stakeholders

7.1.1 Coordinating Organization

To start with the local coordinating organization, this organization has a large influence in the program coordination, the design and the content of the curriculum and the implementation process. As the leading organization in the working-group, the coordinating organization, as already mentioned, has a strong voice in the working-group discussions and therefore has a high ability to change the curriculum in their desired way.

According to the literature important dimensions for local ownership are ‘accountability’ and ‘transparency’ (Moore et al, 1996). Both the donor and the coordinating organization are interdependent; the coordinating organization needs the donor for their funding, their expertise on the program and their knowledge on how to implement a comprehensive sexuality program. The other way around, the donor-organizations need the coordinator for their network in Ethiopia, their knowledge about the local context and their expertise in coordination. Both partners know what to expect from each other, are reliable and the communication seems smooth. The rights and responsibilities of both organizations are documented in a memorandum of understanding and the organizations seem transparent about the way they work and about the budget. The coordinating organization highlights the knowledge of the donor-organization, their respect for others and their openness. The donor-organizations emphasize that the coordinating organization is a strong and well-organized organization that thinks and acts quick and in an adequate way.

The coordinating organization experienced several opportunities because of the YICOTW curriculum. The organization became more ‘visible’ and their credibility increased. The perspective
of being the license holder of the YICOTW curriculum is their biggest opportunity as the following quote illustrates:

“If we are going to be the license holder, from that point on we can sell the YICOTW to any donor organization who wants to use the curriculum. Then they have to pay us, to give the trainings and to do the follow up and the quality or something. That is a great opportunity for us” (Respondent 5).

These opportunities motivated the coordinating organization to participate in the YICOTW program and it leaded them to continue the implementation of the curriculum in Ethiopia. Furthermore they are highly motivated because in their opinion the information and skills that are being thought in the lessons are important for young people in Ethiopia.

It can be concluded that the coordinating organization has a high amount of perceived ownership over the YICOTW curriculum. They had a strong voice in the curriculum changes and they are highly motivated to continue the program, both because of the importance of the lessons for young people and because of the opportunities the organization experiences. Furthermore the organization has a substantial influence in the implementation and maintenance of the project and between them and the donor-organizations there seems to be a high amount of transparency and mutual accountability.

7.1.2 Local Organizations

The four organizations had a substantial influence on the design and the adaptation of the curriculum in the working-group. Although all four organizations participated in the working-group, according to two organizations the content of the program is not fully adapted to the Ethiopian context. They think that too many sensitive immoral issues are still in the program. According to the other organizations the content of the program is more or less fully contextualized. They think that sensitive issues have to be dealt with as the following quote shows: “There are cultural limitations and to convince them [community] to talk about sensitive issues is a problem. But don’t close your eyes, while it harms our people” (Respondent 15).

When coming to the implementation process of the curriculum and the transparency of the budget allocation, some dissatisfaction can be seen. For all four local organizations the role of the coordinating organization caused confusion in the Y-cluster. They expected to be the implementers of the YICOTW program, but in reality they only participated in workshops and trainings as the following quote shows:
“Maybe the coordinating organization is the front line office. They [donor and coordinating organizations] have to tell us, this is your duty, you won the proposal, but because of these reasons we need to give the coordination to the coordinating organization. They have to tell us, and they did not do that in that way” (Respondent 8).

Furthermore it caused tension among the local organizations that they had no influence on the budget allocation and the decision-making. The local organizations had the feeling that the coordinating organization was not including them in the process. This resulted in tensions in two areas; the first one relating to their involvement and communication between them and the coordinator and the second one relating to the transparency of the budget. Tensions in the first area mainly consisted of irritation of the local organizations not to be involved in decision-making. In addition, the division of schools played a role, as it was not clear to the local organizations why the coordinator had three schools and most of them only got one school to implement the program. Another irritation concerned the communication of the coordinator with the schools of the local organizations without them knowing this. They felt ignored and they were afraid that this would mix up their relationship with the community. Tensions in the second area concerned the transparency of the budget. The local organizations had no knowledge of the amount of the overall budget as the following quote shows:

“For that matter we don’t know, the budget is secret. For one thing we have to plan the activities. [...] Of course they [coordinating organization] are very friendly, we know them very well, but it has to be based on collective responsibility and collective decisions” (Respondent 11).

Moreover, if the local organizations got a certain amount from the budget, they were told what specific items they should buy, instead of having the freedom to spend based on their own decisions. Although these issues are discussed and consensus is reached, some of the local organizations still have the feeling that the problems are not solved in a good way. Many of the confusions and tensions seem—besides communication issues— to be caused by confusion on what to expect from a pilot program. Both partners did not know what the pilot process would look like and what this would mean for their role. During the next phase the program will be scaled up. The coordinating organization and local partners expect that in this phase the local organizations will have more ownership over the program. Furthermore it is mentioned by the coordinating organization that not all staff members attended all meetings, which maybe led to incomplete information and knowledge. Probably this also led to misunderstandings between the organizations in their agreements.
Nevertheless, local organizations are motivated to continue implementing the YICOTW curriculum. The staff-members of the organizations are mostly motivated because they think this information is important for young people. Furthermore it is a good opportunity for their organizations to gain experience in the field of SRHR and it will help them for future funding proposals. All organizations emphasize that the experience of the YICOTW program will help them in future lobbying and advocacy. Local 13 mentions that it is: “wonderful for our organizational profile”. The staff-members mention as well that they personally gained a lot of knowledge in the workshops, which they think is important for their future life.

The local organizations seem to have less perceived ownership over the YICOTW curriculum than the coordinating organization. They do have influence in the design and the adaptation of the curriculum, however two organizations do not think that the program is adapted to the local context, as they disagree with many of the sensitive issues in the curriculum. Furthermore problems arose in the implementation process of the program and there is a lack of transparency of the budget. Although local organizations seem to be motivated to continue the program in the future because of the opportunities it gives them, it seems that their ownership over the curriculum is low, as the following quote shows: “I don’t think we own that project, we are implementing it for somebody else” (Respondent 10).

7.1.3 Teachers
Finally, in this research teachers’ perceived local ownership appears to be quite high. Teachers in general are positive about the set-up of the working-group. Although many disagree with some of the sensitive issues, they all have the feeling that they ‘own’ the program. Arguments for this sense of ownership are the influence they had in the adaptation of the curriculum, the feeling that their opinions and values mattered and that discussion was possible. In addition the trainings helped them to gain knowledge on this subject, which made them committed to the project. The following quote shows a typical response to the question if they think they own the program:

“Yes, the program is ours! Already I participated in the curriculum. So we have seen everything and we tried to change all things to the context of Ethiopia. Everything has its own resistance. It may be difficult to implement it in our country, because they [community] are resistant. That is normal. Besides that, it is really adapted to Ethiopia” (Teacher 6).

The teachers argue that in the training sessions they were not pushed in a certain direction. Some of them argue that although sometimes the donor organizations and the coordinating organization tried to convince them with arguments, “they are not pushing us in a certain direction” (Teacher 7).
Most of the teachers argue that they got a lot of knowledge in the trainings. Because of this knowledge they can decide themselves what is right and what is wrong. This argument seems to oppose the argument made in section 6.4.1, where some stakeholders said they were afraid of losing the program, when they would express critique. However, there seems to be a difference between personal opinions and the lack of critique that is given to the program. Donor organizations and the coordinating organization emphasized during the trainings and workshops that they did not want to change the personal opinion of the participants. The fear of being excluded from the program did not link to the expression of personal opinions; it did link to the changes that were made in the curriculum.

Teachers are voluntarily teaching the curriculum and are not paid. Although it cost them a lot of time, they are motivated to actively participate in the program. Most of the teachers explain that their motives to join the program were to get more knowledge on SRHR issues and computers themselves, as well as training in facilitation skills. These facilitation skills helped them in their regular classes as well. Furthermore they emphasize, like the other stakeholders, that the knowledge, attitude and skills taught in the curriculum are very important for students to know.

7.2 Impact of local ownership on program implementation

According to the literature a number of factors influence the capacity of teachers and their motivation to internalize change and implement SRHR programs. The most important factors are knowledge, skills, identity and beliefs (Altinyelken, 2010). In other words ‘internalizing change’ can be seen as important for teachers’ perceived ownership. It means that teachers are backing up a program, they can relate to the program and they think it is important for their students. As shown in the theoretical framework, in relation to beliefs and values, three factors are considered important: the program is benefiting the students and the society; knowledge, skills and capacity are required and the response of the community is important. As in previous sections, the motivation, knowledge, skills and capacity of teachers is already discussed, here the challenges teachers faced in the implementation phase will be discussed. Afterwards, the expected roles of teachers relating to sexuality education will be presented.

7.2.1 Challenges faced by teachers

In the process of implementation organizations and teachers faced multiple challenges. The response of the community was the biggest challenge for most teachers, especially in the beginning. Some parents and especially teachers found it difficult to accept that this program was offered at their school. Some of the YICOTW curriculum teachers were teased by their fellow teachers. These fellow teachers accused them of having intentions other than informing the students and of
selecting the prettiest girls of the school as the following quote shows: “In the beginning I had some fears myself. Since the training was on Saturday I feared the relationship between the students and teachers” (teachers in group interview 2). Other questions that were raised by fellow teachers and the school community were about talking about sex and sexuality in this way and to discuss sensitive issues like sexual orientation, anal sex and masturbation. Some teachers were emotionally and psychologically attacked by their fellow teachers as illustrated by the following quote:

“People know me within the church. But when I teach the YICOTW program, they hear me talking about sexual intercourse, about sexual organs, about virginity. They say: “how she can talk just like this? Because she does these things at church”. They think that my work in church and my work during this lesson are contradictory to each other”.

In response to the reaction of the community, school sensitization days were organized to explain the importance of the program, why the YICOTW teachers were selected and that these teachers were voluntarily teaching. This day was helping the YICOTW teachers to overcome the challenges with fellow teachers and parents. Another challenge teachers faced was to give evidence based information on sensitive issues. Some teachers explained their internal struggle where on the one hand they wanted to give full information to students, while on the other hand they did not want students to practice “immoral” sexual behavior.

7.2.2 The special role of teachers

According to the literature, training can help teachers to effectively teach CSE programs. The role of teachers when teaching about controversial and sensitive issues is related to the effectiveness of the implementation and to the values of teachers. Teachers are the final implementers of a curriculum, who could ‘rewrite’ curricula in their own classroom, by expressing their own opinions and values to their students. When teachers mainly use faith based discourses, CSE curricula will be less effective, as these discourses undermine the human right perspective of the curricula. Furthermore, in this way, students cannot develop their own opinions and values based on broader perspectives. Related to the implementation of a program and the beliefs of teachers are the roles teachers have when teaching about controversial topics. In the interviews with donor organizations it was expressed that teachers should be neutral in their teaching, relating to their own opinions on sex and sexuality. The literature shows however, that teachers cannot be neutral actors when teaching curricula. Therefore, a sense of ownership of the program is highly relevant. Teachers probably will ‘rewrite’ the curriculum to a lesser extent when their opinions and values are not contradicting the program.
When looking at the role of teachers most of the stakeholders think that teachers should be ‘neutral impartial’ (Kelly, 1986). They should not include their own opinion in the lessons, because they might impose their opinion on the students. Or the students might take over the teachers’ opinion, as they see him is the ‘expert’ on the topic. In order to let students make their own decisions and develop their own opinions, teachers should not express their own feelings or opinions towards a topic. The role of neutrality and not expressing own opinions is emphasized by the donor-organizations in the trainings and workshops. They want to prevent teachers from imposing their own opinions upon students as is shown in the following quote:

“As teacher you have the task to give information to the students, as fact based as possible, as complete as possible. A second task is also to teach on cultural values and norms. However, this should be done in a way that students can develop their own values and norms, thus it is not about his [teachers] own values and norms. Those are the tasks of a teacher and when a teacher is imposing his own values and norms to the students, you might ask the question, is that a good teacher?” (Respondent 3).

Although most teachers stress that they try to stay neutral in their lessons and not to express their own opinion to the students, only few of them can explain how they are doing this. They learned the importance of neutrality in the teacher-trainings and it might be something that teachers answer in order to give a socially desirable answer. Most of them are not very clear on what they exactly tell to the students or what their message is to the students. They talk in terms of good and bad sexual practices, but do not (want or could?) clearly explain what is bad about certain sexual practices and what is good.

Some local organizations and some teachers rather would not discuss sensitive issues like homosexuality and different types of sex in the lessons, which implies a role of ‘exclusive neutrality’. The reason why they do not want to include controversial topics in the school curriculum is probably because this would undermine institutional norms and cultural and religious values. When topics are included in the curriculum, they give information from their point of view, because they assume that their point of view is correct, which would link to ‘exclusive partiality’.

The role of committed impartiality is only used by some of the teachers, when the students explicitly ask their personal opinion or when students ask if practices are ‘good’ or ‘bad’. In that case they emphasize (in the interviews) that it is their own opinion and that others may have other opinions. They mostly do say that ‘practices’ are not common or illegal in Ethiopia. Kelly (1989) recommends this role, because when teachers don’t express their personal opinion, youth may lose their trust in the teacher. When a student is asked to express personal views on controversial issues,
while the teacher, who is leading the discussion, is avoiding this, students might not feel safe in the classroom. Furthermore Kelly (1989) thinks that it is nearly impossible for teachers to fully conceal their own opinion and stay completely neutral. Students do get messages from body language and face expressions. Therefore it is better to express one’s own opinion, although teachers should not convince students of the superiority of their position. When doing this a sense of ownership is highly relevant, as in this way teachers are better able to explain other positions than their own.

7.2.3 Sustainability

After the piloting phase the YICOTW program will be scaled up to more schools and maybe even other areas. In this way more young people will be reached and more people can benefit from this program. In order to do this, sustainability of the program is important. According to Messerli and Abdykaparov (2007) to reach sustainability it is important to build up the capacity of the community to manage new processes and innovations on their own and it needs true ownership. Therefore the community should be involved in all steps of the change processes. Only in this way the best, most adapted curriculum can be created, which can be integrated into existing structures and managed by the staff of the schools. Thus a program to be sustainable needs true local ownership.

The coordinating organization is likely to become the license holder of the program. The four local organizations are committed to continue the program as well, as they think they will get more influence when the program is scaled up. They think the program should be interlinked with the community and the government in a stronger way. School principals and teachers especially focus on the continuation in their own schools. They emphasize that they have the knowledge and the materials to include this program in the curriculum. The teachers who participate in the piloting phase could train other teachers, and when money is not available the curriculum could be implemented in the HIV or gender clubs in the schools. This shows that all stakeholders are highly motivated to continue this curriculum.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

The sense of ownership is different among local stakeholders, as organizations and teachers have different criteria for their feeling of ownership. Organizations mostly look at their influence in decision-making in the implementation-process, their say in budget allocation and their influence in the content of the curriculum. Teachers seem to look at their influence and involvement in the working-group and the knowledge and skills they gained, because they don’t expect to be involved in the decision-making and budget allocation. Although stakeholders do not agree with all aspects of the program, they seem to have a certain extent of perceived ownership. For most of the teachers it can be seen that the challenges they faced did not change their internalized motivation, because
they are still motivated to continue teaching the program. The commitment to continue the program seems to suggest that full ownership by all stakeholders is not necessary for the sustainability of a program. However, an important motivation for the organizations is that they expect to get more ownership over the program in the future.

Teachers explain that they are trying to hide their personal opinions in the classroom and therefore they are using the role of commuted impartiality, following the advice of the donor organizations. However, it could have a positive effect when teachers do express their opinion in the classroom. In this way teachers do not have to hide their values, which is very difficult. Furthermore, it could have a positive effect on students to express their values as well. What is difficult in the context of Ethiopia - and the same is probably true in other countries where sexual curricula are contextualized- is that the teachers who facilitate the lessons as well as the students who are following the lessons are born and raised in the same context. They mostly have the same context based opinions towards sensitive issues, based on religious and cultural believes. In this way, students are getting the same message from different information sources (Church or Mosque, parents, friends, teachers). Therefore, it is highly important that teachers explain other viewpoints as well and that they explain to students that their opinions and values are developed in a certain context. In this way, teachers can stick to their own values, while not hiding other options. To do this, a sense of ownership is highly relevant, as teachers will be more able to explain other positions than their own.
Chapter 8 Conclusion

In this final chapter, the main research findings are summarized and discussed and the fundamental question will be answered: What is the nature and outcome of local stakeholder’s participation in the YICOTW curriculum adaptation process and to what extent did this participation lead to local ownership? Although the findings in this research cannot be generalized, due to its qualitative nature and small size, the present study confirms previous findings and indicates some major trends and patterns relating to the literature on participation and local ownership. The findings of this research enhance our understanding of participation processes and they provide a new understanding of issues that are influencing local ownership. Few studies have empirically tested the relationship between participation and ownership within CSE curricula, therefore the qualitative methods used in this research offer new insights in identifying the opportunities and challenges that can occur in participation processes. In contrast with previous findings, this research shows that the involvement in the adaptation process seems to be more important to create a sense of ownership for teachers, than the effect of this participation.

8.1 Main research findings

8.1.1 Negotiated Discourses

One of the aspects influencing the perceived ownership of stakeholders is the ‘negotiated discourses’ around SRHR. It is shown that different stakeholders are using different narratives. While all stakeholders use a health based discourse, donor organizations and the coordinating organizations are using this narrative in combination with a human rights perspective. Local organizations and teachers on the other hand combine the health based narrative with both human rights based and faith based discourses. Throughout this document it is discussed what knowledge stakeholders have gained, which skills they have learned and how their identity and beliefs towards SRHR issues have changed. It is shown that after getting information in the trainings and workshops many stakeholders changed their narrative about sex and sexuality.

A clear distinction can be seen between staff-members of organizations and teachers who adhered to the trainings and workshops and the ones who did not. The latter group is far more conservative towards SRHR issues. Local stakeholders in this research seem to ‘mediate’ between the dominant discourses of society and the dominant discourses of the trainings. They do this in order to be able to talk about sex and sexuality and to get a positive response from the community. The influence of the trainings on the used discourses is consistent with the findings of Snow (2012) who compared discourses on gender in governmental trainings and trainings from NGO’s in India.
She argues that because the trainings from NGO’s included feminist insights, they influenced teachers’ abilities to question the social and political construction of gender in their own lives and thus the narratives they used in relation to gender. Additionally, the discovery that stakeholders’ newly acquired knowledge aided them in becoming more progressive regarding SRHR issues, is consistent with many of the evaluations of instructor trainings around the world. The trainings helped teachers to increase their level of comfort and it changed their attitudes regarding the teaching of sex education (Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale, 2004; Ahmed et al., 2006; Wight and Buston, 2003). In Africa however, these evaluations are limited. Kuhn et al (1994 in Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale, 2004) show that teachers, after training, continued to present a number of misconceptions about HIV/AIDS as well as an unfavourable opinion towards people living with HIV/AIDS. This is in contrast with the findings of this research, where the trainings did change the attitudes of participants towards SRHR issues.

The transformed opinions and negotiated discourses used by stakeholders show that values are flexible. Even the highly sensitive topic of sexual orientation was addressed differently after the trainings. Most of the stakeholders think that homosexuals should have the same human rights (health care, education, information) as heterosexual people, although they strongly reject homosexuality. This is in contrast, both with their previous values towards homosexual men and women and with the general opinion of teachers and staff-members who are not involved in the curriculum. However, it should be noted that respondents might have expressed socially desirable answers in the interviews with regard to this topic, as it was emphasized in the trainings and workshops that homosexuals should have the same rights as heterosexual people. Most stakeholders still want to eliminate the topic of sexual orientation from the program, however, a minority thinks it relevant information for their students.

These ‘negotiated discourses’ are an example of the flexibility of cultures, which are not fixed. Due to globalization and the interaction with other countries, cultures are changing continuously. An important example is the changing values towards Harmful Traditional Practices (HTPs), such as female genital mutilation. These practices are cultural customs, yet a progressively growing number of these ritual practitioners are beginning to consider them ‘harmful’ (Lien and Schultz, 2013). In Ethiopia female genital mutilation rates are reflecting this shift in cultural views.

With regard to ownership it is important that local stakeholders can set their own targets (Yamin and Boulanger, 2013). Negotiated narratives influenced the goals stakeholders wanted to reach with the YICOTW program and therefore it influenced their sense of ownership. To conclude, after negotiating and mediating between the used discourses, local stakeholders seem to relate more to the curriculum than previously and therefore their sense of ownership is stronger.
8.1.2 Participation Process

Participation in the curriculum adaptation is another aspect that determines stakeholders’ sense of ownership. The nature of participation in this case-study can be considered liberal according to Edward and Klees (2012). It has been shown that the essence or ‘status quo’ of the program cannot be changed by the participants. Although many topics could be added to the program, it seems that topics could only be eliminated when they did not impair the comprehensiveness of the program or when country laws ruled that certain topics be eliminated.

These findings are in line with the literature on curriculum adaptation, as fidelity demands cultural adaptation, including changes at the surface or incorporating cultural norms and values. However, alterations to program components, timing, or overall structure are seen as modifications that are detrimental to the overall success of the program (Kumpfer et al., 2008 and Castro et al., 2004). Donor organizations appear to be sincere in their intention to involve the participants; however they have outlined clear limits to what can be changed and what must remain compulsory. Therefore, local stakeholders have restricted influence while participation is used to improve and strengthen the curriculum as a measure of legitimization. Full ownership is thus not given to the stakeholders. Local stakeholders themselves are in general positive about the set-up of the working-group and the program overall, although some of them addressed sensitive and controversial topics, due to fear of losing the entire program if they did not.

8.1.3 Stakeholders’ Sense of Ownership

Despite the fact that participation in the curriculum adaptation had little effect on the final curriculum, teachers especially do feel included and involved in the decision-making of the curriculum content. Although the teachers challenged the curriculum to a certain extent, they accepted that not all issues they raised could be addressed. They feel involved in the process of adaptation and they feel that their opinion and values are taken into consideration. They are positive about the curriculum in general and they are motivated to continue teaching, even though they faced challenges and they do not agree with all aspects of the program. Through training teachers moved closer to the messages of the program and they are confident that their students benefit from the curriculum and from their new facilitation skills. In addition, they feel confident about their own knowledge and skills and in the end they received support from most of the community. Therefore, their motivation to teach this curriculum seems to be internalized and this would suggest that teachers have a certain feeling of ownership.

These findings are consistent with the findings of Han (2010) who argue that participation in decision making is positively and significantly related to ‘psychological’ ownership. In this research it is shown, that teachers can have a high sense of ownership, considering that ownership relates to
motivation, ‘negotiated’ discourses, internalization and teachers’ feeling of involvement in the process. Moreover, these findings indicate that the feeling of ownership for teachers in this case-study, is influenced to a greater extent by the involvement in the process than by the outcome of stakeholders’ participation. This is in contrast with most of the literature, where it is emphasized that both the involvement in the process and the effect of participation enhances ownership (Sheaffer, 1994; Arendt, 2012). In Zajac and Bruhn (1999: 724) for example it is stated that: “Ownership arises when people see that their efforts can make a difference and that they are part of the process”.

The coordinating organization has a high extent of perceived ownership, while local organizations have a low feeling of ownership. What can be seen is that there is a shared ownership or co-ownership between the donor-organizations and the coordinating organization. This co-ownership is very similar to the co-ownership explained in the article of Valk et al (2005), where the donor and local organizations develop a partnership, in which both organizations perform the tasks best suited to their abilities to achieve the common goals. Local organizations, on the other hand, have a low sense of ownership, which is caused by their lack of influence in decision-making in the implementation process and a lack of budget-transparency. The lack of influence, transparency and mutual accountability caused tension between the local organizations and the coordinating organization. Consequently, the perceived ownership of local organizations is lower than that of the coordinating organizations and that of teachers, as teachers are not expecting to be involved in decision-making at this level. Furthermore, some of the local organizations felt less involved in the curriculum adaptation process and believe the curriculum should have been more contextualized to the Ethiopian context, by eliminating certain sensitive issues. This can be explained somewhat by the fact that local organization staff members did not attend all trainings and workshops, and therefore did not participate in all discussions, leading to a different mediation of narratives regarding SRHR.

The finding that the coordinating organization was seen as the ‘more powerful’ organization, is also found in the research of Ritchie et al (2004). In this research, partner organizations felt to be represented unequally, leading to a low feeling of ownership. In contrast with the study of Ritchie et al (2004), this outcome is less problematic, as the dominant actor in this study is seen as the least sympathetic and the least able to accommodate the program, which is not the case for the coordinating organizations in this study. It is problematic, as the local organizations will get a bigger role in the future and their low feeling of ownership can have consequences for the effectiveness of the program.

In the literature it has been argued that ownership is important for the effectiveness and the sustainability of development programs. Although this research is not focusing on the
implementation and sustainability of the YICOTW curriculum, some conclusions can be drawn. The challenges teachers faced while implementing this curriculum are in line with the findings of Wegner et al (2007). In both cases teachers were struggling with their personal values and the realities of adolescent sexual behavior along with negative reactions from the community. Furthermore teachers expressed discomfort about certain aspects of the sexuality lessons, mainly in the beginning. In this research, feelings of ownership partly helped teachers to overcome these challenges and to stay motivated to teach the curriculum.

To continue, donor organizations expect local stakeholders to keep their personal opinion separate from their professional attitude and therefore they need to be ‘commuted impartial’ according to Kelly (1986). Teachers in general say that they are trying to hide their personal opinion when they are teaching. However when it comes to sensitive issues, they tend to inform the students about ‘bad’ and ‘good’ practices, whilst being unclear about what constitutes good and bad. When stakeholders have perceived ownership over the curriculum, it will be easier for them to relate to the messages of the curriculum. Otherwise, teachers might ‘rewrite’ the program in their own classroom. Nevertheless, neutrality in the classroom is almost impossible for teachers, therefore it might be an option to let them express their values, without hiding other viewpoints. A difficulty that Ethiopia is faced with is that the teachers who facilitate the curriculum and the students are born and raised in the same culture. Therefore, students might not be able to base their own opinions on broader perspectives. However, this can occur both when teachers should be neutral in their values and when they express their own opinions, next to other values. A sense of ownership is important in order for teachers not to impose their own opinion upon students.

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that participation in the adaptation process of the YICOTW curriculum has led to a certain level of ownership, however, different stakeholders have different levels of ownership. Full ownership is impossible to reach, as local stakeholders will always be dependent on funding from donor organizations. The donor organizations decide about the core of these curricula. In sexuality education, a clash exists between the presumably universal goals of donor organizations and the local context. The discussion of what to include in sexuality curricula and who should decide on this is a difficult one. Many sensitive issues cause cultural conflict among consumers; however, they are crucial from a human rights perspective and for the health of people. Hence, it is important to inform people about sensitive issues, although this might cause cultural conflict. In this case-study the information stakeholders get on sensitive issues is complementary to the information they have from their community and their religion. In the end, it is up to the stakeholders and students themselves to decide whether to change their opinions and behaviours. Cultural change will
undoubtedly always be a catalyst for conflict; however this should not justify the omission of vital topics.

8.2 Policy recommendations research

The following policy recommendations mainly address policy makers, both international and local.

- Firstly, the inclusion of different local stakeholders in the participation process of curriculum adaptation is very important for the contextualizing of curricula. In development aid and especially in comprehensive sexuality education programs, probably always a clash between donor organizations and local stakeholders will exist concerning sensitive topics. Donor organizations and local stakeholders should balance and negotiate between what topics can be included in a curriculum. Both sides should learn to compromise. In this case-study an attempt is made to negotiate and balance the topics included in the curriculum. It is important, especially for donor organizations, to realize that they are seen as the experts when they are giving training and that they are the ones who are providing funds and access to curricula. Therefore an imbalance exists between ‘international’ and ‘local’ parties. However, local stakeholders should have equal opportunities to critique the curriculum and to discuss their viewpoints. It is therefore imperative that a ‘safe’ space is created in order to do this. Although an attempt to create this space has already been made, some stakeholders are still afraid to lose the overall program. Although, it is very difficult to create such an environment, facilitators should emphasize more notably than is presently, that participants are permitted to raise all issues, without the threat of losing the program. In this way, more honest discussions can take place.

- Furthermore, in this research it is shown that trainings and workshops are important settings in the negotiation of discourses. The first cohort of staff-members and teachers that are teaching the YICOTW curriculum are well trained by donor organizations, the coordinating organization and other experts on the topics. They have undergone several training sessions, both to increase their knowledge on SRHR and to develop their facilitation skills. Furthermore they had meetings in which they could share and discuss opportunities and challenges they faced while implementing the curriculum. New teachers will partake in a 5-day training course, delivered by the first cohort of participants. In my opinion, it is highly important and valuable that this curriculum will be scaled up and that participants can train others. However, there is an inconsistency between the level of attention that this first cohort of teachers received and the limited training that the second cohort will get. I understand that organizations are working with a limited budget, and that the second cohort of teachers cannot get the same trainings and opportunities as the first cohort, especially
because the program is already changed and adapted. Nonetheless, I think that the curriculum will be less effective in this way, because of the following two reasons. First, the participants of the first cohort expressed that they did not feel ready to train other teachers yet. Second, the trainings have been shown to influence the discourses of participants, which is important for their sense of ownership and for the effectiveness of programs. In a five day training session conducted by inexperienced facilitators, it will most likely be difficult to both effectively train facilitation skills and knowledge on SRHR issues. The continual method of “old training new” with little experience in doing so, may also result in the increased “dilution” of the quality of training. When possible, budget wise, more training should be given to the first cohort of teachers to increase their ability to facilitate the training whilst extended period of training should be necessary for new teachers in order to increase their effectiveness in delivering the program.

- In addition, the involvement and commitment of local organizations is crucial when up-scaling the program. The organizations are the entities that are in direct contact with the local communities and their teachers. The research showed that local organizations expected to play a larger part in the decision-making process. They also expected a certain amount of the budget to be allocated towards their administration costs. Their sense of ownership and commitment to the program would most likely have been more substantial if their roles were better communicated from the start. This is also the case for the budget allocation issue, as transparency in this process is of considerable importance to the inclusion of stakeholders. Both donor organizations and coordinating organizations are recommended to be more transparent, more communicative and more explanatory regarding expectations and roles of stakeholders. (Moore et al., 1996 in Campbell and Vainio-Mattila, 2003; Mancuso Brehm, 2001).

- Moreover, it is very likely that the staff-members of the local organizations will give most of the training to new teachers. Therefore, staff-members of local organizations should ideally attend all trainings and workshops in order to be completely familiar with the process and challenges teachers face when implementing the curriculum. Furthermore the trainings and workshops increase their knowledge on SRHR issues and help them to mediate discourses. In this case-study not all staff-members attended all meetings and with these organizations there was a regular change in the staff-members who were responsible for this project. When new projects are started, it will benefit from one staff-member of each organization to be responsible for an extended period of time and from him or her attending all meetings.
Lastly, it is very difficult for teachers to remain neutral in teaching about sensitive topics. When disclosing their opinion, youth may lose their trust in the teacher. When a student is asked to express personal views on controversial issues, while the teacher, who is leading the discussion, is avoiding this, students might not feel safe in the classroom. Furthermore it is nearly impossible for teachers to fully conceal their own opinion and stay completely neutral. Students do get messages from body language and face expressions. Therefore it is better to express one’s own opinion, although teachers should not convince students of the superiority of their position. When doing this a sense of ownership is highly relevant, as in this way teachers are better able to explain other positions than their own.

8.3 Further Research

More research is required on the issues of participation and local ownership. It is recommended that further research be undertaken in the following areas:

- Firstly, it would be interesting to compare experiences of stakeholders participating in another adaptation process of a CSE curriculum. A comparison could be done in order to see if similar results can be found. Additionally, one could look at the perceived ownership and the similarities and differences between the approach of donor-organizations and the outcomes of this approach.

- Secondly, in this research a curriculum has been used, which only has been piloted in a few schools. It will be relevant to follow the next phase and see if new teachers, who will be trained by the first cohort of participants, use similar ‘negotiated’ discourses and to what extent they have a sense of ownership of the program. These teachers will have no influence in the curriculum adaptation, however their trainers are peers. Morrison et al (2009) state that this can lead to differences in the feeling of ownership and commitment. Therefore, it could be investigated what influence these differences have on their sense of ownership and commitment to the curriculum.

- Thirdly, I have not been able to interview the students who were involved in the adaptation process. Further research should be done to see what discourses youngsters are using when addressing SRHR issues, in comparison with their teachers and organizations. It is assumed that youngsters use more progressive discourses. Moreover it would be valuable to see what changes the students make in the curriculum.

- Lastly, it would be interesting to investigate which elements of a CSE program are essential and therefore should not be changed in order for the effectiveness to remain at a similar level. This would be valuable information for policymakers and participants, as it clarifies the issues that are negotiable.
References


Arendt, S. E. (2012) Igniting Youth Leadership Through Issue Exploration and Project Development. Tuscon: Southern Arizona Center Against Sexual Assault


[Online]
<http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/countryprofile/ethiopia>

[Online]

[Online]


[Online]


Appendix

Appendix 1: List of Participants

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Donor Organizations</th>
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<th>Respondent 1</th>
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### Appendix 2: Operationalization of core concepts

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<td>What opportunities did you experience while implementing the curriculum?</td>
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<td>How did you respond to these opportunities?</td>
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Appendix 3: Map of Ethiopia
## Appendix 4: Topic lists interviews

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<td>o Opinion set up working group</td>
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<td>o Trainings and workshops</td>
<td>o Required topics</td>
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<td>o What should be included in sexuality education?</td>
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3. Local organizations

- Personal information
- Organization
  - Main goals and values
  - Involvement YICOTW curriculum
- YICOTW Curriculum
  - Background information
  - Goals, intentions, expectations
  - Funding
- Partners
  - View on cooperation different organizations
  - Transparency
  - Selection of schools and students
- Participation process
  - Goals of working group
  - Opinion set up working group
  - Required topics
  - Spaces for negotiation
  - Room for own input
  - Sensitive issues
  - Trainings and workshops
  - Role teachers
  - Opportunities and challenges
- Trainings and knowledge
  - Information that was given
  - New information
  - Changing values
  - Disagreement on topics
  - Other who disagreed on topics
  - Opinion trainings
- Personal values
  - Importance of sexuality education
  - What should be included in sexuality education?
  - SRHR needs of young people
  - Difference education by government and YICOTW curriculum
  - Most important lessons
  - Strengths and weaknesses program
  - Missing information
  - Message to give to young people
  - Difficult issues to talk about
- Implementation
  - Opportunities and challenges
  - Response to challenges

4. Teachers

- Personal information
- Organization
  - Main goals and values
  - Involvement YICOTW curriculum
- YICOTW Curriculum
  - Background information
  - Goals, intentions, expectations
  - Funding
- Partners
  - Criteria partner organizations
  - View on cooperation different organizations
  - Transparency
  - Selection of schools and students
- Participation process
  - Goals of working group
  - Opinion set up working group
  - Required topics
  - Spaces for negotiation
  - Room for own input
  - Sensitive issues
  - Trainings and workshops
  - Role teachers
  - Opportunities and challenges
- Trainings and knowledge
  - Information that was given
  - New information
  - Changing values
  - Disagreement on topics
  - Other who disagreed on topics
  - Opinion trainings
- Personal values
  - Importance of sexuality education
  - What should be included in sexuality education?
  - SRHR needs of young people
  - Difference education by government and YICOTW curriculum
  - Most important lessons
  - Strengths and weaknesses program
  - Missing information
  - Message to give to young people
  - Difficult issues to talk about
- Implementation
  - Opportunities and challenges
  - Response to challenges
  - Facilitation skills
  - Difficult questions from students
  - Sensitive issues
5. **Focus group discussions other teachers**
   - Sexuality education
     - Importance
     - What should be included
   - Strengths and weaknesses YICOTW curriculum
   - Sensitive issues
   - Response of school community to curriculum and teachers in the beginning of the pilot

6. **Focus group discussion new teachers**
   - Sexuality education
     - Importance
     - What should be included
   - Strengths and weaknesses YICOTW curriculum
   - Sensitive issues