

**IN PURSUIT
OF HAPPINESS:
GIRLS' STRIKING
OPTIMISM IN A
TIME OF CRISIS**

A data & policy brief on
adolescent girls' life satisfaction
and happiness



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OVERVIEW

Gender equality is central to achieving the collective ambitions of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda – now at its midpoint – as reflected throughout the 17 goals, from health and education, to decent work and economic growth, as well as Goal 5 on gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. Promoting gender equality and empowering girls and women also lies at the core of UNICEF’s mandate to ensure every child is protected, healthy and educated.

Even with the growing recognition of the importance of subjective well-being as a goal in itself, rarely do policies and metrics related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) explicitly take into account the happiness and life satisfaction of women and girls. UNICEF’s Adolescent Girls Programme Strategy (2022-2025) outlines how we can accelerate actions with and for adolescent girls. This includes giving prominence to their voices, agency and leadership, while also implementing multi-sectoral actions to address the challenges they face, such as teenage pregnancy, anemia, child marriage, sexual violence, poverty and unpaid caregiving

responsibilities. Ensuring the happiness and life satisfaction of girls must be a central consideration within this agenda.

This brief centres adolescent girls’ subjective well-being, including their optimism about the future. This has been done through analysis of data on adolescent girls’ life satisfaction and happiness collected between 2017-2021 in the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) – the UNICEF-supported survey program that provides one of the largest sources of statistically sound and internationally comparable population-level data on women and children. As such, the analysis presented in this brief provides a snapshot of a generation of girls’ subjective well-being in different contexts around the world at the time data was collected.¹

Despite the stark challenges that adolescent girls face worldwide (Box 1), the brief shows that girls around the world harbor hope for the future. Indeed, adolescent girls are speaking up and demanding that their voices be heard and their aspirations supported in pursuit of a more gender-equal and just world.

Box 1. Girls face many challenges around the world

Today, 1 in 5 young women aged 20 to 24 years were married as children - and by 2030, more than 100 million girls will be at risk of marrying before their 18th birthday.² Around 1 in 5 ever-partnered adolescent girls aged 15-19 have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from a current or former intimate partner in the past year.³ Worldwide, anxiety and depression are the leading causes of disability among adolescent girls aged 10-14 and 15-19, respectively, and suicide is the third leading cause of death among girls aged 15-19.⁴ Moreover, adolescent girls aged 10-19 account for more than 70 per cent of new HIV infections among adolescents;⁵ and globally, 24 per cent of adolescent girls aged 15-19 are not in education, employment or training, compared to 13 per cent of boys of the same age.⁶



1 The analysis presented in this brief does not reflect adolescent girls’ subject well-being based on events or developments that may have transpired since the data were collected – multiple factors, including COVID-19, climate change-related events, conflict and fragility, may have greatly shaped adolescent girls’ subjective well-being since. It therefore reflects life circumstances at the time of each survey.

2 United Nations Children’s Fund, *Is an End to Child Marriage within Reach? Latest trends and future prospects. 2023 update*, UNICEF, New York, 2023.

3 UNICEF global databases, 2023.

4 WHO Global Health Estimates 2019: Causes of DALYs and mortality by cause, age, sex, by country and by region, 2000–2019 Geneva; 2019.

5 UNAIDS 2023 estimates.

6 International Labour Organization, 2022, reanalysed by UNICEF.

In contrast to measures of objective well-being - which capture the material living conditions and experiences of people across a range of dimensions, including health, education, physical safety and economic security - subjective well-being measures individuals' own assessments of their well-being, or self-reflections of the quality of their lives.

As operationalized in MICS6 (Box 2), subjective well-being includes happiness, or the positive emotions an individual experiences, as well as life satisfaction, or one's cognitive evaluation of how satisfied she is with her life as a whole. Such data are critical for a holistic understanding of well-being or the characteristics of a good life. In practical terms, Jacky, one of UNICEF's Global Girl Leaders Advisory Group members, puts the difference between happiness and life satisfaction as follows: "I have spoken with some girls and adolescents about this issue. In general terms, their responses indicate that they are happy despite the needs caused by the lack of economic resources, which does not allow them to study for their personal and professional development" (Jacky, 21, Peru).

While representative MICS data on adolescent girls' well-being are only available for 35 countries and territories,⁷ the analysis presented in this brief shows that life satisfaction varies widely among adolescent girls across countries. Moreover, differences in life satisfaction and happiness are observed within countries based on schooling status, household wealth, poverty and levels of gender inequality. Yet, the majority of girls have hope for the future, believing their lives will improve in one year. It is up to the global community, through our commitments to adolescent girls, to help them realize their aspirations and potential.



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Box 2. Measuring subjective well-being in Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys

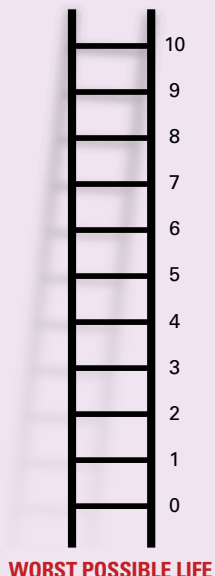
The 6th round (2017-2022) of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys measure subjective well-being by collecting self-reported data on happiness, overall life satisfaction and perceptions of a better life from household survey respondents, including adolescent girls aged 15-19. Respondents are shown a pictorial of a Cantril ladder with steps numbered from 0 at the bottom to 10 at the top and asked to indicate at which step of the ladder they feel they are standing at the time of the survey to indicate their level of overall life satisfaction. Respondents are considered to be very satisfied with their lives if they report a response between 7 and 10.

To measure happiness, respondents are shown a visual aid depicting smiling and non-smiling faces and asked whether, taking all things together, they are very happy, somewhat happy, neither happy nor unhappy, somewhat unhappy or very unhappy. The estimates of happiness presented in this brief are calculated as the percentage of adolescent girls who report being very or somewhat happy.

In addition, respondents are asked whether they think their life improved during the past year and whether they think their life will be better in one year's time. The latter indicator is presented in this brief as a measure of adolescent girls' hope for the future.



BEST POSSIBLE LIFE



7 The data are available at <https://data.unicef.org/resources/in-pursuit-of-happiness>.

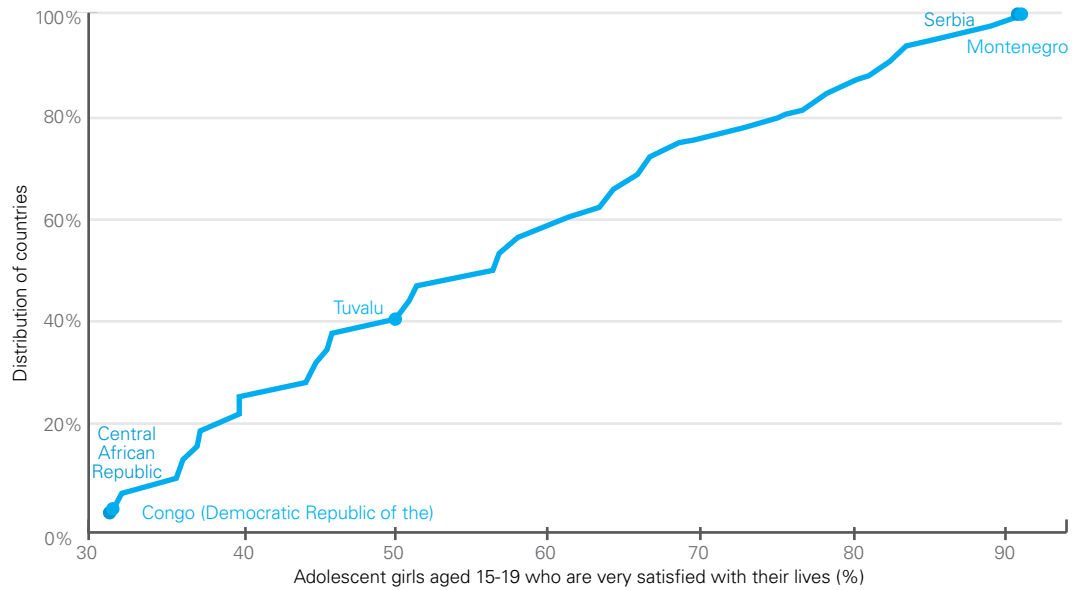
Among countries and territories with data, wide variation in life satisfaction is observed among adolescent girls.

The proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-19 who report being very satisfied with their lives (standing on steps 7-10 on the Cantril ladder) ranges from only one in three in the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to more than nine in ten in Serbia and Montenegro. In 13 of 35 countries and territories with data available — or about the bottom one third of the sample — fewer than one in two adolescent girls report being very satisfied with their lives (Figure 1).

The benefits of girls' secondary schooling on objective measures of well-being are well documented. Completion of secondary school, for example, yields increased lifetime earnings for girls and reductions in adolescent childbearing, child marriage, stunting, and

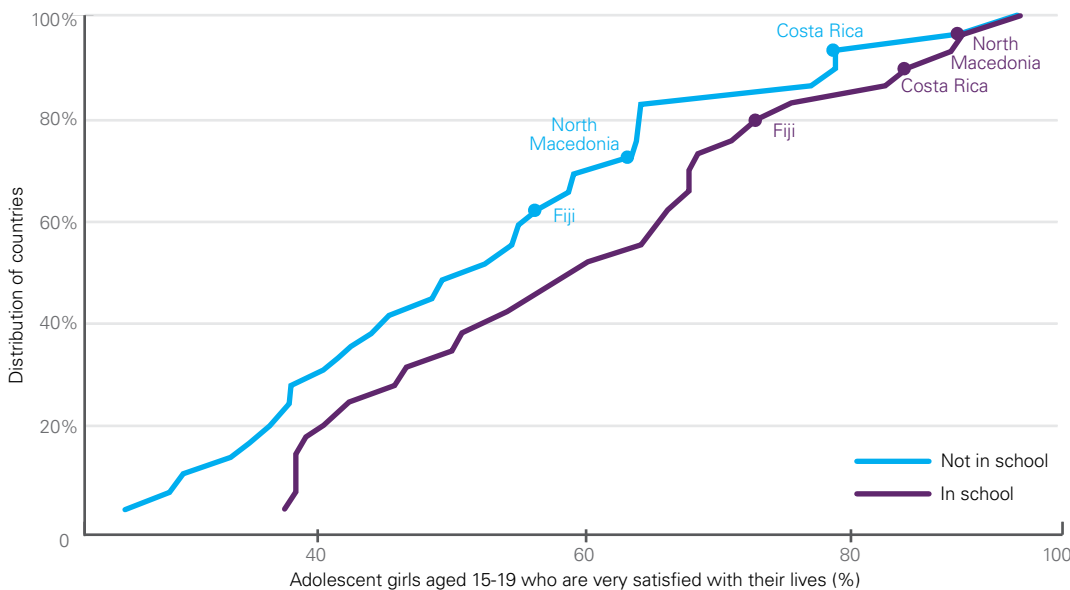
maternal and child mortality. Education can also have a positive influence on subjective well-being through several pathways. It may increase girls' self-esteem, broaden their social networks, strengthen their ideas of what is possible and help them set goals to achieve their aspirations. Across most countries with data available, adolescent girls in school are more likely to report being very satisfied than adolescent girls not in school. The gap is widest in North Macedonia where 88 per cent of adolescent girls in

FIGURE 1. Percentile rank of the proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-19 who are very satisfied with their lives



Source: Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (2017-2021).

FIGURE 2. Percentile rank of the proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-19 who are very satisfied with their lives, by current schooling status



Note: Countries and territories in bold indicate statistically significant differences. **Source:** Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (2017-2021).

Adolescent girls in school are more likely to be very satisfied with their lives than those out of school.

school report being very satisfied with their lives compared to 63 per cent of girls not in schools (a 25-percentage point difference). This is followed by Fiji, where 73 per cent of adolescent girls in school report being very satisfied with their lives compared to 56 per cent of girls of the same age not in school (a percentage point difference of 17). The smallest statistically significant gap is observed in Costa Rica, where 84 per cent of girls in school report being very satisfied with their lives compared to 79 per cent of girls not in school (a percentage point difference of 5) (Figure 2).

I wish that all girls can have the chance to learn and work and be given the chance to be self-sufficient.

– RAMA, 15, SYRIAN REFUGEE

Box 3. What about boys? Steps towards a healthier, happier & more equal future for all

This brief examines adolescent girls' subjective well-being against the backdrop of pervasive gender inequalities that disproportionately affect them as they develop and transition towards adulthood. While the analysis is intentionally centred on girls' experiences, the subjective well-being of boys - especially as they too navigate harmful gender norms during adolescence - is also of concern.

Gender inequitable norms relating to masculinity drive girls' and women's disempowerment, contributing to a range of issues highlighted in this brief, including the disproportionately high rates of gender-based violence and child marriage they experience, alongside inequalities in economic opportunity, decision-making power and positions of leadership. Yet gender inequitable norms also harm men and boys. In particular, as boys transition into adolescence, they face distinct risk factors due to constructs of masculinity that encourage physical aggression and emotional stoicism. For example, globally the homicide rate is four times higher among adolescent boys aged 10-19 than among girls of the same age⁸ - and they are more than four times as likely as girls to engage in heavy episodic drinking.⁹ These factors, and others, may well affect the subjective well-being of adolescent boys.

Despite these risks, boys - like their girl peers - are overwhelmingly positive about their futures. In 27 out of 28 countries with data available on adolescent boys' subjective well-being, the majority of boys aged 15-19 report being happy. Results range from 42 per cent in the Central African Republic to more than 90 per cent in Belarus, Fiji, Guinea-Bissau, Mongolia, Montenegro, Samoa, Tuvalu and Tonga. Moreover, like girls, in all countries with data, the majority of boys (approximately 3 in 4 or more) believe life will get better in one year. For example, in the Gambia, Ghana, Sao Tome and Principe and Togo, more than 95 per cent of boys believe so. The analysis shows that both girls and boys are optimistic about their future, despite significant risks and challenges.

UNICEF's [Gender Policy](#), and [Gender Action Plan](#) (GAP) emphasize the importance of working with men and boys to advance bold, transformative change towards a more gender equal and better world for all. Tackling harmful gender norms alongside material and unequal deprivations in childhood and adolescence is a key strategy for reaching this goal for children of all genders. Young people's positive outlook must drive this transformation.



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Adolescent girls living in multidimensional poverty are deprived of material resources across a range of rights constitutive of poverty, including those related to housing, water and sanitation, health, nutrition and education. Among the sample of countries included in this brief, the percentage of adolescent girls aged 10-17 suffering one or more moderate or severe deprivations ranges

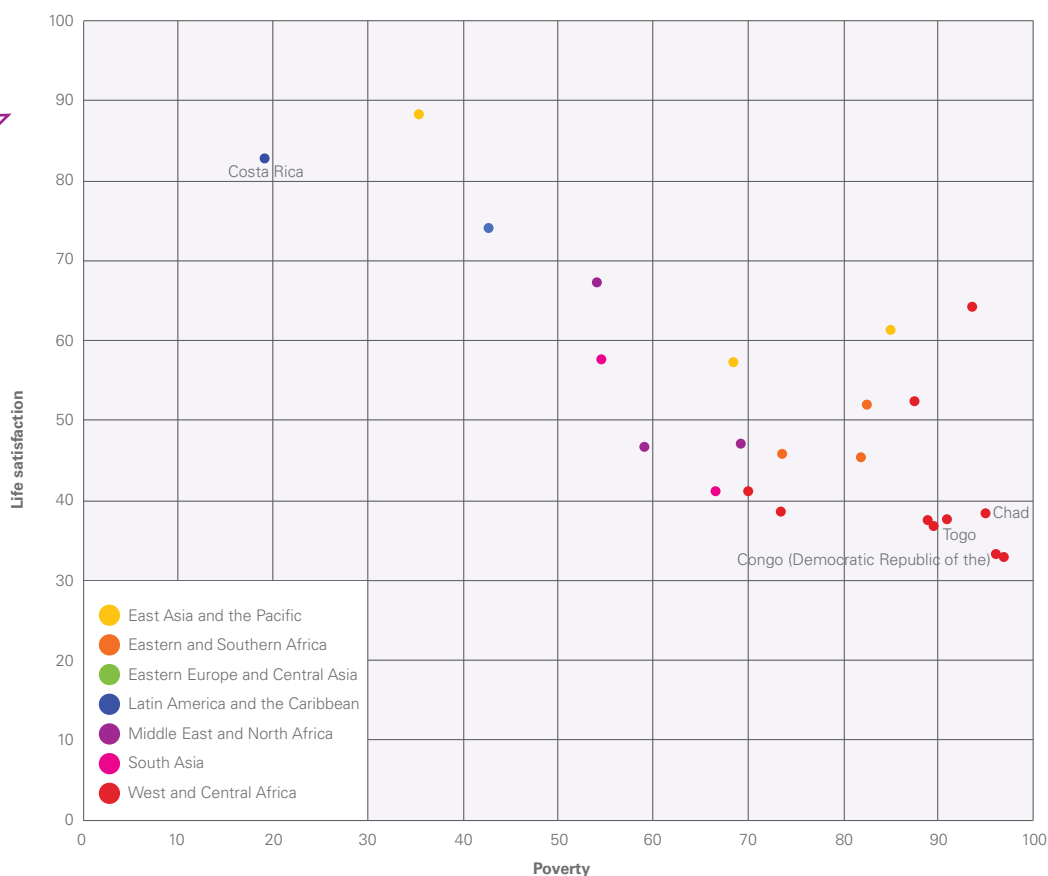
from 19 per cent in Costa Rica to 97 per cent in the Central African Republic, with a median value of 74 per cent for the sample. These deprivations, which may be experienced by girls living in monetary-poor or non-monetary-poor households, not only compromise the objective well-being of adolescent girls but also impact their subjective well-being.

8 United Nations Children's Fund, *A Familiar Face: Violence in the lives of children and adolescents*, UNICEF, New York, 2017.

9 WHO Global Information System on Alcohol and Health (2016).

In countries where adolescent girls experience high levels of poverty, they are less likely to report being very satisfied with their lives.

FIGURE 3. Association between multidimensional poverty and life satisfaction among adolescent girls aged 15-19, by country



Note: Deprivations refer to the lack of one or more of five dimensions for the 10-17 age group: health, education, water, sanitation and housing services. The calculation of moderate deprivations includes severe ones.

Source: Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys and Demographic Health Surveys (2012-2022).

While prior empirical studies have examined the relationship between monetary poverty and life satisfaction, we explore the relationship between multidimensional poverty and life satisfaction for the subset of countries for which internationally comparable data are available for both (Figure 3). Doing so shows that in countries where there are high numbers of adolescent girls living in multi-dimensional poverty, the proportion of girls reporting being very satisfied with their lives is lower.

For example, in Togo, Chad and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where more than 90 per cent of adolescent girls aged 10-17 suffer from poverty, only around 1 in 3 girls aged 15-19 report being very satisfied with their lives. In contrast, in Costa Rica, where nearly 1 in 5 adolescent girls live in poverty, more than 4 in 5 adolescent girls aged 15-19 report being very satisfied. This suggests a negative relationship between material deprivation and subjective well-being, perhaps unsurprisingly – although the literature has been mixed in this regard.¹⁰ The analysis also highlights the importance of policymakers being attuned to people’s subjective experiences of material deprivation when crafting poverty-alleviation interventions.

Poverty considerably affects adolescent girls ... I know girls who are forced to take care of their younger siblings, they have to cook, take them to school or simply watch them while they play. All this while the parents must work to get money. – JACKELINE, 21, PERU

¹⁰ A common finding in the literature on life satisfaction is that happiness and quality of life are not closely associated with income (Guardiola and Rojas, 2016). Also, the combination of objective, material conditions and subjective well-being, including one’s own assessment of those conditions, may lead to people being satisfied with their situation in life even if objectively it is poor and people being dissatisfied with their lives when objectively they are in a positive situation (Michalos, 2014). See Guardiola, J. and M. Rojas, ‘Food-Deprivation and Subjective Well-Being in Latin America’ in *Handbook of Happiness Research in Latin America*, edited by M. Rojas, Springer, Dordrecht, 2016; and Michalos, A.C., ‘Quality of life, two variable theory’ in *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*, edited by A.C. Michalos, Springer, Dordrecht, 2014.

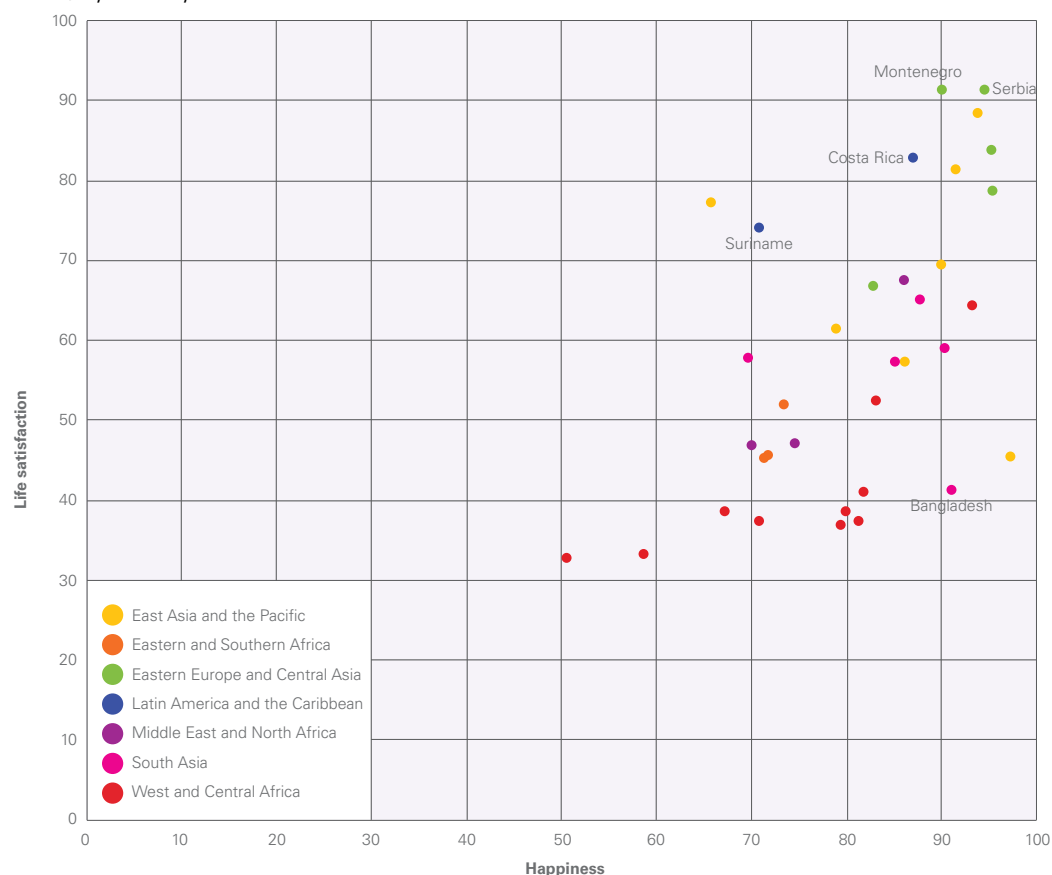
Among countries with data, adolescent girls are more likely to report being happy than satisfied with their lives.

While life satisfaction and happiness are related constructs (representing the cognitive and emotional aspects of life satisfaction, respectively), they are distinct measures of subjective well-being. As the scatter plot presented in Figure 5 shows, adolescent girls aged 15-19 are more likely to be happy than very satisfied with their lives. The widest discrepancy is observed in Bangladesh, where 91 per cent of girls are happy compared to only 41 per cent who are highly satisfied with their lives. Greater congruence is observed in countries such as Costa Rica, Montenegro, Serbia, and Suriname, where both life satisfaction and happiness are high.

As with life satisfaction however, the happiness of adolescent girls is influenced by their schooling status. In most countries with data, adolescent girls currently attending school are more likely to be happy than adolescent girls not attending school (Figure 6). The widest gaps are observed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Georgia, where adolescent girls in school are 15 percentage points more likely to be happy than adolescent girls not in school, followed by Algeria and Togo (13 and 12 percentage points, respectively).

Disparities in happiness are also observed based on household wealth and location. Adolescent girls in the wealthiest households or urban areas are more likely to be happy compared to those in the poorest households or rural areas (Figure 7). The latter finding may be linked to the 'urban advantage' children in urban areas tend to have compared to their rural peers. On average, aggregate

FIGURE 5. Association between life satisfaction and happiness among adolescent girls aged 15-19, by country



Source: Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (2017-2021).

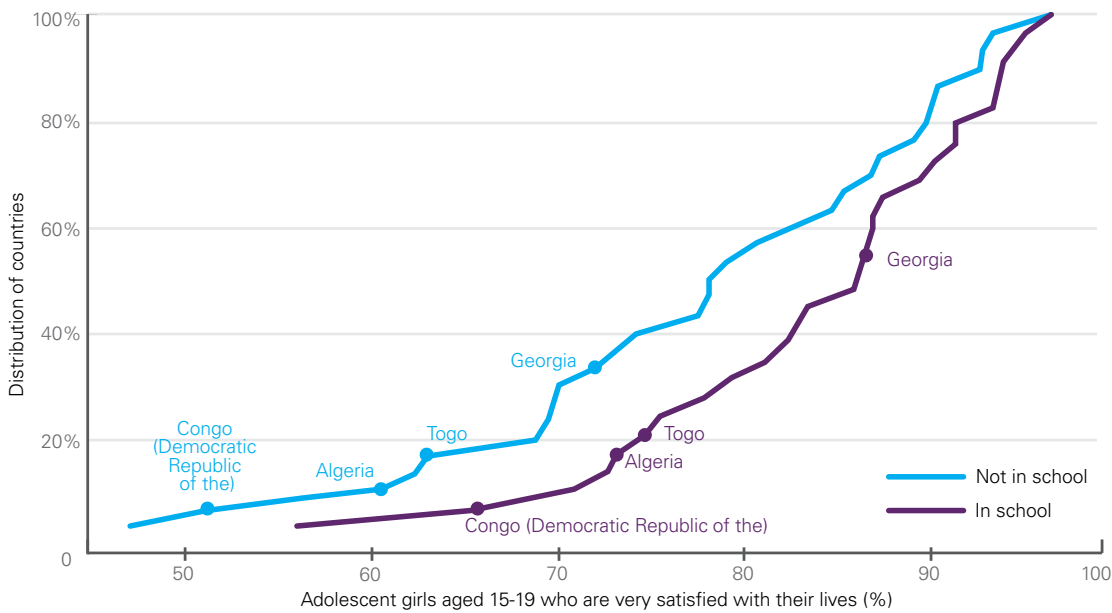
Every time I come to this center in Khanki camp and meet my friends, I think about happiness. However, it always feels incomplete because I would like to return to my home. – AAMIRA, 13, IRAQ

statistics regularly show that compared to their rural counterparts, urban children enjoy improved access to essential services like health care, education, clean water, sanitation and energy, leading to better outcomes.¹¹ Additionally, adolescent girls living in urban areas may encounter less restrictive gender norms than their rural peers. The diversity of urban environments can promote awareness of alternative gender roles and challenge existing assumptions about gender differences.¹²

11 United Nations Children's Fund, Urban advantage or paradox? The challenge for children and young people of growing up urban, UNICEF, New York, 2018.

12 Pozarny, P, Gender roles and opportunities for women in urban environments (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1337). Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, 2016.

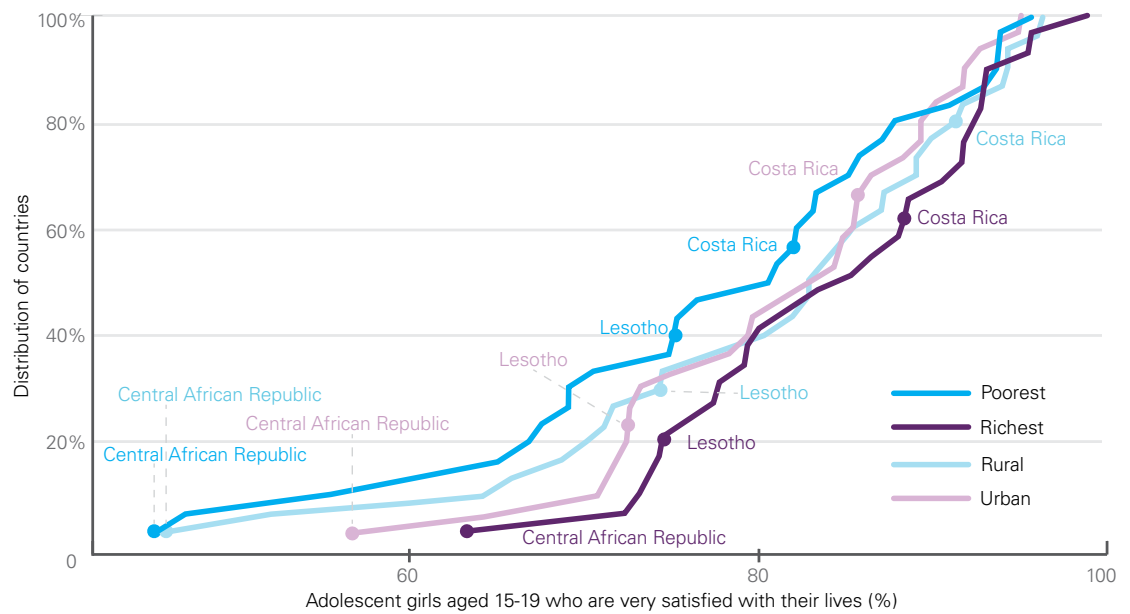
FIGURE 6. Percentile rank of the proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-19 who are happy, by current schooling status



Adolescent girls in school are more likely to be happy than adolescent girls not in school.

Note: Countries in bold indicate statistically significant differences.
Source: Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (2017-2021).

FIGURE 7. Percentile rank of the proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-19 who are happy, by household wealth and location



Adolescent girls from urban areas are more likely to be happy than their urban counterparts.

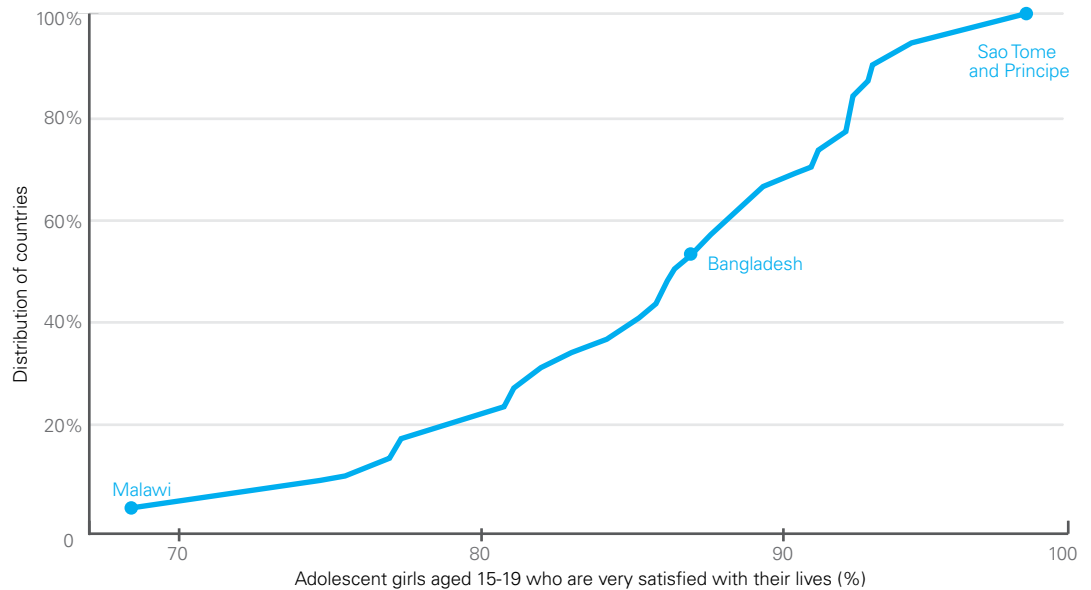
Source: Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (2017-2021).

Looking towards the future, let's envision a world where every teenager can flourish, where gender equality will prevail, and where education and empowerment will be within reach. With collective will and a commitment to change, we can create a future where opportunities for young girls multiply, where their dreams come true, and where equality becomes an unquestionable reality within 5 to 10 years. – MAKADIDIA, 17, MALI

In addition to the aggregate data presented in [Box 1](#), country-level data¹³ shed further light on the challenges adolescent girls face. In Chad, for example, 35 per cent of adolescent girls aged 15-19 did not participate in school, work or social activities during their last menstrual period. In Iraq, nearly half (46 per cent) of all girls of upper-secondary school age are out of school – while in Nepal, 1 in 3 young women aged 20-24 were married before the age of 18. In Sierra Leone, 43 per cent of ever-married adolescent girls have experienced physical and/or sexual violence committed by a husband or partner in the past 12 months. And in Pakistan, only 11 per cent of girls aged 15-19 make their own informed decisions regarding sexual relations, contraceptive use and reproductive healthcare; while 46 per cent are not in any form of education, employment or training.

Yet despite facing these profound challenges, which are deeply rooted in gender inequities, poverty and intertwined with climate and other crises, adolescent girls are largely optimistic about the future. In the majority of countries and territories with data, 80 per

FIGURE 8. Percentile rank of the proportion of adolescent girls aged 15-19 who believe their lives will get better in one year



Source: Author calculations based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (2017-2021).

cent or more of adolescent girls believe life will get better in the next year (Figure 8).

This remarkable optimism should prompt us all to reflect: adolescent girls are envisioning a better world, actively striving for it, and holding firm belief in its attainability. We must work with them to make this happen.



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Despite the many barriers they face, most adolescent girls are hopeful for the future

13 Available at: [Adolescent Girl Country Profiles – Adolescent Data Portal | UNICEF Data](#)

I have pretty optimistic hopes for the future of adolescent girls, but unfortunately there are a lot of things that we have to work on. Girls in the streets and at work are still harassed and there is a big percentage of domestic violence and gender inequality. But in 5-10 years I truly believe that a lot of things will change, if people continue working on these problems and make the situation better. – YASMIN, 17, TAJIKISTAN

Box 4. Measuring mental health

Mental health is more than the absence of mental illness. Good mental health is defined as a state of well-being in which individuals realize their own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and are able to make a contribution to their communities.¹⁴ As such, mental health can be an important determinant of life satisfaction and happiness but adolescents who report high levels of happiness or life satisfaction may still very much be in need of mental health or psychosocial support services to help them navigate, and develop resilience to, adverse experiences. This is especially true for children who experience prolonged conflict, mass displacement or natural or climate-induced disasters.

Adolescent girls in particular face a unique set of risk factors which can affect their mental health, including gender-based discrimination and violence, child marriage, and teenage motherhood.¹⁵ Research indicates that girls are also more likely to experience symptoms which may not meet the criteria for typical mental health diagnoses, such as psychological distress, a lack of life satisfaction or a sense of flourishing and happiness.¹⁶

The 7th round (2023-2026) of the UNICEF-supported Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey includes a new culturally-adaptable and clinically-validated module that fulfils a critical data gap by capturing information on adolescents' mental health conditions at a population level in low- and middle-income countries across four domains: symptoms of depression and anxiety; functional limitations due to anxiety or depression; suicidal thoughts and behaviours; and care seeking and connectedness. Collecting these data across a range of countries and regions will enable us to deepen our understanding of the interplay between mental health and subjective well-being in low-and-middle-income countries and crucially, to develop evidence-based policies and programmes that support the psychosocial well-being of all adolescents.

Although adolescent girls are hopeful for the future, their rights are in crisis. Yet, funding to address gender inequality, and for the issues that adolescent girls care about, is starkly neglected. One recent study, for example, reveals that among major donors to international development, less than 6 per cent of Overseas Development Aid specifically targeted gender and adolescence. Within this small fraction, only 11 per cent was allocated to gender equality – and less than 1 per cent went to action to address girls' economic insecurity.

We know the world needs to do things differently if we are to step up to the scale of this challenge and unlock the vast potential that girls hold. Investment in multi-sectoral, large-scale action is needed to advance adolescent girls' rights. Crucially, policies and programmes must be designed to consider girls' own experiences and assessments of whether services are delivering for them and contributing to both their objective and subjective well-being.¹⁷



14 United Nations Children's Fund, 'Global Multisectoral Operational Framework for Mental Health and Psychosocial Support of Children, Adolescents and Caregivers Across Settings', UNICEF, New York, 2022.

15 United Nations Children's Fund, The State of the World's Children 2021: On My Mind – Promoting, protecting and caring for children's mental health, UNICEF, New York, 2021.

16 Campbell, Olympia L.K., David Bann and Praveetha Patalay, 'The Gender Gap in Adolescent Mental Health: A cross-national investigation of 566,829 adolescents across 73 countries', SSM – Population Health, vol. 13, no. 100742, March 2021.

17 Devonald, M., Guglielmi, S. Jones, N. and Carpineti, G., Investing in adolescent girls: mapping global and national funding patterns from 2016- 2020. Report. London: Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence, 2022.

FOUR URGENT POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

UNICEF is rolling out the [Adolescent Girls Programme Strategy](#) alongside partners in 46 countries to date. This strategy has been informed by the [Global Girl Leader Advisory Group](#) and numerous girls and young women working with our 190+ country offices worldwide. Drawing from the collective learning of this community, as well as the analysis presented in this brief, we propose four urgent policy actions:

1 The international community and national governments must increase targeted financial commitments on the urgent issues facing adolescent girls, if we are to realise their optimistic vision for meaningful change. Investing in adolescent girls is the right thing to do, and the smart thing to do, if we are to unlock the demographic dividend. But it is also an urgent thing to do – from addressing child marriage, teenage pregnancy and maternal mortality, to the gender-based constraints that see more adolescent girls than boys not in any form of education, employment or training in almost every region in the world.

Whether considering adolescent girls' experience of poverty, mental health, barriers to education, teenage pregnancy or child marriage, our collective experience points to the importance of multi-sectoral responses to these complex and multi-faceted issues. This includes provision of comprehensive maternal, SRHR and mental health services; life skills programmes and gender-responsive training, pedagogy and facilities in schools; parenting programmes; school-based and community-based violence prevention programmes; and gender-transformative social protection programmes (including cash transfers and care services);

2 Girls' optimism and advocacy around the world for change is a pillar of strength for the progress we can make together across the SDGs. We must support their work with resources, that help them to build networks and resilience in the face of gender inequality, climate disasters, conflict and rising rates of poverty. This means resourcing adolescent girls' movements and organisations, supporting them with mentoring and inter-generational partnerships, and investing in an ecosystem that can get flexible resources and support to them when and where they need it;

3 We must address the data gaps that render the lives of many adolescent girls invisible in public policy processes. The experiences of women and girls are often grouped together in the measures we employ to measure and monitor their well-being. But adolescent girls have distinct needs and priorities that require focused data collection efforts. To gain a deeper understanding of the intersecting inequalities that emerge during adolescence and make informed policy and program decisions, we need to better utilize existing data on adolescent girls and increase investments in generating, analyzing, and sharing high-quality, timely data that is disaggregated by sex and tailored to gender-specific issues.

This is particularly crucial for girls aged 10-14. This effort should encompass data collection and analysis on girls with disabilities, girls on the move and girls who may face marginalization due to their sexual orientation or gender identity. Equally important are qualitative methodologies that place adolescent girls at the centre of data production processes since girls know intimately the issues that contribute to their happiness and life satisfaction;

4 Adolescent girls' experiences and voices must be central in designing, implementing, monitoring, adapting and evaluating policies and programmes across the SDGs. Policies and programmes can become divorced from the people they should be designed to support. Centering adolescent girls' experiences of policies and programmes, and the extent to which they deliver meaningful, positive changes in their lives, is a crucial step towards ensuring that these interventions are successful. From improving the quality of adolescent-friendly maternal health and [mental health services](#), to ensuring that routes to school are safe, to identifying how to provide childcare services that work for parenting teenagers, girls' experiences must be a direct measure of whether what has been done has worked.

Anything less than this and we fail an entire generation of girls who are poised to change the world.

This data and policy brief was prepared jointly by Lauren Pandolfelli in the Data and Analytics Section and Ruth Graham Goulder in the Gender Programme Section, of UNICEF Headquarters, with inputs from Enrique Delamónica, Mohamed Obaidy and Mariela Giacomponello (Data and Analytics Section) in 2024.