

# Child Marriage

## *What Drives Child Marriage and What Works to Address Child Marriage in Humanitarian Contexts: An Evidence Review*

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# 1 Overview

In this review we explore the landscape of drivers of child marriage as well as interventions that can prevent child marriage and support children who have already been married.

The document is organized thematically with the drivers and justifications of child marriage both within humanitarian contexts as well as stable contexts being contained in the first section. The following sections contain impact and operational evidence on interventions to first prevent child marriage and then support children who have been married and have not left the marriage. The gaps in the evidence - around boys and child marriage, legal interventions, interventions to support widowed children, interventions to support children leaving marriages, and mass media campaigns - conclude this review.

The evidence included comes from a variety of sources and study designs and is meant to give a perspective on the breadth of interventions that have been utilized in the sector. Most interventions do not have consistent, statistically significant impacts on child marriage but instead would be considered promising or emerging. Financial interventions have the most evidence for their usage and their impact and have mixed to positive results. This is in line with the evidence that shows that financial distress is an often cited driver of child marriage.

Other interventions that have been utilized to prevent child marriage and in some cases support children that have been married include - among others - in-kind asset transfers to continuing schooling, case management for livelihood training, sexual reproductive health (SRH) access, and education. The evidence indicates that many interventions utilize multiple mechanisms to address child marriage. While some are single component interventions, others utilize a multicomponent, multisectoral approach in a bid to address the varied drivers present.

**Note:** The evidence broadly uses the following categories to classify children, youth, and adolescents. There may be outliers to these definitions and these definitions are meant to give the reader a generalized idea of how the categories could be utilized. Each study will have its own parameters, combining or selectively using categories as its needs dictate. Additionally effort has been made to differentiate studies which have a single gender or single sub-population focus, however it can be difficult to disaggregate study populations as “children” can be used to refer to interventions for all children or can be an umbrella term to refer to interventions which really focus on girls as the primary focus of child marriage. Much of the included literature focuses on adolescents.

**Young Children:** Individuals between 12 months and 3 years of age

**Children:** Individuals generally below 19 years old but can refer to individuals younger than 12 or 13 years old

**Adolescents:** Individuals between 10 and 19 years old

**Youth:** Individuals between 15 and 24 years old

**Young People:** Individuals between 10 and 24 years old

## EVIDENCE BASE

The literature search was conducted between May 27, 2022, and July 10, 2022, by both authors. Google Scholar and humanitarian databases were utilized for the search. The search was limited to literature published between 2002 and 2022 and published in English - however, if literature in French or Spanish was captured, they were identified too. Keywords were identified by the scoping document, organized by intervention design, outcome(s), targeted populations, alternative(s), and context. Literature was selected for the type of evaluation if there were reported results or offered programmatic recommendations. 230 pieces of literature were originally identified, after filtering the literature: 171 pieces of literature were discarded for poor fit, and the remaining 56 pieces of literature were analyzed for this review. The search strategy can be found [here](#). Using the [E2A critical appraisal tool](#)<sup>1</sup> All of the relevant included literature was evaluated for its confidence measure, with the average impact score being medium and the average operational score being low. The measures and types of literature may be found in the bibliography

Evidence also comes from a prior literature review done by Mary Mwikali in 2022. The full review can be read [here](#)

## KEY FINDINGS

### Justification & Drivers of Child Marriage

- In humanitarian contexts, the drivers of child marriage include gender inequality and gender-based violence; social and cultural norms; economic needs; poor educational access; and seeking independence.
- Any insecurity that exists in non-humanitarian contexts that can drive child marriage can become amplified and more complex in humanitarian contexts.
- The perceived primary drivers of child marriage can vary by population group, especially by gender. Safety and lack of educational access are more cited by women and girls while men are more likely to cite financial stressors. Child marriage can be seen as a protection element -by families and community members - against other forms of gender-based violence.
- Financial distress in the household seems to be a strong factor in the likelihood of child marriage, especially for families with girls.
- It seems that girls face a higher risk of child marriage than boys but there is limited data on child marriage in humanitarian emergencies.
- Peer-to-peer marriages between children are highly unstable. However, peer-to-peer marriages were not frequently discussed in the literature and the how often these kinds of marriages occur is not clear.

### Preventing Child Marriage

- While the relationship is not clear, there is a correclation between increased birth registration and lower child marriage, birth registration offers several possible

<sup>1</sup> The confidence measurements are derived from the 2021 version of the Evidence to Action Confidence Appraisal tool. The tool is in development as of writing but the scores are accurate to the tool as of December 1, 2021. The tool is meant to help assess the evidence according to field-standard measures of regions and quality of humanitarian and development studies including costing information, applicability to a specific context, the inclusion of vulnerable peoples in design and impact, etc. Operational and impact evidence is assessed separately but may come from the same pieces of literature if that study and published piece include the evidence. The key to understanding the confidence scores reflected in the bibliography, is included at the end of this document.

protections against child marriage including improved access to education and legal documentation of actual age of the child.

- In-kind and cash transfers appear to be effective in preventing child marriage in eliminating or decreasing the financial stress upon a family and/or keeping the child in school. The focus of cash transfer and in-kind transfer studies has been on preventing parents from forcing their daughters into child marriage, there is little data on boys' education and cash programming.
  - The positive impacts of cash or in-kind intervention may only last as long as the cash or other benefit component is on-going.
  - School attendance seems to have a protective element against child marriage.
  - Risks of child marriage and the rights of the child awareness building for children, parents, community members, and local leadership was cited as an important consideration in any preventing intervention.
  - Life skills training can supply children with needed information and skills to alleviate economic stressors that could otherwise lead to child marriage
  - Children often are not provided necessary SRH education, interventions can include SRH programming as a means of preventing extramarital marriage
  - While parental programming can improve awareness and the child's - especially girls' - ability to utilize their own autonomy, changing perspectives and practices on child marriage may take a longer period of time for the active intervention and for the follow up to note a significant change. This is true of any norms change intervention.
  - Child marriage-prevention programs should explore the diversification of information channels.
  - Without a holistic approach, a girl-centric intervention may not bring about desired change as social and gender norms are often entrenched in the community. Girls may also be exposed to increased risks of violence and abuse. At a minimum, relevant gatekeepers and decision makers both at a family and community level should be engaged to reduce the risk of violence for participants and promote buy-in.
- Supporting Married Children**
- Married children - especially but not exclusively married girls - often lack necessary SRH and MNH education and access to services leaving them vulnerable to medical crises; these interventions offer the opportunity to increase their knowledge and safety through this service provision.
  - Birth registration and marriage registration may prevent child marriages as well as protect children who have been married and wish to seek legal protections such as custody in case of a divorce, legal protection in cases of domestic violence, and improved financial access in some contexts.
  - Life skills training can improve married children's - especially girls' - physical and psychosocial wellbeing and increase their emotional resilience to GBV exposure, with most GBV targeting girls and women especially in the context of child marriage. However, barriers can include limited access to married children who remain inside homes, concerns over cost of training or education, and household responsibilities.
  - Case Management can improve the immediate, everyday lives of married children by offering them service referrals, improved interpersonal relationships with their families and spouse, and giving plans for the future. This can be hindered by crises

**Gaps**

like COVID-19 which restricted in-home interventions as well as by the same barriers that prevent life skills training.

- While the evidence seems to indicate that boys are less likely to enter into child marriages, there is little data on the drivers or how to best support the boys. Some literature does argue that too little attention has been made to the “demand side” of child marriage, especially as cultural perceptions of masculinity can drive child marriage in some contexts, and in turn lead boys to illegal activities to achieve preferred marriagable status in the communities.
- There is no evidence on how to best engage boys as allies of their peers, preventing girl early marriage, regardless of the age of their spouse.
- There is very little evidence on how legal protections can be implemented or awareness building done for legal protections. A literature review found that when legal and advocacy approaches were utilized, they were “poorly described and evaluated” and when they were evaluated it was only if the advocacy goals were reached.
- Widowed girls are more at risk due to cultural norms and discriminatory policies and social norms, especially if their spouse was in an armed group. No evidence was found on interventions to support children whose spouses have died.
- The use of mass and social media to influence social norms is one that has great potential but is still underutilized in most settings. Evidence shows it is a promising strategy for changing gender norms, attitudes, and behaviors.
- While there is support for a child leaving marriages and returning to their families, these programs are not widespread. Divorce was cited by some sources as being “common”, especially in peer-to-peer marriages but exact statistics were not available to reinforce this observation. Divorced children are especially vulnerable to risks to their service access and physical safety in part due to social stigma of divorce as well as the lack of education they might have received as children instead of being married. It is not clear how social stigma or taboos impact divorce rates among married children within peer-to-peer marriages or marriages between children and adults.

## 2 Justification and Drivers of Child Marriage

### a. Evidence from Humanitarian Settings

*Globally, higher child marriage rates are common in fragile countries. These rates are reported to further increase among displaced and conflict-affected populations like Palestine, Yemen, Iraq, and Syria, and those in countries facing natural disasters such as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Mozambique, Nepal, Somaliland, and Sri Lanka (35,49,3,53,46). Humanitarian response rarely considers increasing child marriage prevention as a priority, therefore, threatening the progress in SDG 5.3 in reducing child marriages in humanitarian settings, partly due to the complexity and cross-cutting issues including gender-based violence (GBV)(53).*

*Humanitarian settings increase vulnerabilities in the protective measures of family, community, and rule of law structures that break down during crises. Breakdown of these protective measures increases the risk of sexual assault, unintended pregnancies, exploitation, and abuse among girls. (3). Child marriage in humanitarian and fragile settings is associated with multidimensional factors including gender inequality, social and cultural norms, economic needs, and poor educational access, among others, which are likely to exist before a crisis or during*

and after the humanitarian crisis (2; 44; 46; 48; 49; 50). Child marriages are in some instances used as a coping mechanism to overcome economic hardship to save resources, protect the honor of the families as means of protection, and act as a proxy for the management of rape, sexual violence, and early or unintended pregnancy (53). In this way, child marriage is seen as a protection for the child against other forms of gender-based violence, ignoring that child marriage is a form of GBV.

Gender can be a differentiating factor in how individuals view child marriage. A mixed method study that included analyzing the cited drivers of child marriage by age and gender groups notes that women and girls are more likely to cite protection/security as well as education and that child marriage had a protective component against sexual gender based (SGBV) violence and harassment (46). Women and girls were more likely to report that girls were “overprotected”. Conversely, men cited child marriage as a financial coping mechanism, due to financial stressors. Regardless of gender or age, common themes in the study included lack of opportunities of education, financial hardships, and SGBV concerns. Girls appear to face a higher risk of child marriage than boys. Qualitative research among Rohingya refugees indicates that boys are not driven to child marriage with financial concerns as a driver, because there is the cultural perception that boys can and should contribute to household incomes during adolescence, as opposed to girls who do not have the same access or expectations (51). Additionally, there is the assertion in the same study that boys do not have as many gender-based risks as girls so marriage does not offer the same protective mechanism. Additional research in South Sudan found cultural perspectives on masculinity can be a driver for the boys toward child marriage as the ability to pay the bride price - even if it requires cattle raiding - is an indicator of manhood(55).

#### **Client Perspectives:**

*"In Syria, my daughter was 11 years old, and she went to school... Here, we couldn't enroll her into any school. We were compelled to marry her after a man proposed to marry her. She has a child now. I am aware that her situation could have been better... We wanted her to be educated, but our circumstances were overwhelming. We favored marrying her to a decent man; this is better than waiting for an unwanted act/thing to happen to her." - Syrian Mother (46)*

*"I know a girl who was displaced from Sham to Lebanon. She wanted to continue her education, but she was surprised with the situation here. The public schools are not good, and the other schools are very expensive. She wasn't able to go back to school. So, her parents wed her to get some money. This is the situation of most Syrian families. They are selling their daughters" - Unmarried Syrian Man (46)*

*This family had too many children, both girls and boys, and so the father was unable to support his girls. When a suitor presented himself, and was financially capable, the father decided to marry off his daughter. This way he could better support his other children; it reduced the burden." - Unmarried Syrian girl (49)*

*'Families want to marry their daughters quickly because they are worried about them. They worry about their exposure to violence'. - Syrian Mother (50)*

In humanitarian contexts, children themselves may choose to enter child marriages - this is especially if it is a peer-to-peer marriage where children of similar ages marry each other, often between teenagers. In some cases, especially in cases where a child marries an adult, the spouse may be chosen by the parents of the child. It has been reported that parental-approved or parent-initiated marriages are more common in situations where the child is “very young”, a girl is pregnant, or if the family is facing economic hardships (48). While parents are often the initiators of non-child initiated marriages, the caregiver or authority figure involved may vary, individuals in one qualitative study reported, “Individuals involved in marriage decision-making included various family members and relatives, neighbors, and clan members in Uganda, and girls’ parents (nearly exclusively) in Jordan.” A white paper did note that the ratio of child-selected partners versus adult authority-selected partners differs by individual

contexts (53). Therefore care must be given to how child marriage is addressed to keep it appropriate to the drivers in the area.

The ongoing COVID-19 pandemic could increase child marriage rates due to increased insecurity and disrupted programming or it may decline in some contexts due to travel and gathering restrictions (44). UNFPA and UNICEF estimate that the long-term impact of COVID-19 will be an increase in child marriages due to the combination of economic and social crises.

In countries experiencing humanitarian emergencies (e.g. famine, drought, conflict), child marriage rates are increasing though limited data exists reflecting real-time rates. (35). The commonly reported child marriage drivers for girls across all groups in most humanitarian contexts, emanate from cultural norms and traditions, groom availability, economic burden, inadequate access to educational opportunities, and protection concerns(49). Gaps still exist in humanitarian settings, especially in determining and understanding the contextual implications of humanitarian crises on child marriage and the associated potential responses (5). This has led to uneven progress in reducing child marriage globally. (35). Addressing child marriages in a humanitarian setting requires coordinated evidence-based strategies and resources among relevant stakeholders. (53)

“12 out of the 20 countries<sup>2</sup> with the highest child marriage prevalence rates face the most severe humanitarian crises” (62)

“Positive attitudes and practices on child marriage among the displacement population could influence such social norm changes” (49)

“We found that the average age at which girls had received their first proposal was 14.5 years and almost all girls in the household had received at least one proposal by the age of 16.” (A brief assessment tool on child marriage was undertaken with all Syrian refugee households assessed by a child protection case manager in 2017 in Jordan (Northern Governorates and Emirati Jordanian Camp) (37)

## b. Evidence from Non-Humanitarian Settings

The consensus to reduce child marriage for girls globally is championed alongside efforts from diverse actor-networks of civil society organizations, the UN, donors, a global program, and government-led efforts to meet the needs of 12 million girls getting married yearly before the age of 18 years (5). However, no region has achieved the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 Target 3 mandate to end early child and forced marriage (6), with some countries reporting unchanged trends for up to 20 years (7). In addition, limited research has differentiated the effects of marriage among incredibly young girls and those of the adolescent age, given the more severe consequences of marriages among younger girls and the health effects of unwanted pregnancies and infections. (7).

When child marriage between two adolescents does occur, those marriages are highly unstable due to the lack of resources and options that the children would have (44). A summary brief of several Low middle income countries (LMICs) alleges that child marriages between peers “often” result in separation or abandonment, and the marriages may also lack legal protection as they are often illegal so both parties are negatively impacted by the decision to marry. These kinds of child-to-child marriages may be initiated if marriage is utilized to achieve independence or the social status of adulthood. Children may seek marriage as a way out of an unfavorable living

<sup>2</sup> Burkina Faso, Bangladesh, Chad, Central African Republic, Guinea, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Somalia and South Sudan are listed as fragile states as defined by OECD.(OECD, States of fragility, 2018.)



situation (44; 46).

*Individual drivers of child marriage vary by context but a literature review summarized the overall drivers as, “, child marriage is rooted in gender inequality and discrimination.” (47) Formal or informal marriages or unions are often made as a result of several contextual concerns, not necessarily just to be an emotional response. A summary brief noted that family economic status can be a strong influencer as girls are 2.5x more likely to marry before the age of 18 if their family is poor (44). Child marriage can be seen as an economic decision: securing the economic future of the child being married, reducing the economic needs of the family, and raising economic status through the bridewealth (44; 47). Social stigma can also be an influencing factor with extramarital pregnancy - regardless of the circumstances of the pregnancy. It is unclear if food insecurity is also a driver of child marriage and it requires further research (47).*

*Child marriage is mostly associated with South Asia and countries like Niger, CAR, Chad, Burkina Faso, Mali, South Sudan, Mozambique, Somalia, Nigeria, Malawi, Madagascar, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and the DRC, , however recent estimates show concern in unstudied regions of South America reporting higher rates of child marriages by up to 25% (6). Such rates have been linked to a lack of resources and insufficient knowledge about sexuality and reproduction, together with gender norms governing sexual behavior and contraceptive use, especially among young girls and adolescents (8). Studies show increasing marriage age in most non-humanitarian settings including Sub-Saharan Africa, however monitoring such trends is still a challenge, hampering the effort to eliminate child marriage-associated burdens and prevalence due to imperfect estimates (6; 7).*

*Further, in a non-humanitarian setting, child marriage consequences are considered more expansive due to its lifelong effects on social, emotional, and physical well-being that are likely to extend to adulthood (9). Nonetheless, despite the focus on child marriage prevalence and causes in these settings, prevention and adequate support for individuals married as children are still needed (10).*

*“Child marriage appears more frequently than a decade ago” (6)*

### 3 Preventing Child Marriage

#### a. Findings and recommendations for humanitarian contexts

As different gender groups have different perspectives on the specific drivers of child marriage - whether as a financial coping mechanism as men might more likely cite or as a protection from harassment and GBV as women might cite - interventions may benefit from an adaptable approach that allows for different messaging for different population groups (46).

Youth-centered participatory investigations into the drivers and needs around child marriage prevention reported that children and caregivers in three refugee populations reported a range of needs, highlighting the complex nature of addressing child marriage (48).

- In Uganda, the respondents suggested policy level changes like stronger community-level child protection policies
- In Jordan, issue and enforce a minimum age law of 18 for marriage.
- Also in Jordan, enforce and/or improve monitoring of the mandatory school attendance for girls

There was little rigorous literature identified for improved birth registration leading to reduced child marriage, however a working paper found correlation between high birth registration of children and lower rates of child marriage but the exact relationship between the two is unknown and requires further research (61). Birth registration is already an important part of child protection as it improves access to key services including educational services



and gives the child legal status both of which can be used to protect against child marriage, but may also protect against child marriage by giving the child a documented date of birth so that it cannot be falsified for supposed “legal” marriages before they are of the legal age. A story below explores the way that birth registration can give multiple protections to a child:

The global initiative to combat child marriage Girls Not Brides reports the story of Rubi, a Bangladeshi girl whose marriage had been arranged by her parents when she was 15. As a volunteer involved in the Because I am a Girl campaign raising awareness about the importance of birth registration, Rubi was aware of her rights and of the fact that the minimum age for marriage in Bangladesh was 18. She visited the Union Council Office together with a representative from Plan International where she explained the situation and produced her birth certificate, obtained when she was 6. She was well aware of the value of a birth certificate as she was at first denied admission to primary school because she was unable to provide a birth certificate. When her parents were summoned, they first tried to change her age on the birth certificate, but the Chairman of the Union Council was able to explain Rubi’s rights and the legal consequences of child marriage, so that the arranged marriage could be avoided.

## b. Financial and Economic Incentives

*Financial and economic incentives include both conditional and unconditional cash transfers, access to credit, and in-kind assets like cooking oil or school supplies. It may be that financial and economic incentives are not enough on their own without a more comprehensive intervention package. Cash-only programs have associated risks as indicated by the discontinuation rates when cash ends and other negative side effects in cash-only interventions.*

*Financial interventions are some of the most common mechanisms utilized in the evidence to prevent child marriage. However, this does not mean that the outcomes are clear in the mechanisms’ impact to prevent child marriage, it is clearer that financial interventions are effective in continuing educational access, which in turn can be a protective mechanism against child marriage.*

### CASH AND IN-KIND TRANSFERS

*Cash and in-kind transfer programming is overall indicated to be successful but within this category, the impact and confidence in the impact varies depending on the kind of transfer being utilized and the purpose. Confounding factors like social desirability bias during the intervention may interfere with testing results.*

*Overall, the evidence from child marriage prevention studies indicates that:*

- *CCT have been found to be successful in preventing school dropout for girls and delaying or preventing early marriage.*
- *UCT has less evidence than CCT and has indicated mixed effects in delaying marriage and/or keeping girls in school. At least one study found a greater impact on reducing early marriage and preventing girls from dropping out of school. However, some studies have found that the beneficial effect of UCT may diminish once the intervention ends.*
- *Conditional cash transfers, such as for school uniforms have less evidence than cash programming but at least one study reported positive effects on delaying or preventing early marriage for boys.*

While cash transfers are often used to improve educational outcomes, there is limited evidence on cash transfers to reduce or prevent child marriage occurrences on their own or in conjunction with other outcomes. A recent systematic review across LMICs found that supporting schooling through cash or in-kind transfers had the “clearest pattern of success” in reducing child marriage and enhancing the girls’ capacity (44). Although asset transfer programs generally have had mixed results across contexts - both stable and humanitarian (47). A recent literature review found that there is more evidence for cash transfers than in-kind asset transfers. For in-kind transfers cooking oil and chickens worked to delay marriage in older adolescents while uniforms and school supplies worked better for younger adolescents.

A systematic review of economic child protection mechanisms found some evidence for cash transfers (Zomba in

Malawi, Oportunidades in Mexico, Punjab Female Secondary Stipend Programme in Pakistan) as well as two in-kind transfers (Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia, ICS in Kenya) which gave school uniforms and supplies (38). The review summarized its findings as, “Cash transfers and/or subsidies have proved effective in helping girls remain in school and delay marriage in Kenya, Malawi, Mexico, and Pakistan. The Kenya uniform subsidy has also reduced rates of early marriage among boys. It appears that the impacts of cash transfers arise primarily by keeping girls in school, and thus they are perceived as too young for marriage; both conditional and unconditional transfers have been effective in this regard. One study ... [found that] unconditional transfers have a greater impact on early marriage rates and disproportionately benefit girls at greatest risk of school dropout.”

Unconditional cash transfers have less evidence than conditional cash transfers. Only two interventions, both in stable contexts, using UCT were found by a recent systematic review (47). One reported that UCT was ineffective in delaying marriage but the other found positive results for girls in school, for as long as the intervention was ongoing. The need to continue programming or else the effects failed was found in multiple cash transfer programs.

A comparison of cash programs in Lebanon for Syrian refugees found that in addition to improving health outcomes and reducing child labor incidences, the cash programs also reduced the likelihood of early marriage for girls aged 15 to 19 years old (41). The evaluation did note that social desirability bias may be at play, artificially decreasing the reported likelihood of early marriage; this sort of bias would be present in any study that utilizes self-reported findings.

## ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT INCLUDING ACCESS TO CREDIT

Economic empowerment can be a multi-faceted intervention category that can include financial education, business skills development, and access to credit or grants.

An impact evaluation in Yemen found that while there were greater amounts of information on safe marriage ages conveyed to women, there was no difference between the intervention districts and the comparison districts for attitudes towards early marriage (40). While there was improvement in one test region to women’s empowerment, especially in access to credit and group participation, in the same region, the study reported that “significant numbers of respondents reported that decisions over whether to borrow and how to use their loans remained in the hands of their husbands or other male household members”. There was no reported evidence on men’s engagement with the intervention and impact on those households. The study cautioned against making a definitive conclusion on the efficacy of this intervention as spillover may have contaminated the findings, so that the control communities may have gained information on early marriage as well and therefore changed their attitudes at the same time as the intervention communities.

## c. Educational Support

*Education is a crucial intervention outcome area to address since an adolescent’s lack of education increases their chances of child marriage (43). Further, as Somali refugees attested, child marriage can mean the end of formal education, for girls at least (45). While education can be an investment into the girls’ future by giving them the educational background to move into safe, profitable work, that investment can be prohibitively expensive for parents, especially in crisis-affected areas where work may not be readily available. Often, child marriage comments refer only to girls even though both boys and girls can be impacted. Outstanding barriers to regular school attendance for displaced adolescents include distance to school, housework duties, lack of money, marriage with parental permission, and health or disability (45). Education has been found to prevent child marriage by reducing school dropout rates for girls and increasing the likelihood of school enrollment and completion (11; 50).*

*Reviews on school support programs including conditional cash transfers and scholarships link such programs to reduced school dropout in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as preventing early marriage, early pregnancy and influencing utilization of reproductive health services predominantly for girls by creating awareness (12). In Sub-Saharan Africa and Southwest Asia, delayed early marriage by one year is associated with increased education for girls by half and one-third of a year respectively with yearly secondary education reducing child marriage by*

six percent (13).

#### **Client Perspectives:**

*“My daughter loves school, but I want her to drop out. I am very scared of the company she keeps. If I were in Syria I would not have felt the same way but here things are different. I do not feel safe about her going out alone. I would rather she get married so I feel safe.” - Syrian mother living in Egypt(49)*

*“I would have never imagined that baba would let me study; he used to reject the idea of me leaving the house, but since we came here, he let me leave the house to go to school. He agreed because he saw that people in Egypt cared about education and allowed it, so he let me.” - Unmarried Syrian girl (49)*

*“After experiencing displacement, girls are more aware and more interested in pursuing an education. Many girls who are pursued by a potential suitor, refuse to be married and demand to continue their education. This was the case after we settled. When we first came to Egypt, people were opting to marry off their daughters, but now things have changed.” - Syrian mother (49)*

*‘The situation in Syria is unlike Jordan... In Jordan, they marry girls after they finish their education... We follow the thoughts of Syrians; marriage is more important than education for girls’ -16 year old married girl(57)*

## AWARENESS RAISING

As a standalone intervention or as part of an intervention package, awareness-raising programs can target adults or adolescents. When interviewed about addressing child marriage, youth and adults in South Sudan emphasized the importance of awareness-raising activities, both within the community and the specific leadership (55). Youth-centered participatory investigations, predominately for girls, into the drivers and needs around child marriage prevention reported that children and caregivers in three refugee populations reported a range of needs, highlighting the complex nature of addressing child marriage (48). Among those needs were sensitization and awareness training on child marriage and the benefits of education for girls, caregivers, and community leaders. It was recommended that community events, campaigns, personal stories, and dramas be utilized, especially if they are in commonly used spaces and involve or are led by community and religious leaders. Also, programs should provide safe spaces for girls to participate in activities and interact with their female peers away from harassment, allowing girls to leave their houses safely allowing for greater social support and opportunities for enrichment.

Awareness raising for adults was found to be effective in helping move the average of girls being married “upwards to 15 or over” but in the tested areas like Senegal, the marriage rates of girls 15 to 19 years old remained high (38). The systematic review recommended engaging parents, girls, and community or religious leadership in the awareness-raising activities.

## CROSS-CUTTING COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP

The *Her Choice* intervention fostered community ownership of preventing child marriage over four years in several countries including, Bangladesh, Benin, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal, and Uganda. The intervention had a variety of programming objectives to support the various systems in place to benefit the children (56):

1. Investing in girls, their knowledge, skills related to SRHR and participation in society.
2. Keeping girls in school: improving access to formal education for girls by supporting girl-friendly schools and building knowledge through schooling in general, and on SRHR in particular.
3. Improving access to youth-friendly SRHR services for girls: improving health services and by actively referring girls to health workers.
4. Strengthening the economic security of girls and their families: creating and supporting women’s self-help groups with training and access to (financial) resources.

5. Transforming social norms and traditional practices: mobilising and supporting communities, including boys, men, women, leaders to promote girls' rights and gender equity, to achieve gender equity in education, decision-making, and access to services.
6. Creating an enabling legal and policy environment on preventing child marriage: supporting traditional leaders and (local) authorities to enforce national policies on preventing child marriage."

The program had success in the decreased rates of child marriage and female genital mutilation, child-rights awareness for children, legal structure support of restricting child marriage, and increased autonomy and decision making of girls to make decisions about their potential marriages. The common themes mentioned in endline evaluations indicate the success of the intervention: a decrease in the incidence of child marriage, an increase in SRHR-related knowledge among young women and men, and an increase in girls' school (regular) attendance. In all countries, a statistically significant increase was found in the share of girls who knew about the laws against child marriage.

The program recommends a holistic approach to addressing child marriage that addresses the contextual drivers and factors at play across the various levels of the community. More quantitative research is needed on changing gender norms and involving community members through the design and implementation process.

### FREE TUITION AND SUBSIDIES IN SCHOOL UNIFORM OR FOOD PROGRAMS

Several sub-Saharan African countries have utilized tuition-free education systems over the last few decades; in these countries, there has been a modest decline in the prevalence of child marriage generally, however, the heterogeneity between these countries and other compounding factors meant that the decline in the child marriage occurrence and the introduction of free school tuition cannot be established in most contexts (1). Further, a reduction in child marriage was not found to be associated with or accompanied by an increased probability of the child completing primary school. A retrospective study found that in Ethiopia and Rwanda there was a 10-15 point reduction in child marriages after tuition was eliminated. The effectiveness of policy enforcement, especially in the education system, may be an influencing factor in the relationship between child marriage and free tuition, and free tuition and primary school completion rates.

In Kenya, subsidized school uniforms reduced the likelihood of ever being married or pregnant by 2.5 to 4.5 percentage points 3 and 5 years after the intervention began, for girls who would have been mostly 16 to 19 years old at follow-up. (14) Similarly, educational impacts of emergency food assistance during the recent conflict in Mali found school feeding led to an increase in enrolment by 10 percentage points and to around an additional half-year of completed schooling. Further, school feeding led to lower participation and time spent in work among girls, though it raised children's labor, particularly among boys. The study noted that incentivizing school attendance and participation positively impacts child development in conflict settings, including giving them a sense of normalcy and safety (15).

Youth-centered participatory investigations, predominately for girls, into the drivers and needs around child marriage prevention show that children and caregivers in three refugee populations reported a range of needs, highlighting the complex nature of addressing child marriage (48). The respondents said that programs should empower girls to complete education before marriage through advice, support, and economic or in-kind assistance. School safety and school systems may need to be strengthened as well. In Uganda, they suggested offsetting tuition costs and providing in-kind assistance for school supplies through secondary school for refugees.

### HEALTH SUPPORT

Youth-centered participatory investigations into the drivers and needs around child marriage prevention reported that children and caregivers in three refugee populations reported a range of needs, highlighting the complex nature of addressing child marriage (48). Several of the highlighted concerns included health-related areas. Programs should provide accessible psychosocial support both individually and in group settings. They should also provide comprehensive sexual reproductive, maternal, and newborn health education and services to girls, if necessary establishing more health facilities.

The issues that girls' Menstrual Health Management activities seek to address have been linked to drivers of child marriage in many different contexts. Early marriage is strongly associated with childbearing in adolescence. (12). A randomized control trial was used to find out if adolescent girls' risk of school dropout and reproductive health challenges may be exacerbated by girls' attitudes toward their bodies and inability to manage their menstruation. It assessed the effects of sanitary pad distribution and reproductive health education on girls in primary grade 7 in Kilifi, Kenya. The study showed that reproductive health education improved girls' reproductive health attitudes, in particular increasing the pride and comfort they feel vis-à-vis menstruation, as well as reproductive health knowledge, endorsement of equitable gender norms, and general self-efficacy but the findings were largely not-significant. While the results of the study suggest that in this specific context, neither sanitary pad distribution nor reproductive health education, on their own or together, are sufficient to improve girls' school attendance or engagement in class, these activities address girls' stigma and shame associated with menstruation, access to menstrual management products, inequitable gender norms and lack of knowledge of key reproductive health issues which are linked to drivers of early marriage (16). There was a non-significant, marginal increase of girls who approved of IPV when presented with 5 scenarios. Conversely, there was significant improvement among the reproductive health only and the combined reproductive health and pads arms for equitable adolescent gender norms; both arms also reported significant improvements for sexual gender norms and STI knowledge scores.

## LIFE SKILLS

Life skills training can help girls and boys transition from adolescence into adulthood. This can cover health as well as economic skills that can improve the quality of life for the participant.

A systematic review of child protection economic programs found that effectiveness varies and that the design of the program and evaluation can be the failure point as some are evaluated too soon after program completion (38). "The most successful programmes were those participants considered to have increased their bargaining power and helped them negotiate delays in the age of marriage." However, few details were provided on the operational components of the programs and if the focus was primarily on girls. Life skills training can act as an awareness-raising device to protect adolescents from the pressure of child marriage by community leaders or parents, in part due to the empowerment of the participants.

The E2A Child Labor and Protection Evidence Summary found that directing children from entering unsafe labor into safer work and appropriate services also correlated with early marriage prevention and school continuance. [Child Labor: What Works Towards Addressing Child Labor and Child Protection in IRC Relevant Contexts: An Evidence Review \(2022\)](#)

## d. Interpersonal and Social

*Interventions that focus on interpersonal and social skills for girls' empowerment and enhancement of life skills have been found to reduce child marriages. They are the most utilized intervention either as a single intervention or as part of a multicomponent intervention to prevent child marriage. Holistic, comprehensive packaging of interventions is recommended to address the multiple drivers that influence the incidents of child marriage (46).*

*Existing literature studies recommend diversification of interpersonal and social approaches to include the family and or community in which the girl exists in a bid to change the social norms (32; 47). Without a holistic approach, a girl-centric intervention may not bring about desired change as social and gender norms are often entrenched in the community. Girls may also be exposed to increased risks of violence and abuse. At a minimum, relevant gatekeepers and decision makers both at a family and community level should be engaged to reduce the risk of violence for participants and promote buy-in. Further community involvement is intricately linked to achieving social norms change. A change in the narrative requires the participation of all the relevant stakeholders in the society for its effectiveness. Ensuring a shared burden to change social structures, opinions, and attitudes of the relevant adults increases the likelihood of positive outcomes (47).*

## EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment approaches focus on strategies that give girls the information, skills, and support structures they



need to advocate for themselves and improve their own status and well-being (agency). It composes of the broadest range of approaches, including life-skills training, livelihoods training or financial literacy programs, sexual reproductive health and gender-rights awareness training. Through the programs they expose the girls to future careers, mentoring, reproductive health training, and social mobilization and group formation. (39) A mixed method study found that unmarried girls were significantly more likely to report benefiting from economic skills training programs as compared to married girls (9% and 5% respectively) (51). Across the board, the aim is the improvement of relevant and necessary tools for a girl's knowledge, skills, self-confidence, and self-awareness, reducing her vulnerability to early marriages whilst expanding her alternatives in the community and improving her position within her home and community (47). These interventions are largely based on youth-friendly spaces, youth-safe spaces or women and girl safe spaces to act as learning or meeting spaces as well as for social and recreation events; peer mentorship often also plays a part in the implementation (47).

A review focused exclusively on rigorously evaluated intervention in low- and middle-income countries. It found that empowerment approaches were most utilized and had the highest success rate (39). This was supported by a recent literature review (47). A recent systematic review that examined evaluation in the period of 2000-2019 on what works to prevent child marriage in low and middle-income countries found that enhancement of girls' own human capital and opportunities was consistently the most compelling pathway to delaying marriage and recommended the orientation of programming to prevent child marriage (18). This has been argued as being premature given that the study also acknowledges that context plays a big part in the success or otherwise of interventions (19). Limiting the interpretation of programs' success to one indicator of delaying the age of marriage to 18 by the study has also been argued as being reductive and possibly misleading since it's only a partial view into the issue which is multifaceted. Further, the root causes and drivers of Child Early and Forced Marriage drivers are not addressed. In the absence of gender-transformative approaches that challenge these norms and unequal power within the family, communities, and institutions, sustainable change cannot be achieved. A multidimensional approach is more nuanced than a single age-of-marriage indicator and therein lies the key to generating a richer understanding of the processes required to promote girls' and women's empowerment and achieve gender equality (20).

## COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGING OF MENTORING, PARENTAL TRAINING AND SAFE SPACES

Endline reports on comprehensive packaging note that like many norms changing programs and interventions, changing perspectives and practices on child marriage may take a longer period of time for the active intervention and for the follow up to note significant change (2; 42).

In the past the IRC has utilized a comprehensive package in COMPASS (Creating Opportunities through Mentoring, Parental Involvement and Safe Spaces).<sup>3</sup> In the program, adolescent girls are provided life skills sessions and complementary caregiver sessions are offered to their parents or other caregivers in the girls' lives. As part of the package, a safe place for the girls is provided for the sessions and mentoring may also be provided, to help transition them from adolescence to adulthood. A randomized controlled trial in an Ethiopian refugee camp found that while the girls did not report a significant decrease in sexual violence exposure including exploitive sexual activity and other forms of violence, or feelings of safety, there was a decrease in reported child marriage among girls who were married at baseline and an improvement in attitudes around rites of passage (2). Another cluster randomized controlled trial of COMPASS in the DRC utilizing a similar program to the study in Ethiopia found that the intervention had no impact on primary outcomes - like sexual violence - or secondary outcomes for girls (42). The study also found that the addition of the caregiver component to the overall life skills program did not change the "differential exposure to any form of sexual violence, physical violence, neglect, child marriage or transactional sex for adolescent girls" compared to a program that only offered life skills. When COMPASS was implemented in Pakistan and tested via a mixed-method study, there were mixed but largely positive results in psychosocial health, access to services, and social support such as mentoring. The quantifiable results found significant improvements among the girls in the program for, "movement, psychosocial well-being, and some improvements in social support, knowledge of services, and gendered rites of passage" however the results on safety were not significant

<sup>3</sup> The IRC has since begun utilizing Girl Shine instead of COMPASS.

(58). The girls reported feelings of safety associated with being at home and fears over spaces where gender integration occurred, the center was viewed as a safe place according to a 14 year old girl, because “we have only women here”. Families and girls expressed acceptability and perceived value in the girls learning vocational skills like beautician courses and embroidery through COMPASS and that learning valuable skills became a justifiable reason for the girls to leave the home. The participant girls had mixed responses to the acceptability of violence in marriage however they were able to identify locations where a survivor of violence could access services.

### e. Community, Gender, and Social Norms

*Community, gender, and social norm programs can be a very diverse group making intra-group comparison difficult. The generalized outcomes are mixed with limited detailed evidence available (47). A recent literature review found that the successful programs are 1 to 6 years in length and have some sort of in-depth community engagement or utilize mass media. However, the evidence on mass media is limited as well (21, 22).*

*A 2020 UNICEF compendium on findings and recommendations to strengthen the evidence base and impact of social and behavior change interventions to end child marriage found that different interpersonal relationships, in particular fathers, peers and parents, play a role in influencing child marriage. In some communities, fathers' beliefs shape marital age and social norms around child marriage. It is therefore important to engage parents in discussions around early marriage, girls' agency, and choice in marital affairs. The influence of peers is also vital in supporting or discouraging adolescent couples and thus interventions should target peer groups with alternatives to child marriage (34; 23).*

*In some cultures, delaying marriage is taken as a negative signal of bride quality. This is particularly likely in countries found in Southeast Asia, where anthropological research has documented high marriage market returns to women's adherence to traditional gender norms of behavior such as docility and obedience to husbands and in-laws. Signaling in these contexts influences the behavior of both girls and boys as they enter into marriage earlier indicating their compliance with the societal norms even if they are to their detriment (24).*

### PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

Studies from Bangladesh have shown that girls didn't have autonomy over the decision to get married, contrary to those findings, in Niger the girls reported their own agency and among their reasons for entering marriage citing choosing marriage as an alternative to dependence on parents (25). Both studies point to the need for awareness of alternatives aimed at girls and the community they are part of. This requires engagement at both individual and family/community levels for change of behavior and attitude regardless of context to change the narrative. A quantitative study conducted across four countries sought to assess the effects of the parent-child relationship in early adolescence on early marriage for girls. It analyzed data from the Young Lives Study that follows girls between the ages of 8 and 19 years in Ethiopia, India, Vietnam, and Peru. The study focused on two aspects of positive parenting namely parent-child communication and parent-child relationship quality in early adolescence (at age 12). It found that nearly 1 in 5 girls (18 percent) reported marrying prior to 18 years of age. Child marriage prevalence was high in both India and Ethiopia, with the latter reporting very early marriages (married before age 16). However higher parent-child relationship quality at age 12 was protective against very early marriages. Even though quality parent-child communication was protective against child and early marriage, it increased the likelihood of marriage after it became legally permissible (age 18 years in all four countries) (23).

A study in rural India provided young women with recruiting services to help them get jobs in the business process outsourcing industry which was a new industry at the time for a duration of three years between 2004-2006. The intervention consisted of in-depth sessions and three years of continuous placement support using female recruiters who also acted as mentors. Family and the community were sensitized to the importance of the opportunities beforehand. A change was witnessed in the behavior of parents who increased their investment in schooling and nutrition for their daughters and delayed their marriage. The study reveals a correlation between labor market opportunities for women influencing marriage and fertility decisions (26).



## COMMUNITY INFLUENCE ON CHILD MARRIAGE

A quantitative study conducted in Niger which has one of the highest prevalences of child marriage examined the associations of community and individual-level norms on marital age and marital choice with the outcomes of girls' age at marriage and choice in marriage. It used data from a family planning evaluation trial conducted in three districts within the Dosso region of Niger. The survey data was collected from adolescent wives and their husbands on demographics, normative beliefs regarding girls' age at marriage and marital choice, and among wives, age at marriage and engagement in marital choice. It found that village-level norms related to marital choice, particularly the norms of men, are associated with the younger age of girls at marriage. They also found that the young age of girls at marriage is positively associated with a lower likelihood of their engagement in marital choice. Further, village-level norms are related to a later age of marriage and support for marital choice. These findings suggest the value of community-level social norms change on Child Early and Forced Marriage in Niger, and the importance of focusing on child marriage and girls' marital choice simultaneously given their interconnection ([27](#)).

A geospatial analysis conducted in India sought to explore sub-national variations in the prevalence of child marriage, including social and media connectivity that may influence child marriage norms. The objective was to assess geographic variations in child marriage across Indian districts and quantify how the relationship between different geographic communities influenced factors associated with child marriage. The analysis used a number of analytic tools often used in geography studies to assess differences across and between geographic areas. It found that districts with higher levels of newspaper consumption among females and female mobile phone access tended to have lower levels of child marriage while districts with neighboring districts located nearer to state borders tended to have higher levels of child marriage. Further higher prevalence of marginalized groups and increased female education were associated with lower levels of child marriage in the districts. These effects were even stronger when the prevalence of marginalized groups and/or female education levels were higher in neighboring communities as well ([28](#)).

Aangan prevention program utilized the community capacity to address child protection challenges. It invested in providing training to groups of 12 local women known as child protection volunteers (CPVs). The role of these volunteers was to act as intermediaries between children, families and service providers. The volunteers ran separate programs for young girls and boys aimed at creating agency among the local children and their resilience. They also held bimonthly community help desks which were used to discuss concerns and bring parents and service providers together. CPVs also invite families to bimonthly Parent's Circles to discuss government programs, welfare schemes, or local child protection issues.

The research implemented a mixed methods quasi-experimental study design. It found that programs for young girls and boys created a safe space for them to share their concerns and was a useful forum for the volunteers to learn about issues like exploitative work or impending child marriages. On the issue of child marriage, the CPVs, some of whom were married as children themselves, were found to be particularly effective advocates against child marriage. CPVs documented 17 cases of impending child marriage that were prevented over a two-year period. In their work, CPVs used a variety of strategies to address the economic, social and cultural drivers of the problem and to enlist neighbors and state actors to support their efforts ([33](#)).

## MASS MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

A study conducted in Amhara Region, Ethiopia utilizing data from a 2007 cross-sectional household survey and multilevel logistic regression models found a positive association between mass media and interpersonal communication exposure to information that dissuaded child marriage. Provision of knowledge of marriage legislation, shifting perceptions of marriage before 18 years as early and beliefs of the girls' rights to individual marriage choice among parents/guardians were disseminated through mass media. The influence of the exposure to this knowledge varied significantly across communities through the prevention of child marriage through community pressure was found. The findings imply that child marriage prevention programs' diversification of information channels should be explored. This can be achieved through reinforcing the perceived advantages of delayed marriage and adopting a social influence perspective ([21](#)).

Similarly in India, a study found the introduction of cable television in rural Indian villages also led to gains in women's schooling and reductions in fertility, potentially by providing new information on roles women might play outside of the home more generally and in the labor market in particular. The analysis relied on a three-year panel dataset covering women in five Indian states between 2001 and 2003 which represented a time of rapid growth in rural cable access. A reduction in son preference, fertility, and the reported acceptability of beating while an increase in women's autonomy and female school enrollment was observed. Overall, the effects were quite positive for women. This was attributed to cable television programming as an effective form of persuasion that provided desirable behaviors and attitudes to emulate without expressing so explicitly (22).

## f. Multicomponent

Recently a systematic review on the 20 Years of the Evidence Base on What Works to Prevent Child Marriage found that there was a low success rate for multicomponent interventions with positive results in only one of eight medium-high quality studies. In comparison, single component interventions were found to be much more likely to be at scale and sustainable than multicomponent interventions. Given the low rates of success, scaleup and sustainability encountered with this approach, the review called for reconsideration of the usage of this approach (18). Concerns have been raised about embracing the overhaul given its limited evidence and over-reliance on a singular indicator of delaying marital age to 18 years to come to these conclusions. Further acknowledgment of the diverse nature of these programs that have multiple, interconnected goals including personal empowerment, changing social norms, and structural shifts by the review authors is an indication that child marriage drivers are varied and context-specific (20). While it is true that multi-component approaches do have low rates of success from the evidence it is unclear whether this stems from the effectiveness of the intervention packages or are as a result of the challenges encountered in implementing and evaluating them, factors important enough to warrant more serious qualification of the review's conclusions (19).

Given that prevention of child marriage is context specific and doesn't subscribe to one size fit all model, evaluations of some multicomponent programs preventing child marriage have found them to be effective. The Berhane Hewan program in Ethiopia combined community mobilization and sensitization, safe spaces, and incentives or asset transfers to keep girls in school and unmarried. The evaluation of the program found significant delays in marriage for girls aged between 10 and 14 years with significant school enrollment. In addition, sexually active girls in the intervention site were three times more likely to use family planning compared with girls in the control site. Partners at the Ministry of Youth and Sports consider Berhane Hewan a best practice, and the program has been scaled up. However, concerns remain that it may not be feasible to upscale all intervention components, and providing goats incentives to the families of girls is difficult to scale up (29). Similarly, the Bangladeshi Association for Life Skills, Income, and Knowledge for Adolescents (BALIKA) program (2012- 2016) provided educational support, gender-rights awareness training, and livelihood training for girls aged 12-18 in rural Bangladesh. It was a multicomponent program with 3 arms. The randomized controlled trial found that the BALIKA program reduced early marriages by one-third in comparison to communities that did not receive the training. Program design contextualization is crucial to the success of reducing child marriages (30).

## STRENGTHENING CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEMS

The IRC [TZ Country Program Review: Evidence Synthesis: Effectiveness of interventions addressing child protection outcomes \(2018\)](#) found that there is no rigorous evidence available to validate the effectiveness of community-based child protection systems. There is, however, substantial evidence from case studies and literature reviews, that report positive effects of community-based child protection committees (CPCs) on people's i) knowledge of child protection issues and where to report abuse or how to use protection services, ii) attitudes towards participating in child rights awareness raising, iii) an increase in the use of services and reporting child abuse, and iv) a reduction in incidences of child abuse such as; hazardous labor, child trafficking, child marriage, sexual harassment, and corporal punishment

A case study identified in the [VPRU: Child Protection Committees EBDM \(2018\)](#) review found that in evaluating

established community-based child protection support systems in Zambia, that Community Child Protection Committees (CCPCs), Child Rights Clubs (CRCs) in schools and Radio Listening Clubs<sup>4</sup> (RLCs), contributed positively towards improved i) knowledge on child protection issues amongst community members, including children, ii) attitudes around the importance, particularly for children and youth (90-91% of respondents) to participate in child rights awareness raising, iii) knowledge (85% of respondents) around where to report abuse and how to use 'child helpline' services, iv) an increase in use of the helpline and general efficacy (84% of respondents), towards reporting child abuse, and finally, v) a reduction in incidences of child abuse because of the project: reduction in child marriage, sexual harassment against children (46.3%), physical abuse (corporal punishment) against children (45.9%), and discrimination against children (46.3%).

For more information on child protection systems, see [VPRU: Child Protection Committees EBDM \(2018\)](#), [TZ Country Program Review | Evidence Synthesis: Effectiveness of interventions addressing child protection outcomes \(2018\)](#), and [Child Labor: What Works Towards Addressing Child Labor and Child Protection in IRC Relevant Contexts: An Evidence Review \(2022\)](#)

## 4 Supporting Married Children

### a. General findings and recommendations

#### NEEDS OF MARRIED CHILDREN

Married girls especially need support for and from incidents of violence. Married girls have higher rates of physical, sexual, and emotional violence and lower engagement rates with formal education as compared to their unmarried peers ([43](#); [51](#)). In fact, there is a significantly negative relationship between being married early and girls' participation in formal education ([43](#)). A study concluded that especially in the DRC, married girls have comprehensive needs requiring comprehensive, complex intervention designs.

When Sudanese and Syrian Refugees were asked about the needs of married girls, the following were listed: ([48](#))

- Basic needs for themselves and their children
- Educational support in-kind or through awareness raising to reduce resistance from husbands, parents, or in-laws
- Access to quality sexual and reproductive health services
- Economic support (beyond the aforementioned educational support) that includes cash transfers and access to credit as well as livelihood training
- Education on IPV and protection services
- Awareness Raising for husbands and family members on GBV and better interpersonal relationships
- Psychosocial support services and parenting help

These needs were supported by accounts of Syrian refugees in Egypt who recounted similar themes ([49](#)).

The context the married child is in, and whether they have had children yet are important programmatic considerations. Girls who were forcibly married to members of armed groups, have different needs and threats to their well-being than a girl who was married in a refugee camp or in a more stable context ([53](#)). Girls who are able to leave the armed groups are unlikely to return to formal schooling and are likely to remain under economic stress. The children produced by these unions are a secondary area of concern but one that must be addressed if addressing the needs of married girls.

It is suggested that birth registration and then legal registration of marriages can protect children who are married ([61](#)). The following benefits were suggested for legal registration in Indonesia in particular:

- A marriage certificate is necessary to obtain a birth certificate with both parents' names
- Marriage registration can prevent child marriage if minimal marriage ages are written into the laws, and the laws are followed.
- Legal registration of marriage determines the marital property regime, and therefore the allocation and

- management of property during marriage and at its dissolution.
- Legal registration of marriage is necessary to obtain family cards, which can be used to prove financial eligibility to cash transfer programs, subsidized health care and other government services.
- Proof of marriage is crucial in domestic violence charges.
- Proof of marriage simplifies inheritance procedures for children.
- Marriage registration means that marriage dissolution may only happen through legal divorce, which allows for clear division of assets and child custody arrangements.

## b. Interventions to Support Married Children

*While there is limited evidence on the programs that were designed to support married children, a recent literature review found that what is out there is varied in the targeted activities and outcomes, including “use of modern contraceptives, use of SRH services, pregnancy-related care seeking, egalitarian marital relations, and measures of autonomy and social support networks” (47). SRH service needs are echoed by qualitative interviews with married refugee girls as sexual activity and pregnancy are rarely discussed prior to marriage threatening the girls’ wellbeing if they enter into these activities without preparation (50).*

### GBV CASE MANAGEMENT

GBV case management can be utilized to support girls at any stage of life. In rural Mozambique, two tiers of caseworkers - ‘permanentes’ from the National Social Action Institute (INAS) or ‘technicians’ from the Social Welfare District Services - were utilized to support the needs of married girls as well as other community members (54). The case workers worked with the individual and the families to develop a plan forward as well as provided needed services and support like counseling, referrals to local health, education, and legal services. In the pilot district, around 24% of cases had to do with child marriage with over half including service referrals. Strong referral linkages are an important component of case management and strengthen the whole case management system. It was noted that the case workers in the pilot area were working in a more coordinated fashion. Crises like the COVID-19 pandemic which necessitated less travel hamper case management programs as they are normally based around home visits. Cultural norms also hinder the success of case management when addressing child marriage in areas or populations where child marriage has been entrenched in regular life.

Anecdotal accounts demonstrate the success of the program on an individual basis,

“In November 2019, 13 year old Maria went to Angoche to visit her mother. When she arrived at her mother’s house, she met a 17 year old boy called Carlos who lived in the same neighborhood. Carlos asked Maria’s mother if he could marry Maria and the mother accepted. In a multi-sectoral coordination meeting at the district level, a case worker reported the incident. The case worker, along with paralegal social workers, activists and community leaders, came together to talk to the two families. After several discussions, the families agreed to stop the premature marriage and Maria and Carlos went back to school.”

GBV case management approaches for engaged girls, girls at risk of marriage and married girls are detailed in [the Inter-Agency Gender Based Violence Case Management Guidelines \(2017\)](#)

### EARLY MARRIAGE LIFE SKILLS TAILORED PACKAGE CURRICULUM

The IRC has utilized this curriculum in Lebanon to support Syrian and Lebanese married girls. An IRC research officer described the program as, “The Early Marriage Life Skills Tailored Package Curriculum consists of 20 sessions, which aim to empower Syrian and Lebanese married and engaged adolescent girls in Lebanon by providing them with vital information and skills for their physical and psychosocial wellbeing and to increase their resilience to GBV. The package is implemented with a closed group in a mobile safe space that guarantees the confidentiality and comfort of the participants. For those girls not able to participate in the Tailored Package Curriculum, IRC offers a Rapid Response program, in which a caseworker provides a shortened, individually-tailored version of the life skills sessions” (57). A literature review reported that the curriculum was tailored to the context

and covered "self-esteem/self-worth, healthy relationship skills, financial management, family planning, and SGBV" (47). The program also involved husbands and mothers-in-law to further empower the girls and allow them to continue to attend the programming. The program resulted in improved belief in the child's ability to talk to their caregiver if the child needed support; and strong responses percentages in favor of equitable gender roles, and 100% of girls who participated in the safe spaces reported knowing where to go for services and support if they experience violence. At the post treatment evaluation, all but one respondent reported an improvement in the total score, with the remaining respondent had a decrease.<sup>4</sup> Utilization of "prefer not to answer" at the post-test may have skewed results.

## ECONOMIC AND HEALTH PROGRAMMING

*Toward Economic and Sexual Reproductive Health Outcomes for Adolescent Girls* (TESFA) in Ethiopia had the goal of empowering girls with information and training including health information as well as financial and livelihood training, providing health services to married girls, and educating parents and community members (47). In a three-year test period, TESFA saw significant improvements to the child protection outcomes including, "improved husband and wife communication, decreased SGBV, improved mental health, increased investment in productive economic assets, and improved knowledge and use of SRH services, including family planning."

"There are so many organizations working on prevention of early marriage, but not a lot are working as response to early marriage. . . . You cannot promote awareness and prevention of early marriage in a culture that does not want to stop early marriage. . . . I think it would be much more effective, when you've passed the point when you can do prevention, to do response. So our job is to empower these girls, empower these individuals in that specific culture." —Practitioner, NGO, Lebanon(47)

## 5 Gaps

### a. Child Marriage Interventions for Boys

There is limited evidence for child marriage interventions that target boys to prevent their own early or the marriage of their female peers as opposed to the much wider range of evidence on programs for girls as the primary audience (47; 55). While there is programming for engaging men in gender norms generally (e.g. EMAP Plus) the evidence did not demonstrate programs specifically for boys to address child marriage. What is available is limited in context and in study methods, such as a qualitative study on Rohingya that briefly touched on the perceived lack of need for programming for boys due to fewer risks (51). Or the research is on drivers of child marriage for boys and not preventive measures (55). A study of boys in South Sudan noted that there is limited evidence on the demand side of child marriage - for as much as has been studies on the girls' side of child marriage. It should be noted that this was explicitly focused on the financial and safety drivers of child marriage, especially forced marriage, it does not address child marriages between peers or marriages driven by the need to escape an unsafe or undesirable home or otherwise seek independence. The study recommended, "We suggest that this study challenges the sometimes narrow depictions of child marriage drivers, which might only simplistically refer to 'culture', conflict or gender norms from the perspectives of expectations on girls. Our findings emphasize the importance of taking a holistic, multilayered, and context-specific approach to understanding child marriage drivers"

Further, the integration of boys and men to support prevention strategies is lacking. Given the position and power they often times wield in the community they can be powerful allies in raising awareness of the detrimental effects of child marriage which now is recognized as going beyond the individual harm to ramifications that affect the economy which in turn affect the community (37).

<sup>4</sup> Note: While the final pre/post test results were available to create this review, the results were not anonymized and so are not available for wider distribution.

## **b. Legal Protections and other Governance Interventions**

There is very little evidence on how laws, policies or other legal structures may be leveraged or improved through interventions or how awareness building is done for improved legal protection. The WHO's INSPIRE strategies articulate the importance of laws and policies changes as, "First, they show society that violent behaviour is wrong, and can therefore help eradicate prevailing norms that tolerate it. Second, they hold perpetrators accountable for their actions. Third, laws and policies can also be useful in reducing exposure to key risk factors for violence against children, by reducing alcohol misuse and limiting youth access to firearms and weapons." (60) A literature review found that when legal and advocacy approaches were utilized, they were "poorly described and evaluated" and when they were evaluated it was only if the advocacy goals were reached (47). The client perspectives do recount the need for legal protections in their contexts but those perspectives were collected as part of a scoping or landscape review and were not necessarily influential in program design (48). Due to the long timeline needed for legal interventions, it may be difficult to study the impact of legal changes on child marriage occurrence, married child support, or child marriage dissolution, more disaggregation is also needed of the evidence across the various legal obstacles that children in early marriages might face. In contexts where early marriage is legal and girls have not registered their marriage they could face challenges related to registering the birth of their children, lack of recognition of their rights within a marriage, their right to inheritance upon the death of their husband or rights related to divorce. Further evidence is needed to identify the benefits, risks and consequences of marriage registration across different contexts.

## **c. Widowed Girls**

While there is research on girls who were forcibly married into armed groups, an area where the girls are more likely to lose their partner, there is limited data on girls who have been widowed. One study on widowed girls noted that these are particularly vulnerable populations due not only to the existing threats that any married girl faces in the lack of health, financial, and education access but also because they have limited rights with inheritance rights being denied, possibly lose of custody of their children, eviction, and possible exploitation (53). While the review was commenting on widowed girls, it could be assumed that separated and divorced girls would experience similar risks.

## **d. Dissolving or Disrupting Child Marriage**

While there are interventions that strive to prevent the occurrence of child marriage and there are interventions that are designed to support children who have been married, no evidence was found on interventions meant to disrupt child marriages. The Case Management intervention mentioned above did include in their plans for children and families a contingency for if the child returned to their family from their marriage, but dissolving the marriage was not the focus (54). A mixed-method study in Jordan and Gaza noted that divorce was reported as being a "common outcome" and that divorced children were particularly vulnerable (50). A multi-country impact evaluation supported the assertion that there is some relationship between early marriage and divorce (56).



## **e. Mass Media/Social Media to Prevent Child Marriage**

A report by UNICEF finds that technological changes enhancing communication among individuals and even the child marriage perpetrators and the role of social media and mobile phones play in enhancing these communications and activities are yet to be explored fully, and their impacts, costs, and/or benefits understood (31). Programs tackling social norms contributing to child marriages have shown to be effective and have known positive short-term outcomes among adolescent girls.





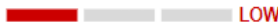

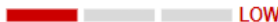

## 6 Bibliography

### Systematic and Literature Reviews


Study #	Citation	Confidence Score
6	<a href="#">Efevbera Y, Bhabha J. (2020) Defining and deconstructing girl child marriage and applications to global public health. BMC Public Health [Internet]. 2020 Dec;20(1):1–11.</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
13	<a href="#">Delprato M., Akyeampong K., Sabates R., Hernandez-Fernandez J. (2015). On the impact of early marriage on schooling outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa and South West Asia. International Journal of Educational Development. Sep;44:42–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.06.001</a>	Impact:  HIGH
18	<a href="#">Malhotra A, Elnakib S. (2021) 20 Years of the Evidence Base on What Works to Prevent Child Marriage: A Systematic Review. Journal of Adolescent Health. 2021 May;68(5):847–62.</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
32	<a href="#">Joar Svanemyr. (2020). Literature review on effects of interventions to reduce the prevalence of child marriage. https://www.cmi.no/publications/7358-literature-review-on-effects-of-interventions-to-reduce-the-prevalence-of-child-marriage</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
37	<a href="#">Hutchinson, A. (2018). Child marriage in Jordan: Systematic review of literature</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
38	<a href="#">Marcus, R., &amp; Page, E. (2014). Economic strengthening activities in child protection interventions: An adapted systematic review (p. 129) [Report]. Overseas Development Institute (ODI).</a>	Operational:  LOW Impact:  LOW
39	<a href="#">Chae, S., &amp; Ngo, T. (2017). The global state of evidence on interventions to prevent child marriage (GIRL Center Research Brief No. 1). Population Council. https://doi.org/10.31899/pgy8.1034</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
47	<a href="#">Freccero, J., &amp; Whiting, A. (2018). Toward an End to Child Marriage: Lessons from Research and Practice in Development and Humanitarian Sectors. The Human Rights Center at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Law and Save the Children. https://www.alnap.org/help-library/toward-an-end-to-child-marriage-lessons-from-research-and-practice-in-development-and</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM











## Mixed-Method Studies


Study #	Citation	Confidence Score
45	<a href="#">Schlecht, J., Lee, C., Kerner, B., Greeley, M., &amp; Robinson, C. (2017). Prioritizing programming to address the needs and risks of very young adolescents: A summary of findings across three humanitarian settings. <i>Conflict and Health</i>, 11(S1), 31. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-017-0126-9">https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-017-0126-9</a></a>	Impact:  LOW
46	<a href="#">Bartels, S. A., Michael, S., Roupetz, S., Garbern, S., Kilzar, L., Bergquist, H., Bakhache, N., Davison, C., &amp; Bunting, A. (2018). Making sense of child, early and forced marriage among Syrian refugee girls: A mixed methods study in Lebanon. <i>BMJ Global Health</i>, 3(1), e000509. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2017-000509">https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2017-000509</a></a>	
50	<a href="#">Abu Hamad, B., Elamassie, S., Oakley, E., Alheiwidi, S., &amp; Baird, S. (2021). 'No One Should Be Terrified Like I Was!' Exploring Drivers and Impacts of Child Marriage in Protracted Crises Among Palestinian and Syrian Refugees. <i>The European Journal of Development Research</i>, 33(5), 1209–1231. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-021-00427-8">https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-021-00427-8</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
51	<a href="#">Guglielmi, S., Mitu, K., &amp; Seager, J. (2021). 'I Just Keep Quiet': Addressing the Challenges of Married Rohingya Girls and Creating Opportunities for Change. <i>The European Journal of Development Research</i>, 33(5), 1232–1251. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-021-00437-6">https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-021-00437-6</a></a>	Impact:  LOW
56	<a href="#">Koster, W., Miedema, E., Sotirova, A., &amp; Pouw, N. (2021). Impact evaluation report on 5-years of 'Her Choice: Building child marriage free communities.' AISSR, Universiteit van Amsterdam. <a href="https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.22399.23204">https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.22399.23204</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM Operational:  LOW
58	<a href="#">Asghar, K., Mayevskaya, Y., Sommer, M., Razzaque, A., Laird, B., Khan, Y., Qureshi, S., Falb, K., &amp; Stark, L. (2018). Promoting Adolescent Girls' Well-Being in Pakistan: A Mixed-Methods Study of Change Over Time, Feasibility, and Acceptability, of the COMPASS Program. <i>Prevention Science: The Official Journal of the Society for Prevention Research</i>, 19(8), 1030–1042. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-018-0890-9">https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-018-0890-9</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM

## Quantitative Studies

Study #	Citation	Confidence Score
1	<a href="#">Koski, A., Strumpf, E. C., Kaufman, J. S., Frank, J., Heymann, J., &amp; Nandi, A. (2018). The impact of eliminating primary school tuition fees on child marriage in sub-Saharan Africa: A quasi-experimental evaluation of policy changes in 8 countries. <i>PLOS ONE</i>, 13(5), e0197928. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0197928">https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0197928</a></a>	Impact:  LOW


2	<p><a href="#">Stark, L., Asghar, K., Seff, I., Yu, G., Tesfay Gessesse, T., Ward, L., Assazene Baysa, A., Neiman, A., &amp; Falb, K. L. (2018). Preventing violence against refugee adolescent girls: Findings from a cluster randomised controlled trial in Ethiopia. <i>BMJ Global Health</i>, 3(5), e000825. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2018-000825">https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2018-000825</a></a></p>	<p>Impact:   MEDIUM  Operational:   MEDIUM</p>
5	<p><a href="#">Plesons M., Travers E, Malhotra A, Finnie A, Maksud N, Chalasani S, et al.(2021). Updated research gaps on ending child marriage and supporting married girls for 2020–2030. <i>Reprod Health [Internet]. 2021 Dec [cited 2022 Jul 10];18(1):152. Available from: <a href="https://reproductive-health-journal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12978-021-01176-x">https://reproductive-health-journal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12978-021-01176-x</a></i></a></p>	<p>Impact:   LOW</p>
7	<p><a href="#">Koski A, Clark S, Nandi A.(2017). Has Child Marriage Declined in sub-Saharan Africa? An Analysis of Trends in 31 Countries. <i>Population and Development Review. 2017 Mar;43(1):7–29. <a href="https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/padr.12035">https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/padr.12035</a></i></a></p>	<p>Impact:   HIGH</p>
9	<p><a href="#">Naghizadeh S, Mirghafourvand M, Mohammadi A, Azizi M, Taghizadeh-Milani S, Ganbari H. (2021). Knowledge and viewpoint of adolescent girls regarding child marriage, its causes and consequences. <i>BMC Women's Health [Internet]. 2021 Dec;21(1). <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8495953/">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8495953/</a></i></a></p>	<p>Impact:   MEDIUM</p>
15	<p><a href="#">Aurino E, Tranchant JP, Sekou Diallo A, Gelli A. School Feeding or General Food Distribution? (2019). Quasi-Experimental Evidence on the Educational Impacts of Emergency Food Assistance during Conflict in Mali. <i>The Journal of Development Studies [Internet]. 2019 Dec 13;55(sup1):7–28. Available from: <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00220388.2019.1687874">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00220388.2019.1687874</a></i></a></p>	<p>Impact:   MEDIUM</p>
16	<p><a href="#">Austrian K, Kangwana B, Muthengi E, Soler-Hampejsek E.(2021). Effects of sanitary pad distribution and reproductive health education on upper primary school attendance and reproductive health knowledge and attitudes in Kenya: a cluster randomized controlled trial. <i>Reprod Health [Internet]. 2021 Dec ;18(1):179. Available from: <a href="https://reproductive-health-journal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12978-021-01223-7">https://reproductive-health-journal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12978-021-01223-7</a></i></a></p>	<p>Impact:   HIGH</p>
21	<p><a href="#">Gage, Anastasia J. (2013). Child marriage prevention in Amhara Region, Ethiopia: Association of communication exposure and social influence with parents/guardians' knowledge and attitudes. <i>Social Science &amp; Medicine</i>, 97(), 124–133.</a></p>	<p>Impact:   MEDIUM</p>









	<a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.08.017">doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.08.017</a>	
23	<a href="#">Bhan N, Gautsch L, McDougal L, Lapsansky C, Obregon R, Raj A. (2019). Effects of Parent–Child Relationships on Child Marriage of Girls in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam: Evidence From a Prospective Cohort. <i>Journal of Adolescent Health</i> [Internet]. 2019 Oct ;65(4):498–506. Available from: <a href="https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1054139X19302563">https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1054139X19302563</a></a>	Impact:  HIGH
24	<a href="#">Buchmann N, Field E, Glennerster R, Nazneen S, Wang XY. (2021). A Signal to End Child Marriage: Theory and Experimental Evidence from Bangladesh [Internet]. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research; 2021 p. w29052. Report No.: w29052. Available from: <a href="http://www.nber.org/papers/w29052.pdf">http://www.nber.org/papers/w29052.pdf</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
26	<a href="#">Jensen, R. (2012). Do Labor Market Opportunities Affect Young Women's Work and Family Decisions? Experimental Evidence from India. <i>The Quarterly Journal of Economics</i>, 127(2), 753–792. doi:10.1093/qje/qjs002</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
27	<a href="#">Shakya HB, Silverman J, Barker KM, Lapsansky C, Yore J, Aliou S, et al. (2020). Associations between village-level norms on marital age and marital choice outcomes among adolescent wives in rural Niger. <i>SSM - Population Health</i> [Internet]. 2020 Aug ;11:100621. Available from: <a href="https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S2352827320302585">https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S2352827320302585</a></a>	Impact:  HIGH
28	<a href="#">McDougal L, Shakya H, Dehingia N, Lapsansky C, Conrad D, Bhan N, et al. (2020). Mapping the patchwork: Exploring the subnational heterogeneity of child marriage in India. <i>SSM - Population Health</i> [Internet]. 2020 Dec ;12:100688. Available from: <a href="https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S2352827320303256">https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S2352827320303256</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
40	<a href="#">Safe Age of Marriage and Women's Economic Empowerment: Project Effectiveness Review (p. 47). (2014). [Full Technical Report]. Oxfam.</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
41	<a href="#">Moussa, W., Salti, N., Irani, A., Mokdad, R. A., Jamaluddine, Z., Chaaban, J., &amp; Ghattas, H. (2022). The impact of cash transfers on Syrian refugee children in Lebanon. <i>World Development</i>, 150, 105711. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105711">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105711</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
42	<a href="#">Stark, L., Seff, I., Asghar, K., Roth, D., Bakamore, T., MacRae, M., D'Andon, C. F., &amp; Falb, K. L. (2018). Building caregivers' emotional, parental and social support skills to prevent violence against</a>	Impact:  MEDIUM

	<a href="https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2018-000824">adolescent girls: Findings from a cluster randomised controlled trial in Democratic Republic of Congo. <i>BMJ Global Health</i>, 3(5), e000824. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2018-000824">https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2018-000824</a></a>	
43	<a href="https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v12i2.1632">Landis, D., Falb, K., Michelis, I., Bakomere, T., &amp; Stark, L. (2018). Violence, Well-Being and Level of Participation in Formal Education among Adolescent Girls in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo: The Role of Child Marriage. <i>Studies in Social Justice</i>, 12(2), 273–290. <a href="https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v12i2.1632">https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v12i2.1632</a></a>	n/a
44	<a href="https://www.alnap.org/help-library/battling-the-perfect-storm-adapting-programmes-to-end-child-marriage-during-covid-19">Pontalti, K., &amp; Williams, T. P. (2021). Battling the Perfect Storm: Adapting Programmes to End Child Marriage During COVID-19 and Beyond (Child Protection Learning Brief No. 3). UNICEF. <a href="https://www.alnap.org/help-library/battling-the-perfect-storm-adapting-programmes-to-end-child-marriage-during-covid-19">https://www.alnap.org/help-library/battling-the-perfect-storm-adapting-programmes-to-end-child-marriage-during-covid-19</a></a>	Impact:  LOW
59	<a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2019.1566584">Gastón, C. M., Misunas, C., &amp; Cappa, C. (2019). Child marriage among boys: A global overview of available data. <i>Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies</i>, 14(3), 219–228. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2019.1566584">https://doi.org/10.1080/17450128.2019.1566584</a></a>	Impact:  LOW


## Qualitative Studies

Study #	Citation	Confidence Score
3	<a href="https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5f314dec8fa8f57acac337db/GAGE-Covid-19-Ethiopia-child-marriage.pdf">Jones N., Gebeyehu Y., Gezahegne K., Iyasu A., Workneh F., Yadete W. (2020) Child marriage risks in the context of covid-19 in Ethiopia.: <a href="https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5f314dec8fa8f57acac337db/GAGE-Covid-19-Ethiopia-child-marriage.pdf">https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5f314dec8fa8f57acac337db/GAGE-Covid-19-Ethiopia-child-marriage.pdf</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
8	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13691058.2019.1621379">Svanemyr J. (2019). Adolescent pregnancy and social norms in Zambia. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2019.1621379">https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2019.1621379</a> [Internet]. <i>Jun;22(6):615–29</i>. Available from: <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13691058.2019.1621379">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13691058.2019.1621379</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
10	<a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/">Nour NM. (2006). Health Consequences of Child Marriage in Africa. <i>Emerging Infectious Diseases</i> [Internet];12(11):1644. Available from: <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/">/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/</a> <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/?report=abstract">/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/?report=abstract</a> <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3372345/</a></a>	Impact:  LOW

11	<p><a href="#">Raj A., Salazar M., Jackson E., Wyss N., McClendon K., Khanna A., Yemeserach B. &amp; McDougal L. (2019). Students and brides: A qualitative analysis of the relationship between girls' education and early marriage in Ethiopia and India. BMC Public Health [Internet]. Jan;19(1):1–20. Available from: <a href="https://bmcpublikehealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12889-018-6340-6">https://bmcpublikehealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12889-018-6340-6</a></a></p>	<p>Impact:   MEDIUM</p>
12	<p><a href="#">Luseno W., Zhang L., Iritani B., Hartman S., Rusakaniko S., Hallfors D. (2017). Influence of school support on early marriage experiences and health services utilization among young orphaned women in Zimbabwe. Health Care for Women International [Internet]. Mar 4 [cited 2022 Jul 12];38(3):283–99. Available from: <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07399332.2016.1191494">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07399332.2016.1191494</a></a></p>	<p>Impact:   HIGH</p>
14	<p><a href="#">Duflo E, Dupas P., Kremer M. (2015). Education, HIV, and Early Fertility: Experimental Evidence from Kenya †. American Economic Review [Internet];105(9):2757–97. Available from: <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4624413/">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4624413/</a></a></p>	<p>Impact:   HIGH</p>
19	<p><a href="#">Chandra-Mouli V., Plesons M. (2021). A Groundbreaking Systematic Review, but That Alone Is Not Enough to Change the Course of Programming on Child Marriage Prevention. Journal of Adolescent Health [Internet]. 2021 May [cited 2022 Jul 12];68(5):833–5. Available from: <a href="https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1054139X21001014">https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1054139X21001014</a></a></p>	n/a
20	<p><a href="#">Aguilera A., Green S., Greene M., Izugbara C., Murphy-Graham E. (2022) Multidimensional Measures are Key to Understanding Child, Early, and Forced Marriages and Unions. Journal of Adolescent Health [Internet]. 2022 Feb [cited 2022 Jul 12];70(2):345–6. Available from: <a href="https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1054139X21003839">https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1054139X21003839</a></a></p>	n/a
22	<p><a href="#">Jensen R., Oster E. (2009). The Power of TV: Cable Television and Women's Status in India. :55. <a href="https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w13305/w13305.pdf">https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w13305/w13305.pdf</a></a></p>	<p>Impact:   HIGH</p>
25	<p><a href="#">Psaki S., Melnikas A., Haque E., Saul G., Misunas C., Patel S., Thoai N.Sajeda A., (2021). What Are the Drivers of Child Marriage? A Conceptual Framework to Guide Policies and Programs. Journal of Adolescent Health [Internet]. Dec [cited 2022 Jul 10];69(6):S13–22. Available from: .</a></p>	<p>Impact:   MEDIUM</p>







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30	<a href="#">Amin S., Ahmed J., Saha J., Hossain M., Haque E. (2016). Delaying child marriage through community-based skills-development programs for girls: Results from a randomized controlled study in rural Bangladesh [Internet]. Population Council; [cited 2022 Jul 17]. Available from: . <a href="https://knowledgecommons.popcouncil.org/departments_sbsr-pgy/557">https://knowledgecommons.popcouncil.org/departments_sbsr-pgy/557</a></a>	Impact:  HIGH
33	<a href="#">Donger E. Jacqueline B. Ayesha M. and Miriam C. (2019). Before not After:An Evaluation of Aangan Trust's Preventative Approach to Child Protection in India. <a href="https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/2464/2019/02/Before-Not-After_final.pdf">https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/2464/2019/02/Before-Not-After_final.pdf</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
35	<a href="#">Bellizzi S., Loretto L., Farina G., Bubbico L., Ferlito S., Cegolon A., Giuseppe P., &amp; Luca C. (2021). Humanitarian crises and child-marriage: Historical recurrent interrelated events. <i>Journal of Global Health</i> [Internet]. 2021 Jan;11:03112. Available from: <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8501451/">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8501451/</a></a>	Impact:  MEDIUM
48	<a href="#">Freccero, J., &amp; Taylor, A. (2021). Child Marriage in Humanitarian Crises: Girls and Parents Speak Out on Risk and Protective Factors, Decision-Making, and Solutions. The Human Rights Center at the University of California, Berkeley. School of Law, Save the Children, Plan International, &amp; The Information and Research Center – King Hussein Foundation (IRCKHF). <a href="https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/87262">https://data.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/87262</a></a>	Impact:  LOW
49	<a href="#">Elnakib, S., Hussein, S. A., Hafez, S., Elsallab, M., Hunersen, K., Metzler, J., &amp; Robinson, W. C. (2021). Drivers and consequences of child marriage in a context of protracted displacement: A qualitative study among Syrian refugees in Egypt. <i>BMC Public Health</i>, 21(1), 674. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-10718-8">https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-10718-8</a></a>	Impact:  LOW
54	<a href="#">de Vise-Lewis, E., &amp; Mann, G. (2021). Case study on ending child marriage in the Republic of Mozambique. UNICEF. <a href="https://www.unicef.org/esa/media/8931/file/Mozambique-Case-Study-Child-Marriage-2021.pdf">https://www.unicef.org/esa/media/8931/file/Mozambique-Case-Study-Child-Marriage-2021.pdf</a></a>	Impact:  LOW
55	<a href="#">Lokot, M., DiPangrazio, L., Acen, D., Gatpan, V., &amp; Apunyo, R. (2022). The 'Demand Side' of Child Marriage: Expanding Gender Norms to Marriage Drivers Facing Boys and Men in South Sudan. <i>Journal of</i></a>	Impact:  LOW



	<a href="https://doi.org/10.7227/JHA.079">Humanitarian Affairs, 4(1), 25–35. https://doi.org/10.7227/JHA.079</a>	
61	<a href="https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/25184">Hanmer, L &amp; Elefante, M. 2016. The Role of Identification in Ending Child Marriage. World Bank, Washington, DC. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/25184</a>	Impact:  <b>LOW</b>

## Supportive Documents

Study #	Citation	Confidence Score
31	<a href="https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media/4251/file/Child%20Marriage%20Evidence%20Review%20Review%20Web.pdf">Unicef and Unfpa. (2016) Child Marriage South Asia An Evidence Review https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media/4251/file/Child%20Marriage%20Evidence%20Review%20Review%20Web.pdf</a>	n/a
34	<a href="https://www.unicef.org/media/111081/file/Child-marriage-social-norms-compendium-2020.pdf">Unicef (2020) Four Areas of Influence driving child marriage;What the data tells us and how it can inform programming. https://www.unicef.org/media/111081/file/Child-marriage-social-norms-compendium-2020.pdf</a>	n/a
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KEY FOR UNDERSTANDING EVIDENCE CATEGORIZATION: Confidence Measures	
<p><i>Impact:</i></p> <p> <b>HIGH</b> High level of confidence in impact data</p> <p> <b>MEDIUM</b> Medium level of confidence in impact data</p> <p> <b>LOW</b> Low level of confidence in impact data</p>	<p><i>Operational:</i></p> <p> <b>HIGH</b> High level of confidence in operational data</p> <p> <b>MEDIUM</b> Medium level of confidence in operational data</p> <p> <b>LOW</b> Low level of confidence in operational data</p>



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