PLAN INTERNATIONAL

GIRLS GET EQUAL

TIME TO ACT!

ACCELERATING EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE IN ASIA

EMERGING EFFECTIVE INTERVENTIONS AND STRATEGIES

Plan International Asia Hub, 2018

Cover photo: © Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

For more information, please contact:

Plan International Asia Hub
14th Floor, 253 Asoke Building
Sukhumvit 21, Klongtoey Nua
Wattana, Bangkok 10110, Thailand
Tel: +66 2 204 2630-4
Fax: +66 2 204 2629

Project lead: Raša Sekulović
Regional Head of Child Protection and Partnerships

Designed by: QUO (Thailand) Co., Ltd.
Produced by: QUO (Thailand) Co., Ltd.

First published by Plan International in 2018
Text, illustrations, design © Plan International 2018

This report was developed with the support of the UNFPA Asia and Pacific Regional Office (APRO).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report, including the recommendations and conclusions contained herein, were prepared for Plan International by GreeneWorks. Plan International would like to acknowledge and thank GreeneWorks for the extensive research that they undertook, upon which this report is based. Special thanks go to the GreeneWorks lead consultants Margaret E. Greene, Chelsea L. Ricker and Alana Kolundzija, and national consultants and researchers Ankit Gupta, Tran Ban Hung, Rachel Arinii Judhistari, Rinaldi Ridwan, SM Shaikat, Tamanna Sharmin and Srorn Srun.
www.greeneworks.com

Plan International Asia Regional Office would like to express appreciation to all the Plan International Country Offices and members of the Regional Team that provided invaluable support throughout the process. Thank you to all the external experts and participants in the interviewing processes for their insightful contributions and information shared.

PLAN INTERNATIONAL | GIRLS GET EQUAL

ACCELERATING EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE IN ASIA

TIME TO ACT!

EMERGING EFFECTIVE INTERVENTIONS AND STRATEGIES

PLAN INTERNATIONAL ASIA HUB, 2018

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS V
FOREWORD VII
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY IX
1. INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 CEFM IN THE LIVES OF ASIAN GIRLS 1
1.2 PLAN INTERNATIONAL ASIA REGIONAL OFFICE'S INTEREST IN AND RESEARCH ON CEFM 1
1.3 PURPOSE OF PHASE II RESEARCH 2
2. METHODOLOGY 3
2.1 DOCUMENT REVIEW 4
2.2 REGIONAL INTERVIEWS 4
2.3 IN-COUNTRY INTERVIEWS AND RESEARCH 6
2.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH 7
3. COUNTRY PROFILES 9
3.1 BANGLADESH 9
3.2 CAMBODIA 10
3.3 INDIA 12
3.4 INDONESIA 13
3.5 VIETNAM 14
4. THE STATE OF THE GLOBAL EVIDENCE 17
4.1. EVIDENCE FROM SYSTEMATIC REVIEWS 17
4.2. THEORY OF CHANGE 19
5. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS 23
5.1 GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE PROGRAMMES 23
5.2 YOUTH PARTICIPATION 25
5.3 COLLECTIVISING GIRLS AND SAFE SPACES 28
5.4 INTEGRATED PROGRAMMING ACROSS LEVELS 28
5.5 INFLUENCER OUTREACH 29
• CROSS-GENERATIONAL DIALOGUE 29
• ENGAGING MEN 29
• WORKING WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS 30
5.6 CHANGING CULTURAL AND SOCIAL NORMS IN SUPPORT OF GIRLS 30
• SPORTS, ART AND ENTERTAINMENT: USING CULTURAL FACETS TO TRANSFORM SOCIAL NORMS 32
5.7 BUILDING AND IMPLEMENTING LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS 36

5.8 CROSS-SECTOR COLLABORATION 37
- GLOBAL PARTNERSHIPS 37
- NATIONAL INITIATIVES AND FRAMEWORKS 38
- COLLABORATION BETWEEN CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT 39

5.9 MEASURING PROGRESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY 40
- COLLECTION OF DATA TO TRACK PROGRESS 40
- STRENGTHENING GOVERNANCE TO CARRY THROUGH ON GOVERNMENT POLICY COMMITMENTS 40
- THE "VIGILANTE" APPROACH: ACCOUNTABILITY FOR REPORTING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION 41

5.10 SUSTAINING SOCIAL AND PROGRAMME IMPACT BY CREATING ALTERNATIVE LIFE PATHS FOR GIRLS 43

5.11 WHAT HAS NOT WORKED AND UNINTENDED NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCE 44

6. PROGRAMME INNOVATIONS AND PROMISING PRACTICES ACROSS ASIA 45

6.1 ADDRESSING ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY 45

6.2 INTEGRATED MULTI-MEDIA AND CROSS-MEDIA CAMPAIGNS AND PROGRAMMES 46

6.3 INNOVATING AROUND THE CONCEPT OF A HAPPY MARRIAGE/HAPPY COUPLE 47

6.4 MORE CREATIVE EVALUATIONS 47

6.5 INNOVATIONS FOCUSSED ON MARRIAGE AS A CHOICE, NOT A GIVEN 48

7. KEY DIMENSIONS FOR SCALE-UP 51

7.1 PARTICIPATORY DESIGN 51

7.2 LOCAL ADAPTATION OF PROVEN PROGRAMME ELEMENTS 52

7.3 FRAMEWORKS FOR NATIONAL SCALE-UP 53

8. RECOMMENDATIONS 59
- PRIORITY RECOMMENDATION 1: CONTEXTUALISE AND LOCALISE PROGRAMME STRATEGIES AND CONTENT 59

8.1 PROVEN APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES 59
- RECOMMENDATION 2: INTEGRATE CEFM ACROSS GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT SECTORS 59
- RECOMMENDATION 3: APPLY A GENDER TRANSFORMATIVE LENS TO PROGRAMME STRATEGIES AND CONTENT 60
- RECOMMENDATION 4: EMPOWER GIRLS THROUGH COLLECTIVES 61
- RECOMMENDATION 5: ENSURE GOVERNMENT BUY-IN THROUGH BUILDING CAPACITY AND OWNERSHIP 62

8.2 PROMISING APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES TO CONSIDER 62
- RECOMMENDATION 6: ADDRESS ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY AND UNINTENDED PREGNANCY 63
- RECOMMENDATION 7: ENGAGE TRADITIONAL AND FAITH LEADERS 64
- RECOMMENDATION 8: ENSURE MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION OF ADOLESCENTS AND YOUTH 64
- SUMMARY RECOMMENDATION 9: INVEST IN LONG-TERM PROGRAMMES, EVALUATIONS AND RESEARCH TO GENERATE ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE 65

ENDNOTES 66

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARI	Aliansi Remaja Independen
ARO	Asia Regional Office
ASK	Access, service and knowledge
AYSRH	Adolescent and youth sexual and reproductive health
BCC	Behaviour change communications
CBO	Community-based organisation
CCT	Conditional cash transfer
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEFM	Child early and forced marriage
CORO	Committee of Resource Organisations for Literacy
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CREA	Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GBV	Gender-based violence
GEM	Gender-equitable men
GIU	Governance Innovation Unit
HIV/AIDS	Human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ICJR	Institute for Criminal Justice Reform
ICT	Information and communications technology
KYA	Khmer Youth Association
MICS	Multi Indicator Cluster Survey
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PANI	People's Action for National Integration
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PRACHAR	Promoting Change in Reproductive Behavior of Adolescents
SAIEVAC	South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children
SBCC	Social and behavioural change communications
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SNAP	Social Norms Assessment Plot
SRH	Sexual and reproductive health
SRHR	Sexual and reproductive health and rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

THE TIME TO END CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE, ONCE AND FOR ALL, IS NOW!

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

FOREWORD

Senait Gebregziabher
Regional Director
Plan International Asia Hub

Child, early and forced marriage scourges the lives of millions of girls globally and across Asia, gravely affecting and undermining their integral wellbeing and health, while exposing them to severe violence and stripping them of their basic rights. By disproportionately depriving girls of their opportunities for education, economic independence, and social and civic participation, this harmful practice slows down the overall progress of societies resulting in an ever-increasing human and economic toll to be paid.

Plan International firmly commits to preventing and eliminating child, early and forced marriage through holistic interventions and in partnership with a range of actors and stakeholders. Building on the comprehensive body of research into the root causes and detrimental consequences, we have further invested in identifying and exploring the effective interventions and strategies that have proven to be significantly reducing this widespread practice.

We have now gained increased evidence that only through combined integrative action addressing all root causes simultaneously – challenging social norms, strengthening legislation and its consistent enforcement, and providing economic and social resources and safety nets – will we be closer to achieving the global ambition to ending child, early and forced marriage by 2030. Tackling the gender inequality and discrimination that trigger this exploitative practice remains an imperative to inform and guide all relevant strategies.

Particular attention has been given to youth involvement and activism, which brings in innovation and breaks the vicious spiral of social exclusion, gender stereotypes and harmful traditions. Youth-led actions will further inspire and refresh collective efforts to eliminate this social blight.

Better equipped with this knowledge and renewed evidence, we are determined to contribute to accelerated action, urging for immediate response and increased investments. The time to end child, early and forced marriage, once and for all, is now!

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE IN THE LIVES OF ASIAN GIRLS

South and Southeast Asia have significant levels of child, early and forced marriage (CEFM).[1] The South Asia sub-region has some of the highest rates of CEFM, with Bangladesh and Nepal numbering among the top 20 in the world; and India has several times over the number of child brides of the next closest country.[2] Arranged marriages remain common,[3] but "circumstantial marriages" are increasingly taking place, often in response to unintended pregnancy (whether a result of sex within a consensual relationship or from sexual coercion or assault).[4] In the Asia region, 43 percent of adolescent pregnancies are unintended (some occurring within marriage),[5] and in the Asia-Pacific sub-region, 63 percent are unintended among girls aged 15-19.[6]

PLAN INTERNATIONAL ASIA REGIONAL OFFICE RESEARCH ON CEFM

CEFM is a key dimension of Plan International's work to advance equality for girls. The Plan International Asia Regional Office commissioned a three-phase research series: **Phase I** of this research series covered the prevalence of CEFM, root causes, impact, and interventions designed to delay or mitigate child marriage throughout the Asia region.[7] The report reviewed data from the 14 countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam) where the Plan International Asia Regional Office has an operational presence. **Phase II** (this report), produced with the support of UNFPA EAPRO, delves into whether these interventions were successful and effective in preventing, reducing and eliminating CEFM, and highlights the factors that might lead to success. This phase also identifies interventions and innovative approaches that seem most likely to eliminate CEFM if implemented at scale by governments and other relevant stakeholders in Asia and beyond. **Phase III** of this research series will focus on a costing analysis, asking what it would cost for governments to implement the successful interventions that were identified in Phase II, and will identify which costed models make the most sense in specific settings.

In this report for Phase II, extensive document review, interviews with regional experts and collaboration with consultants in five focus countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Vietnam) identified interventions and key success factors, challenges, opportunities and themes. India, Bangladesh and Indonesia are among the top 10 countries with the highest numbers of girls married before age 18. In South Asia, where CEFM tends to be more consistent across the general population, India and Bangladesh have the highest rates of the selected study countries along with the greatest number of programmes addressing CEFM. There are comparatively fewer programmes active in Cambodia and Indonesia, though government and civil society are nonetheless engaging in some work to end CEFM. Bangladesh and Indonesia provide interesting counterpoints to each other as majority Muslim countries where CEFM is manifested and responded to in different ways. In Vietnam, the government has begun to work on CEFM among ethnic minorities, and may be starting to think about early marriage in the population as a whole.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A range of **innovative and promising practices** emerged from this research, in addition to those described in the evaluation literature. The following recommendations emerge from programmes that may have been evaluated for results other than CEFM reduction, may have been implemented on a smaller scale, or may not have had enough time to demonstrate strong results. They have emerged as programme strategies worth consideration (the first five recommendations reflect the evidence on **what has worked** in the Asia region and globally to end CEFM):

1. Contextualise and localise programme strategies and content
2. Integrate CEFM across government and development sectors
3. Apply a gender-transformative lens to programme strategies and content
4. Empower girls through collectives
5. Ensure that governments buy-in through building their capacity and ownership
6. Address adolescent sexuality and unintended pregnancy
7. Engage traditional and faith leaders
8. Ensure meaningful participation of adolescents and youth
9. Invest in long-term programmes, evaluations and research to generate additional evidence

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The analysis of findings identified approaches and strategies highlighted by the literature, regional interviews and country research.

OVERARCHING THEMES

Overarching themes that characterised the most effective efforts toward eliminating CEFM were:

- *Gender-transformative approaches,* which work to alter the underlying norms and values that restrict girls and women, and constrain boys and men, expand the boundaries of what is considered appropriate for females and males alike.

- *Youth participation* in programme design, implementation, evaluation, organisational leadership, and other forms of partnership improves overall programme outcomes and sustainability.[8] In Indonesia, multiple youth-led organisations are working with local government and other partners to create their own solutions to prevent CEFM.[9] Rutgers WPF Indonesia, Plan International Indonesia and Aliansi Remaja Independen (ARI) are working in partnership with community-based organisations (CBOs) in Lombok to support public advocacy by girls through the Yes I Do campaign.

- *Collectivising girls* – creating safe spaces for dialogue and information sharing among groups of girls and young women – is an innovative programme strategy that accomplishes several things: it empowers and informs girls, builds girls' social networks and their confidence, and provides a platform for girls to organise in their communities and to advocate on their own behalf.

- *Integrated programming* provides protective assets for girls with both social and economic resources that will reduce their vulnerability to child marriage, contributes to creating a supportive policy and service environment, and engages families and communities to view and treat girls in new and better ways. The Population Council's BALIKA project in Bangladesh employed three types of intervention strategies – education, gender rights awareness training, and livelihood skills training – to evaluate what components are most effective in delaying marriage.[10]

- *Cross-generational dialogue* is an important strategy adopted by programmes around the world to build greater sharing and solidarity between children and parents on important but difficult topics. The Institute of Public Health Management in India is conducting a quasi-experimental evaluation of girls' clubs, working with boys and counselling with parents.[11]

- *Engaging men and boys* to discuss and share their understandings of masculinity, relationships and fatherhood have shown that the value of transforming gender norms among young men and can contribute to delaying marriage. World Vision and Promundo developed An Equal Future curriculum to engage fathers to end child marriage in India.[12]

- *Working with religious leaders* has also proven to be an important strategy. In Indonesia, a conference of female religious leaders from the Muslim faith issued a *fatwa* against CEFM.[13]

- *Changing cultural and social norms in support of girls* has emerged as a focus of many programmes in recent years. CARE's Tipping Point programme in Nepal and Bangladesh has used specific social norms-related design principles, and its activities have been linked to promoting positive alternatives to CEFM. The vision of these programmes is to help create pathways for girls that expand beyond the traditional roles of wife and mother; and to create space for adolescence in order to give girls time to develop instead of moving directly from childhood to adulthood via early marriage.

- *Using sports, art and entertainment* has also been an important strategy. Skatistan, for example, uses skateboarding to attract youth in Cambodia and Afghanistan to participate in their education and leadership development programmes, using a model of one-hour skating time for every hour of classroom time.[14] In Bangladesh, Lensational conducted a participatory photography project with female garment workers from two factories in Dhaka and a group of teenage surfer girls in the tourist town of Cox's Bazar. The Population Media Center has created several long-running entertainment-education programmes that involve TV and radio shows addressing child marriage. In Nepal, the Population Media Center launched two radio serial dramas in April 2016 that have benefited from high-profile endorsements from stars such as Rajesh Hamal and the former president of Nepal, Ram Baran Yadav, who himself married at the age of 14, when his wife was 12.

- *Public communications* are also key, and an illustrated ad campaign has run in Bangladesh on domestic violence that addressed harmful masculinities.[15]

- *Building and implementing legal and policy frameworks* have been supported by analyses by the Center for Reproductive Rights in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. These analyses became resources for strengthening government officials' roles in enforcing existing laws and policies, bringing about necessary legal reform, and supporting human rights advocacy and litigation.[16]

- *Global partnerships,* including UNICEF and UNFPA's Global Programme to Accelerate Action to End Child Marriage (2015-2018), are leveraging existing strategies in areas such as health, education, child protection and water and sanitation to form holistic programmes.

- *National initiatives and frameworks* are essential for structuring efforts to end child marriage in specific national settings. In Vietnam, the Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs works to strengthen child protection systems and build programme interventions with the Ministry of Health (General Office of Population and Family Planning) and the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (Child Protection Department). In addition, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and the Ministry of Information and Communications are tasked with mainstreaming CEFM prevention into their activities.

- *Collaboration between civil society and government* is important, as illustrated by the work of the Government of Bangladesh with the Plan International Asia Regional Office to implement online birth registration programmes to prevent the falsification of a girl's age by her parents.

- *Measuring progress and accountability* is needed, as in the work of the Institute of Health Management in Pachod, India, which is conducting accountability work with police and community leaders. In Malaysia, programmes are working with traditional marriage officiants and local government officials responsible for registering marriages to empower them to refuse to conduct CEFM and to track birth records to ensure that young people are of age to marry.

- *Community accountability* – where citizens take enforcement into their own hands in coordination with law enforcement – can be effective as in the work of adolescent advocates and peer groups in Mymensingh and Khulna in Bangladesh, working with Plan International and the local group Ghasforing, to track the ages of their peers and engage with local law enforcement in cases of falsified birth certificates.[17]

PROGRAMME INNOVATIONS AND PROMISING PRACTICES ACROSS ASIA

- *Efforts to address adolescent sexuality* are increasingly being taken on, in recognition of the interrelationship between CEFM and the lack of space for adolescents in many communities to explore, express or understand their own sexuality. A recent review by the Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Sexuality Programs Working Group inventories programmes that address sexuality in their work to end CEFM.[18]

- *Integrated multi-media campaigns* are another innovation that programme organisers are trying out. The Population Foundation of India created a transmedia series called Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon (I, A Woman, Can Achieve Anything) that utilises television, radio, Internet and mobile phones to challenge the prevailing social and cultural norms around family planning, early marriage, early and repeated pregnancies, contraceptive use, domestic violence and sex selection.

- *Provision of information to try to prevent unintended pregnancy,* which can be a reason for a young woman to lose her job and to be forced into an early marriage. CARE Cambodia launched Chat! Contraception to improve knowledge of on sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) for garment factory workers in Cambodia by providing information about contraception and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). The programme involves a combination of in-person activity-based sessions, soap opera style videos featuring female factory workers that are screened at the factories and can be watched on the mobile app, and a daily prompt/interaction from the app they can schedule at any time, which includes a mobile quiz and treasure hunt. The programme started in 2015, and since then it has reached over 25,000 workers, unwanted pregnancy has declined, and use of modern contraception has doubled reaching nearly 50 per cent.[19]

- *Promoting the concept of a happy marriage,* which can be defined as one of mutual respect and support, can model healthy and socially positive behaviours. The unit for parents in Save the Children's nested curricula (Choices, Voices and Promises), developed and tested in Nepal, uses insights from advertising to formulate positive statements for parents to aspire to for their daughters' marriages.[20]

- *More creative evaluations* are being tested by many organisations, especially to try to capture the impact of work to change gendered social norms. CARE has developed the Social Norms Analysis Plot (SNAP) methodology for capturing norms in formative research;[21] and Plan International has developed the Child Marriage Acceptability Index, a tool that can be used to measure changes in knowledge and attitudes about child marriage.

- *Marriage as a choice, not a given needs to promoted.* Most cultures view marriage as inevitable, which upholds and reinforces patriarchal ideas about women's value, abilities and potential. In India, the feminist human rights organisation Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA) has incorporated a new perspective on CEFM into their adolescent SRHR programmes, one which looks to de-emphasise the importance of marriage and increase young people's perceptions of what choices are available to them.[22]

KEY ELEMENTS FOR SCALE-UP

Taking a programme to national scale implies not only additional commitment and funding at all levels of government, but also considerable additional time, effort and investment. The ExpandNet Framework of the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Passages Project, a collaboration between Georgetown University's Institute for Reproductive Health and Save the Children, identified the following key scale-up elements as key to fostering government buy-in to a CEFM programme at a high level:

- A moment of political will or political opportunity;
- A coalition of advocates and implementers/strategic partnerships;
- A strong evidence base;
- Community ownership and participation.

Programmes that have achieved scale or seem poised to do so came to light during this Phase II research:

- The Ministry of Women and Child Affairs and UNICEF in Bangladesh have been using a Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS) curriculum, working with girls and boys aged 12-14 to reflect critically on gender inequality and violence.[23] GEMS is being implemented in almost all of the 25,000 public schools in Maharashtra, India, and is also being implemented by Paz y Desarrollo and the Government of Vietnam in Da Nang Province.
- Udaan in the state of Jharkhand, India, with a focus on education and development;
- BALIKA in 72 rural communities in Bangladesh centred around girl-focussed programmes and community outreach;
- PRACHAR in the state of Bihar in northern India, with a focus on delaying child marriage, and healthy timing and spacing of pregnancy.

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 CEFM IN THE LIVES OF ASIAN GIRLS

Asia has significant levels of child, early and forced marriage (CEFM).[24] The South Asia sub-region has some of the highest rates of CEFM, with Bangladesh and Nepal numbering among the top 20 in the world; and India has several times over the number of child brides of the next closest country.[25] Arranged marriages (those in which the partners are identified and approved by parents and other family or community members) remain common.[26] Sometimes, a child marriage may be registered by manipulating the age of the girl, or by not registering it until she reaches an eligible age.[27] Increasing social interaction with people outside the family (via study, work, participation in youth groups and other opportunities) been associated with greater decision-making on the choice of a spouse since the early 2000s.[28]

In addition to traditional arranged marriages, more of what informants refer to as "circumstantial marriages" are increasingly happening. These marriages often result from unintended pregnancy, which may arise from a chosen sexual relationship, or from sexual coercion or assault.[29] The April 2018 Regional Forum on Adolescent Pregnancy, Child Marriage, and Early Union in Southeast and East Asia highlighted the fact that adolescent pregnancy is on the rise in the sub-region. Unintended pregnancy figures as an important impetus for CEFM, and 43 percent of adolescent pregnancies in the Asia region are unintended (some occurring within marriage).[30] In the Asia-Pacific sub-region, the proportion of pregnancies that are unintended among girls aged 15-19 has risen to 63 percent.[31]

In South and Southeast Asia, fertility is declining, age at marriage is rising (even as adolescent marriage remains common in South Asia), and divorce and out-of-wedlock childbearing remain relatively rare.[32] As one indicator of how marriage is changing in the region, significant proportions of women currently in their 20s and 30s in Japan, Taiwan and Myanmar are likely to remain unmarried in their 40s.[33]

More "love marriages," entered by the choice and decision of the parties involved are taking place throughout the region, especially in Southeast Asia, where adolescent pregnancy is also on the rise. "Child marriages by choice" are driven in many cases by adolescents who rightly view marriage as the only sanctioned space to explore romantic relationships, express their sexuality and gain some adult autonomy. In other cases, marriage becomes the only feasible "choice" after an unintended pregnancy. An informant from the Islamic Dawa Foundation in Malaysia observed that the stigma there "is on unmarried pregnancy, so adolescent pregnancy becomes child marriage by choice." Marriage is viewed as the only viable means of mitigating the stigma of pregnancy outside of wedlock, and pregnant girls face heavy pressures from family and community to marry. Perceived shifts toward greater autonomy and decision-making about relationships on the part of young people has led some adults to police consenting relationships between young people in the name of ending child marriage. A better balance is needed between protection from abuse and exploitation, and respect and support for sexual autonomy and agency.

Deep-rooted social norms regarding the roles and values ascribed to girls contribute to CEFM. Coerced sex, adolescent pregnancy, and CEFM pose daunting challenges to girls as they navigate the transition to adulthood, try to attain schooling, train for employment, begin working, develop a social network, and become engaged citizens.[34] The backdrop for these transitions for girls are the sexual double standard and the tendency to withhold information from young people that would protect them, and then to blame girls for sexual activity and pregnancies regardless of whether they result from consensual or coerced sexual activity. The impact of unintended pregnancy and CEFM in girls' lives echoes throughout their lifetimes, reducing their cognitive capital (their ability to fully develop their capacities), depriving them of their rights, harming their health, and setting them on a course into adulthood without key aspects of social capital that are their right.[35]

1.2 PLAN INTERNATIONAL ASIA REGIONAL OFFICE'S INTEREST IN AND RESEARCH ON CEFM

CEFM is a key commitment of Plan International's work to advance equality for girls, as reflected in its "Position Statement on Child, Early and Forced Marriage", and its 18+ Global Initiative encompasses programming and influencing on CEFM in all four world regions, including Asia. The Plan International Asia Regional Office (ARO) has contributed to the development of innovative tools such as the Index of Child Marriage Acceptability.[36] Plan International ARO's work harmonises well with broader global commitments, including the Joint General Recommendation/General Comment No. 31 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and No. 18 of the Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC) on Harmful Practices with its Holistic Framework for Addressing Harmful Practices. With the objective of driving Plan International ARO's focus on girls' rights at scale, the reach of the 18+ Global Initiative has been expanded globally to encompass all CEFM programming and influencing.

Plan International ARO's work on the causes and consequences of CEFM have been captured in diverse reports across most of the region's countries.[37, 38] Plan International ARO has focussed on CEFM as fundamental to achieving its commitment to children, adolescent girls in particular, and to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as the practice affects many health and development outcomes.

There is a growing body of research on CEFM around the world, but important knowledge gaps remain that prevent a full understanding of the problem and its solutions. With this in mind, Plan International ARO commissioned a three-part series of research. This report constitutes Phase II of the research, which is supported by and is a collaboration with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) South East Asia and Pacific Regional Office (SEAPRO). UNFPA's new Strategic Plan for 2018-2021 commits to supporting governments and civil society to address youth sexual and reproductive health and strengthen responses to eliminate harmful practices including CEFM.

1.3 PURPOSE OF PHASE II RESEARCH

Phase I of this research series covered the prevalence of CEFM, root causes, impact, and interventions designed to delay or mitigate child marriage throughout the Asia region.[39] The report reviewed data from the 14 countries where Plan International ARO has an operational presence (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam) and synthesised the evidence that governments, universities and civil society organizations (CSOs) have generated over the past 10-15 years in these contexts. This initial scoping analysis summarised the work being done to end this harmful practice but did not delve into whether these interventions were successful and effective in preventing, reducing and eliminating CEFM or highlight the factors that might lead to success.

Phase II of this research series examines whether the interventions mapped out in the earlier report have been successful and which interventions are most likely to eliminate CEFM if implemented at scale by governments and other relevant actors. This report presents emerging and proven models with potential for scale-up. The objectives of this work have been to:

- Identify factors/criteria for success of initiatives to eliminate CEFM in Asia and lessons learned from projects and interventions that have struggled to be brought to scale; and
- Use the factors for success to identify interventions and promising practices (emphasising innovative approaches) that seem most likely to eliminate CEFM if implemented at scale by governments and other relevant stakeholders in Asia and beyond.

This **Phase II** report explores why interventions have been successful in specific settings and which components of interventions should be incorporated into scale-up efforts. This phase of research drew from a literature review of evaluated studies as well as primary qualitative data collected from key stakeholders including researchers, programme beneficiaries, service providers and government officials.

Phase III of this research series will focus on a costing analysis, asking what it would cost for governments to implement the successful interventions that were identified in Phase II, and identifying which costed models make the most sense in specific settings.

2. METHODOLOGY

To uncover key success factors, challenges, opportunities, themes and interventions throughout the region, the team adopted a multi-stage approach to the Phase II research:

1. Document review: conducted an extensive review of programmes and policies that have worked in the region;
2. Regional interviews: conducted interviews with experts on the region as a whole;
3. In-country interviews and research for five selected countries: worked with local consultants to conduct in-country interviews with implementers and key stakeholders, as well as to conduct focus group discussions with young people engaged in project activities. This data was utilised to prepare country descriptions for each of the five selected countries.

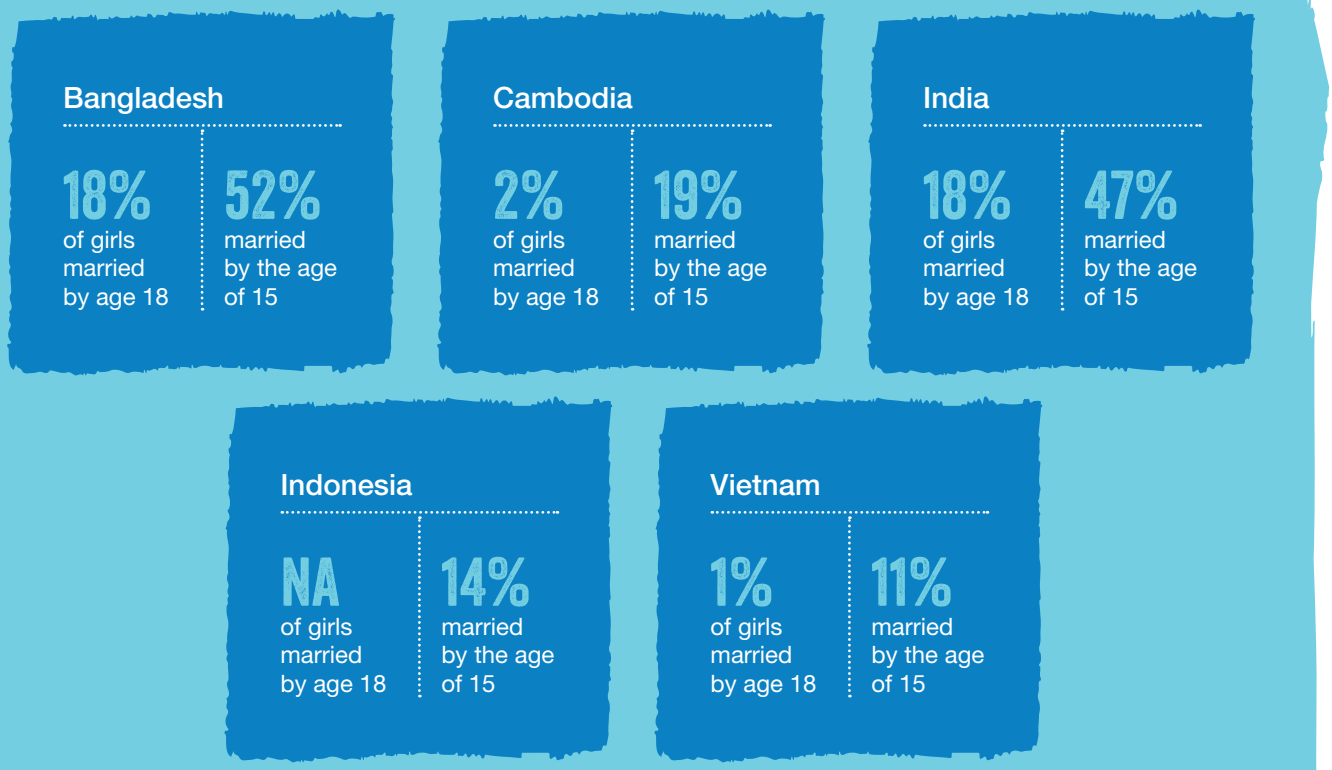
The Phase I findings from all 14 countries in the region in which Plan International works provided useful input for structuring the regional interviews and in-country data collection efforts. The Phase II document review, in turn, provided an overarching picture of child marriage programme implementation in the region, across the 14 countries, and helped to guide interviews as well. The literature review and regional interviews aimed to cover the Asia region as a whole to identify innovative and successful approaches across the region. This is especially important for recognising the distinct contexts of other countries in the region, and providing the opportunity to draw on their experiences for this analysis.

In dialogue with Plan International ARO, the team selected five countries for further research: two in South Asia (Bangladesh and India) and three in Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Indonesia and Vietnam). The five countries were chosen to provide a diversity of learning with regard to their CEFM rates, trends and drivers, and the varied responses of government and civil society. Each of these countries presents a unique combination of religion, ethnicity, national response, youth engagement and policy environment (see Box 1). India, Bangladesh and Indonesia are among the top 10 countries with the highest numbers of girls married or in union before age 18. In South Asia, where CEFM tends to be more consistent across the general population, India and Bangladesh have the highest rates of the selected study countries along with the greatest number of programmes addressing CEFM. Comparatively fewer programmes are active in Cambodia and Indonesia, though government and civil society are nonetheless engaging in some work to end CEFM. Bangladesh and Indonesia provide interesting counterpoints to each other as Muslim-majority countries where CEFM is manifested and responded to in different ways. In Vietnam, the government has begun to work on CEFM among ethnic minorities, and may be starting to think about early marriage in the population as a whole.

The document review highlighted the most innovative and/or best evaluated programmes in each country. The regional and country-specific interviews were intended to solicit themes that reflect factors for success of programmes that work to end CEFM across the region and in the five focus countries. Local co-researchers then conducted the second stage of data collection, creating an opportunity to dive more deeply into the factors associated with successful intervention and scale-up in the five focus countries.

In all five countries there is growing concern about "love relationships" and their potential consequences for girls' and families' reputations. While arranged/forced marriages account for the majority of early marriages in India and Bangladesh, marriages selected by young people themselves are becoming more common. Cambodia and Vietnam in particular have mixed patterns, with a higher proportion of "love marriage" as compared to arranged/forced marriage and circumstantial marriage, though all are taking place. Indonesia has more arranged marriages and marriages entered as a consequence of unintended pregnancy, but "love marriages" are also increasing.

Box 1. Percent of women, currently aged 20-24, married or in union before the age of 15 and before the age of 18



Source: Girls Not Brides (based on DHS, MICS, and other national surveys, and refers to the most recent year available, 2010-2016).

2.1 DOCUMENT REVIEW

Having drawn together a solid set of interventions country by country during the document review, it was then possible to highlight some of the top programmes and policies implemented in the Asia region in recent years. Interventions were considered successful and/or innovative and, therefore, included in this review if:

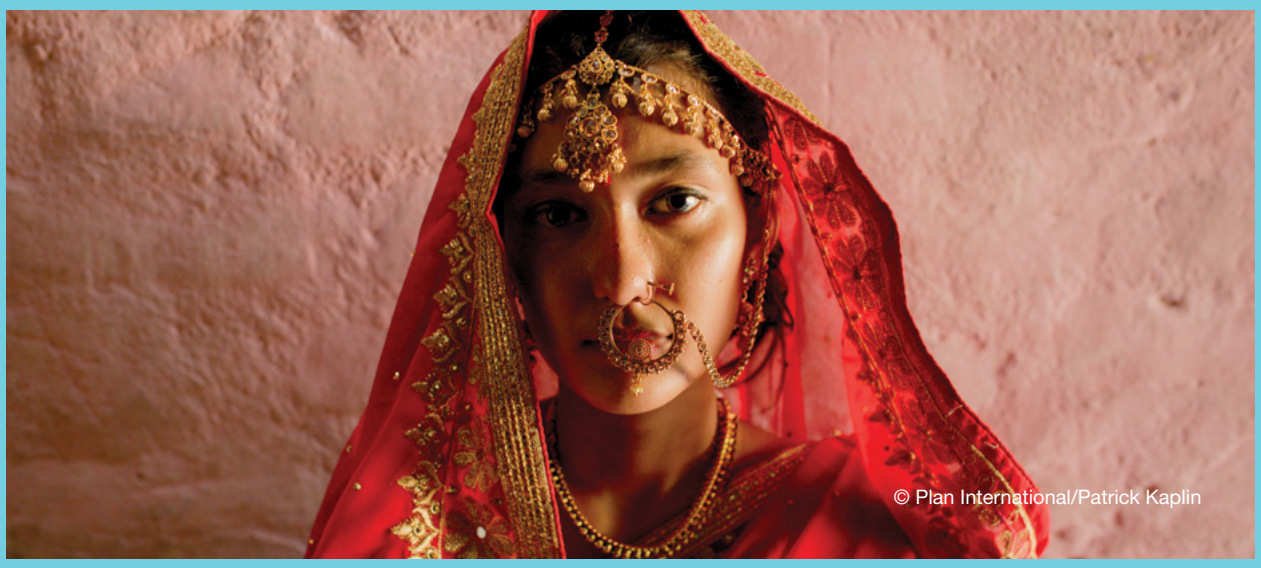
1. They were directly working to prevent CEFM or if they aimed to delay marriage indirectly by increasing education, strengthening girls' empowerment, stimulating girls' leadership, catalysing changes in knowledge and attitudes among girls, family members and community members, or changing law and policy; and

2. Were either:
- Evaluated and had demonstrated impact on girls or those who make decisions on their behalf; or
- Had produced documentation that described some programmatic dimensions not commonly captured in other programmes that might be viewed as innovative, and were viewed by programme implementers and beneficiaries as impactful.

2.2 REGIONAL INTERVIEWS

The interviews were organised along key dimensions of implementation, intensity, effectiveness and success. The specific political and social context of each country was considered to determine how these factors catalysed or impeded programme implementation, thereby contributing to success or failure. Box 2 outlines the domains and points of departure covered in the regional and in-country interviews, and provides the full list of questions that formed the core of the semi-structured interviews with policymakers, researchers, implementers and beneficiaries.

Box 2. Questions posed to regional and in-country interviewees



Research Question 1: What are the key factors/criteria for success for initiatives to eliminate CEFM in Asia?

What contributed to success:

- What has been successful and why, across the many sectors relevant to ending child marriage?
- How have actions been implemented across sectors and government departments/ministries?
- How successful have their efforts been in coordinating and dividing labour across different sectors?
- What partnerships and actors played a key role in the efforts to eliminate CEFM?

Dimensions and levels:

- Were the interventions working across the three dimensions (focus areas) of Plan International's Theory of Change, which are social norms, resources and legislations/ investment (see Section 4.2)? If they weren't, what are the reasons?
- Were these implementations able to successfully change social norms around CEFM to end the harmful practice? How did culture/social factors affect to the success?
- How is multi-level partnership important for effectively tackling CEFM?
- What was needed at each level (individual, household, community, provincial, national) to achieve success?

Key stakeholders and youth participation

- What key stakeholders in the community (including traditional and religious leaders) were critical positive influences?
- Did children and youth actively participate and influence change?

Monitoring & Evaluation

- What approaches have been effective in measuring progress? Who was involved?
- How have governments been measuring progress?

What did not work and lessons learned

- What has not been successful and why?
- Any adverse and negative effects observed and recorded?
- What were the challenges and lessons learned from the implementation and scaling experience?

Sustainability

- What were key factors for sustainability of these interventions?

Research Question 2: Which interventions/actions are most likely to eliminate CEFM if implemented at scale by governments and other relevant stakeholders in Asia?

- Which innovative practices have been observed as key contributors to CEFM? Why?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of these interventions at the national and sub-regional levels?
- What common characteristics are found in these interventions?
- What operational models involving key actors and stakeholders at different levels (particularly community-based mechanisms and structures involving community-based organisations (CBOs), traditional and community leaders, children and youth) would accelerate efforts to eliminate CEFM?
- Are there other new or innovative ways (models, mechanisms, Internet mediated means) that would accelerate efforts?

The team's background in participatory research and stakeholder interviews facilitated the qualitative research. Drawing on the literature review from Phase I for guidance, the team worked within its own and Plan International ARO's existing contacts and colleagues to develop an initial list of informants, targeting the full range of country settings included in Plan International's ARO network. To ensure the full Asia focus of this endeavour and to make this research of the greatest use, a special effort was made to cover the countries not included in the five-country in-depth research. Next, in order to ensure full coverage of local actors and experience, a modified snowball technique was used to gain recommendations from key informants about relevant experts and evidence within their networks to round out the view of the issues within the region. The list of people that the team interviewed to obtain a regional perspective on successful and innovative interventions appears in Box 3.

Box 3. Interviews conducted with regional and global experts

- Sajeda Amin, Senior Associate, The Population Council
- Noor Aziah Mohammed Awal, Islamic Dawa Foundation Malaysia
- Matilda Branson, Senior Policy & Advocacy Officer, Girls Not Brides
- Swatee Deepak, Director, Stars Foundation
- Ingrid Fitzgerald, Technical Advisor, Gender and Human Rights, UNFPA
- Kendra Gregson, Regional Advisor, Child Protection UNICEF ROSA
- Giovanna Lauro, Vice President of Programs and Research, Promundo
- Katherine Marshall, Senior Fellow at Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs at Georgetown University
- Suzanne Petroni, Principal, Gender Equality Solutions
- Sidney Ruth Schuler, Independent Researcher
- Biplabi Shrestha, Senior Programme Officer, ARROW

2.3 IN-COUNTRY INTERVIEWS AND RESEARCH

In order to ensure the widest possible range of stakeholder input to the research, including youth and girls' advocates from the field, local implementers, and government representatives and policy-makers, among others, the authors collaborated with local co-researchers in the previously identified focus countries. The addition of co-researchers, drawn from local youth networks and partner organisations allowed for a depth of information unencumbered by language barriers and cross-regional communication challenges. The local co-researchers are expert informants in their own right, and shaped and contextualised the country research on programme innovation. At the country level, the co-researchers who participated in the study drew from their extensive contacts within girls' empowerment and adolescent sexual and reproductive health networks. This section provides a brief overview of each country, drawing on the research that was conducted.

The local co-researchers worked in each of the five country settings to:

- Identify and contact local advocates, programme beneficiaries, and programme managers from within their networks, and conduct up to 10 in-depth interviews with national/local informants. This was done by co-creating an initial list of interviewees in partnership with Plan country offices, and then seeking out researchers, implementers, policymakers and advocates who were prominent in the struggle to end child marriage in each setting;
- Contribute country background and contextualisation; and
- Draft in-depth country research on national experiences.

Based in each focus country, these consultants were able to write in depth about the country processes and attention to CEFM, documenting what beneficiaries and implementers said about what has worked, and identifying what could be shared with other settings.

2.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

This study benefited from the participation of seven co-researchers based in the five focus countries, making it possible to include local voices and local research in the regional review. However, the diversity of voices and perspectives made it challenging to integrate the country material into this unified regional report. Another challenge has been to compare the experiences of the five countries with in-depth studies as they face such divergent challenges and have taken such different steps toward addressing CEFM. Standardising the research protocol across diverse settings and diverse programmatic experiences took additional time and effort, and some of the questions asked in one setting were not relevant or worth posing in another.

Because of discomfort with the topic and taboos around public discussion of sexuality, adolescent or otherwise, limited data was collected on sexual activity and there was even less discussion related to sexuality that was based on data. One manifestation of this avoidance in Cambodia and Vietnam was the tendency among programme implementers and decision-makers to suggest that CEFM is taking place only among ethnic minorities, while a closer look needs to be taken at the experiences of the majority population as well.

The programme examples illustrated in this report may be 'proven', 'innovative', or simply 'common'. 'Proven' refers to interventions that have undergone rigorous evaluations and published evidence of success that could be cited. As noted, a minority of programmes working to end CEFM are *evaluated.* Many of these proven best practices are included have been evaluated quantitatively with randomised control trials and quasi-experimental methods.[40] Unfortunately, these evaluation methods favour specific kinds of simpler and shorter-term interventions that are less likely to engage with norms and community change, and they rarely conduct longer-term follow up that might capture sustained change in behaviours or attitudes. 'Innovative' refers to interventions that have some feature that addresses the problems of girls, their families and communities in a novel way not often seen in other programmes. And 'common,' refers to interventions that reflect models that have been implemented frequently or in many settings, even though they may not be well documented.

Taking a broader perspective, the lack of quality evaluations that exist on interventions that prevent CEFM, especially those focussed on norm change and other dimensions of social transformation, is problematic. Even when evaluations are available, it is hard to link community-level interventions with population-level change in CEFM. It was not possible to identify interventions in each geographic setting that could be scaled up. As is often the case, some of the interventions were innovative, others were well evaluated, and these characteristics did not always overlap. Some of the countries included in this study have very few programmes or policies of note. In these cases, all relevant programmes identified are described in the narrative. Despite its limitations, this report has much to offer with regard to interventions to end CEFM in Asia.

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

3. COUNTRY PROFILES

Building on Phase I findings, this section provides some background on each of the five focus country contexts and a short summary of some programme strategies considered successful by local implementers, policy-makers, and beneficiaries. The profiles include reviewing the programmes using the three Plan focus areas of social norms, attitudes, behaviours and relationships; social and economic safety nets; and policy and budget frameworks.

3.1 BANGLADESH

COUNTRY DATA PROFILE

© Plan International/Mahmud

Bangladesh has among the highest rates of CEFM in the world, with 59 percent of 20-24 year olds reporting they were married before the age of 18; 71 percent of rural girls marrying before age 18; and 15 percent of girls before the age of 15.[41] Documented drivers of the high levels of CEFM in Bangladesh include the low social value placed on girls, lack of equity in access to secondary and higher level education, limited economic opportunities, and the dowry system. Fear of adolescent sexuality, particularly the fear of girls becoming sexually active before marriage and the potential for unintended pregnancy, loss of reputation, and corresponding loss of marriage prospects also fuel CEFM in Bangladesh. An additional reality in Bangladesh is that its vulnerability to natural disasters increases pressure on families to marry their daughters early out of concern for their safety and wellbeing.[42]

Age at first marriage is rising, though very slowly.[43] The Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2014 shows that half of the women who married before age 18 would have preferred to marry later. The median age of marriage is higher among women aged 20-24 in Bangladesh than among women aged 25-49 (17.2 to 15.8, respectively), indicating, promisingly, that the younger cohort is marrying later than the previous generation.[44] This advance may be due to government and civil society commitment and collaboration in large-scale programmes and advocacy to prevent and reduce CEFM. In addition, village-level representative government councils, or *gram sarkars,* have identified child marriage as a concern to address.[45] This is important, because people working at the local level who actually live in the communities are the ones who can respond to child marriages as they happen.

SOCIAL NORMS, ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOURS AND RELATIONSHIPS: Civil society and others have worked with girls in Bangladesh for years on large-scale initiatives that provide girls with life skills, voice and economic opportunity.[46] Bangladesh is one of many countries where implementers are engaging adolescents and local advocates to directly intervene in marriages as they happen. This strategy has had an immediate impact on rates of marriage at the local level, though implementers expressed concern about parents taking girls to neighbouring districts without the programme in order to subvert the intervention.[47] Government initiatives have supported these approaches with the creation of a mobile "helpline" that tracks reports of CEFM and alerts local authorities.[48] Another local strategy identified in the country research has been to organise celebrations when girls are born as a way of trying to increase girls' social value.

The Generation Breakthrough programme in Bangladesh is also working to scale up gender, life skills, and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) education and violence prevention programmes for very young adolescents (ages 10-14) through schools. Initial, unpublished findings show positive trends in reducing adolescents' participation in violence and increases in reporting of violence to teachers.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SAFETY NETS: Also widely known is Bangladesh's secondary school stipend programme, which is credited with increasing girls' secondary school participation.[49] The programme was designed as a conditional cash transfer (CCT) to delay marriage by keeping girls in secondary school. A similar stipend programme in Pakistan not only delayed marriage but also contributed to delaying the first birth once girls were married.[50] There are some questions as to the long-term effectiveness of cash transfers designed to delay marriage, with one important study in India indicating that girls who received cash transfers delayed marriage, but only until reaching the age of majority (predominantly defined at 18 years of age).[51]

POLICY AND BUDGET FRAMEWORKS: Legislation from 2004 requires the registration of all births, an important step toward monitoring age at marriage.[52] However, according to informed observers, government inaction and complicity by local officials (not requiring birth certificates, not looking closely enough at false ones, not intervening in weddings when the bride or groom are obviously children, and so on) allows CEFM to continue unchecked.[53] In an important development, the government has taken steps to strengthen the marriage registration process, using ICT to make the process more accountable and transparent, and to respond to violations in a timely manner. Plan International Bangladesh is supplementing this work by training and building the capacity of local officials and marriage registrants to use the system to eliminate the use of falsified birth registrations.[54]

In 2017, Bangladesh passed a law that permitted exceptions to the penalties parents and families would experience if they married a girl before the age of 18.[55] Although it increases the penalties for those involved in arranging or conducting the marriages of girls marrying under 18, it included a controversial clause that specifies that "under special circumstances" and with the consent of parents and the court, girls under 18 may be married *with no penalties for those involved.* This step was received with widespread condemnation from people around the world who are familiar with legislation regarding CEFM.[56]

3.2 CAMBODIA

COUNTRY DATA PROFILE

Approximately 19 percent of girls in Cambodia marry before age 18, and more than 15 percent of women ages 15 to 19 are currently married or in informal unions.[57] The legal age of marriage is 18 but girls can be married at 16 with parental consent.[58] Median age at marriage is older than 20 in all but four provinces, in all of which median age is still above 19. Likely as one consequence of the increased access to schooling, marriage before age 15 has declined from 7 percent among women ages 45-49 to 1 percent among women 15 to 19.[59]

There is a tendency to associate CEFM with ethnic minority communities in Cambodia, despite evidence that marriages take place under the age of 18 in all ethnic groups in the country, including the majority Khmer.[60] In Cambodia, as in other countries in the region, unintended pregnancy, social pressures to marry young, and patterns of poverty and school leaving seem to drive higher rates of marriage. Research conducted with ethnic minority communities in Ratanakiri province for this report indicated that isolation and marginalisation of these ethnic groups may increase their vulnerabilities, in particular those related to poverty, education and economic opportunity. In addition, in Ratanakiri, many informants mentioned the particular social norms that simultaneously promote early sexual debut while proscribing and stigmatising use of contraception or abortion, driving young people to marry early and begin their families early.[61]

The Phase I research uncovered no government initiatives to reduce rates of CEFM, aside from legislation designed to protect young women getting married to foreigners, which set age limits and income requirements on the men.[62] The Ministry of Women's Affairs has since developed a Provincial Action Plan for 2017-2021, in collaboration with Plan International Cambodia, CARE International Cambodia, and UNICEF, which is specifically targeting ethnic minority populations in Ratanakiri.[63] Girls Not Brides has just a few civil society members in Cambodia working to end child marriage (Friends of Koh Rong, SALT Academy, VSO International). The country research found that work on CEFM is very dependent on donor funding, making programmes unlikely to continue when the funds are gone.

SOCIAL NORMS, ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOURS AND RELATIONSHIPS: NGO and government efforts to date have been largely focussed on minority communities in northern border provinces, particularly the province of Ratanakiri. Programmes in Ratanakiri have focussed on the changing of social norms and attitudes through the creation of child clubs and child-parent groups; holding community forums with adolescents and community leaders; and public and media campaigns targeting adolescents through social media. Plan International, CARE Cambodia and the local Khmer Youth Association have conducted campaigns and created child clubs in the communities to engage adolescents and create peer champions to advocate for delayed marriage.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SAFETY NETS: NGOs have also begun working with other development groups and programmes to address the lack of social and economic resources and safety nets among minority groups in Ratanakiri. These programmes have not yet been robustly evaluated but are likely to prove highly effective if fully implemented. Programme implementers in Cambodia have also focussed on increasing access to education, and to comprehensive sexuality education in schools, to address adolescent sexual and reproductive health, and reduce unintended pregnancy.[64]

POLICY AND BUDGET FRAMEWORK: In 2015, Cambodia passed a new law requiring women to be aged 20 and men to be aged 22 at the time of marriage.[65] While it is too soon to be able to assess the effect of the change in the legal age of marriage at a national level in Cambodia, programme implementers and stakeholders report that this will have little to no effect on ethnic minority communities. Ethnic minority communities in Ratanakiri have maintained autonomous traditional legal structures based in community authority, while the national government has traditionally practiced a standard of non-interference. NGOs and commune councils have begun public campaigns and capacity building with local law enforcement to reinforce the policy framework in the province. The National Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Commune Councils have supported health centres, NGOs and local groups to promote the national legal age of marriage, with particular focus on ethnic minorities. The increased investment and leadership of the Ministry of Women's Affairs, with implementation of the new Provincial Action Plan, are clear steps towards a vertical scaling of programmes to address CEFM in Ratanakiri.

3.3 INDIA
COUNTRY DATA PROFILE

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

Although India does not figure among the top 20 countries with the highest rates of CEFM, more women aged 20-24 who were married before age 18 (15-16 million) live in India than any other country.[66] Over the last decade, a sharp decline has occurred in child marriage in India, with rates falling from 47 percent to 27 percent.[67] The explanation rests on improved access to education for girls, and increased public awareness of the negative effects of child marriage among members of the public. While fewer Indian girls are marrying before the age of 15, rates of marriage have increased for girls between ages 15 to 18, meaning early marriage is concentrated at those ages. At the same time that this overall decline in the CEFM rate has been documented, other research shows increases in some specific areas, including urban areas of Maharashtra state.[68] India features enormous internal variability in levels of CEFM: median age at marriage for girls ranges from 15.9 in Andhra Pradesh to 20.9 in Kerala, a progressive outlier.[69]

India has strong civil society and gender equality movements, and a huge amount of work is taking place to end CEFM and to improve the lives of married girls, both from the government and civil society.[70] Many interesting evaluation studies on interventions to end child marriage have come from diverse programmes in India, and much of the work being done in India is multi-faceted and nuanced. Local research conducted for this study identified broad categories of approaches being employed in India that are seen as successful and/or vital to local implementers, advocates and beneficiaries.

SOCIAL NORMS, ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOURS AND RELATIONSHIPS: Implementers in India highlighted the importance of long-term investment in addressing the social drivers of child marriage, including control of women's sexuality,[71] centrality of marriage and fear of harming family's honour. Strategies to address these root causes use collectivisation of young people in their communities, empowering them to make their choices and negotiate their surroundings, and raising their aspirations for education and economic opportunities. This approach is being taken by multiple organisations and experts interviewed, including Nirantar and CREA, which are looking at more holistic change. Other promising approaches being implemented in India include multiple initiatives to engage adolescent girls in sports, cross-caste and intergenerational dialogues, and outreach to engage men and boys on gender equality.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND SAFETY NETS: The state governments in India have established several CCT schemes that provide an economic incentive to poor families if a girl remains unmarried until she is 18. However, interviews with experts, including researchers and programme implementers, and the literature review demonstrated that the CCT did not increase girls' values and aspirations in their families and communities, and were seen by both beneficiaries and officials alike as the government providing for the cost of marriage once girls had reached the age of 18.[72] Initiatives build the capacity of village leaders, law enforcement, and local government to promote adherence to the national law and to engage

adolescent advocates to intervene in marriages were seen as more successful in stopping CEFM. This approach was seen in use by People's Action for National Integration (PANI), which used the law to inform families that child marriages are illegal and engaged village leaders.

POLICY AND BUDGET FRAMEWORKS: The Prohibition of Child Marriage Act of 2006 prohibits marriages where the bride or groom is a minor, setting the legal age for marriage at 18 years for girls and 21 years for boys. While it establishes punishment for those who do not prevent child marriage, and includes a right to annulment of child marriages, the Act relies on families to report violations. A national plan of action to end child marriage was drafted in 2013, but according to Girls not Brides, has not yet been finalised.

The government of India has been proactive in integrating CEFM into adolescent health and development policies and budgets, most notably in the integrated National Adolescent Health Programme launched in 2014[73] and the earlier Sabla Scheme for the Empowerment of Adolescent Girls, which now, in 2018, is being expanded.[74] Advocates in India have expressed reservations about the state of implementation of these programmes, and of their ability or intention to effect sustainable social norm change. While some stakeholders defined delaying age of marriage for girls to 18 years or a few years after 18 years as their prime measure of progress, for most experts, progress would be when girls are able to raise their aspirations for education, and negotiate their choices in their relationships and marriages.

3.4 INDONESIA
COUNTRY DATA PROFILE

© Plan International/Paulan Aji

Data show that at least one in seven girls in Indonesia marries before the age of 18, but a recent analysis by UNICEF suggests that this level may be underestimated, particularly in some parts of the country.[75] Indonesia is distributed across a vast and culturally varied geographic area with over 900 inhabited islands and thousands more uninhabited. Child marriage rates are highest in rural areas and in West Sulawesi,[76] with some evidence that CEFM may be higher among specific ethnic groups including the Sundanese in West Java and Madurese in East Java.[77] Research on CEFM in Indonesia is limited and tends towards more quantitative analysis of trends in prevalence. Much of the research that has been done has focussed on the central and western parts of the country.

Indonesia shows a mixed pattern that includes both arranged marriages and circumstantial marriages driven by adolescent pregnancy. Indonesia's family planning policy only makes contraception available to couples and married women with the consent of

their husbands.[78] A recent study in Jakarta found high levels of premarital conception among under 17 year olds, with two-thirds of adolescents who conceive marrying before giving birth.[79]

SOCIAL NORMS, ATTITUDES, BEHAVIOURS AND RELATIONSHIPS: While the Indonesian government has not officially changed the age at marriage, the National Family Planning Board has been implementing the long-standing GENRE programme since the early 2000s targeted at raising the age of marriage by promoting a social norm change around the "ideal" family through diverse media, education and public awareness campaigns. NGOs in Indonesia have worked on identifying local influencers in communities to be champions for girls' empowerment, including fathers and heads of households, the wives of traditional leaders, teachers and faith leaders. The Ministry of Religious Affairs has also developed a programme involving the majority of religious leaders so they will not officiate marriages for underage girls.[80]

The Indonesia country research found that increased donor funding in recent years has led to more efforts to change norms. Programmes in the past few years have focussed on community mobilisation and work with girls, religious leaders, community leaders and others. Work with religious leaders in the Muslim-majority country in particular stands out: in 2017, a congress of hundreds of female clerics issued an unprecedented *fatwa* against child marriage, siding with Koalisi 18+, a coalition of grassroots women's, youth and rights organisations founded to advocate for changes to the marriage law in asking the government to raise the age of marriage to 18 for women.[81]

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND SAFETY NETS: Indonesia is also using collectivisation and empowerment approaches to identify at-risk adolescents and intervene directly in marriages. The 'Yes I Do' project, one of the larger coalition-based projects in Indonesia,[82] has adapted the "girls roster" approach developed by the Population Council, which lists girls aged 10-18 in a given community by characteristics and circumstances that might make them vulnerable to CEFM (e.g., age, whether they are in school, employment status, whether from poor families, etc.).[83] The programme then engages with stakeholders in the community to work with the girls who are at risk. Other government initiatives focussed on economic and social safety nets include the Hope for Family Programme by the Ministry of Social Affairs, which works with vulnerable children (such as those who have disabilities or are missing one or more parent) so they can finish their 12 years of compulsory schooling,[84] and the *Kartu Indonesia Pintar* (Smart Indonesian Card) which provides funding for disadvantaged school-age children to pay school fees, purchase supplies, pay for transportation and exams, among other education expenses.[85]

POLICY AND BUDGET FRAMEWORKS: The 1974 marriage law (Law 1/1974) permitted girls to marry starting at age 16, and boys at age 19, with marital dispensation provided by religious courts or marriage officials in the office of religious affairs. In Indonesia, as elsewhere, dispensations or exceptions that are permitted with parental consent undermine the intent of the law and perpetuate CEFM. Activism in 2014 called for an increase in the minimum age at marriage to 18 without exception, but the Constitutional Court upheld the 1974 marriage law. Activists in Indonesia have continued to pursue a change in the minimum age of marriage through both legal and policy-change strategies, with a focus on executive regulations to amend and revise enforcement of the law.

Indonesia has vibrant and active sexual and reproductive health, women's rights and youth advocacy movements working in a coordinated manner at the national level. Koalisi 18+ continues to be an active voice for policy change at the national level. Women's rights organisations working with the executive office have drafted an amended regulation, which has been agreed to in principle by the president but not yet released, to replace the 1974 law.[86] Advocates have also worked with parliament to continue to revise the existing law through the judicial review process.

3.5 VIETNAM

COUNTRY DATA PROFILE

Eleven percent of women aged 20-24 in Vietnam were married before age 18,[87] though levels of CEFM are much higher among ethnic minority groups.[88, 89] The legal age of marriage is 18 for women and 20 for men. The law criminalises organising or entering into marriage with an underage person.[90] About 10.3 percent of girls 15 to 19 are currently married, with 5.8 percent to a spouse 10 or more years older.[91]

Before the 2015-2020 strategy, the government had not taken many steps to address CEFM. In recent years, the country has been more explicit in stating that child marriage is illegal and has established some programmes to address it, specifically among the minority groups. The government has established a committee that includes representatives from ethnic minority groups to run the programme,

deferring to some local authority structures – essentially creating a parallel system for engaging with ethnic minorities on this issue. This is a concern, as child marriage in Vietnam is not only prevalent among ethnic minorities but also takes place in the Mekong River Delta.[92, 93] Not enough is known about different forms of CEFM in Vietnam, including love marriages and marriage by choice, so programmes have not been targeted to changing social norms or building empowerment and autonomy of adolescents, but have instead focussed primarily on a child protection model which may unintentionally negatively impact consensual relationships.

Vietnam is unique in this research because programmes to address CEFM directly are either just getting started or largely undocumented, but there is significant NGO and government interest in integrating a strategy to address CEFM into the country's existing child protection system, which is quite robust. Quite a few organisations are becoming more publicly active on CEFM elimination in Vietnam, including Plan International, UNFPA, UNICEF, Save the Children and ChildFund Vietnam.[94] Plan International, Save the Children and UNICEF have played a key role in leading a 10-year advocacy push coordinated by NGOs, community groups and UN bodies that focusses on the national child protection system. The community-based child protection system works across multiple levels from the community to the national level to provide services including prevention, support and intervention centred around child protection staff.

Plan International in Vietnam has been working with local partners since 2016 to strengthen community-based child protection mechanisms in close connection with the national system with more empowerment in education, which works well in remote areas where the national system has less influence and competency to address CEFM. Plan International also has other interventions on child rights and child protection at the community level, with child participation as a cross cutting theme, to promote and support the positive changes in CEFM in project areas.

ChildFund Vietnam has also been working to build the child protection system, and its emphasis has been on child participation and the rights of children to participate in decisions relating to their lives.[95] Their work on child participation and child protection incorporates children's voice and agency, and addresses issues such as safe livelihoods for youth and early marriage prevention. ChildFund Vietnam works to increase the capacity of communities and local authorities to mobilise and strengthen the mechanisms that exist to protect children from child abuse, neglect, exploitation, violence and social risks.[96]

ChildFund Vietnam also uses Simulation Theatre for education on CEFM in their project areas. They address legal compliance on CEFM through courtroom scenarios, in which they provide information about the consequences of CEFM and how to avoid it.

© Plan International/Emma Winiecki

© Plan International/ Vincent Tremeau

4. THE STATE OF THE GLOBAL EVIDENCE

4.1. EVIDENCE FROM SYSTEMATIC REVIEWS

This analysis draws from a number of global systematic reviews of the evidence on interventions to end CEFM.[97] Some of these reviews focus on work to advance "adolescent sexual and reproductive health," as CEFM is addressed by many of these interventions and is included under that broad heading.

A systematic review by McQueston, et al. (2013) of interventions to reduce adolescent childbearing, with implications for CEFM, found that improving school attendance is often as effective in reducing adolescent childbearing as providing reproductive health education in school and, therefore, must be viewed as a crucial component of interventions to delay childbearing.[98] Evidence for the effectiveness of cash transfers was stronger than for the other interventions evaluated, with impacts on age at marriage, marriage rates among adolescents, total fertility and teen pregnancy, though an important limitation is illustrated later in the document.[99]

A systematic review of interventions to prevent child marriage in low- and middle-income countries by Kalamar, et al. (2016) found that interventions with a strong *economic* component were most powerful in their impact on child marriage.[100] 'Economic' interventions include financial support for schooling and opportunities for economic empowerment. This finding was interpreted in light of the strong influence on CEFM of economic factors in the household. A competing yet largely overlapping analysis by Chae and Ngo (2017) identified *empowerment* (the knowledge, skills and support a girl needs to advocate on her own behalf) as the most important strategy.[101] The authors interpreted this as affirmation of how important it is to invest programmatically in girls themselves. They found schooling to be the second most successful approach after empowerment, and economic interventions the third.

A publication authored by Botea, Chakravarty and Haddock (2017) is a review of what works to end child marriage that focusses on three types of interventions:

1. programmes providing life skills and reproductive health knowledge;
2. programmes expanding economic opportunities; and
3. programmes keeping girls in school or enabling them to return to school.[102]

Their analysis yielded three key observations aligning with the three types of interventions. These observations summarise some of the conflicting findings from the high-quality reviews described here, and are relevant to scaling up:

1. "Safe space programmes empowering girls through life skills training, better knowledge of SRH, and the delivery of other skills and assets have achieved important benefits for participating girls. Yet, without additional livelihood opportunities or incentives for schooling, it is not clear that safe spaces, while valuable for other reasons, are sufficient to delay the age at marriage and childbearing.

2. Interventions that combine an emphasis on empowering girls, often through safe spaces, with a focus on providing income-generation skills or other livelihood support often have some success in increasing earnings for participants, employment, and/or savings. In some cases they may also improve reproductive health outcomes and delay marriage or childbearing, but not systematically so. For example, a rigorously evaluated example of the impact of girls' employment showed that their recruitment to business process outsourcing in India significantly delayed their marriage and childbearing.[103]
3. Interventions to promote education include providing the opportunity for school and reducing out-of-pocket cost of schooling, which are among the most likely to help delay the age at marriage and childbearing, with a similar finding for programmes providing financial incentives directly to delay marriage."[104]

The authors conclude that programmes that promote education were the most effective at delaying marriage. And while safe spaces and girls' empowerment are important and valuable activities, they are most effective when combined with income generation or other livelihood activity.

This finding is confirmed by a systematic review by Yount and colleagues (2017) on interventions with the greatest impact on a variety of forms of violence against girls (child abuse, female genital mutilation, child marriage, intimate partner violence and sexual violence).[105] They found that "bundled individual-level interventions and multilevel interventions had more favourable impacts on VAWG [violence against women and girls]," in other words, "integrated" programmes of all kinds. They identified interventions that involve community engagement, skill building to enhance voice and agency, and the expansion of girls' social networks showed promise in reducing violence against girls.

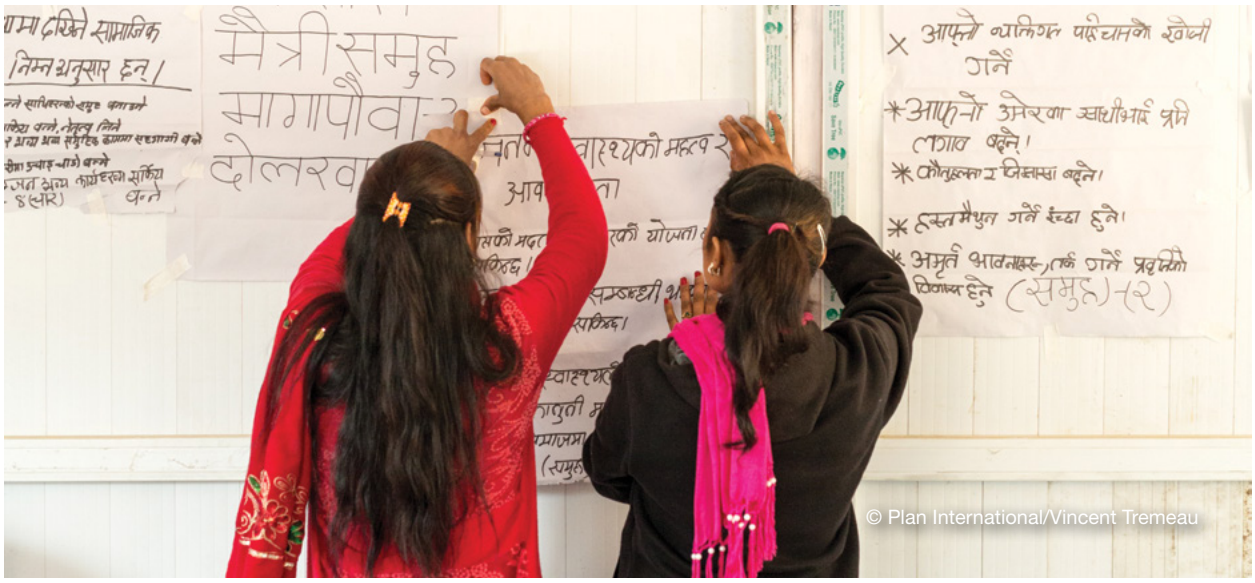
Taken together, this group of reviews of the evidence shows that:

- Programme impact tends to be greater when it involves a range of strategies. The importance of integrated programming to address the complex issue of CEFM is discussed in more detail later in this report.

- Education and livelihood opportunities surface repeatedly as the most important girl-focussed investment that can be made. In section 5.9 this report highlights the importance creating alternative life pathways for girls in order to make delaying marriage a viable option. Sustainability is also driven by the generation of the kind of change from which people do not wish to return, even when the programme is over.

- There is a lack of evidence on longer-term interventions, including efforts to change norms related to CEFM. Many of the evaluations register a change in attitudes and somewhat in behaviour but deeper change can be harder to see (see a review of programmes to end CEFM in Box 4).

Though various authors reviewed many of the same interventions, each of these systematic reviews emphasise the particular focus of the programmes: Kalamar, et al. (2016), interventions with an economic component; Chae and Ngo (2017), interventions that empower girls; and Botea, et al. (2017), interventions reflecting that girls' education may have the most transformative impact in their lives. Despite reviewing many of the same interventions, they classified and interpreted their activities in different ways. These complex reviews of the evidence are summarised in Box 4.



© Plan International/Vincent Tremeau

Box 4. Summary of top five systematic reviews on programmes to end CEFM

Bangladesh Authors	Findings
McQueston, Silverman and Glassman. 2013	Systematic review (SRH). Satisfactory school attendance and cash transfers had impact on increasing age at marriage, marriage rates among adolescents, total fertility and adolescent pregnancy.
Kalamar, A. M., Lee-Rife, S. and Hindin, M. J. 2016	Systematic review (CEFM). Did not really classify: CCTs, school fees, life skills, youth groups, school supports, and whether operated at school, household, school or community level. Did not explicitly discuss empowerment.
Chae and Ngo. 2017	Systematic review (CEFM). Clustered programmes by: • Empowerment: information, skills and support structures; • Economic: incentives to offset the costs of raising girls – conditional and unconditional cash transfers, including for school attendance; • Schooling: providing incentives to keep girls in school, including provision of free school supplies, uniforms, fees, tutoring; • Community need to involve parents, family members and community members, not directly focussed on girls.
Botea, Chakravarty, Haddock and Wodon. 2017	Rapid review (SRH, including CEFM). Looking more broadly at effects on improving SRH outcomes and focussing on life skills, economic opportunities and school incentives.
Yount, Krause and Miedema. 2017	Review of reviews (gender-based violence, including CEFM). Found bundled individual-level interventions and multi-level interventions most successful; identified that community engagement, skill-building to enhance voice/agency and social network expansion show promise in reducing varied forms of violence against girls.

The overall emphasis in the evaluation literature is on economic interventions (stipends, income generation, conditional and unconditional cash transfers). In addition, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the impact of policy-change interventions, providing much less evaluation literature on the topic of policy change.

4.2. THEORY OF CHANGE

A strong appreciation of integrated programmes emerged from the literature and from the interviews with regional experts.[106] This was also a clear finding of Plan International's recent global review. Plan International has a comprehensive Theory of Change that describes the investments needed to improve the lives of girls in these three large focus areas:

- **Social Norms, Attitudes, Behaviours and Relations,** including interventions at all levels of the ecological framework to change norms, attitudes behaviours and relations;
- **Policy Frameworks and Budgets,** including engaging government at all levels in establishing policies and allocating budgets to end CEFM; and
- **Social and Economic Resources and Safety Nets,** providing services to support girls, and social and economic opportunities to engage them, together structuring real alternatives to early marriage for girls.

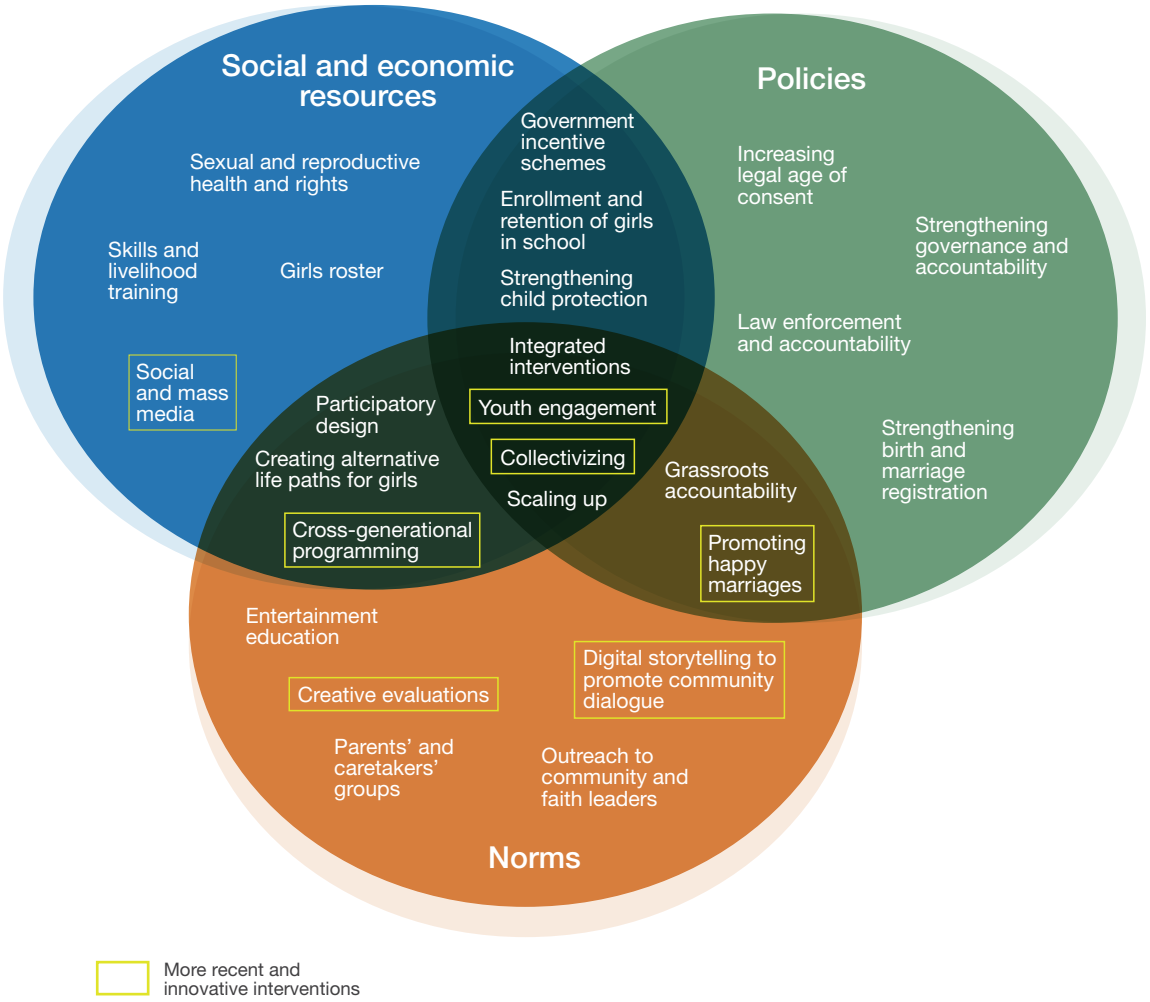
Plan International's Theory of Change draws on the literature and is closely compatible with that of Girls Not Brides, the first to illustrate the pathways to change in CEFM in a comprehensive way.[107] Both organisations recognise the need to work across all aspects of girls' lives, and to focus on their broad development, not just on preventing CEFM.

This section provides a brief discussion of some of the key observations within each focus area, with illustrations drawn from the country research and published literature. In Figure 1, the main themes emerging from the literature and our interviews are distributed according to Plan International's Theory of Change. The overarching themes associated with programme innovation have been highlighted in yellow boxes.

SOMETIMES WE FEEL LIKE WE HAVE TO DO EVERYTHING, WORK WITH GIRLS, COMMUNITY, MEN AND BOYS, GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THAT IS THE ECOLOGICAL SYSTEM. BUT THIS IS A CHALLENGE FOR AN ORGANISATION BECAUSE THEY CANNOT DO EVERYTHING.

– Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA)

Figure 1: Venn diagram of overarching themes related to child marriage organized under the elements of Plan International's Theory of Change

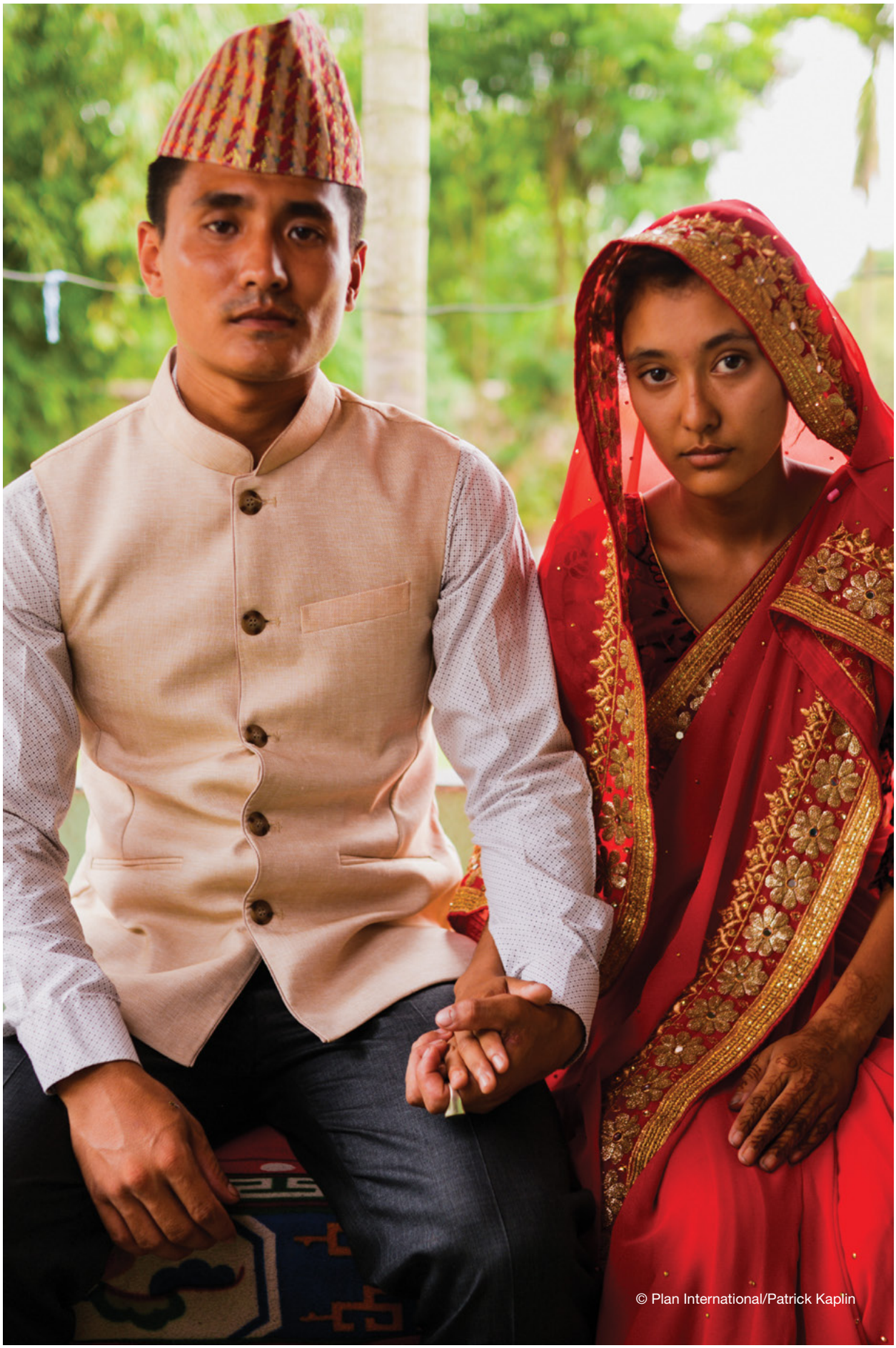


The diagram shows several things overall: First, activity is distributed across the three areas of the Theory of Change; there is no area that is neglected. Second, many of the interesting interventions are occurring at the intersections of two branches of the Theory of Change. Third, and perhaps most importantly, the areas highlighted in the yellow boxes, which are more recent and innovative, mostly fall into the category of Norms, showing how much of an emphasis there has been in this area over the past few years and reflecting a growing global consensus that sustainable and scalable prevention and elimination of CEFM is impossible without specific attention to changing social norms.

Plan International's Theory of Change for CEFM provides a framing for common programming strategies, some of which have been evaluated and have proven impact. Under **Social Norms, Attitude, Behaviours and Relationships,** important approaches include working with parents and caretakers to improve their understanding and communication skills with their children; community awareness campaigns (using local media, theatre, radio, or other communications); and specific outreach to community and faith leaders.

Among the common interventions that fall under **Social and Economic Resources and Safety Nets** are the enrolment and retention of girls in school (with attention to stipends and CCTs, and support in water, sanitation and safety); vocational training opportunities for girls; social outlets that provide the opportunity for young people to interact (sports, youth clubs, volunteering) and the creation of girls' and boys' groups and networks; vocational training; and life skills and communications training. One approach that has been tried in other places and makes sense but that did not come up in this review is access to identification and bank accounts.[108]

Under **Policy Frameworks and Budgets** of Plan's Theory of Change, advocacy for minimum age at marriage laws and for increasing the legal age of consent have been important strategies.[109] As a child rights organisation, Plan International ARO has played an important role in strengthening birth and marriage registration systems; strengthening law enforcement and accountability, including training and capacity building with local marriage officiants and local law enforcement to intervene in illegal marriages; and building local accountability by raising awareness on laws and alternatives for girls. These approaches require special sensitivity about intervening in marriages that result from adolescent pregnancy.


© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

5. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The analysis of findings presents the most important approaches and strategies by leading with illustrations that come from the smaller number of evaluated programmes, and also includes additional examples that emerged from innovative but as yet unevaluated programmes captured in the interviews and qualitative country research.

5.1 GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE PROGRAMMES

Gender-transformative programmes emerged as an extremely important overarching theme of this analysis. A strong consensus exists on the need to alter the gendered balance of power and to go upstream to the roots of gender inequality to address CEFM. Box 5 provides a practical framework for gender-transformative programmes.

Box 5. Operational elements of gender-transformative programmes

Flexible gender roles	Does the programme address social constructions of masculinity and femininity?
Intentionality in reaching out to men, women or both sexes to promote mutual understanding	Does the programme provide opportunities for men and women to engage in constructive dialogue?
Equalisation in balance of power and pursuit of gender justice	Does the programme help explore the gender-related vulnerabilities of men and of women? Does the programme provide opportunities for men and women to develop and collaborate on a common cause?
Freedom from violence	Does the programme develop strategies that engage both men and women in preventing and responding to gender-based violence?
Human rights for both men and women	Does the intervention promote the rights of both men and women?
Gender equality as a measure of programme success (monitoring and evaluation)	Does the programme measure outcomes related to health and gender equity with both sexes?

Source: Adapted from Greene, ME and Andrew Levack. 2010. *Synchronizing Gender Strategies: A Cooperative Model for Improving Reproductive Health and Transforming Gender Relations*. Washington, DC: PRB/ IGWG.

Gender inequality is an important driver of CEFM, and programmes working to delay marriage often work to transform gender relations. Young people of all genders face restrictions and taboos around their sexual expression, though frequently these standards tend to restrict young men and young women in divergent ways. The common double standard expects young men to be sexually aggressive and controlled by their desires, while young women are expected to be submissive and disinterested in sexual desire and sexual pleasure. This leaves young people of all genders at a disadvantage when it comes to developing a fulfilling, consensual and gender-equal sexual life. The gendered standards and stereotypes that surround not only adolescent sexuality but also sexual expression over the course of life are intimately bound into the taboos and social norms that restrict women's sexual and reproductive expression to marriage and childbearing.

In addition, women often bear the honour for their families, first as daughters and then as wives and mothers. Since family honour is in large part preserved through the behaviour of female members, girls are often heavily pressured to take extra precautions to ensure their behaviour aligns with traditional gender norms. In some places these precautions entail wearing a burka while in others it can manifest as a need to be escorted when venturing into social spaces outside of the home. The majority of cultural expectations in Asia, indeed around the world, demand young women should maintain their virginity

until marriage and avoid any hint of improper behaviour. Though the expectations for female behaviour may differ from one context to another, girls are often restricted to a narrow definition of what is considered appropriate. Deviation from this norm puts their family honour at stake. In this position, as representatives of the family honour, girls and women can also be punished for the crimes of their male family members. They can be traded to rectify family debts or crimes. They may be forced to marry their rapists in order to preserve or restore family honour.[110]

Closely related to the demands of honour, stigma also contributes to limiting options for girls. CEFM is sometimes used as a vehicle to avoid stigma because it pushes girls from one custodial relationship directly into another as a girl moves from the control of her father to her husband. Girls are not given a chance to experience a period of adolescence when they can develop themselves and instead move directly from childhood to adulthood when they are married at a young age.[111] This limits opportunities for girls to engage in behaviour that might be considered inappropriate. Furthermore, it constrains girls to the familial realm, preventing them from contributing to the community in ways of their own choosing. The mere speculation that a girl has been speaking to a boy, even when there is no sexual activity, can elicit gossip which may compromise her marriage prospects and/or make it more expensive for her to get married.[112]

Gender-transformative approaches – programmes that attempt to alter the underlying norms and values that restrict girls and women, as well as boys and men – expand the boundaries of what is considered appropriate for females and males alike. For example: the threat of sexual violence acts as a deterrent to girls' mobility, interaction with peers at school, social networks and employment opportunities. It is continually brought up as a motivation for forcing girls into marriage.[113] Gender transformative programmes that work with boys and men who have internalised expectations of toxic masculinities that dictate they must always be dominant, unemotional and sexually aggressive could ultimately support girls' school attendance, mobility and delay marriage.[114] Sexual relationships and marriages are structured in part by expectations about male dominance and female subordination (leading to large gaps between partners in age and education, emphasis on malleability of adolescent girls as a success factor for marriage, gender-based violence); expansive male and restrictive female sexuality (leading to constraints on girls' mobility and access to peers, sexual double standard, difficulty negotiating contraceptive use); and other dimensions of gender inequality.

Interviewees consistently emphasised the need for successful gender-transformative approaches to work across policy change, social and economic resources and social norm change, i.e., all three areas of focus of the Plan International Theory of Change. Sexual violence can and has been reduced by gender transformative programmes working across the three dimensions by engaging with people of all ages and genders to redefine the relationship between masculinity and violence (changing social norms), by reinforcing and in some cases building social and legal response services for survivors of sexual violence (creating social safety nets); and by advocating for changes in laws and policies that allow perpetrators of sexual violence to escape prosecution (policy change).

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

CONCERNS AROUND SEXUAL VIOLENCE ARE A MAJOR DRIVER OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND FEAR OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT INFLUENCES PARENTS' DECISION MAKING… [THE] 'BOYS WILL BE BOYS' ATTITUDE IS ACTUALLY QUITE CONSEQUENTIAL. A MARRIAGE PROPOSAL IS ALMOST PERCEIVED AS THREAT.

– Sajeda Amin, Population Council

5.2 YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Little doubt remains among programme implementers, funders and advocates that the meaningful participation of young people, in particular the engagement of young people most at risk for CEFM, improves overall programme outcomes and sustainability.[115] This participation can take many different forms, and the narrative below is organised by some of these types.[116]

Nearly every programme reviewed for this research included an element of youth and community participation, ranging over the full spectrum of youth engagement from informing or assigning roles to girls and young people to supporting and partnering with youth-led organisations and networks to design their own solutions.

Programmes typically created space for youth participation in their work with peer educators, peer outreach and peer advocates. This was done by working with adolescents and children who were either at risk for or had previously experienced or rejected CEFM to engage other adolescents in their communities around their right to refuse arranged or forced marriages. Globally, the bulk of youth participating in these types of programmes are men, but anecdotal evidence suggests that with CEFM girls predominate.

Within the CEFM programmes captured in the country research, peer educators were working towards CEFM-related empowerment and social change goals. Young people participating in CEFM programmes also ran campaigns around girls' rights, gender equality, girls' access to education, and prevention or reduction of gender-based violence, using skills and information developed through participation in programme activities. Most peer work was done in gender-segregated groups, with a focus on creating safe spaces for conversations about gender norms and gender expectations among girls and boys, in parallel to conversations being held with caregivers and community leaders. Young people were also engaged as peer "enforcers," helping programme implementers to identify and intervene in marriages in their communities. In the India research, girls who participated in programme activities in these ways mentioned feeling more confident to speak up in their families and communities, and a feeling of pride in both knowing how and feeling able to stop a marriage if needed.[117]

> **I TAUGHT PEOPLE HOW TO DO ADVOCACY ON DISTRICT LEVEL, INCLUDING DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, AND THEN MY WORK WAS APPRECIATED IN THE VILLAGE. I DID NOT LET MY (CHILD) MARRIAGE HAPPEN AND DON'T LET ANYONE ELSE MARRY THEIR CHILDREN. I HAVE WON THREE AWARDS, INCLUDING A STATE-LEVEL AWARD.**
>
> – PANI Programme Participant

Another type of youth engagement work involves implementers and funders working directly with young advocates and youth-led organisations and networks to design their own programmes and innovations. In Indonesia, multiple youth-led organisations are working with local governments and other partners to create their own solutions to prevent CEFM.[118] Rutgers WPF Indonesia, Plan International Indonesia and Aliansi Remaja Independen (ARI) are working in partnership with CBOs in Lombok to support public advocacy by girls through the Yes I Do campaign.

Globally, new funders and funding mechanisms have emerged which are focussed on directly supporting locally led and youth-driven groups in the global South. The With and For Girls Initiative, which includes Plan International ARO alongside the Stars Foundation, Comic Relief, EMpower, the Frida Fund, Mama Cash, the Nike Foundation, the NoVo Foundation, and the Global Fund for Children, is using an awards process to identify and fund girl-driven grassroots work with flexible funding, capacity building, and a community of practice.[119] The Stars Foundation focusses its giving on creating positive role models among girls and their allies to reduce gender inequality, targeting not only individual empowerment outcomes but also testing models to create a supportive community framework in which girls can access and exercise that empowerment.[120] Youth-driven models have immense potential for sustainability, and with increased investment could be scaled up rapidly through skills and knowledge transfer and systems for youth-youth capacity building on programme initiatives.

As field-wide understanding of models of youth participation have evolved, more attention has been paid to creating systems for shared skills building and co-creation of programmes among young people and adults.[121] Given the broad range of ages of young people engaged by CEFM programmes, and their evolving capacities, CEFM programmes are better served by working to achieve this balance of shared responsibilities. There are multiple stages within a CEFM programme during which youth participation can and has been employed to great effect, including formative research, programme design, programme delivery, monitoring and evaluation.

FORMATIVE RESEARCH: Organisations that work with young researchers or who train young people as co-researchers are better equipped to fully understand and contextualise the drivers of CEFM within a community.

In Indonesia, Rutgers WPF has invested in meaningfully engaging young people across their programmes. In particular, Rutgers WPF has trained and engaged young researchers to conduct operational research through their Access, Service, and Knowledge (ASK) programme. The youth researchers conduct media mapping, qualitative research, and content analysis to enable them to develop targeted programmes to improve sexual and reproductive health services for marginalised youth. Rutgers WPF has found that young researchers are frequently better able to access information and gain

insight from their peers, helping them more effectively design intervention strategies.[122] Rutgers WPF has also conducted and published youth-led research through the Do They Match project in Malawi and Bangladesh, and has developed the "Explore" toolkit for involving young people as researchers in SRHR programmes from their programme experiences.[123]

Since 2016, Plan International and ISEE, a Vietnamese NGO, have been working together in on a process to develop community change agents through capacity building for youth groups of different ethnicities and supporting their initiatives in making change in their own communities. In the first step of this intervention process, members of ethnic youth groups are involved as co-researchers in a participatory action research process in their own communities to understand and identify the local context and problems, based on which they will develop feasible and practical interventions to be implemented. At the time of this study, the research protocol was being developed with youth participation, and the actual research is expected to be carried out in 2018.

PROGRAMME DESIGN: Engaging young people in the design of outreach strategies and training materials can ensure that messages are relevant to programme targets and that organisations are effectively reaching their targeted at-risk young people where they live.

When Promundo Global had the opportunity to expand their successful gender equality programme for young men from Brazil into India**,** they worked closely with the communities for the Indian pilot to design and contextualise the programme strategy. Promundo worked with the Population Council and the local NGO CORO for literacy to conduct extensive formative research to map the target communities, and identify possible intervention strategies and key issues to be addressed. Peer leaders from CORO and the communities who participated in the formative research were then invited to lead the design and delivery of the intervention. Promundo found that the initial investment in training and developing these peer leaders had lasting impacts on their leadership in their communities and equipped them to reach more young men on sensitive and taboo subjects over the life-course of the programme.[124]

PROGRAMME DELIVERY: As mentioned, working with young peer educators and outreach workers has shown positive impacts on the young people who are engaged, and has potential to increase the sustainability and scalability of programmes. In addition, programmes have worked closely with partnered youth organisations and networks to advance advocacy and campaign objectives.

In Cambodia, Plan International ARO partners with the local organisation the Khmer Youth Association (KYA) to train and coordinate peer educators and youth advocates to promote the rights of adolescent girls to basic education, and to spread information about SRH and rights in four provinces, including Ratanak Kiri, where rates of CEFM are highest. Through their partnership, KYA has trained over 3,000 young people to promote SRHR, help their peers find and access youth-friendly health services, and advocate with schools to integrate SRH sessions into classes.[125] In Ratanak Kiri, local KYA peer advocates who are integrated into the community and members of the ethnic minority group prevalent in the province conduct peer group discussions and reach out to parents of young people at risk of CEFM to promote the delay of marriage, expanding Plan International's reach and enabling them to effectively overcome cultural and language barriers that would prevent their working effectively with these communities.[126]

MONITORING AND EVALUATION: In addition to the need to ensure that monitoring and evaluation is built into programme planning and delivery in order to adjust and adapt as needed, working with young co-researchers and evaluators can deepen the perspectives of programmers about what initiatives are working and why.[127]

This Phase II research explicitly engaged youth advocates from Cambodia, India, Bangladesh and Indonesia to develop the country research. By engaging these youth advocates, the project brought in a critical perspective on the assumptions and models espoused by older adults. In addition, these young people introduced insights drawn from their knowledge of the SRH arena, which was very relevant to understanding some of the challenges of ending CEFM.

Engaging young people in all of these ways requires investments in building capacity among both young people and adults accustomed to exercising control and responsibility over their programmes.[128] Many programmes are operating in cultures with strong social norms around age-based hierarchy and codes of respect that demand that young people not speak up in front of their elders or question their elders. Both young people and adults who are used to these strict codes of behaviour can react negatively to being asked to interact in a new way and need time and space to understand each other. CEFM programmes can build on the work the adults are already doing to build girls' confidence and understanding of their rights to also incorporate spaces for girls' voices in their programmatic work.

5.3 COLLECTIVISING GIRLS AND SAFE SPACES

Most girls in South and Southeast Asia have limited opportunities for social interaction and are often isolated from other girls by their domestic tasks and roles. Thus, the opportunity to come together to discuss their problems and identify solutions is especially potent. Most of the programmes reviewed for this research included one or more forms of collectivising girls and communities. CEFM is most prominent in countries or communities where girls are undervalued, socially and/or geographically isolated. CEFM is most common in places where options for girls are limited and where women's value is tied to their role as mothers and wives, frequently in poor communities or among isolated ethnic, language, or religious minorities.[129]

CEFM is also strongly correlated with leaving school for many girls and young women, as this increases their social isolation.[130] The expectation that girls will marry early undermines their and their families' commitment to their studies. Girls are obliged to leave school when they marry; and there are few opportunities to study once they are married. Also, girls are less likely to have access to free time for playing, sports, or socialising in many communities, and are instead expected to remain at home and take on a greater role in caring for the family, in particular during and after puberty. Adolescent girls and women are less likely to own mobile telephones or have access to phones, the Internet, or social media than their male peers.[131] All of these factors frequently leave young women and adolescent girls with limited social networks, support or safety nets, and outlets for dialogue with their peers.

Collectivising girls – creating a safe space for dialogue and information sharing among groups of girls and young women – is an innovative strategy employed by CEFM programmes that accomplishes several things: it empowers and informs girls, builds their social networks and their confidence, and provides a platform for them to organise in their communities and to advocate on their own behalf. American Jewish World Service uses this approach in their work in India, supporting partners to develop safe spaces but going a step further to mobilise girls in more meaningful ways to be change makers.

5.4 INTEGRATED PROGRAMMING ACROSS LEVELS

There is increasing agreement on the importance of implementing integrated prevention strategies to end the deeply rooted practice of CEFM, and a strong recommendation emerged on the need for integration from the systematic reviews described earlier. The research highlights successful efforts to "do it all" by expanding girls' opportunities for education; strengthening social and economic resources and safety nets; improving laws, policy frameworks and budgets; and working to change social norms, attitudes, behaviours and relations.

Comprehensive and holistic prevention programmes can provide protective assets for girls with both social and economic resources that will reduce their vulnerability to child marriage. Some examples of protective assets include personal documentation to verify age, a non-family member female mentor, at least five friends her age to overcome isolation and bolster self-confidence, and a mechanism to safeguard a small amount of personal savings.[132] Integrated programmes can also support girls to attend school, train for work or find employment as an alternative to marriage, and/or build their knowledge of SRHR. As the studies reviewed show, the particular combination of activities is determined by the demands of the context. Creating integrated systems can provide safety nets for girls to prevent child marriage, to thrive within marriage even if they are married as children, or to have the option to divorce if needed or desired.

Recognising that a lack of social security for parents is a driver of child marriage, as the Bangladesh research found, it may be that another programme element for an integrated programme could be the innovation of improving social safety nets for families as a whole, not just girls, to reduce the economic incentive to marry girls off. However, finances are not the only component of security: the lingering threat of sexual violence, perceived or real, is a driver for parents to marry off their daughters. Losing sexual purity (even through rape) would make a girl ineligible for marriage later on, so marrying a girl off early is one strategy for parents to mitigate that risk.

The key to success with programmes to end CEFM lies not only in the mix of strategies, but also in the transformative content of the programme delivered. For example, the curriculum that is used to empower young people can build their confidence and skills to question or transform the social norms that support CEFM practices in their communities. Programmes often overlook the most marginalised and hard to reach young people; therefore they must invest in data mapping and formative research, including strategies such as the "girl roster", which Plan International has adapted in Indonesia, that allows for more targeted outreach to vulnerable groups.

An evaluation by Bandiera, et al. (2012) of the ELA programme in Uganda building girls' economic empowerment found that girls in communities involved in the programme were significantly more likely to engage in self-employment, and to have higher earnings.[133] While many reviews highlight the programme element that had the greatest impact, they also often highlight the joint contributions of a variety of interventions on improving the lives of girls. PRACHAR, an integrated intervention in India

that improved young people's SRH and delayed marriage, was evaluated at the end of the project and again nearly ten years later to see whether the changes had been sustained – they had.[134] The DISHA programme in Bihar and Jharkhand similarly used an integrated approach to bring about delays in marriage and childbearing, and its evaluation showed that the life skills, income generation and community mobilisation components came together to bring about significant improvements in the lives of girls.[135]

The Population Council's BALIKA project in Bangladesh employed three types of intervention strategies – education, gender rights awareness training, and livelihood skills training – to evaluate what components are most effective in delaying marriage.[136] BALIKA focussed on villages as the unit for community engagement and analysis.[137] Through the safe space platforms they created for girls, mentors from the community-facilitated sessions on a variety of topics depending on what type of intervention the village was assigned. For the livelihood skills training intervention, BALIKA incorporated technology such as electronic equipment to teach the girls how to fix cell phones, and health screening devices to teach the girls how to measure blood pressure. In addition to developing these skills, it was also important for girls to demonstrate them to community members so they would start to recognise the value of what girls can learn and accomplish. This approach helped provide protective assets for girls as well as promote social norm change at the community level because girls demonstrated actual individual behaviour change. As a group, it is easier for girls to occupy spaces they had not previously used, such as playing fields, and do things they did not do before, such as fixing cell phones. Girls as a group can change the risk profile for stigma, and also change the market if the programme is able to reach enough girls and other community members.

This randomised controlled trial showed that all three intervention strategies had statistically significant impact across a variety of outcomes, including the likelihood that a girl could currently attend school, play outside, and receive treatment for a reproductive health problem. However, BALIKA found the gender rights awareness and livelihood skills training had the strongest impact on delaying marriage and increasing the likelihood that young women were engaged in income-earning activities.

5.5 INFLUENCER OUTREACH

CROSS-GENERATIONAL DIALOGUE

In many parts of Asia, young people report that they are unable to talk about anything related to sexuality or relationships with their parents.[138] In addition, parents can often be ill informed, jittery, judgmental and awkward about discussing anything sexuality related with their children. Thus, an important strategy adopted by programmes around the world has been to build greater sharing and solidarity between children and parents on these important but difficult topics. Comprehensive sexuality education is a key strategy in this region to address this issue. A forthcoming review provides an inventory of programmes that explicitly address sexuality in their efforts to prevent CEFM.[139]

The CARE Tipping Point initiative in Nepal organised intergenerational dialogues to open up discussions between adolescents, their parents and other key stakeholders in the community, including extended family members who often help arrange marriages.[140] The CARE initiative held two types of dialogues: private parent-adolescent conversations and public dialogues with community leaders. The objectives were to allow young people to express their views and to permit girls in particular to speak up in public, to promote discussion about girls' autonomy, practice negotiating rights, foster bonding, create opportunities for elders to act as mentors, and create space for mothers and daughters to have conversations normally considered taboo. Bringing about discussions has been successful, and CARE has plans to evaluate with a controlled trial in the coming years.

ENGAGING MEN

Many programmes focus on working with girls and young women, but boys, young men and older men also play an important role in upholding values, especially considering they are often granted more leadership and power in society. Creating safe spaces for girls to develop and grow is essential, but so is working with boys and men.

Young men and boys in many communities are subject to rigid gender norms and expectations, including that they keep their emotions private, conform to competitive and violent forms of masculinity, and exercise control over their wives and daughters. Young men and women who experience or witness violence in childhood are more likely to perpetuate violence in their personal relationships as adults, contributing to a cycle of violence. Programmes that focus on bringing young men and boys to discuss and share their understandings of masculinity, relationships and fatherhood, such as Promundo's Program H and the Institute for Reproductive Health's Real Fathers Initiative, have shown the additional value of creating a social support system for transforming gender norms among young men.

World Vision and Promundo developed An Equal Future curriculum to engage fathers to end child marriage in India.[141] This facilitator's manual was developed as a response to strong societal and cultural resistance that supports the continuation of child marriage in communities where World Vision works. It provides step-by-step instructions and content ideas for the facilitation of men's groups, with the aim of creating safe and constructive space for men to reflect on and redefine what it means to be men and fathers in their communities. Session themes focus on areas where

social norms support the devaluation of girls and limit men's participation in domestic and care work, with sessions addressing issues such as "gender roles in society," and "power and early marriage." Both the approach of facilitating men's groups and the content of the sessions are based on formative qualitative research with target populations. Breakthrough in India has a programme called My Dad My Ally that revolves around a dad's promise to support his daughter and not pressure her to enter into marriage at young age.

WORKING WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Religious and traditional leaders are another important group to engage with in order to incite substantial change related to CEFM. In poorer, more resource-limited settings, people tend to be more heavily swayed by the influence of community and religious leaders.[142] It is important to remember that while religion can play a significant role, both in contributing to or protecting girls from child marriage, child marriage happens across religions and a wide range of prevalence rates are found across different communities of the same religious denomination.

Working with religious leaders can pose some challenges when dealing with issues that may provoke controversy. In some contexts, it is useful to frame reproductive health as family planning or birth spacing to emphasise the health of the mother and allow adequate attention and resources to each child. As Thanenthiran points out "Working within religious frameworks does place some limitations. For example, religious leaders do not universally endorse 'limiting' births when promoting access to contraception and family-planning; providing access to contraception and comprehensive sexuality education for unmarried young people; and in ending child, early, and forced marriages, as well as non-discrimination for persons of diverse sexual orientation and gender identities and expressions."[143]

Religious texts are subject to interpretation, so when working with religious leaders, discussion of the relevant religious texts should be incorporated. The Population Council partnered with the Berhan Theological College Mekelle and UNFPA to create a "Developmental Bible" with 365 devotions imbibed with Scripture related to health and development issues such as HIV/AIDS, maternal health, and family planning.[144] These discussions should be led by religious scholars so they can share their expertise and foster debate about the lack of a basis for female genital mutilation and CEFM in specific religious texts. In Indonesia a conference of female religious leaders from the Muslim faith issued a *fatwa* against CEFM.[145]

In addition, interfaith dialogues can focus on common connectors – a shared belief in human dignity, mercy, action-oriented faith, protection of children and families, and above all upholding the principle of doing no harm. These dialogues have immense potential to drive both social and policy and change. There is a strong interreligious committee working on child marriage in Nepal that has led a public campaign against CEFM and also played an advisory role in developing the country's national strategy to end CEFM. The South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children (SAIEVAC) adopted the first Regional Plan of Action to End Child Marriage and developed partnerships with religious leaders as one of their main components. SAIEVAC set up a regional network of religious leaders engaged in changing discriminatory gender norms and ending child marriages.

World Vision programmes frequently collaborate with religious leaders at the community level in countries such as Bangladesh, Thailand and Pakistan. The Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs aims to collaborate with high-level religious leaders who are instrumental in advocating for social policies and interjecting curriculum at religious educational institutes so the principles will trickle down to the community level. They have been able to build a strong coalition of religious leaders to support family planning in Senegal and plan to expand this work into Nepal and Cambodia. Work with religious leaders is not yet well evaluated.

5.6 CHANGING CULTURAL AND SOCIAL NORMS IN SUPPORT OF GIRLS

Social norm interventions represent a comparatively new and complex area of work. The literature on what works to end child marriage often does not engage with social norms theory, and the evidence suffers from limitations that make it difficult to compare and summarise. Few social norm interventions aiming to delay marriage have been evaluated. There is significant variability in the types of interventions that target CEFM and in how outcomes are measured. While some studies have shown clear impacts, results have more often been marginal or mixed.

What does the limited evidence on social norms interventions tell us? An important finding from work on social norms over the past few years has been that while CEFM is a behaviour, many interrelated norms underpin it. Box 6 lists some of the areas in which social norms operate to drive CEFM. More evaluations of interventions at the community level and all of the work currently underway to change norms are needed. Although community interventions were identified as "least utilised," this was partly because the outcomes were constrained to behavioural change rather than to changes in attitudes. Longer timeframes for evaluation are needed to assess the impact of work with families and communities, and on social norms to be able to measure behavioural outcomes.

Box 6. Norms surrounding child, early and forced marriage

The norms that influence child marriage include:

- **Transition to adulthood**
  - ▸ **Marriage and reproduction are essential to womanhood and manhood**
  - ▸ **Union formation is the most important way of transitioning to adulthood**

- **Social construction of sexuality:**
  - ▸ **Female sexuality should be subordinate to male sexuality**
  - ▸ **Women's sexuality can only be practiced in a union**
  - ▸ **The fulfillment of male sexual pleasure is most important**
  - ▸ **Men should be knowledgeable, experienced, decisive and in control**

- **Obedience to elders/filial piety**
  - ▸ **It is disrespectful to discuss intimate topics with one's elders**
  - ▸ **Children should accept what older people decide for them**

- **Religious/cosmological understandings and expectations**

- **Centrality of marriage for girls' life**
  - ▸ **Girls may be being 'left on the shelf' if they marry too late**
  - ▸ **Early marriage is necessary for safeguarding girls' own and families' honour**
  - ▸ **Puberty signals readiness for marriage**

- **Economic value of men vs women**
  - ▸ **Girls/women are a burden to their families until marriage**
  - ▸ **Girls' education is a poor investment for a family to make**
  - ▸ **Boys/men are resources to their families because of what they will earn and the labour their wives will perform**

CARE's Tipping Point programme in Nepal and Bangladesh has generated much material from which to learn. The project has used specific social norm-related design principles, and its activities have been linked to promoting positive alternatives to CEFM. The vision of these programmes is to help create pathways for girls that expand beyond the traditional roles of wife and mother; and to create space for adolescents to give girls time to develop instead of moving directly from childhood to adulthood via early marriage. A series of briefs about their social norm innovations can be found at https://caretippingpoint.org/innovation/. CARE's Social Norms Analysis Plot (SNAP) methodology is both robust and easy to implement, and has been used for formative, baseline and endline research.[146]

The 2018 International Social and Behavior Change Communication (SBCC) Summit featuring Entertainment-Education[147] in Bali highlighted a range of projects, some of which are in the process of being evaluated.[148] Two promising examples from Asia are:

- Breakthrough in India combined media and community-level work, and is being evaluated through a randomised controlled trial;
- The Institute of Public Health Management in India is conducting a quasi-experimental evaluation of girls' clubs, work with boys and counselling with parents.[149]

The Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale was developed by Population Council/Horizon and Promundo to measure attitudes towards gender norms with a focus on Global South settings. The scale is designed to provide information about the prevailing norms in a community and can be used to measure the effectiveness of programmes that aim to influence norms. Though the scale was developed for the young men in low-income communities, it has been successfully adapted for a variety of age groups, women and girls, and middle/high-income communities.[150] More information about the GEM scale and work on masculinities and its adaptation to diverse cultural settings can be found in the resources section of the Promundo website (https://promundoglobal.org/resources/measuring-gender-attitude-using-gender-equitable-men-scale-gems-in-various-socio-cultural-settings).

It is important to understand the broad range of interventions not simply as competing logic models but also as addressing different conditions that support child marriage in the frame of a more holistic understanding of the practice and its causes.

SPORTS, ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT: USING CULTURAL FACETS TO TRANSFORM SOCIAL NORMS

Cultural expectations play a huge role in defining gender norms and what behaviour is considered appropriate for males and females. Since many of these expectations are conveyed through various forms of culture such as sports, art and entertainment, various forms of cultural expression can push these boundaries and explore potential areas of growth.

SPORTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Girls participating in sports can directly challenge cultural expectations about activities that have been exclusively designated to the male realm. When girls play sports it not only challenges gender norms, it also gives girls the opportunity to build important life skills like teamwork, confidence and resilience.

There are numerous examples of organisations that utilise sports as a tool for youth development.[151] The Magic Bus Foundation programme conducted a randomised control trial in 160 villages in two districts in India to measure the impact of their weekly sports programme and found that it had a positive impact on health and schooling outcomes in adolescents.[152] Most programmes tend to focus on traditional competitive team sports such as soccer, volleyball and rugby, but there is a growing number of organisations promoting informal and lifestyle sports such as skateboarding and surfing. Skatistan, for example, uses skateboarding to attract youth in Cambodia and Afghanistan to participate in their education and leadership development programmes using a model of one-hour skating time for every hour of classroom time.[153] Other groups, like Empowering Women of Nepal, offer outdoor education and skills training to women in adventure guiding and trekking, a field that tends to be male-dominated in Nepal.

There are several sports for development programmes that promote gender equality by encouraging girls to participate in sports, creating safe spaces for them to practice and play, and setting a foundation for success. Some examples include Girl Determined in Myanmar, Football for All in Vietnam, and WOMEN: Girls in Malaysia. Right to Play is a large organisation working to overcome the effects of poverty, conflict and disease in disadvantaged communities throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. In Asia, their work ranges from hosting sports play days in a refugee camp along the Thailand-Myanmar border to organising the first girls' volleyball tournament in the Mansehra district of Pakistan.

In collaboration with 15 community-based partner organisations in India, CREA utilises an SRHR lens in a multi-level programme, It's My Body, which has sports as one of the main components to increase bodily autonomy, enable girls to exert greater control over their bodies, and make their own decisions related to their health.[154] Women Win has a programme that focusses specifically on delaying child marriage, called Building Young Women's Leadership Through Sports, that works with eight partner organisations in seven countries, including India and Bangladesh in Asia. This programme focusses on leadership, decision-making and quality sports participation opportunities. In India, the programme invested 127,500 euros and reached 20,970 adolescent girls and young women; and, in Bangladesh, it invested 140,000 euros and reached 13,425 adolescent girls and young women. An evaluation found significant change in knowledge, attitudes and behaviours related to key rights issues such as SRHR, gender-based violence, economic empowerment, and leadership among participants. Community attitudes began to shift, relationship dynamics between parents and participants improved, and parents were more likely to view their daughters as leaders.

PARTICIPATORY ART METHODS – PHOTOVOICE AND THEATRE

Art can be a powerful tool for envisioning change and encouraging people to think critically about the society they live in. Using participatory methods that involve art, such as photovoice and theatre for development, can catalyse community engagement. Art can provide opportunity and voice for people who have been marginalised and it can be transformative for the audience as well as the creator.

Serra et al. (2018) described the transformative potential of participatory art methods:

> *Telling one's own story – claiming one's voice – changes a person and a community in ways that support larger social change by building agency as well as both individual and collective power. Art also transforms audiences by providing accessible entry points for conversations that other forms of persuasive communication may not. Art can contribute to shaping social and cultural norms, determining political agendas, sparking dialogue, catalysing action and helping us imagine a more just world.*[155]

Photovoice is a participatory artistic method that gives participants an opportunity to tell their own story and engage with a group to reflect and support one another. In Bangladesh, Lensational conducted a participatory photography project with female garment workers from two factories in Dhaka and a group of teenage surfer girls in the tourist town of Cox's Bazar.[156] They illustrate stories of resistance and resilience, including one in particular of a group of girls that had to sell goods at the beach to support their families that shows how their lives started to change once they began going to the local surf club to learn how to surf.

Theatre for development is another participatory approach that provides information to audiences in a dynamic way that can help to bridge the gap between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. It can be especially useful for different types of learning styles – especially visual learners, children and others with limited education. The process allows participants to create narratives that highlight what is important to them and how cultural expectations affect their lives. Theatre of the Oppressed is one model that explicitly aims to promote social and political change by using theatre to open discussions in a non-confrontational way. Comedy is often used to diffuse tension and make audiences more willing to engage and reflect about how issues presented affect the community. Theatre for development can awaken consciousness about forces that perpetuate child marriage without blaming specific institutions, such as religion, and most importantly it can demonstrate positive alternatives.

Theatre for development can be especially useful in places that have a strong tradition of street theatre, like Punjabi culture in Pakistan, as well as in areas where television and Internet are not widely available. Examples of projects that use some form of theatre include Bedari, Sujag Sansar and Oxfam in Pakistan; Aura Freedom International in Nepal; and Plan International in Bangladesh. The country research from India, Indonesia and Vietnam mentions theatre as a useful component in a layered approach to foster community engagement to transform social norms to prevent child marriage.

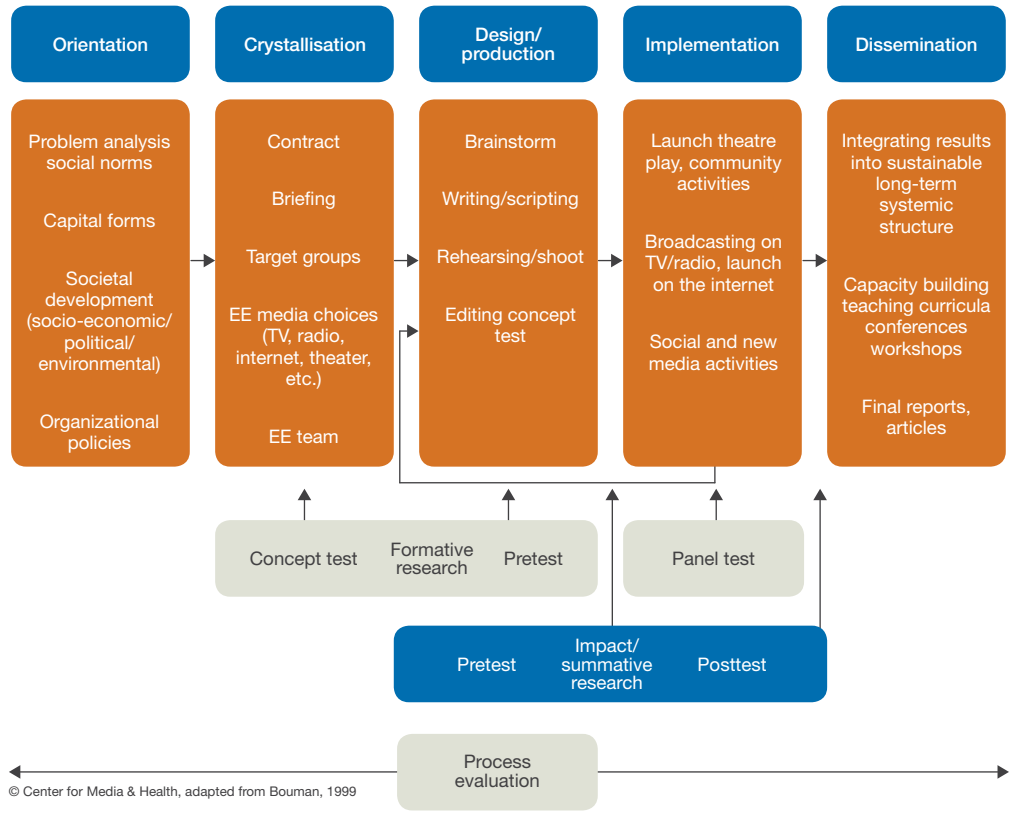
Participatory approaches may contribute to scale-up in terms of the large audiences they can potentially reach and make significant headway in engaging more members of the community for a multi-level approach. These approaches can provide real-life stories that people relate to that can catalyse change. When these stories are presented in combination with data, they can form a compelling argument to policy makers and other high-level stakeholders.

ENTERTAINMENT AND MASS MEDIA – BOOKS, COMIC BOOKS, RADIO AND TV

Combining entertainment and education is a way to connect with people more easily and provide information that can raise awareness about important issues. Educational content can be delivered through a variety of formats including books and comic books, as well as mass media outlets such as radio and television. Entertainment education, also referred to as edutainment, evolved mostly out of settings in Latin America, Africa and Asia to address issues such as family planning, HIV/AIDS and literacy. More and more programmes that aim to change social norms incorporate some aspect of edutainment because of its potential to reach a large audience.

Figure 2, the Entertainment-Education Mapping Model, developed by the Center for Media & Health, illustrates the process of integrating entertainment into research and programmes.

Figure 2: Entertainment-Education Mapping Model



Entertainment education differs from other strategies in the way it takes emotion and human interest into account. It draws from a multidisciplinary theoretical framework to connect rational decision-making with emotional responses to maximise impact in behaviour change and tackle deeply entrenched beliefs such as gender norms. Principles of social marketing, such as audience segmentation, are used to identify the target audiences and create characters they can relate to. Social cognitive theory posits that people can learn by observing role models, and entertainment education can illustrate how characters deal with dilemmas and decision-making, taking into account good and bad influences, and then demonstrating the results of their choices. Most importantly, entertainment education must strike a balance between good storytelling, educational content, and transitional role models who demonstrate both the "right" and "wrong" choices that allow audiences gain insight into their decision-making process by seeing the consequences of both good and bad decisions.

The drivers of CEFM differ from one setting to another, so transitional role models should be selected to reflect the context. A recent Girls Not Brides Report described the process of selecting transitional role models in more detail:

> *For example in a region where the prevalence of child marriage is high because of arranged marriages, the parents are portrayed as the transitional characters who come to learn about the harmful consequences of child marriage and change their behaviour as a result. In other regions, such as Nepal, child marriage is frequently occurring after boys and girls have eloped. In these regions the focus is primarily on adolescents and they are chosen as transitional characters.*[157]

The Population Media Center has created several long-running entertainment-education programmes that involve TV and radio shows addressing child marriage. In Nepal they launched two radio serial dramas in April 2016 that have benefited from high-profile endorsements from stars such as Rajesh Hamal and the former president of Nepal, Ram Baran Yadav, who himself married at the age of 14, when his wife was 12. Since the early 2000s, the Population Media Center has been broadcasting a radio programme in the Philippines called *Sa Pagiskat Ng Araw* (The Hope After the Dawn) to address HIV/AIDS and reproductive health issues in combination with a series of behaviour change communications workshops. They observed a 70 percent increase in patients seeking services from health centres.[158]

DIGITAL PLATFORMS AND SOCIAL MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

Public campaigns to change behaviour are not a new concept, but as the Internet has evolved, social media has provided a new platform for digital campaigns. Similar to posting flyers, handing out brochures at events or placing billboards in high traffic areas, digital platforms can be a tool to increase awareness about an issue such as child marriage and encourage people to think critically about the societies they live in. The field of social and behaviour change communications has evolved to maximise the use of social media platforms and digital campaigns as channels to directly engage with large audiences.

Digital storytelling is becoming a popular method for sharing information that allows engagement with audiences in new ways. It allows the participants and creators to be more involved, and audiences can engage through clicking to get more information, commenting to take part in discussions, sharing their own experience or other relevant examples that contribute to the shared depository/experience. It can take a variety of forms, including photovoice, blogs and videos, that when presented on a digital platform can constitute participatory journalism. Simple texting on mobile phones that do not have Internet connections is another method that programmes are using to deliver messages directly in order to make information more easily accessible for girls.

Many photovoice projects can subsequently be housed in an online gallery that anyone can access to learn more about how child marriage affects girls and young women.[159] Additional ads and media campaigns of interest include:

- Vogue India produced a video in 2014 about harmful masculinity and intimate partner violence featuring former top actress Madhuri Dixit.[160]
- An ad campaign in Bangladesh on domestic violence addressed harmful masculinities and included a video on a woman's desire to cut her hair short so that she cannot be grabbed by the hair by her abuser.[161]
- The Ministry of Women's and Children's Affairs in Bangladesh produced numerous public service announcements encouraging girls and community members to take action where they can to protect girls from harassment, fight against dowry and stop child marriage.[162]
- A media campaign in Bangladesh on child marriage awareness, which was promoted on television and social media, reached millions of youths and stakeholders, and is considered a powerful tool for awareness creation among parents, marriage registrars and young people themselves.[163]

© Plan International/John Iglesia

- Breakthrough in India ran the Ring the Bell (Bell Bajao) campaign to engage communities in stopping domestic violence[164] through mobilising people to ring their neighbours' doorbells as an intervention when they witnessed domestic violence.

- Girl Effect launched several youth brands focussed on empowering girls to change their lives. In India, Girl Effect established the TEGA network, a peer-to-peer research app, to gather information to launch a full programme soon, and it plans to launch programmes in Indonesia and Bangladesh.[165] Girl Effect hires and trains girls between the ages of 18-24 living in hard-to-reach communities to use mobile technology to gather insight for designing targeted development programmes that promote meaningful change.

- The ASK programme in Indonesia delivered information to promote SRHR for youth via the Internet and mobile phones.[166]

In several of the countries, stakeholders expressed a concern that modern technology was a corrupting influence on young people – exposing them to sexual content and allowing them to interact in an unsupervised context. Like any other technology there is negative and positive potential. On the one hand, this technology can expand impact by reaching a larger audience, engaging with people and increasing accessibility; on the other hand, emerging evidence indicates that mobile phones are facilitating "unobtrusive and unsupervised contacts between boys and girls. While this may be indirectly contributing to breaking down gender segregation, there have been risks, such as rising so-called 'love marriages' initiated through such means that have led to an increase in eloping and exposing children to early marriage, trafficking and sexual exploitation."[167]

5.7 BUILDING AND IMPLEMENTING LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS

During the review of government efforts to end CEFM, a challenge for this report was that policy efforts are not commonly evaluated. Thus, the published findings in this section generally describe efforts to document rather than evaluate policy efforts. One exception is the study by Maswikwa and colleagues (2015) that explores the importance of legal standards by trying to answer the question of whether minimum age at marriage laws really make a difference to this culturally rooted practice.[168] The report highlights the challenges of ending child marriage in Sub-Saharan Africa, where pluralistic legal systems are common. Their analysis brings DHS data together with the McGill MACHEquity Child Marriage Database to see whether countries with consistent laws with over 18 governing minimum age at marriage, marriage with parental consent and consent to sex have lower rates of child marriage and early childbearing.[169] Their results suggest that these laws really can make a difference to the prevalence of child marriage and early childbearing.

Additional resources that highlight the potential role of legal and policy change for ending CEFM include:

- **A LEGAL FRAMEWORK ALONGSIDE EFFORTS TO PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY:** Equality Now's *Protecting the girl child: Using the law to end child, early and forced marriage and related human rights violations* focusses on the importance of implementing a strong legal framework at the national level based on human-rights standards alongside a broad effort to transform gender relations to address child, early and forced marriage, and related human-rights violations that affect girls and women throughout their lives.[170]

- **PROMOTING ACCOUNTABILITY USING EXISTING LEGAL FRAMEWORKS:** *Child Marriage in South Asia: International and Constitutional Legal Standards and Jurisprudence for Promoting Accountability and Change*, which focusses on child marriage in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, is a resource for those interested in establishing government accountability for child marriage through human-rights advocacy and litigation. It is also for government officials to help strengthen their role in enforcing existing laws and policies and bringing about necessary legal reform.[171]

- **A REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION EFFORTS:** The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) released its first-ever report on preventing and eliminating child, early and forced marriage in 2014. The report, *Preventing and eliminating child, early and forced marriage*, looks at achievements and best practices, as well as challenges and gaps in implementation. It also includes recommendations to prevent and eliminate CEFM.[172]

© Plan International/Jem Karto

- **STRENGTHENING CHILD PROTECTION THROUGH POLICY:** The Inter-Parliamentary Union and UNICEF produced *Child Protection – A Handbook for Parliamentarians,* which looks at the role parliamentarians can play in promoting child protection by legislating, budgeting and overseeing government activity, and using their positions of leadership to raise awareness. Of particular use are the recommendations for parliamentarians in ten areas of child protection: birth registration and the right to identity; protection of children in armed conflict; sexual exploitation of children; trafficking and sale of children; harmful traditional practices; violence and neglect; alternative care; juvenile justice; child labour; and the rights of child victims.[173]

- **ENSURING IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH ANALYSIS OF LEGISLATION AND POLICY GAPS:** By informing policymakers, law enforcement officials and civil society of the key gaps and inconsistencies in the laws and policies, a report by the Center for Reproductive Rights has contributed to overcoming the obstacles to ending child marriage in Nepal.[174]

5.8 CROSS-SECTOR COLLABORATION

GLOBAL PARTNERSHIPS

In 2015, recognising that more advocacy was needed to increase national investment in child marriage around the world, the Child Investment Fund Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation funded a major research collaboration between the International Center for Research on Women and the World Bank on the economic impact of child marriage.[175] The purpose of the project was to build global knowledge of the economic costs of child marriage. Nepal figured among the countries in which original data were collected, with the purpose of facilitating implementation of national laws and policies as a matter of urgency.

UNICEF and UNFPA's Global Programme to Accelerate Action to End Child Marriage (2015-2018) aims to:

- Enhance investments in and support for married and unmarried girls, and provide evidence for the corresponding benefits;

- Engage key actors – including young people as agents of change – in catalysing shifts towards positive gender norms;

- Increase political support, resources, positive policies and frameworks; and

- Improve the data and evidence base.

In 12 countries with some of the world's highest rates of child brides, UNICEF and UNFPA have joined forces to leverage existing strategies in areas such as health, education, child protection, and water and sanitation to form a holistic programme. Working in partnership with governments, civil society organisations and young people themselves, methods that have already been proven to work are being taken to scale.

Girls Not Brides produced an important assessment of whether national initiatives to end child marriage in Egypt, Ethiopia, Nepal and Zambia work.[176] The report considered why national initiatives (i.e., initiatives owned by the national government and not by a specific ministry) were emerging, how they were being developed, what they included, and their prospects for implementation. Of particular interest to this analysis is their finding on Nepal's National Strategy to End Child Marriage (2015-2030), with its detailed guidance for government branches and partners. They also reviewed Bangladesh's draft National Action Plan to Eliminate Child Marriage (2015-2021) but noted that progress had stalled because of "domestic and international outcry about recent regressive legal proposals which would allow child marriage under the age of 18 in 'special circumstances'."

The analysis highlighted the importance of political will, leadership, capacity development in government, and participation by civil society in the design and implementation of national initiatives. It also highlighted the need to hold governments accountable. In addition, the report affirms the need to ensure that child marriage is not seen as a "standalone" issue but is seen as an issue that is inherently multi-sectoral. The analysis found that the lead ministries for countries' national initiatives tended to be their Ministries of Women, Children and Senior Citizens, which "tend to have large mandates but little capacity, resources and/or political influence to be able to effect change for women and girls." Functioning coordination mechanisms and the authority to convene other, more powerful ministries are essential.

NATIONAL INITIATIVES AND FRAMEWORKS

Bangladesh has moved to end CEFM somewhat inconsistently, given different interests among members of government and advocates. In 2014, at the London Girl Summit, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina committed the government to creating a National Plan of Action by the end of the year. The Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs began working on this shortly after the Summit. At almost the same time, however, the Cabinet of Bangladesh approved language in the draft Child Marriage Restraint Act 2014 that would *lower* the minimum age of marriage from 18 to 16 years for girls. As a consequence of the reaction to this proposal, the draft National Action Plan was not finalised or implemented. In 2016, the Cabinet included language in the Child Marriage Restraint Act (ultimately passed in 2017) that failed to specify a minimum age at marriage and permitted child marriage under "special circumstances." Once again, advocates inside and outside Bangladesh reacted strongly to the potential abuse of girls' human rights that could take place under cover of these exceptions.

In Vietnam, the government has focussed on strengthening child protection systems and building programme interventions in ethnic minority areas. The Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs (CEMA) is the primary government body responsible for addressing CEFM in Vietnam and coordinates implementation of the programme Reduction of Early and Inter-Family Marriage in Ethnic Minorities in the Period 2015-2025. The two key actively involved ministries are the Ministry of Health (General Office of Population and Family Planning) and the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (Child Protection Department). In addition, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and the Ministry of Information and Communications are tasked with mainstreaming CEFM prevention into their activities to implement this project.

The programme aims to prevent and reduce child marriage and close-kin marriage in ethnic minority areas by 2025 through:

- increasing awareness among ethnic minorities of laws related to early and interfamily marriages;
- building the capacity of at least 90 percent of government officials in charge of ethnic minority affairs at all levels, and socio-cultural officials at the commune level in mobilising, counselling and communicating for behaviour change in early marriage and interfamily.

The hope is to reduce the rate of early marriage cases by 2-3 percent per year and the rate of interfamily marriages by 3-5 percent per year in the ethnic minority areas.

Programme interventions include developing behaviour change communications (BCC) materials and implementing BCC activities on early marriage and interfamily marriage in ethnic minority areas; improving services and access to information to change behaviour; building and improving the capacity of government officers posted in ethnic minority areas to work more efficiently on the issue; promoting the role of social associations and key partners in ethnic minority areas to mobilise to eliminate early marriage and interfamily marriage; cooperating with international organisations; and mobilising citizens to implement the scheme.

The Government of Nepal, under the leadership of the Ministry of Women, Children and Senior Citizens, began developing its National Strategy to End Child Marriage in March 2014.[177] With technical and financial support from UNICEF, UNFPA and Girls Not Brides Nepal, the government reviewed the literature, held district and national consultations, conducted formative research in districts with high marriage rates, and organised validation meetings for the emerging strategic directions. Although the government committed to work to end child marriage by 2020 at the London Girl Summit in 2014, the 2015 earthquake and fuel crisis dramatically slowed progress in finalising the national strategy and producing the national implementation plan. The action plan was on track to be completed in 2017.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN CIVIL SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

The Government of Bangladesh has been working with Plan International ARO to implement online birth registration programmes.[178] As a child rights organisation, Plan International ARO had long prioritised birth registration in many diverse country settings. This collaboration of civil society with the Government of Bangladesh on a concrete and important intervention has been a counterpoint to some of the government's missteps on its draft National Action Plan to Eliminate Child Marriage (2015-2021).[179] The effort to reduce child marriage in Bangladesh has catalysed a shift to online birth registration to prevent the falsification of a girl's age by her parents. The government is working to develop a robust Civil Registration and Vital Statistics System to provide services to all citizens. In this endeavour they are supported by UNDP, Bloomberg Data for Health, and Plan International. Between 2006 and 2014, the percent of Bangladesh's population that had birth documents rose from 10 percent to over 75 percent.[180]

The Government of Bangladesh, through the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), is regularly following up with all 64 District Commissioners on progress against child marriage. An initiative led by the Governance Innovation Unit (GIU) within the PMO is developing a database of all people whose business relates to marriage – registrars, solemnisers, matchmakers and the like – a group of 100,000 people.

Plan International is working closely with GIU and Access to Information (A2I) to give these 100,000 people access to mobile technology that will enable them to validate the age of the prospective brides and grooms at the click of a button. This technology was initially developed in Kurigram by a government officer, and is now being fine-tuned and scaled up across all 64 districts by Plan International and the government.

Additional examples of multi-level partnership include the top-down or centre-outward approach adopted in Vietnam, where the government has been pushing child protection forward and providing resources, while also being supported and reinforced by UNICEF, UNFPA, Plan International, ChildFund Vietnam and other organisations. In Laos, United Nations agencies and the government have developed the ten-year-old "Noi" narrative and communications campaign.[181] The materials are visually compelling and make the case for investing in order to achieve the SDGs.[182]

In bottom-up approach, local organisations are advancing work across settings at the grassroots level by advocating for more support and resources from the government. This is true of the collectivising efforts that have been linked to existing social movements and those that have mobilised young people to address the unresponsiveness of local administrators to the mandate of laws regarding CEFM.

5.9 MEASURING PROGRESS AND ACCOUNTABILITY

COLLECTION OF DATA TO TRACK PROGRESS

Globally, most countries have relied on UNICEF and its annual analysis of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) data to give them regular snapshots of CEFM indicators. Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) are the other main source of comparable, nationally representative data on CEFM. In addition, countries collect and analyse their own vital statistics, and the information is reliable when their birth and marriage registrations are complete. Bangladesh, for example, is viewed as having stalled somewhat in reducing marriage before age 18, but it has witnessed sharp reductions in marriage before age 15, for which the government may be able to take some credit for its girls' stipend programme and other incentives to complete school.

STRENGTHENING GOVERNANCE TO CARRY THROUGH ON GOVERNMENT POLICY COMMITMENTS

In recent years, a consensus has developed regarding the limitations of the impact legislation can have on child marriage.[183] In Bangladesh, Ethiopia and India, for example, enforcement in the form of punishment of parents and families has driven child marriage underground and led to the misrepresentation of girls' ages. So while advocacy to change the law is still needed in some settings, the purpose is to establish a legislative backdrop for work to end child marriage. However, this change is not expected to translate directly into decreases in child marriage rates.

Despite this critical perspective, it is essential for national laws and policies to align with international normative standards and commitments. What is needed now that most countries have minimum age at marriage laws is legislation that translates these laws into national strategic and action plans, and policy changes through which implementation can occur. In the absence of this legislation, there is no legal protection from child marriage for girls below the national minimum age at marriage.

The Institute of Health Management in Pachod, India is conducting accountability work with police and community leaders. An innovative government initiative in Bangladesh is focussing on digitising birth and marriage records, and empowering local officials to prevent marriages based on falsified documents.[184]

Two dimensions of sustainability are of interest to people working to end CEFM:

1. the sustainability of the social change set in motion by the intervention; and
2. the sustainability of the programme itself.

However, social change and programmatic sustainability do not always overlap.

Breakthrough is one of the NGOs that Pathfinder partnered with in their Promoting Change in Reproductive Behaviour of Adolescents (PRACHAR) programme and this partnership is an interesting case to consider when thinking about sustainability.[185] Even though the PRACHAR programme ended, Breakthrough continues to work in that community and deliver programmes and trainings that are informed by their previous collaboration with Pathfinder. Breakthrough is one of the few programmes that has been able to demonstrate the impact of their work through rigorous evaluation. In the area of intervention, Breakthrough made progress in countering early marriage, with a rise in average age at marriage of 1.77 years, nearly a third of people agreeing that 18 is the right age for a girl to marry, a 50 percent increase in number of people who believe a girl should complete college, a 33 percent rise in people who believe that household chores should be shared by both boys and girls, and a 25 percent rise in households reporting that financial responsibilities are shared by women.

THE "VIGILANTE" APPROACH: ACCOUNTABILITY FOR REPORTING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

There was a strong sense at the Commission on the Status of Women 2018 that systems of accountability and grassroots engagement is necessary to advance enforcement of the laws. Many participants expressed their belief that local and other CSOs should try to engage communities as directly and consistently as possible to advance progress that has been made in the legislative and legal arenas. Enforcement by government without the engagement of the community can drive the practice of CEFM underground, but when citizens are themselves engaged, there may be more opportunity for change.

Although community members may know that child marriage is against the law, enforcement is key until norms come into line with the legislation. The "vigilante" approach – in which citizens take enforcement into their own hands – illustrates how values can change and systems of accountability can be created by engaged citizens. As mentioned in the discussion of collectivisation, youth groups have worked in concrete ways on enforcement through this approach, informing people of the laws and carrying out the enforcement that local officials are sometimes hesitant to do. A local

instance of young people taking matters into their own hands is the case of the girls and young women in a village in Tamil Nadu state in southern India.[186] Fed up with high levels of alcoholism and perpetration of violence among the men of the village, and committed to completing secondary school and beyond, young people have engaged the local government, protected their sisters from child marriage, and brought about community changes in schools, transportation and the regulation of alcohol consumption.

Although the word 'vigilante' has been used here, it is important to note that actors in these situations are working in support of the law and often are engaging directly with government officials. Their frustration at the inaction of law enforcement mobilises these community members to provide the community authority for law enforcement to take action in instances where they are supposed to but are reluctant. This approach could have negative consequences when parents take action to prevent marriages to which their daughters and sons have consented but to which they do not approve.

How are systems of accountability created? In the majority of countries in the Asia region, laws already ban the practice of CEFM. An emerging strategy in numerous countries and programmes, especially in India and Bangladesh, is the empowering of girls, young people, community leaders and local officials to intervene in and work to stop marriages in progress. Sometimes called child protection, sometimes paired with law enforcement and strengthening of local justice systems, these types of interventions have been shown to be generally successful at stopping individual marriages, and hold promise for changing CEFM within a community.

IN OUR AREA, I CAN CHALLENGE YOU THAT NOT A SINGLE MARRIAGE OF CEFM GOES WITHOUT PROTEST

– Programme Manager, Bangladesh

This approach has immediate potential in communities where the law and policy environment is favourable but the enforcement of the law has not been consistent. Accountability can be implemented at all levels of stakeholders. In Bangladesh, the country research described girls and boys participating in the Marriage Busters programme, the first step of which is looking into why their friends are not coming to school. When they sense that this might have to do with preparation for child marriage; they go to their friends' houses and try to convince the parents to help stop the marriage. Initially, they would be dismissed by adults, but would persist and return with local government authorities or school headmasters to try again to convince the parents.

© Plan International/Max Greenstein

In Malaysia, programmes are working to empower traditional marriage officiants and local government officials responsible for registering marriages to refuse to conduct CEFM and to track birth records to ensure that young people are of age to marry. Adolescent advocates and peer groups in Mymensingh and Khulna in Bangladesh, working with Plan International and the local group Ghasforing, have been empowered to track the ages of their peers and engage with local law enforcement in cases of falsified birth certificates.[187]

The six thousand members of World Vision Bangladesh's Child Forums have prevented over three thousand cases of CEFM in the past five years. These Child Forums bring young people together to learn about different social issues and mobilise them to engage with authorities and policymakers.[188] In Vietnam, the government and partners are investing in a multi-level child protection system including district and town child protection officers who can intervene in marriages. In India and Indonesia, partners are working with at-risk girls and young people to empower them to engage local law enforcement and community leaders to stop their own or their peers' marriages.

The community accountability approach is closely linked to individual empowerment, in particular to building the skills and confidence of young people to speak up against their own or their friends' marriages, and to create a strong base of community support for young people to access. It does not necessarily reflect a direct effect on community and social norms about CEFM, instead relying on additional programme work to change those norms. Implementing partner organisations expressed concerns that community accountability be balanced with, or even secondary to, more sustainable social norm change programmes that aim to disrupt the underlying drivers of CEFM, so that there are fewer and fewer individual cases in which to intervene.

5.10 SUSTAINING SOCIAL AND PROGRAMME IMPACT BY CREATING ALTERNATIVE LIFE PATHS FOR GIRLS

In order to empower girls, interviewees stressed programmes must also work to change systems to create enabling circumstances and to ensure that all the burden of gender transformation does not fall on the shoulders of girls. Yet the strong focus on a child protection measures in the five country research efforts can conflict with an empowerment focus on adolescent girls' autonomy. To the extent that it is possible to take into account girls' expanding capacities and future prospects, it would be desirable to expand the gender transformation and empowerment approach to CEFM in the region. Meaningful community engagement with parents and stakeholders helps to change their perceptions about the value of girls and create concrete opportunities for girls to participate and contribute.

> **THERE IS NO ATTENTION TO CHILD RIGHTS, AND AN OVEREMPHASIS ON CHILD PROTECTION: UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS IS THE CHILD MAKING A CHOICE?**
>
> – Sajeda Amin, Population Council

© Plan International/Stephan Rumpf

In a negative example, the conditional cash transfer programme in Haryana, *Apni Beti Apna Dhan,* despite having structured an incentive for families of daughters for nearly 18 years, brought about much less change than was hoped.[189] Although it had an impact on girls' schooling, it did not delay marriage. The explanation widely given by people familiar with the programme is that the incentive, in the absence of any public messaging or effort to change norms, did not change the fundamentally restrictive view of girls that was held by community members. They thus viewed the CCT as an opportunity to cover their daughters' dowries and following the transfers, had their daughters married as soon as they were eligible.

Several responses from the regional reviews emphasised the importance of changing the way girls are viewed by their communities and developing opportunities for their life paths outside of or in addition to marriage. One example mentioned previously is the Government of Laos' and United Nations agencies' campaign regarding the ten-year-old girl Noi and her unfolding opportunities.[190] Building skills is an important component of empowerment; but if girls are not perceived as valuable, they will not have opportunities to utilise new skills. Their parents and communities need to be willing to support them in forging a new path.

5.11 WHAT HAS NOT WORKED AND UNINTENDED NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCE

In India, various state governments have created programmes to delay marriage among girls. One of these, *Apni Beti, Apna Dhanas*, mentioned above, was implemented in Haryana.[191] This programme increased secondary school completion among the girls, but age at marriage actually rose faster among girls in the control group, since the incentive to delay marriage had not been accompanied by any effort to change the way girls were viewed. A Council on Foreign Relations assessment of strategies for ending child marriage responded to the somewhat disappointing results of this CCT programme in Haryana.[192] The Council highlighted the need to employ community-based behaviour-change strategies to change the perception of girls and women and to engage parents and community leaders, since girls are generally not making the decision to marry on their own. As the authors observed, "Changing attitudes about child marriage is an especially critical intervention in communities where non-state law dominates and where religious leaders often perform the marriage ceremonies. A more comprehensive strategy will include programmes working with religious leaders and educating men and boys on why delaying age of marriage is beneficial to all."[193]

Other programmes that have not worked well have included:

- Legislative changes in India and Bangladesh, which have had limited impact because the deeper political will has not been there and the mechanisms for implementing the laws have been weak;
- Legislative changes that register exceptions to the child marriage law in Indonesia. Research has been conducted in Indonesia by the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR) and UNICEF to see what causes child marriage dispensation. While many believe this may be because of teenage pregnancy, the main cause is that parents are afraid when their children are in a relationship and they rush to formalise the relationship.
- Work in Vietnam and Cambodia with cross-country marriages and trafficking of young women has developed separately and has not been integrated with work to improve girls' and young women's status and delay marriage.[194]

© Plan International/Erik Thallaug

6. PROGRAMME INNOVATIONS AND PROMISING PRACTICES ACROSS ASIA

In addition to the common programme strategies and themes that have been seen in multiple contexts, programmes implemented in South and Southeast Asia over the past 5-10 years have been creating a new host of innovative and promising practices to prevent and address CEFM. Many of the innovations are focussed on new ways of working with and reaching young people at risk for CEFM (including young adolescents aged 10-14), using new technologies to strengthen communications and response, and refocussing messages and programmatic themes around the rights and empowerment of young people in child marriages and at risk for CEFM. When combined and integrated with the more tested programme strategies, these promising innovations offer hope for accelerating progress to reduce and eliminate CEFM.

6.1 ADDRESSING ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY

Increasingly, there is recognition of the interrelationship between CEFM and the lack of space for adolescents in many communities to explore, express, or understand their own sexuality. The lack of recognition of adolescents' rights to information, education and services related to their sexual and reproductive health, overlapping with taboos designed to silence discussion about sexuality between adolescents and adults, leave many young people without a trusted source of accurate or comprehensive information about their changing bodies and desires. Young people who are kept in the dark about their sexuality, and their sexual and reproductive health are more likely to begin their sexual lives earlier, with less autonomy and less ability to make informed decisions about risks and protection, and are more likely to experience force or coercion at sexual debut.[195, 196]

The threat of adolescent pregnancy, especially when unplanned or outside of wedlock, was acknowledged by informants and stakeholders as a driver of CEFM in Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Cambodia and Indonesia. Increasingly, as CEFM programmes make strides in reducing the overall number of marriages and in intervening in arranged or forced marriages, programme implementers interviewed for this study mention perceived increases in adolescent "love marriages" or marriages chosen and entered into by adolescents themselves. One study conducted by Dhaka University showed only 3 percent of the child marriages were self-initiated. Adolescents may fall in love, but whether they really want to get married or not is another question.[197]

The term "love marriage" is also used to describe a situation in which a girl becomes pregnant and the parents oblige the couple to formalise their relationship.

Love marriages – and love relationships – are a growing concern for parents and policymakers in the region. They often attribute the change to social media and to the loss of control over young people. While those factors certainly contribute, another important dimension is the lack of opportunity to learn and talk about sexuality, and for boys and girls to interact with each other in positive, non-sexual ways. When girls do not have any space to socialise with and learn about boys as their sexuality develops, they may choose to escape into early unions. Boys are much freer in adolescence than girls, as is shown in the Global Early Adolescence Study and in a review by UNFPA and UNICEF.[198] Social norms in the region remain very conservative in this respect, even as women increasingly are educated and attain greater economic power.[199] Young people enter into relationships to be treated as adults and to get out of difficult and sometimes even abusive family relationships.

> **BOYS ARE ALLOWED TO HAVE AN ADOLESCENCE – THERE IS SPACE FOR THEIR SEXUAL EXPRESSION BUT NO ROOM FOR GIRLS OR WOMEN'S SEXUAL EXPRESSION, EITHER WITHIN OR WITHOUT MARRIAGE. YOU CAN HAVE A VERY OPEN DISCUSSION AROUND GENDER EQUALITY IN MANY SECTORS IN THIS REGION – EDUCATION, POLITICS, UNPAID CARE WORK – BUT THE WHOLE ISSUE OF EQUAL RIGHTS TO SEX IS NOT ON THE TABLE IN THIS REGION.**
>
> – Ingrid Fitzgerald, UNFPA

In settings where adolescent sexuality is unacknowledged, marriage will continue to be the only "safe" outlet for romantic relationships and exploration of desire, in particular for adolescent girls and young women. Incorporating the need for social norm change to break the taboos and stigma that surround adolescent sexuality, and that prevent open discussion about changing bodies, desires and romantic exploration has immense potential to improve both the scale and sustainability of interventions seeking to undermine the systems within communities that promote CEFM. Increasingly, programmes looking to prevent or eliminate CEFM entirely will need to work much more collaboratively across the spectrum of interventions designed to address adolescent sexual and reproductive health and rights, and to recognise the centrality of sexuality to the experience of adolescence. The need to balance a protectionist approach with one that takes into account the "evolving capacities of the child" has been recognised, and Girls Not Brides and other organisations are evaluating age of consent laws versus age at marriage laws and the right way to approach each.

A review of programmes that address sexuality as a strategy for ending CEFM is currently being conducted by a group of organisations, and an initial brief was distributed at the Girls Not Brides Global Member Meeting.[200] The programmes of greatest interest in the Asia region are listed in Box 7.

Box 7. Programmes in Asia that address sexuality as a strategy for ending CEFM

1. Aahung, Pakistan
2. Aura International, Nepal
3. Awaaz e Niswan, India
4. BRAC, Bangladesh
5. CARE, Ethiopia, Nepal and Bangladesh
6. CORO, India
7. CREA, India
8. Development Initiative for Supporting Healthy Adolescence (DISHA), India
9. Institute for Health Management-Pachod, India
10. Peace Foundation, Pakistan
11. Plan International, global
12. Promundo Global
13. Sarathi Development Foundation, India,
14. VACHA Trust, India
15. Women for Afghan Women, Afghanistan
16. World Population Foundation (WPF)-Rutgers, Pakistan
17. YP Foundation, India

Source: Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Sexuality Programs Working Group. (2018). *Tackling the Taboo: Sexuality and gender transformative programmes to end child marriage. Summary report for the Girls Not Brides 2nd Global Meeting.* New York, NY: American Jewish World Service, CARE, et al. Retrieved from https://caretippingpoint.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Tackling-the-Taboo.pdf

6.2 INTEGRATED MULTI-MEDIA AND CROSS-MEDIA CAMPAIGNS AND PROGRAMMES

The Population Foundation of India created a trans-media series called Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon (I, A Woman, Can Achieve Anything) that utilises television, radio, Internet and mobile phones to challenge the prevailing social and cultural norms around family planning, early marriage, early and repeated pregnancies, contraceptive use, domestic violence and sex selection. They use different channels so their target audience will hear mutually reinforcing messages from a variety of different sources such as social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter feeds from the fictional characters in the series. Combining media and similar messages coming from different voices helps to reinforce the social issue message in a given context.

Breakthrough is a global human rights organisation that uses a gender lens and a combination of media, arts and tech to drive cultural change. They have an impressive breadth of programmes in India that range from their flagship media campaign to challenge gender norms and a puppet video series to teacher training and leadership training to empower youth in schools. Breakthrough also created a short series of advertisements demonstrating sexual harassment and how to speak out against it when it happens (#BeThatGuy), and uses storytelling platforms to describe its projects in action using social media hashtags, pictures, digital stories and blogs illustrating first-hand examples of women who have delayed marriage. Its Selfies 4 School Campaign dialog asked people to upload selfies on their campaign page and, with support from the Vodafone Foundation, they committed to keep 10 girls in school (for at least one year) for every selfie submitted. They reasoned that when more people feel directly connected to a cause, they are more likely to use their power to influence peer group conversations. Through digital media, radio and press activation, their campaign reached more than 19 million people over the course of 5 weeks, posted 6,458 selfies, and kept 58,000 girls in school. Breakthrough also deployed an interactive 'video van' equipped with a theatre team and audio-visual facility to engage audiences around early marriage, traveling to communities in 7 districts in 203 days with 635 shows, and providing resources such as 24-hour

emergency services for children.[201] They plan to scale-up to reach 1.5 million youth by 2022 across five states in India. CARE Cambodia launched Chat! Contraception to improve SRHR for garment factory workers in Cambodia by providing information about contraception and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). The programme involves a combination of in person activity-based sessions, soap opera style videos featuring female factory workers that are screened at the factories and can be watched on the mobile app, and a daily prompt/interaction from the app they can schedule at any time includes a mobile quiz and treasure hunt. Since the programme started in 2015, they have reached over 25,000 workers, unwanted pregnancies have declined and use of modern contraception has doubled, reaching nearly 50 percent.[202] Because unintended pregnancy can cause a young woman to lose her job and be forced into early marriage, this kind of SRHR programme can have an impact on CEFM. See Box 8 for a summary of programme impacts.

The Bangladesh Ministry of Women's and Children's affairs runs a national hotline to track CEFM cases using GPS and connects young people at risk with support services.

6.3 INNOVATING AROUND THE CONCEPT OF A HAPPY MARRIAGE/HAPPY COUPLE

South and Southeast Asia provide opportunities to work on the concept of a happy marriage, defined as one of mutual respect and support, and modelling healthy and socially positive behaviours. The unit oriented toward parents in Save the Children's nested curricula (Choices, Voices and Promises), developed and tested in Nepal, uses insights from advertising to formulate positive statements for parents to aspire to when it comes to their daughters' marriages.[203] Parents want their daughters to be happy with their husbands. They want their daughters to be healthy and to have finished school. They want their daughters to live lives free of violence. By formulating the desirability of delaying marriage in these positive terms, the curriculum promotes a positive vision of marriage, a strategy that is known to be more effective in changing behaviour than a critical or preachy approach.

The happy couple concept fits well with the state-led family model of Vietnam, and faith-based framings of family life in many settings, including Indonesia. Ethiopia has also done interesting work in the public health sphere around the idea of a model family that is recognised in the community for adopting specific healthy practices. PRACHAR in India adopted a similarly positive approach, celebrating newly married couples in 'newlywed welcome ceremonies,' combining education and entertainment to improve SRH knowledge, build life skills, and promote couples' communication and joint decision-making.[204]

6.4 MORE CREATIVE EVALUATIONS

A repeated theme raised by interviewees and a challenge for interventions was the need to think more creatively about evaluation in light of the important work going on to change gendered social norms. While an education intervention or CCT, for example, can have a direct and measurable impact on a girl's schooling, norm-change interventions are far more complex. First, the time horizon must often be much longer than what is required to change knowledge, attitudes or behaviours. Second, it is generally necessary to work with a number of different population groups to bring about shifts in norms, so the measurement challenges are more complex in that way as well. And finally, change in a gender norm may lead to multiple behavioural outcomes, requiring some careful decision-making about what makes the most sense to measure. A number of innovative evaluation methodologies have emerged over the past few years. They have in common their orientation toward social norms, how we can learn more about them, and how we can measure change in them.

Box 8. Cambodia's Chat! Programme's impacts on women and employers

Impact on women	Impact on factories
Chat! has: • Doubled use of modern contraception • More than doubled women's use of health services • Tripled women's confidence to negotiate contraceptive use and to refuse sex with partners	**Factory managers report that Chat! has:** • Increased productivity • Reduced absenteeism and turnover • Increased competitiveness • Improved reputation

Source: CARE Cambodia (n.d.). Chat! Contraception. Retrieved from http://www.care-cambodia.org/chat

- The Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale was developed by Population Council/Horizon and Promundo to measure attitudes towards gender norms with a focus on Global South settings.[205] The scale is designed to provide information about the prevailing norms in a community, and can be used to measure the effectiveness of programmes that aim to influence norms. Though not new, the scale has been successfully adapted for a variety of age groups, women and girls, and middle/high-income communities, and is especially relevant to CEFM.

- Measuring interventions with men and boys calls for triangulation, or assessment of their impact on women and girls.

- CARE's SNAP methodology is useful for capturing norms in formative research.[206]

The Child Marriage Acceptability Index is a tool developed by Plan International that can be used to measure changes in knowledge and attitudes (not behaviour and practice) about child marriage. It consists of 23 statements, with which respondents can (dis)agree using a seven-point Likert scale.[207] The tool is robust, but is not as easy to use as SNAP.

6.5 INNOVATIONS FOCUSSED ON MARRIAGE AS A CHOICE, NOT A GIVEN

Discussions about the role of CEFM in South and East Asia must take into consideration the role of marriage over the life course. Plan International Bangladesh focusses on this approach: "First to improve the agency of girls themselves to think about their purpose in life. It is not just about getting married and having a family. It is about fulfilling their promise and talent as a human being and contributing to their village, country and the global community."[208] Most cultures view marriage as inevitable, as the only structure around which families and communities may be built. Many young women see marriage as their only future path, the only route to "respectable" adulthood, while social norms make people shun unmarried adult women as broken, deviant or unwanted. Many young women cite the need to marry and produce children as proof of their virtue and value as driving forces behind their own desire to marry, and increasingly research is recognising young women valuing their own fertility and fears of infertility as a driver of early pregnancy and early union.[209]

In India, the feminist human-rights organisation CREA has incorporated a new perspective on CEFM, which looks to de-emphasise the importance of marriage and increase young people's perceptions of what choices are available to them, into their adolescent sexual and reproductive health and rights programmes.[210] In contrast to traditional programmes which focus on delaying marriage, CREA includes messages about marriage as a choice for all people, and highlights stories of people of all genders choosing life paths or relationships that make the most sense for them, regardless of the social value placed on marriage.[211] CREA's message may not be replicable or scalable in all communities, particularly those with much stronger holds on traditional values, but the message is worth incorporating into a broader gender-transformative approach with the aim to increase adolescents' critical thinking and decision-making skills when it comes to social norms and expectations.

The social primacy placed on marriage worldwide upholds and reinforces patriarchal ideas about

women's value, abilities and potential. Human-rights organisations and women's rights advocates have called attention to the inequality inherent in laws and policies that assign male spouses' rights to their wives' inheritance, property or earnings; criminalise sex outside of marriage; require spousal consent for women to receive health services or information; fail to recognise marital rape; or limit women's access to divorce.[212] For this reason, programmes addressing CEFM have a vested interest in also addressing the enforcement of women's inequality within marriage, as well as their ability to choose when to enter and when to leave a marriage, particularly when they are facing abuses of their human rights, such as marital rape.

In Malaysia, as in many countries, a dual legal system exists, effectively creating different ages of consent for marriage among different ethnicities and religions. For example, Malaysia recognises Shari'a law and courts in addition to the national system. Advocates and NGOs, including the Islamic Da'wah Foundation, have been working with Shari'a courts to reform CEFM marriage practices and raise age of consent within the Muslim community, as well as building in stronger protections for young women and girls to resist forced marriage. In addition, advocates have begun working with the Shari'a court judges to expand their understanding of women's rights to divorce, attempting to build a mechanism for young women who are unhappy in their marriages to ask for a divorce when they reach the age of majority.[213] Women's access to divorce under Shari'a law systems is controversial, and many countries severely restrict the right to divorce or impose prohibitive financial and social penalties,[214] but women-originated divorce has historical precedent within Islam,[215] and the Malaysian advocates report some initial success in ensuring that young women can access their religious rights to leave an unhappy marriage. This approach requires more study and investigation, in particular to analyse the social pressures and consequences faced by young women who utilise their right to divorce, but does show some promise for improving women's access to choice about their relationships and life paths.

These difficulties exist in many diverse contexts in the region. In the Philippines, while couples may separate, divorce is illegal.[216] There is work being done in congress to allow this, however, if a woman 'divorces' she will rarely marry again, since it is illegal. Overall, there is immense potential to be tapped in pairing programmes looking to prevent and eliminate CEFM with advocacy and programme initiatives meant to liberalise laws policing women's rights within a marriage and access to divorce.

© Plan International/Max Greenstein

7. KEY ELEMENTS FOR SCALE-UP

© Plan International/Darika Sutthinanthachai

For many CEFM programmes, the ability to take projects to scale in partnership and with the support of national governments is a key criterion for success. Ensuring national coverage of programme strategies is vital to sustainable social change and to ensuring that the positive empowerment and development outcomes experienced by programme beneficiaries are equitably shared across populations and communities within a country. The on-going challenge of planning for national scale-up is that many CEFM programmes are most successful at the local level, where their strategies are deeply tied to individual change makers and community values and norms. Taking a programme to national scale, therefore, implies not only additional commitment and funding at all levels of government, but considerable additional time, effort and investment in reaching diverse audiences and influencers.

The Passages Project, run by Georgetown University's Institute for Reproductive Health in collaboration with Save the Children, is a research project designed to test and scale up interventions that "promote collective change and foster an enabling environment for healthy timing and spacing of pregnancies and family planning" by addressing a range of social norms. Tools and methods developed for this project can be found on their website.[217] Plan International's 18+ programme for CEFM is being scaled up across major world regions where CEFM exists.

7.1 PARTICIPATORY DESIGN

Efforts to end CEFM have often come across as judgmental and as being implemented from the outside, in conflict with the views of local people. Engaging local stakeholders in designing the programme is an innovative approach that helps to fit the programme to the local context and enhances sustainability because of the early and on-going involvement of local stakeholders.[218] Because of the need to address community norms related to gender, youth and sexuality, as well as the need to engage community members, leaders and young people themselves, programmes to address CEFM tend to be most successful when they are locally driven. Ensuring that communities are fully invested not only in the need for change on CEFM but also in the tools they are using to reduce it has immediate implications for the sustainability of initiatives.

> **WE KNOW WHAT THE INGREDIENTS ARE, BUT WE NEED TO BE MUCH MORE PARTICIPATORY IN HOW WE BUILD THEM.**
>
> – Giovanna Lauro, Promundo

Yet the need for local ownership of programme goals and strategies creates a challenge for national and regional institutions interested in taking these strategies to a larger scale. Because contextualisation requires a much higher initial investment of not only funding but also time and effort, the costs of scaling a hyper-localised approach are significantly higher.

7.2 LOCAL ADAPTATION OF PROVEN PROGRAMME ELEMENTS

While there seems to be a solid list of programmes that have worked across settings, multiple experts and implementers interviewed for this research referred extensively to the localised nature of work to reduce CEFM. They emphasised the need to ensure that programmes are being contextualised for maximum impact, and that it is important not to assume that programmes can be replicated in multiple contexts with the same results. Most comprehensive programme evaluations have emerged from South Asia and Africa;[219] yet CEFM is manifested differently in East and Southeast Asia, and requires different approaches tailored to the specific drivers, legal and policy systems, and social norms of the sub-regions.

© Plan International staff

Box 9. Adaptation for scale

In collaboration with World Vision in India, Promundo took their Programme H materials, which had been used, evaluated and adopted by national governments in multiple other contexts in Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Croatia, and adapted the materials to create a new, localised curriculum, entitled A More Equal Future, focussed on preventing CEFM. The scale-up of A More Equal Future in India is currently being evaluated, with initial findings showing significant changes in men's attitudes towards domestic work and caregiving responsibilities, and improved knowledge of the impact of gender inequality on CEFM.

Source: https://promundoglobal.org/programmesprogramsprograms/child-marriage-prevention/

In Southeast Asia, in contrast with South Asia, for example, sex outside of marriage has been contributing to an increase in adolescent pregnancy, to the consternation of policymakers, and is a key driver of early union/child marriage in this region.[220]

What does it mean to talk about local ownership and localised messages? Experts and stakeholders gave some examples of ways to think about how to contextualise at each stage of programme design. UNFPA, for example, suggested using more refined and data-driven approaches to mapping areas for intervention, looking at the underlying drivers of CEFM in a country (such as poverty, gender-disaggregated school enrolment, and adherence to traditional norms and values) to understand where there are likely to be CEFM hot spots and build programmes which are tailored accordingly. Implementers in Bangladesh universally referred to the need to contextualise programmes by understanding the drivers of CEFM at a community level.

Promundo highlighted the importance of a correct/appropriate training package for local counsellors and outreach workers in order to ensure that the messages and strategies used in any given community do not unintentionally reinforce local patriarchal power structures or re-emphasise negative gender norms. Quality baseline data also allows for better contextualisation and programme planning. Both the contextualisation of programme planning and the localisation of messages and training materials require access to data, increased investment in formative research, extended inception phases, and the meaningful engagement and participation of community stakeholders and programme beneficiaries in the design and development phases of programming.

Local adaptation can contribute to sustainability, too. Stakeholders frequently referenced challenges with loss of donor funding or interest, and concerns about one-off programmes that disappear when the money runs out. Promundo described the increased initial investment in training community counsellors and peer outreach leaders in gender-transformative approaches and facilitation required for sustainable gender norm change as a value-add for not only the programme life-cycle but also for sustained work with communities.

7.3 FRAMEWORKS FOR NATIONAL SCALE-UP

Considerable attention has been paid to the question of how to best plan and execute successful scale-up of health and development interventions. In their ExpandNet Framework, the World Health Organization (WHO) defines scale-up as, "deliberate efforts to increase the impact of successfully tested health innovations so as to benefit more people and to foster policy and programme development on a lasting basis."[221] The ExpandNet Framework offers multiple tools for the planning, execution and evaluation of scaling-up activities and programmes, as well as a conceptual framework.

In recent years, WHO has used the ExpandNet framework to analyse multiple examples of successful national scale-ups of programmes and initiatives focussed on adolescent SRHR, including the scaling up of comprehensive sexuality education programmes in Nigeria[222] and Pakistan[223] , and adolescent-focussed sexual and reproductive health clinical services in Tanzania[224] and Estonia.[225]

The Passages Project, a collaboration between Georgetown University's Institute for Reproductive Health and Save the Children, has also recently published a review of projects to scale up interventions focussed on changing social norms related to adolescent SRHR, defining scale-up as:

> *expanding or replicating interventions that have been piloted and evaluated with the aim of covering a larger geographic region and/or reaching a larger or new population and sustaining effect at scale, thereby increasing the impact of the intervention.*[226]

Scale-up involves the growth of an evaluated and successful programme intervention to reach more and/or different groups of people in a planned and sustained manner. This helps to frame some key elements needed for CEFM programming that have the potential to be taken to a national level. Both WHO ExpandNet and the Passages Project show that successful scaling up requires investments across multiple levels of a programme intervention, including in community dialogue and grassroots normative change, in building allies within key partners and government agencies, in working in coalition with partner CSOs and networks, and in creating a vibrant research and evidence base for the value of each element of the programme package. In particular, long-term sustained change on CEFM will have to be driven by continuous programming focussed on community-driven, locally contextualised social norm-change efforts, which can only be maintained through long-term investment in building the capacity and commitment of partners and allies at all levels of government. Fostering government buy-in to a CEFM programme at this level requires the following key scale-up elements:

1. A MOMENT OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY/ POLITICAL WILL: The change of government, or a public scandal or outcry, or even a new government commitment such as those made to the SDGs can be a moment of political opportunity for advocates and implementers to achieve the necessary government commitment not only to a progressive policy but also to its implementation.

2. A COALITION OF ADVOCATES AND IMPLEMENTERS/STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS: Most successful national scale-ups occur not only on the impetus of a single organisational commitment but from the efforts of a group of organisations, advocates and partners all working together on a common cause. Finding or building space for cross-organisational and cross-sectoral partnership, information sharing, and joint agenda-setting can be vital to planning for a successful scale-up.

3. A STRONG EVIDENCE BASE: A coalition model is also key to building a strong, shared evidence base for proven strategies and programme pilots to prevent or eliminate CEFM, which is then necessary to planning for and implementing a national scale-up that is targeted, evidence-driven and effective.

4. COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION: Finally, long-term sustained investment in social change programmes that build community ownership and capacity creates the critical mass needed to diffuse new opinions and views to achieve social change. These community-led outreach initiatives must be linked closely to policy and programmes to drive social change. In particular, participatory approaches are key because they are what will facilitate the tailoring process, and increase buy-in and sustainability as programmes expand to new regions.

It is important to remember that planning for scale-up is an on-going, iterative process between programme implementers, advocates and local governments. Political opportunities can rarely be foreseen or controlled for, though the Advance Family Planning SMART Approach does provide a guide for planning and measuring advocacy results and wins.[227]

Using the SMART Approach can help set out a series of intermediary wins for policy change and implementation of national programmes which can lay a solid framework for national scale-up, including achieving political commitments to changing the age of marriage, setting policy and budget frameworks that are supportive of young people who refuse CEFM, ensuring access to education and other social and economic safety nets for young people at risk for CEFM, and training and supporting the capacity building of local officials and law enforcement. All of these programme strategies and advocacy goals have been successfully employed by CEFM programmes reviewed for this research, and all have the potential to support eventual national scalability.

However, programmes are not dependent on the timing of political opportunity to build coalitions, develop a strong evidence base, or create sustained social-norm change through community buy-in and ownership. The investments of programmes in these localised and shared solutions is fundamental to a successful national scale-up, as well as to continued programme innovation and learning. In addition, in many countries government officials may move locations or shift offices unexpectedly as the result of change in leadership or other unforeseen circumstances, creating challenges for sustaining momentum for programmes. Ensuring a consistent investment in creating new allies, and motivating policy and decision-makers can help allay some of the loss of momentum following a political change.

Several examples of programmes that have achieved scale or seem poised to do so came to light during this research:

- **Udaan** in the state of Jharkhand, India with a focus on education and development;
- The Ministry of Women and Child Affairs and UNICEF in Bangladesh have been using a **Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS)** curriculum, with positive results in promoting gender equitable attitudes and responding to violence; UNFPA and Generation Breakthrough are planning expansion into new districts.[228] Originally developed in India by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), the Committee of Resource Organizations for Literacy (CORO) and the Tata Institute for Social Sciences (TISS), the GEMS curriculum works with girls and boys aged 12-14 to reflect critically on gender inequality and violence.[229] It is being implemented in almost all of Maharashtra's 25,000 public schools, and is also being implemented by Paz y Desarrollo and the Government of Vietnam in DaNang Province.
- **BALIKA** in 72 rural communities in Bangladesh centred around girl focussed programmes and community outreach;
- **PRACHAR** in the state of Bihar in northern India focusses on delaying child marriage, and healthy timing and spacing of pregnancy.

Udaan is a school-based adolescent education programme working to develop adolescent sexual and reproductive health and life skills. The expansion of this programme throughout the state of Jharkhand was explicitly based on the WHO ExpandNet Framework presented previously. Though preventing child marriage was not the main focus, it was a part of the comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) material that was incorporated into the standard curriculum that all students enrolled in schools throughout the state would receive.

As of 2016, Udaan had reached over 500,000 adolescents in secondary schools and 20,000 students in upper classes of primary schools.[230] Udaan emphasises the importance of having a local NGO to drive the process. Initially, the Indian chapter of the international NGO Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) took on that role.[231] With support from funders they were able to create an autonomous organisation, Centre for Catalyzing Change, that is closer to the heart of the programme and from that position were able to provide ongoing technical support in a more meaningful and engaged way. The Centre conducted periodic monitoring and evaluation throughout the ten-year period between 2006-2016, from the programme beginning and through the scale-up, allowing them to adjust their programme and make improvements with each phase of expansion into additional schools.

The Udaan programme attributes its success to:

- a strong political commitment accompanied by a clear policy from the start;
- ongoing technical support provided by a local NGO, in this case the Centre for Catalyzing Change, and
- sustained funding from both the state government for the schools and the Packard Foundation for the development of the Centre for Catalyzing Change to provide technical support.

The Udaan programme utilised an innovative adaptation of a school-based HIV programme, thus building on a programme that already existed to expand its focus to also address SRHR and CEFM. One drawback of school-based approaches is they often fail to reach the most vulnerable girls who are not enrolled in school. An intentional effort to involve marginalised girls outside of school is an essential complement to school-based programmes and is necessary to avoid limiting capture.

The use of school-based approaches is a common strategy for scale-up because it increases programme reach by utilising structures that are already in place. **GEMS programmes** are often located in schools, though the programmes take place outside of school hours. In response to the success of the programme that has reached 90,000 girls so far, GEMS is partnering with UNFPA and the Bangladesh Ministry of Women and Child Affairs to scale up evidence-based approaches to delay child marriage. GEMS will introduce centres located in secondary schools in two new northern districts in Bangladesh, Jamalpur and Bogura, which the United Nations system has identified as having high rates of child marriage. Jamalpur is in the middle of a flood zone and very poor. Bogura is located on higher ground and is wealthier in terms of recent investments in development. Surprisingly, the initial baseline assessments indicate that the poorer district in Jamalpur actually has lower levels of child marriage.

© Plan International/Asad Rassel

As **BALIKA** expands into the north of Bangladesh, the programme needs to recognise some important regional differences to be taken into account. The southern region has a higher proportion people from ethnic minorities who often get married and then migrate to India, and there is some sex trafficking that impacts young women. Neither of these factors has the same influence in the northern region, so the programme will need to tailor some aspects of the design to include different strategies for community outreach.

Although some components of the BALIKA intervention were delivered in school settings, the community/village was the primary unit of focus and the programme dedicated a lot of resources to ensure community outreach and engagement at various levels. For example, female mentors from the community lead safe space programmes, follow up with girls when they miss sessions, and lead community discussions. In the streamlined scale up, the programme will be delivered outside of school hours at secondary schools (instead of

primary schools or community centres), which, on average, are farther away from the homes of the girls, and one mentor will be responsible for programmes in several neighbouring communities. It is still early in the scale-up process, but there are doubts about whether a streamlined version of the programme will be as effective at delaying child marriage.

Another example of scale-up is **PRACHAR**, a Pathfinder International initiative in the state of Bihar in northern India. This programme has an explicit focus on changing behaviour to delay marriage and promote healthy timing and spacing of children. It was implemented between 2001 and 2012 with a total operating budget of US$ 9.3 million, and was undertaken in three phases:

Phase I – Comprehensive Behaviour Change Intervention
Phase II – Preparing for Scale
Phase III – Testing Scalability.[232]

PRACHAR partnered with the Bihar government, and in total reached more than 1,000 villages and collaborated with 31 local partner organisations.

Instead of schools, local NGOs served as the primary delivery mechanism for PRACHAR. Phase I concentrated on selecting local NGOs that aligned with the PRACHAR mission and built their capacities to design and deliver adolescent and youth sexual and reproductive health (AYSRH) programmes. The programmes consisted of overlapping elements that included three-day AYSRH training, house visits, segmented group meetings, and enabling environment activities such as group discussions with parents, wall art and community theatre.

These elements emphasised the importance of a gender-synchronised approach working with males and females in parallel.

Phase II shifted the focus to sustainability and scale-up, aiming to identify the most essential elements so the government health delivery system would be able to implement the intervention. Phase III, through a public-private partnership, the National Rural Health Mission, launched a streamlined, less costly and less intensive programme that included a new model for health service delivery. The programme began to train Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) who took on the role of female change agents from the PRACHAR model. They provided life-stage appropriate and audience-segmented content and engaged gatekeepers. This phase focussed on improving systems and building to capacity to train ASHAs, collect data, monitor, manage and supervise programme activities.

EMPOWERMENT IS INHERENTLY SUSTAINABLE, AND BUILDING NETWORKS AND MOVEMENTS CAN LEAD TO LASTING SOCIAL CHANGE.

- Swatee Deepak, Stars Foundation

A follow-up study conducted five years after the Phase I intervention, "demonstrated that the young women exposed to PRACHAR and the AYSRH training were married about 2.6 years later (at age 22) than women who were not exposed (at age 19.4). Adjusting for differences in education and caste, the study found that young women in the intervention area were 44 percent less likely to be married than young women in the comparison areas."[233] However, PRACHAR should be considered a precautionary example of streamlining a successful programme and weakening its impact, as programme fidelity to the original comprehensive, overlapping model was not maintained. A longitudinal evaluation conducted by the Population Council three to four years after the intervention measured the longer-term effects of the single component of the three-day AYSRH training.

"Sustained differences were observed only in some aspects of youth life – knowledge about reproductive health matters, contraceptive practice following the birth of the first child, and agency of young women. No differences were observed in other and perhaps more intransigent key practices that the programme attempted to address, namely delaying marriage and delaying the first pregnancy. Nor were differences observed in all aspects of young women's agency, for example, their role in marriage-related decision-making or the perpetration of violence by husbands on their wife."[234] However, it is necessary to keep in mind this evaluation only measured a single component of the intervention and does not reflect the overlapping more holistic approach of the original PRACHAR intervention. This demonstrated the importance of a layered approach that works across levels of intervention.

© Plan International staff

© Plan International/Patrick Kaplin

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

As seen in the overarching thematic analysis, this research points to a growing body of evidence and promising innovations to prevent and eliminate CEFM. Whether working directly on the social norms, attitudes, behaviours and practices, which sustain CEFM in various countries; creating social and economic resources and safety nets for adolescents in or at risk of CEFM; or shaping policy and budgetary frameworks to advance adolescents' rights to choose when, if and whom to marry; programmes which invest in clearly understanding the community drivers of the practice and work to create multi-levelled change in collaboration with other development sectors are more successful in reaching their immediate goals.

The following recommendations are grouped according to the strength of the evidence base behind them: whether they are proven or promising. They are drawn from the published research, informant interviews and voices of programme beneficiaries included in this report. The recommendations included in the proven approaches and strategies section have considerable evidence and research to show their results, while promising programmes may merit further investment and evaluation, but have begun to show results in initial review. While the recommendations are formulated for Plan International's programmes and investment strategy, they can and should be applied to the programmes and strategies of other implementers, government partners and funders.

8.1 PROVEN APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES

While the overarching Priority Recommendation 1 of this research is that programmes should understand the drivers of CEFM in their location in order to best build a strategy to address it, there are key proven programme elements that can be used more broadly. Four key categories of programmatic approaches emerged from the research as key investments for preventing CEFM:

- **RECOMMENDATION 2:** INTEGRATE CEFM ACROSS GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT SECTORS
- **RECOMMENDATION 3:** APPLY A GENDER-TRANSFORMATIVE LENS TO PROGRAMME STRATEGIES AND CONTENT
- **RECOMMENDATION 4:** EMPOWER GIRLS THROUGH COLLECTIVES
- **RECOMMENDATION 5:** ENSURE GOVERNMENT BUY-IN THROUGH BUILDING CAPACITY AND OWNERSHIP

PRIORITY RECOMMENDATION 1: CONTEXTUALISE AND LOCALISE PROGRAMME STRATEGIES AND CONTENT

Overall, the strongest recommendation that emerged from the research, interviews and country research for this report was the need to **contextualise and localise the programme to the community it is intended to serve.** The recommendations following present a toolkit of approaches that have been shown to work, in particular those that increase programme scalability and sustainability. To best contextualise programmes, the research indicates the need to invest in formative research and data mapping to identify key populations and individuals at risk of CEFM, and to understand the drivers of CEFM in a community in order to target messages and campaigns to directly address these drivers. It is also important to identify the key decision-makers, influencers and gatekeepers for CEFM.

RECOMMENDATION 2: INTEGRATE CEFM ACROSS GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT SECTORS

Evidence conclusively shows that programmes that are the most successful at reducing rates of CEFM work across development sectors and with partners at the family, community, regional and national levels.

Taking CEFM prevention to national scale will require partnering with:

- **EDUCATION:** to enrol girls in school, keep girls in school through secondary level – *including after marriage* – and provide comprehensive education on adolescent sexuality, sexual and reproductive health, and unintended pregnancy;
- **WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT:** to ensure availability of skills and vocational training, and opportunities to work for young people of all genders and marital status;
- **LAW ENFORCEMENT:** to actively monitor and enforce laws and policies setting a minimum age of marriage, and prevent and respond to coercion and violence within families and marriages;

- **CHILD PROTECTION:** to identify risk for and respond to CEFM as it happens;
- **HEALTH:** to provide youth-friendly contraceptive and sexual and reproductive health information and services;
- **EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS:** to ensure functioning child protection and referral services in humanitarian, conflict, or climate disaster response;
- **RECORDS AND ACCOUNTABILITY:** to strengthen birth and marriage registration procedures and record-keeping, and empower local officials to actively respond to CEFM cases; and
- **CIVIL SOCIETY:** to build partnerships and alliances with other programme implementers and advocates for rapid response and to share opportunities.

Among these diverse partnerships, there is the strongest evidence base for integration of CEFM with education, workforce development and child protection, and some evidence on the effectiveness of working with and building the capacity of law enforcement. This research also indicates the potential value of targeted investments in programmes integrating CEFM into comprehensive sexuality education, ensuring access to adolescent and youth-friendly health services and contraceptives, and building strong civil society coalitions.

RECOMMENDATION 3: APPLY A GENDER TRANSFORMATIVE LENS TO PROGRAMME STRATEGIES AND CONTENT

Taking social change to scale will require holistic, gender-transformative approaches that start from individual empowerment and build a new generation of advocates and positive role models for a more gender-equal society. Increasingly, evidence indicates that programmes which work to transform harmful gender norms and create more opportunities for individual autonomy have the potential to create sustainable social change and reduce rates of CEFM.

Programmes can apply a gender-transformative approach through:

- **PARTNERING:** seeking out progressive women's rights organisations and creating new partnerships to address gender norms around women's and girls' sexuality;
- **TRAINING:** investing in high-quality training and ongoing support of project staff, implementers and outreach workers to consider their gender biases and values, and conduct dialogue on gender norms as they arise;
- **SELF-REFLECTION:** analysing project and campaign materials, documents and messages for gender biases and applying a progressive women's rights lens and approach to their revision;
- **TARGETED MESSAGES:** working with project partners and stakeholders to create gender-transformative materials and messages for implementers, community leaders, families, decision-makers and adolescents; and
- **EVALUATION:** tracking and measuring changes in social and gender norms, attitudes, and behaviours among project beneficiaries.

In particular, this research has highlighted the value of changing gender and social norms related to adolescent sexuality, the inevitability of marriage, the relationship between spouses, and women's roles and life paths as part of a gender-transformative approach. Fear of adolescent sexual activity and unintended pregnancy are key drivers of both arranged and circumstantial marriages across the countries considered in this research, and must be addressed. CEFM thrives in the context of patriarchal systems of gendered inequality, traditional values that devalue girls and young women, and age-based hierarchies that constrain adolescents' choice and voice in their own life paths. Social and gender norms related to sexual expression, the control of sexuality, and women's place in society must be addressed in order to prevent CEFM, eliminate gender-based violence and harmful traditional practices, build happy marriages and stronger communities, and open new life paths and social safety nets for adolescents. There is also considerable space for growth and innovation in this area, in particular when it comes to integrating CEFM programmes within progressive human, women's and children's rights-based movements and strategies.

© Plan International/Sunil Neupane

RECOMMENDATION 4: EMPOWER GIRLS THROUGH COLLECTIVES

A key programme strategy that emerged as foundational for preventing and eliminating CEFM is creating spaces for girls to gather, meet and discuss their concerns and issues with each other. This should be done alongside working with parents and other adults on their attitudes toward adolescent sexuality.

Some particularly promising programme strategies to collectivise girls include:

- **GIRLS CLUBS AND BOYS CLUBS:** creating spaces for adolescents to discuss life, relationships and gender norms;
- **ADOLESCENT CLUBS:** bringing girls and boys together to discuss gender issues in a moderated space;
- **PEER EDUCATION/PEER OUTREACH:** training adolescents to start and continue dialogue with their peers;
- **MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA:** meeting young people where they live and meet online, and embedding CEFM content into popular media platforms;
- **SPORTS AND ART SPACES:** creating recreational and social outlets for adolescents to facilitate interaction;
- **VIGILANTISM/PEER PROTECTION:** empowering adolescents to report CEFM cases in their communities to relevant authorities;
- **ADOLESCENT COMMUNITY SAVINGS SCHEMES:** building economic and vocational skills, and fostering shared learning; and
- **YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAMMES:** engaging beneficiary adolescents and youth in designing, delivering and evaluating programmes.

Adolescent beneficiaries themselves, particularly girls, highlighted the value of having a safe space for them to meet with their peers, share their hopes and fears, and build their confidence in their own opinions and decisions. Multiple informants and stakeholders stressed the importance of ensuring that empowerment and collectivisation programmes be paired with outreach to families and communities so as not to place the burden of social change on girls' shoulders. Programme strategies that educate adolescents about their rights, build their confidence and capacity to question social and gender norms, and empower them to act against CEFM can only succeed if paired with similar strategies to educate and build the capacity of their parents and communities to be able to listen to adolescents and respond positively. Programmes evaluated across this research sought to find a balance between creating these spaces for girls and building the social support structures they needed to be able to act on their new knowledge and skills.

RECOMMENDATION 5: ENSURE GOVERNMENT BUY-IN THROUGH BUILDING CAPACITY AND OWNERSHIP

The scalability and sustainability of programmes to prevent and eliminate CEFM are dependent on activating government commitment and investment in their success. Government support enables policy and legislative change, ensures more stability in funding, opens a path to integration for successful strategies to prevent CEFM, and provides accountability and data collection at a national scale.

Some successful strategies for increasing government capacity and buy-in include:

- **TRAINING:** providing training and on-going support for local government officials tasked with implementing national policies on CEFM;
- **TECHNOLOGY SUPPORT:** digitising and making birth and marriage registration systems more accessible for local officials;
- **COALITIONS:** organising and participating in thematic coalitions to provide coordinated information and advocacy messages to government partners; and
- **STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS:** ensuring a clear role for government partners in programme decision-making from the outset of a programme.

Stakeholders at all levels define government engagement and investment as criteria for success for a programme to prevent and eliminate CEFM. Many programmes remain dependent on cycles of funding from international donors, without a costed plan for taking their work to scale at a national level. Working with and through government partners allows for more seamless integration with other development initiatives, increased accountability for policy implementation and more sustainable results. In particular, this research recommends working with government and civil society partners to create costed national strategies that define specific roles for government ministries and partners with a clear coordinating body and emergency preparedness plan as crucial to scaling CEFM prevention.

© Plan International/ Patrick Kaplin

8.2 PROMISING APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES TO CONSIDER

A range of innovative and promising practices also emerged from this research. The following recommendations may have been evaluated for results other than CEFM reduction, may have been implemented on a smaller scale, or may not have had enough time to show strong results as of yet. They nonetheless emerged as programme strategies worth consideration. The four recommendations include:

- **RECOMMENATION 6:** ADDRESS ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY AND UNINTENDED PREGNANCY
- **RECOMMENATION 7:** ENGAGE TRADITIONAL AND FAITH LEADERS
- **RECOMMENATION 8:** ENSURE MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION OF ADOLESCENTS AND YOUTH IN PROGRAMME DESIGN, DELIVERY, EVALUATION AND GOVERNANCE
- **SUMMARY RECOMMENDATION 9:** INVEST IN LONG-TERM PROGRAMMES, EVALUATIONS AND RESEARCH TO GENERATE ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

RECOMMENDATION 6: ADDRESS ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY AND UNINTENDED PREGNANCY

Fear of adolescent sexuality and unintended pregnancy, and social taboos keeping adolescents from expressing or learning about their sexuality outside of marriage emerged clearly as under-addressed drivers of CEFM in this research. While there is a strong evidence base on what works to address adolescent sexual and reproductive health and prevent early and unintended pregnancy, there is little research that analyses the effect of these programmes on CEFM. Programme implementers and governments, however, have increasingly integrated CEFM and adolescent sexual and reproductive health programmes, with promising indications.

Programmes can improve their integration with AYSRH programmes through:

- **SOCIAL-NORM CHANGE:** including norms regulating adolescent sexual expression and taboos preventing adolescents from accessing information about their sexual desire and sexual well-being;
- **COMPREHENSIVE SEXUALITY EDUCATION:** increasing access to comprehensive sexuality education in and out of school settings and integrating social and gender-norm change and messages about CEFM into educational initiatives in and out of schools;
- **COMMUNITY OUTREACH:** educating parents, and community and faith leaders on adolescent sexuality, sexual desire, and sexual and reproductive health as part of CEFM programmes;
- **ADOLESCENT AND YOUTH-FRIENDLY HEALTH SERVICES:** ensuring availability of youth-friendly sexual and reproductive health services, including contraceptives, to reduce risk of unintended pregnancy by
  - training health service providers in adolescent sexual and reproductive health and youth-friendly health service provision, and
  - eliminating legal barriers to contraceptives and health services, including laws and policies which prohibit access for unmarried adolescents, or require parental or spousal consent; and
- **SUPPORTING YOUNG PARENTS:** advocating for policy and legal frameworks which provide access to education, vocational training, and social resources for pregnant adolescents and adolescent parents, and eliminating laws and policies which prohibit pregnant or parenting adolescents from returning to school.

Given the strong emerging evidence that unintended pregnancy contributes to driving CEFM in the region, the need for CEFM programmes to invest in ensuring access to contraceptive information and services for adolescents is paramount. In addition, social-norm change programmes targeting CEFM have primarily focussed on increasing the value placed on adolescent girls' education and vocational opportunities, improving family relationships and communication, reducing gender-based violence, and delaying age of marriage. Incorporating a focus on opening space for dialogue about sexual and romantic desire, sexual health and pregnancy aspirations is the logical next step for accelerating progress on eliminating CEFM. In addition, many countries still have formal or informal policies barring pregnant adolescents and adolescent mothers from continuing or resuming their education. Changing these policies and ensuring access to continued education for adolescent parents is vital to eliminating root causes of CEFM.

RECOMMENDATION 7: ENGAGE TRADITIONAL AND FAITH LEADERS

In many countries in the region, traditional and faith leaders are seen as key to unlocking progress on eliminating CEFM. Frequently with immense influence on national and local governments, traditional and faith leaders are gatekeepers: they can be defensive of traditional practices and norms, or they can be on the forefront of social and legal change. Advocates and programme implementers must engage these leaders deliberately and thoughtfully to ensure that they are working to promote the rights of adolescents and young people without accidentally reinforcing patriarchal norms.

Strategies to engage traditional and faith leaders that have shown promise include:

- **ENGAGING TRADITIONAL COURTS:** working with local systems of authority and religious courts to implement and enforce national CEFM laws and minimum age of marriage or provide protection for married adolescents;
- **IDENTIFYING COMMON GROUND:** partnering with progressive faith-based institutions and networks to develop theological arguments for preventing CEFM;
- **INTERFAITH DIALOGUE:** working through coalitions of relevant traditional and faith leaders to find common priorities and apply them to CEFM programmes; and
- **ADVOCACY:** training and supporting traditional and faith leaders as champions for adolescents and leaders in work to reduce and prevent CEFM.

Using partnerships with faith-based and community organisations to identify and work through traditional structures can have immense impact on local implementation and national advocacy. In particular, faith leaders can be the best advocates for countering opposition that comes from faith communities, government officials or conservative groups. Many of the policy exceptions that allow for CEFM to continue within the legal frameworks of countries in this region come from either real or perceived resistance from religious and traditional communities. Working with faith and traditional leaders can be key to ensuring scaled coverage of national policies.

RECOMMENDATION 8: ENSURE MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION OF ADOLESCENTS AND YOUTH

While the body of evidence on the effectiveness of youth participation is mixed, there is little doubt among programme implementers, beneficiaries and advocates of its added value. Meaningful youth participation here is considered an additional step beyond engaging young people as beneficiaries; instead it is focussed on engaging adolescents, young people and youth-led organisations as partners and leaders.

The key roles for meaningfully engaging young people include:

- **FORMATIVE RESEARCH:** training young people as researchers, and engaging them to gather qualitative information from their peers and communities about CEFM trends, drivers and social norms;
- **PROGRAMME DESIGN:** working with adolescents and young people from the target community to design and contextualise programme offerings and content;
- **PROGRAMME DELIVERY:** training and engaging adolescents and young people as facilitators, advocates and educators not only for their peers but also for their communities and governments, including hiring and training young staff and implementers;
- **MONITORING AND EVALUATION:** training and deploying young evaluators and researchers to assess programme implementation and results; and
- **PROGRAMME GOVERNANCE:** creating spaces for adolescents and young people at all levels of project governance through youth advisory committees, partnerships with youth-led organisations and networks, and youth seats on project and organisation boards.

The evidence base is currently strongest on the added value of participation in programme delivery: engaging young people as peer educators, advocates and facilitators has been shown to increase their confidence, and their decision-making and negotiation skills.[235] Investments in meaningful youth participation have also shown promise in helping programmes expand their reach to marginalised and hard-to-reach adolescents, ensuring greater engagement in programme activities, and increased sharing of programme learning among peer groups.[236]

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATION 9: INVEST IN LONG-TERM PROGRAMMES, EVALUATIONS AND RESEARCH TO GENERATE ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

CEFM approaches are fundamentally shaped by local contexts, reflected in diverse programme models. This variability can make cross-context comparisons and learning more challenging, increasing the difficulty in forging shared understandings about what works to end CEFM across this young field. The apparent effectiveness of integrated programmes raises the potential need for high-quality evaluations that assess the contributions of specific project components.

Our recommendations reinforce and build upon the conclusions of Wetheridge, et al. (2018) in their global review of programmes for Plan International.[237] The findings in this report affirm the need to prioritise research in a number of specific areas:

- **THE LINKS BETWEEN ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY, TEENAGE PREGNANCY AND CEFM:** recognising adolescent sexuality, and, given increases in unintended pregnancy and love marriage in the region, more research is needed on the connections between these and how best to respond to each.
- **THE NEEDS AND EXPERIENCES OF MARRIED GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN, THOSE WITH CHILDREN, THOSE WHO ARE DIVORCED, SEPARATED OR WIDOWED, AND BOYS:** More research is needed to describe the experiences of girls and young women who are already married, have become parents, or who are divorced, separated or widowed; and of boys and young men who are themselves married as children or married to girls.
- **THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT APPROACHES BY TYPE OF INTERVENTION:** different models of social and economic empowerment in both development and humanitarian settings need to be tested further, and some of the debates in the field resolved so that programmes may confidently be scaled up.
- **THE LONGER-TERM IMPACTS OF INTERVENTIONS THROUGH LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH:** Studying changes in gender norms in response to programmatic interventions requires huge amounts of information gathered over extended periods of time.[238] The short duration of most local projects makes it difficult to accomplish or document changes in the underlying drivers of CEFM. To capture social changes that have been set in motion but not fully realised, time-series or follow-up evaluations after three to five or more years will be helpful.

© University of Transport and Communications

ENDNOTES

1 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2017). *The state of the world's children 2017. Children in a digital world*. New York, NY: UNICEF. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/SOWC_2017_ENG_WEB.pdf

2 Girls Not Brides. (n.d.). *Child marriage around the world*. Retrieved from https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/where-does-it-happen/

3 Jones, G. (2010, January 15). Changing marriage patterns in Asia. *Asia Research Institute Working Paper No. 131*. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1716533

4 Bott, S., & Jejeebhoy, S. (2003). Non-consensual sexual experiences of young people: A review of the regional working paper series. New Delhi, India: Population Council.

5 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Asia-Pacific Regional Office (APRO) (n. d.); Sexual and reproductive health of unmarried young people in Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok, Thailand: UNFPA APRO.

6 UNFPA APRO (n.d.).

7 Plan International (2018 forthcoming). *Their Time is Now: Eliminating Child, Early and Forced Marriage: Asia, CEFM and the 2030 Agenda.* Bangkok: Plan International ARO.

8 Villa-Torres, L., & Svanemyr, J. (2014). "Ensuring youth's right to participation and promotion of youth leadership in the development of sexual and reproductive health policies and programs." *Journal of Adolescent Health* Vol. 56, Issue 1, Supplement, pp.S51-S57. Retreived from: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1054139X14003310

9 Indonesia research, Phase II research. 2018.

10 Amin, S., Ahmed, J., Saha, J., Hossain, I. & Haque, E. F. (2016). *Delaying child marriage through community-based skills-development programmes for girls. Results from a randomised controlled study in rural Bangladesh*. Washington, DC: Population Council. Retrieved from https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2016PGY_BALIKA_EndlineReport.pdf

11 Personal communication, Rachel Marcus, ODI (n.d.).

12 World Vision & Promundo. (2013). *A More Equal Future: a MenCare manual to engage fathers to prevent child marriage in India.* Washington, DC: World Vision & Promundo. Retrieved from https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/A-More-Equal-Future-A-MenCare-Manual-to-Engage-Fathers-to-Prevent-Child-Marriage-in-India.pdf

13 Yi, B. L. (2017, April 27). Female clerics declare fatwa on child marriage in Indonesia. Indonesia has one of the worst records for under-age marriage. *Thomson Reuters Foundation News*. Retrieved from http://news.trust.org/item/20170427164406-x3knl/?source=ticker

14 Wheaton, B., & Doidge, M. (2015). Exploring the social benefit of informal and lifestyle sports. *Journal of Sport Science and Physical Education*, *68*, 45-49.

15 Available here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ckr4zzUyd64

16 Center for Reproductive Rights. (2013). *Child marriage in South Asia. International and constitutional legal standards and jurisprudence for promoting accountability and change*. New York, NY: Center for Reproductive Rights. Retrieved from https://www.reproductiverights.org/sites/crr.civicactions.net/files/documents/ChildMarriage_BriefingPaper_Web.pdf

17 Local focus group discussions.

18 Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Sexuality Programs Working Group. (2018). *Tackling the Taboo: Sexuality and gender transformative programmes to end child marriage. Summary report for the Girls Not Brides 2nd Global Meeting*. New York, NY: American Jewish World Service, CARE, et al. Retrieved from https://caretippingpoint.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Tackling-the-Taboo.pdf

19 Berkowitz, E. (2018, January 23). The app teaching Cambodian garment workers about their sexual health. *Lenny*. Retrieved from https://www.lennyletter.com/story/chat-app-cambodian-garment-workers-sexual-health

20 Save the Children. (2015). *Save the Children & very young adolescent sexual and reproductive health*: An overview. Fairfield, CT: Save the Children. Retrieved from https://www.savethechildren.org/content/dam/global/reports/health-and-nutrition/Young-Adolescent-Sexual-Reproductive-Health-2015.PDF

21 Stefanik, L., & Hwang, T. (2017). *Applying Theory to Practice: CARE's Journey Piloting Social Norms Measures for Gender Programming*. Washington, DC: CARE USA. Accessed at http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/care-social-norms-paper-web.pdf

22 Some interesting work has been done on 'compulsory marriage,' the situation in much of South Asia, by Ravinder Kaur. See Kaur, R. & Palriwala, R., eds. (2014). *Marrying in South Asia: Shifting Concepts, Changing Practices in a Globalising World*. New Delhi: New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

23 Israt (Plan Bangladesh), personal communication. (n.d.); Adapted from original, developed in India: Achyut P., Bhatla N., Khandekar S., Maitra S., & Verma R.K. (2011). Building Support for Gender Equality among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India. ICRW, New Delhi.

24 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2017). *The state of the world's children 2017. Children in a digital world*. New York, NY: UNICEF. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/SOWC_2017_ENG_WEB.pdf

[25] Girls Not Brides. (n.d.). *Child marriage around the world*. Retrieved from https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/where-does-it-happen/

[26] Jones, G. (2010, January 15). Changing marriage patterns in Asia. *Asia Research Institute Working Paper No. 131*. Retrieved from: http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1716533

[27] Plan Bangladesh colleague, personal communication, n.d.

[28] Ghimire, D. J., Axinn, W. G., Yabiku, S. T., & Thornton, A. (2006). Social change, premarital nonfamily experience, and spouse choice in an arranged marriage society." *American Journal of Sociology*, *111*(4), 1181-1218.

[29] Bott, S., & Jejeebhoy, S. (2003). Non-consensual sexual experiences of young people: A review of the regional working paper series. New Delhi, India: Population Council.

[30] United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Asia-Pacific Regional Office (APRO) (n. d.); Sexual and reproductive health of unmarried young people in Asia and the Pacific. Bangkok, Thailand: UNFPA APRO.

[31] UNFPA APRO (n.d.).

[32] Yeung, W.J. J., Desai, S., & Jones, G. W. (2018). Families in Southeast and South Asia. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *44*(1). Retrieved from https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev-soc-073117-041124

[33] Jones (2010).

[34] Greene, M. E., Perlson, S., Hart, J., & Mullinax, M. (2018). *The centrality of sexuality for understanding child, early and forced marriage.* Washington, DC and New York, NY: GreeneWorks and American Jewish World Service.

[35] UNFPA (2012). *Marrying too young: End child marriage*. New York: UNFPA. Retrieved from https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/MarryingTooYoung.pdf

[36] Plan International Asia Regional Office. (2015). *Index of acceptability: Getting the evidence research (Asia Child Marriage Initiative).* Retrieved from *http://www.Plan-international.org/Asia*

[37] ICRW and Plan International ARO (2014). *Asia Child Marriage Initiative: Summary of Research in Bangladesh, India and Nepal.* Bangkok: Plan International ARO. Retreived from https://plan-international.org/publications/asia-child-marriage-initiative

[38] Coram Children's Legal Centre and Plan International ARO (2015). *Getting the Evidence: Asia Child Marriage Initiative.* Bangkok: Plan International ARO. Retreived from: https://plan-international.org/publications/getting-evidence-asia-child-marriage-initiative

[39] Plan International (2018 forthcoming). *Their Time is Now: Eliminating Child, Early and Forced Marriage: Asia, CEFM and the 2030 Agenda.* Bangkok: Plan International ARO.

[40] Quasi-experimental methods estimate the causal impact of an intervention on its target population without randomly assigning participants to treatment or control. Instead, it uses some other method to create a control group, for example, assigning different geographic areas to treatment or control, or identifying some other characteristic by which to separate and compare these groups.

[41] Girls Not Brides (2018) and UNICEF (2017).

[42] CARE (2017). *Tipping Point Social Norms Innovations Series Brief 3: Amra o-Korchi (We are also doing) Bangladesh.* Atlanta, GA: CARE USA.

[43] National Institute of Population Research and Training (NIPORT), Mitra and Associates, & ICF International. (2016). Bangladesh demographic and health survey 2014. Dhaka, Bangladesh and Rockville, MD: NIPORT, Mitra and Associates, & ICF International. Retrieved from https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR311/FR311.pdf

[44] NIPORT, Mitra and Associates, & ICF International. (2016).

[45] Local implementer interview.
See also: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) & Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD) (2016). *Child marriage in Southern Asia. Policy options for action*. Retrieved from https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/CHILDMARRIAGE-F-13.pdf

[46] Lloyd, C. B., & Young, J. (2009). *New lessons: The power of educating adolescent girls.* New York, NY: Population Council. Retrieved from http://coalitionforadolescentgirls.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/2009PGY_NewLessons.pdf

[47] Further discussed later in this report.

[48] National Helpline Centre for Violence against Women and Children (n.d.). *Report (monthly)*. Retrieved from http://nhc.gov.bd/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=39

[49] Mahmud, S. (2003). *Female secondary stipend programme in Bangladesh*. Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4, *The Leap to Equality*. New York, NY: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001468/146803e.pdf; Hahn, Y., Islam, A., Nuzhat, K., Smith, R., and Yang, Hee-Seung. (2015). "Education, Marriage and Fertility: Long-Term Evidence from a Female Stipend Program in Bangladesh," Monash Economics Working Papers 30-15, Monash University, Department of Economics.

[50] Alam, A., Baez, J.E., and X.V. Del Carpio. (2011). "Does Cash for School Influence Young Women's Behavior in the Longer Term? Evidence from Pakistan." The World Bank Independent Evaluation Group Policy Research Working Paper 5669, May 2011.

[51] Local implementer interview.

[52] ICRW & AFPPD (2016).

[53] Human Rights Watch. (2015). *Marry before your house is swept away.* New York, NY: Human Rights Watch. Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/06/09/marry-your-house-swept-away/child-marriage-bangladesh

[54] Local implementer interview.

[55] Asadullah, M. N., & Wahhaj, Z. (2017, March 8). Bangladesh's new child marriage law swings in the wrong direction. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/bangladeshs-new-child-marriage-law-swings-in-the-wrong-direction-72282

[56] Girls Not Brides (2017, March 1). *Bangladesh votes for child marriage restraint act - Girls Not Brides reacts*. Retrieved from https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/bangladesh-votes-child-marriage-restraint-act-girls-not-brides-bangladesh-reacts/

[57] UNICEF (2017).

[58] Local government interview.

[59] National Institute of Statistics, Directorate General for Health, & ICF International (2015). *Cambodia demographic and health survey 2014*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia & Rockville, MD: National Institute of Statistics, Directorate General for Health, & ICF International.

[60] UNICEF (2017).

[61] Local focus group discussion.

[62] Plan International (2018 forthcoming); and Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) & World Health Organization (WHO) (2016). *Child, early and forced marriage legislation in 37 Asia-Pacific countries.* Retrieved from http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/child-marriage-en.pdf

[63] Ministry of Women's Affairs Provincial Action Plan 2017-2021

[64] Asian-Pacific Resource and Research Centre for Women (ARROW. (2016, November). *Country advocacy brief: Cambodia. Comprehensive sexuality education: The way forward.* Retrieved from http://arrow.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Cambodia-CSE-brief-final.pdf

[65] IPU & WHO (2016).

[66] UNICEF (2017).

[67] UNICEF (2018, March 6). *25 million child marriages prevented in last decade due to accelerated progress, according to new UNICEF estimates*. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/eca/press-releases/25-million-child-marriages-prevented

[68] Vivek, V. (2017, June 25). Why are child marriages on the rise in India's cities? *Hindustan Times*. Retrieved from https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/why-are-child-marriages-on-the-rise-in-india-s-cities/story-BMHCvGIRImFTBYgpwtufGP.html

[69] Plan International (2018 forthcoming).

[70] ICRW (2016). *Knot ready: Lessons from India on delaying marriage for girls.* Retrieved from https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Knot-Ready-Lessons-from-India-on-Delaying-Marriage-for-Girls.pdf

[71] American Jewish World Service (AJWS) (2015). *What's missing in the fight against early and child marriage: Insights from India.* New York, NY: AJWS.

[72] Nanda, P., Datta, N., Pradhan, E., Das, P., & Lamba, S. (2016). *Making change with cash? Impact of a conditional cash transfer program on age of marriage in India*. Washington, DC: ICRW. Retrieved from https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/IMPACT_Marriage_Webready.pdf.

[73] National Health Mission, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (n.d.). *Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram (RKSK).* Retrieved from http://nhm.gov.in/rashtriya-kishor-swasthya-karyakram.html

[74] The government website describing the programme: https://sarkariyojanalist.com/sabla-scheme/

[75] UNICEF (2016). *Child marriage in Indonesia: Progress on pause*.

[76] https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/id/Laporan_Perkawinan_Usia_Anak.pdf Badan Pusat Statistik and UNICEF. (2015). Kemajuan yang Tertunda: Analisis Data Perkawinan Usia Anak di Indonesia.

[77] Jones, G. W. (2001). Which Indonesian women marry youngest, and why? *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 32*(1), 67-78.

[78] Sexual Rights Initiative (2017, January 20). Indonesia. *National Sexual Rights Law and Policy Database.* Retrieved from http://sexualrightsdatabase.org/countries/373/Indonesia

[79] Utomo, I.D., McDonald, P., Hull, T., and Reimondos, A. (2012). *Premarital sex, conception and birth among young adults in Jakarta, Bekasi, and Tanggerang, Indonesia.* Retrieved from: http://paa2012.princeton.edu/papers/120248

[80] R. Anisa, Interview, n.d.

[81] British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). (2017, April 28). *Female Islamic clerics in Indonesia issue rare child marriage fatwa*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-39741891; Robinson, K. (2017, May 30). *Female Ulama voice a vision for Indonesia's future*. Retrieved from http://www.newmandala.org/female-ulama-voice-vision-indonesias-future/

[82] Coalition led by Plan Indonesia, Rutgers WPF, and Aliansi Remaja Independen, with local implementation by LPAR Lembanga Perlindungan Anak Rembang, PUPUK, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (PKBI) and local Aliansi Remaja Independen

[83] Population Council (2016). *Building girls' protective assets. A collection of tools for program design.* New York, NY: Population Council. Retrieved from https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2016PGY_GirlsProtectiveAssetsTools.pdf

[84] Jinan, R. (2016, August 27). *Mari Kita Mengenal program PKH 2015-2016*. Retrieved from http://program-keluarga-harapan-pkh-serang.blogspot.com/2016/08/mari-kita-mengenal-program-pkh-2015-2016.html Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (n.d.). *Program Keluarga Harapan*. Retrieved from https://www.kemsos.go.id/program-keluarga-harapan

[85] The National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) (n.d.). *Smart Indonesia Card*. http://www.tnp2k.go.id/program/smart-indonesia-card

[86] Local advocate interviews.

[87] UNICEF (2017).

[88] Center for Creative Initiatives in Health and Population (CCIHP). *Country profile. On universal access to sexual and reproductive rights: Vietnam*. Hanoi, Vietnam: CCIHP. Retrieved from http://arrow.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Country-Profile-on-SRR-Vietnam.pdf

[89] Institute for Studies of Society, Economy, and Environment, with ChildFund Vietnam, Plan International Vietnam, and World Vision International Vietnam. *Child Marriage in Several Ethnic Minority Communities in Vietnam – an Analysis from an Anthropological Perspective.* Hanoi: Publisher's Youth.

[90] General Statistics Office of Viet Nam and UNICEF (2015). *Vietnam Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2014: Final report.*

[91] UNICEF (2017).

[92] Jordana, A. D. (2015). *Situation analysis on child, early and forced marriage in Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia*. Monrovia, CA: World Vision International. Retrieved from https://www.wvi.org/sites/default/files/report_SituationalanalysisCEFMVietnamLaosMyanmarandCambodia-FINAL.docx-2.pdf

[93] I. Fitzgerald, personal communication, n.d.

[94] Meeting report of the National Conference on Preventing and Ending Child and Early Marriage, Hanoi 2017.

[95] ChildFund Vietnam (2015, December). *Programme description. Child participation and child protection 2015 - 2018.* Hanoi, Vietnam: ChildFund Vietnam. Retrieved from childfund.org.vn/en/download/file/fid/7686

[96] ChildFund Vietnam (n.d.). *Community development programs*. Retrieved from http://childfund.org.vn/en/development-programmesprogramsprograms

[97] For a list of high-quality impact evaluations organised by target groups and the outcomes the programmes were designed to address, see the gapmaps at 3ieimpact.org:
International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (2017, February 2). *Adolescent sexual and reproductive health evidence gap map*. Retrieved from http://gapmaps.3ieimpact.org/evidence-maps/adolescent-sexual-and-reproductive-health-evidence-gap-map.

[98] McQueston, K., Silverman, R., & Glassman, A. (2013). The efficacy of interventions to reduce adolescent childbearing in low- and middle-income countries: A systematic review. *Studies in Family Planning*, *44*(4), 369–388.

[99] The strength of the evidence on economic or financial interventions is a challenge to a field that recognizes the importance of longer-term social norm change. This is discussed at greater length in a later section focussed on evaluation.

[100] Kalamar, A. M., Lee-Rife, S., & Hindin, M. J. (2016). Interventions to prevent child marriage among young people in low- and middle-income countries: A systematic review of the published and gray literature. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *59*(3), S16–S21.

[101] Chae, S. & Ngo, T. D. (2017, October). The global state of evidence on interventions to prevent child marriage. *GIRL Center Research Brief No. 1*. New York, NY: Population Council. Retrieved from https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2017PGY_GIRLCenterResearchBrief_01.pdf

[102] Botea, I., Chakravarty, S., Haddock, S., & Wodon, Q. (2017). *Ending child marriage: Improving sexual and reproductive health outcomes and delaying marriage and childbearing for adolescent girls*. Washington, DC: CIFF, Global Partnership for Education & World Bank.

[103] Jensen, R. (2012). Do labor market opportunities affect young women's work and family decisions? Experimental evidence from India. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *127*(2), 753–792.

[104] Botea, I., Chakravarty, S., Haddock, S., & Wodon, Q. (2017). *Ending child marriage: Improving sexual and reproductive health outcomes and delaying marriage and childbearing for adolescent girls*. Washington, DC: CIFF, Global Partnership for Education & World Bank.

[105] Yount, K. M., Krause, K. H., & Miedema, S. S. (2017). Preventing gender-based violence victimization in adolescent girls in lower income countries: Systematic review of reviews. *Social Science & Medicine*, *192*, 1-13.

[106] Wetheridge, L, Antonowicz, L., and Marphatia, A. 2018. *Global Review of Child, Early and Forced Marriage for Plan International.* DRAFT, May.

[107] Girls Not Brides. 2015. *A Theory of Change on Child Marriage.* London: Girls Not Brides. Retrieved from https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/A-Theory-of-Change-on-Child-Marriage-Background-Brief.pdf

[108] For example, Erulkar, A., Medhin, G. & Negeri, L. (2017, August). *The journey of out-of-school girls in Ethiopia. Examining migration, livelihoods, and HIV*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Population Council. Retrieved from https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2017PGY_OutOfSchoolGirlsEthiopia.pdf

[109] IPU & WHO (2016).

[110] Amnesty International (2018). *Body Politics: A primer on criminalization of sexuality and reproduction.* London: Amnesty International. Retrieved from: https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL4077632018ENGLISH.PDF

[111] There is growing recognition of the importance of investment in adolescence as a life stage and an opportunity for increasing young people's capabilities, in particular when it comes to health and development. See: Sheehan et al (2017). "Building the foundations for sustainable development: a case for global investment in the capabilities of adolescents." *The Lancet* Vol. 390, No. 10104, pp.1792-1806. Retreived from: https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(17)30872-3/fulltext

[112] Note that although honour and stigma shape child marriage in important ways, there are not easily programmatic solutions; holistic interventions that change the way girls are viewed and valued and offer paths for open up expanding available possibilities are what is needed.

[113] See, e.g., Azza Karam (2015) Faith-Inspired Initiatives to Tackle the Social Determinants of Child Marriage, The Review of Faith & International Affairs, 13:3, 59-68, DOI: 10.1080/15570274.2015.1075754

[114] Greene, ME, SM Perlson, AW Taylor and G. Lauro. 2015. *Engaging Men and Boys to End the Practice of Child Marriage*. Child Marriage Research Network working paper #1. Washington, DC: GreeneWorks.

[115] Villa-Torres and Svanemyr (2014). "Ensuring youth's right to participation and promotion of youth leadership in the development of sexual and reproductive health policies and programs." *Journal of Adolescent Health* Vol. 56, Issue 1, Supplement, pp.S51-S57. Retreived from: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1054139X14003310

[116] https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/117056/ajcp9330.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

[117] Local focus group discussion.

[118] Indonesia research, Phase II research. 2018.

[119] Stars Foundation (n.d.). *Awards process & package*. Retrieved from http://www.starsfoundation.org.uk/awards/girls-awards/awards-process-package

[120] Interview with Swatee Deepak for this report.

[121] Wong, N. T., Zimmerman, M., & Parker, E. A. (2010). A typology of youth participation and empowerment for child and adolescent health promotion. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 46*(1-2), 100-114.

[122] Rutgers WPF Indonesia (n.d) *Meaningful Youth Participation.* Retrieved from http://rutgerswpfindo.org/en/meaningful-youth-participation

[123] Rutgers (n.d.). *Explore*. Retrieved from https://www.rutgers.international/our-products/tools/explore

[124] Verma et al (2006). "Challenging and Changing Gender Attitudes among Young Men in Mumbai, India." *Reproductive Health Matters* Vol. 14(28), pp. 135-143. Retrieved from https://promundoglobal.org/resources/challenging-and-changing-gender-attitudes-among-young-men-in-mumbai-india/

[125] Khmer Youth Association (n.d.). *Annual report 2015*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Khmer Youth Association. Retrieved from http://www.kya-cambodia.org/uploads/financial_report/KYA_ANNUAL_REPORT_2015.pdf

[126] Plan International (2016). *Plan International Cambodia. Country strategic plan 2016-2021*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Plan International. Retrieved from https://plan-international.org/file/14167/download?token=AHjn28Ir

[127] International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) (2008). *Explore: Ideas for youth involvement in research*. London, UK: IPPF. Retrieved from https://www.ippf.org/sites/default/files/inspire_explore.pdf

[128] SHRA alliance (n.d.). *Young staff needs supportive adults. Youth participation in Indonesia*. Retrieved from https://www.rutgers.international/sites/rutgersorg/files/Operational_Research_pdf/Summaries_logo/27._Indonesia.MYP.ASKalliance%20S.pdf

[129] Plan International (2018 forthcoming).

[130] Biddlecom, A., Gregory, R., Lloyd, C.B., and Mensch, B.S. (2008). "Associations between Premarital Sex and Leaving School in Four Sub-Saharan African Countries." *Studies in Family Planning* 39(4): 337-350.

[131] Skelly, H. (2018, January 10). Unlocking access to phones an economic opportunities. Retrieved from http://womendeliver.org/2018/unlocking-access-phones-economic-opportunities/

[132] J. Bruce (Population Council), personal communication, n.d.

[133] Bandiera, O., Buehren, N., Burgess, R., Goldstein, M., Gulesci, S., Rasul, I., & Sulaiman, M. (2012). *Empowering adolescent girls: Evidence from a randomised control trial in Uganda.* Washington D.C.: World Bank. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/427711468175785983/pdf/813130BRI0Empo00Box379819B00PUBLIC0.pdf

[134] Daniel, E.E. and Nanda, R. (2012) *The Effect of Reproductive Health Communication Interventions on Age at Marriage and First Birth in Rural Bihar, India: A Retrospective Study.* Mastipur, Bodh Gaya, Bihar, India: Pathfinder International/India. Retrieved from https://www.pathfinder.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/The-Effect-of-Reproductive-health-Communication-Interventions-on-Age-at-Marriage-and-First-Birth-in-Rural-Bihar-India.pdf

[135] Kanesathasan, A., Cardinal, L.J., Pearson, E., Das Gupta, S., Mukherjee, S., and Malhotra, A. (2008) *Catalyzing Change: Improving youth sexual and reproductive health through DISHA, an integrated program in India.* Washington, DC: ICRW. Retrieved from: https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Catalyzing-Change-Improving-Youth-Sexual-and-Reproductive-Health-Through-disha-an-Integrated-Program-in-India-DISHA-Report.pdf

[136] Amin, S., Ahmed, J., Saha, J., Hossain, I. & Haque, E. F. (2016). *Delaying child marriage through community-based skills-development programmes for girls. Results from a randomised controlled study in rural Bangladesh*. Washington, DC: Population Council. Retrieved from https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2016PGY_BALIKA_EndlineReport.pdf

[137] Amin, Ahmed, Saha, Hossain, & Haque (2016).

[138] Greene, M. E., Perlson, S., Hart, J., & Mullinax, M. (2018). *The centrality of sexuality for understanding child, early and forced marriage.* Washington, DC and New York, NY: GreeneWorks and American Jewish World Service.
[139] Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Sexuality Programs Working Group. (2018). *Tackling the taboo: Sexuality and gender transformative programmes to end child marriage. Summary report for the Girls Not Brides 2nd Global Meeting*. New York, NY: American Jewish World Service, CARE, et al. Retrieved from https://ajws.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Tackling-the-Taboo.pdf
[140] CARE (2018). *Tipping Point Social Norms Innovations Series Brief 6: Intergenerational dialogues Nepal.* Atlanta, GA: CARE USA. Retrieved from: https://caretippingpoint.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/CARe_TP_Innovation-Brief_Itergenerational-Dialogues.pdf
[141] World Vision & Promundo. (2013). *A More Equal Future: a MenCare manual to engage fathers to prevent child marriage in India.* Washington, DC: World Vision & Promundo. Retrieved from https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/A-More-Equal-Future-A-MenCare-Manual-to-Engage-Fathers-to-Prevent-Child-Marriage-in-India.pdf
[142] Habsjah, A. (2018). *National report: Indonesia. The influence of conservative religious interpretations on child marriage in West Java and East Java*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Yayasan Kesehatan Perempuan/Women's Health Foundation and ARROW. Retrieved from http://arrow.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/NR-Indonesia-WEB.pdf
[143] Thanthiran, S. (2017). Religion and politics: Posing challenges to women's rights. *ARROW for Change, 23*(1), 4.
[144] Mekbib, T., Bekele, S., Kassie, A. & Kassa, G. (2012). Evaluation of the Developmental Bible: A programme to integrate HIV and other reproductive health information in the teachings of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church. *Ethiopian e-Journal for Research and Innovation Foresight*, 4(2), 58-72; http://ethiopia.unfpa.org/ news/ developmental-bible-project- manual-reviewed.
[145] Yi, B. L. (2017), April 27). Female clerics declare fatwa on child marriage in Indonesia. Indonesia has one of the worst records for under-age marriage. *Thomson Reuters Foundation News*. Retrieved from http://news.trust.org/item/20170427164406-x3knl/?source=ticker
[146] CARE (2016). *Methods brief. Tipping Point: Community participatory analysis study*. Atlanta, GA: CARE. Retrieved from https://caretippingpoint.files.wordpress.com/2016/04/care_tipping-point_methods-brief_single-pages.pdf
[147] Well Told Story (2018, May 13). *All you wanted to know about social and behavior change: Highlights from the 10th SBCC Summit, Indonesia 2018*. Retrieved from http://www.welltoldstory.com/all-you-wanted-to-know-about-social-and-behavior-change-highlights-from-the-10th-sbcc-summit-indonesia-2018/
[148] Social and Behavior Change Communication Summit (2018). 2018 *International Social and Behavior Change Communication Summit featuring Entertainment Education.* Retrieved from https://sbccsummit.org/
[149] Personal communication, Rachel Marcus, ODI, n.d.
[150] UN Women (2013). *Making women count: An annual publication on gender and evaluation by UN Women Multi-Country Office for India, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives.* New Delhi: UN Women.
[151] Levermore, R. (2011). Evaluating sport-for-development: approaches and critical issues. *Progress in development studies*, *11*(4), 339-353.
[152] Laxminarayan, R., Behrman, J. R., Vellakkak, S., Pramanik, S., Nandi, A., & Mani, S. (forthcoming). I*mpact evaluation of the Magic Bus Foundation's Sports in Girls' Education programme in India*. Retrieved from http://www.3ieimpact.org/en/evidence/impact-evaluations/details/2906/
[153] Wheaton, B., & Doidge, M. (2015). Exploring the social benefit of informal and lifestyle sports. *Journal of Sport Science and Physical Education*, *68*, 45-49.
[154] Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action (CREA) (n.d.). *Advance sexual and reproductive health rights*. Retrieved from http://www.creaworld.org/what_we_do/Initiatives/advance-sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-rights
[155] Serra, V., Enríquez, M. E., & Johnson, R. (2018). Envisioning change through art: Funding feminist artivists for social change. *Development, 60*(1-2), 108-113.
[156] PhotoVoice (n.d.). *Uncovering Bangladesh through a female lens*. Retrieved from https://photovoice.org/uncovering-bangladesh-through-a-female-lens/
[157] Bouman, M., Lubjuhn, S., Hollemans, H., & (2017, January). *Entertainment-education and child marriage. A scoping study for Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage*. Gouda, The Netherlands: Center for Media & Health. Retrieved from https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Entertainment-Education-and-child-marriage-scoping-study-Jan-2017-2.pdf
[158] Population Media Center (PMC) (n.d.). *PMC in Philippines*. Retrieved from https://www.populationmedia.org/location/philippines/
[159] CARE (n.d.) *This is their tipping point*. Retrieved from https://caretippingpoint.org/innovation-photovoice/
[160] Available here http://english.alarabiya.net/en/variety/2014/10/27/Vogue-India-stands-against-rape-with-Boys-don-t-cry-video.html
[161] Available here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ckr4zzUyd64
[162] Set of videos available here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eUe9W7sbpFY
[163] Local implementer interview.
[164] Available here https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zmNz0cTcxFU
[165] Girl Effect. (n.d.). *TEGA*. Retrieved from https://www.girleffect.org/what-we-do/mobile-platforms/tega/
[166] Local implementer interview.

[167] Chaudhuri, E.R. (2017). *Regional Overview: Combating the Sexual Exploitation of Children in South Asia: Evolving Trends, Existing Responses and Future Priorities.* Bangkok, Thailand: ECPAT International. Retrieved from http://www.ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Regional-Overview_South-Asia.pdf; Grameenphone. Parents need to be more open and aware regarding online behavior of the youth. 28 November 2015, Retrieved from: https://www.grameenphone.com/about/mediacenter/press-release/parents-need-be-more-open-and-aware-regarding-online-behavior-youth; Perczynska, O. (2014) "Child marriage in Nepal: What do you do when it's by choice?" Girls Not Brides, 28 February.

[168] Maswikwa, B., Richter, L., Kaufman, J. & Nandi. (2015). Minimum marriage age laws and the prevalence of child marriage and adolescent birth: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health, 41*(2), 58-68. Retrieved from https://www.guttmacher.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/pubs/journals/4105815.pdf

[169] MACHEquity. (n.d.). *Child marriage policy. Data dashboard.* Retrieved from http://machequity.com/dashboards/cm_uni_dashboard.html

[170] Equality Now. (2014, January). *Protecting the girl child. Using the law to end child, early and forced marriage and related human rights violations.* New York, NY: Equality Now. Retrieved from http://www.girlsnotbrides.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Equality-Now-Protecting-the-Girl-Child-JAN-2014.pdf

[171] Center for Reproductive Rights (2013). *Child marriage in South Asia. International and constitutional legal standards and jurisprudence for promoting accountability and change*. New York, NY: Center for Reproductive Rights. Retrieved from https://www.reproductiverights.org/sites/crr.civicactions.net/files/documents/ChildMarriage_BriefingPaper_Web.pdf

[172] Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2014, April 2). *Preventing and eliminating child, early and forced marriage*. New York, NY: OHCHR. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/.../A-HRC-26-22_en.doc

[173] IPU & UNICEF (2004). *Child protection. A handbook for parliamentarians*. New York, NY: IPU & UNICEF. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Guide_Enfants_OK.pdf

[174] Center for Reproductive Rights. (2016). *Ending Impunity for Child Marriage in Nepal: A Review of Normative and Implementation Gaps*. Kathmandu: JuRI, UNFPA and Center for Reproductive Rights. Retrieved from http://nepal.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Ending%20Impunity%20for%20Child%20marriage%28final%29_25Nov16.pdf

[175] By Wodon, Q., Male, C., Nayihouba, A., Onagoruwa, A., Savadogo, A., Yedan, A., Edmeades, J., Kes, A., John, N., Murithi, L., Steinhaus, M., & Petroni, S. (2017, June). *Economic impacts of child marriage: Global synthesis report (Conference edition).* Washington, DC: World Bank and International Center for Research on Women. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/530891498511398503/pdf/116829-WP-P151842-PUBLIC-EICM-Global-Conference-Edition-June-27.pdf

[176] Girls Not Brides (2016). *Lessons learned from national initiatives to end child marriage - 2016.* London, UK: Girls Not Brides. Retrieved from https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/GNB-Lessons_learned_national_initiatives-2016.pdf

[177] Girls Not Brides (2016).

[178] Plan International (2013). *Child marriage in Bangladesh: Findings from a national survey*. Woking, UK: Plan International. Retrieved from https://plan-international.org/publications/child-marriage-bangladesh-findings-national-survey

[179] Girls Not Brides (2016).

[180] Lemmon, G. T., & ElHarake, L. S. (2014, July). *Child brides, global consequences: How to end child marriage.* Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations. Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from https://cfrd8-files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2014/07/Child%20Brides%20Global%20Consequences.pdf

[181] UNFPA Lao People's Democratic Republic (2017, October). *Noi 2030 fact sheet*. Retrieved from http://lao.unfpa.org/en/publications/noi-2030-fact-sheet

[182] UNFPA Lao People's Democratic Republic (2018, June). *Noi the adolescent girl in Lao PDR*. Retrieved from http://lao.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Brochure%20-%20Adolesecent%20Girl%20Eng%20%20Final_0.pdf

[183] Wodon, Q., Tavares, P., Fiala, O., Le Nestour, A., & Wise, L. (2017, October). *Ending child marriage: Child marriage laws and their limitations.* Washington, DC: The World Bank and Save the Children. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/334131513322505611/pdf/122074-BRI-2017-10-ending-child-marriage.pdf

[184] Local interviews.

[185] Breakthrough (2018). *Early marriage*. Retrieved from https://inbreakthrough.tv/focus-area/early-marriage/

[186] Selby, Daniele (2017, October 23). In a village struggling with alcoholism, these teenage girls are making changes for the better. *Global Citizen*. Retrieved from https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/india-girls-empowerment-tamil-nadu-alcohol/

[187] Local focus group discussions.

[188] For Indonesia, for example, see https://www.wvi.org/indonesia/article/its-right-time-listen-childrens-voice

[189] Nanda et al. (2016).

[190] UNFPA Lao People's Democratic Republic (2017, October). *Noi 2030 fact sheet*. Retrieved from http://lao.unfpa.org/en/publications/noi-2030-fact-sheet

[191] Nanda et al. (2016).

[192] Lemmon & ElHarake (2014).

[193] Lemmon & ElHarake (2014), p. 10.
[194] Balistreri, K. S., Joyner, K., & Kao, G. (2017). Trading youth for citizenship? The spousal age gap in cross-border marriages. *Population and Development Review 43*(3), 443–466.
[195] Anh, H. T. (2009). *Affirming sexuality: A counselling programme for young people in Vietnam*. Arrows for Chang. Women's Gender and Rights Perspectives in Health Policies and Programmes, *13*(2) Supplement. Retrieved from http://arrow.org.my/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/AFC-Vol.13-No.2-2007_Young-People-Sexuality_Vietnam.pdf
[196] UNICEF (2014). *A statistical snapshot of violence against adolescent girls.* New York, NY: UNICEF.
[197] Israt (Plan Bangladesh), personal communication, n.d.
[198] http://www.geastudy.org/publications/ and https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/2BI4VJaUjsfn9vBtgH6p/full; UNFPA Asia-Pacific Regional Office and UNICEF. 2018. *Understanding patterns and relationships of adolescent pregnancy, child marriage and early union: An overview of the situation in Southeast Asia and Mongolia*. Background paper for the Regional Forum on Adolescent Pregnancy, Child Marriage and Early Union in South-East and East Asia, 4-5 April 2018, Bangkok, Amari Watergate Hotel.
[199] Regional expert interview.
[200] Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Sexuality Programs Working Group. (2018). *Tackling the Taboo: Sexuality and gender transformative programmes to end child marriage. Summary report for the Girls Not Brides 2nd Global Meeting*. New York, NY: American Jewish World Service, CARE, et al. Retrieved from https://caretippingpoint.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Tackling-the-Taboo.pdf
[201] Breakthrough (n.d.). *Our work in India*. Retrieved from http://us.breakthrough.tv/our-work-in-india/
[202] Berkowitz, E. (2018, January 23). The app teaching Cambodian garment workers about their sexual health. *Lenny*. Retrieved from https://www.lennyletter.com/story/chat-app-cambodian-garment-workers-sexual-health
[203] Save the Children (2015). *Save the Children & very young adolescent sexual and reproductive health*: An overview. Fairfield, CT: Save the Children. Retrieved from https://www.savethechildren.org/content/dam/global/reports/health-and-nutrition/Young-Adolescent-Sexual-Reproductive-Health-2015.PDF
[204] Pathfinder International (2016). *PRACHAR: Advancing Young People's Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights in India*. Watertown, MA: Pathfinder International. Retrieved from http://www.pathfinder.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/PRACHAR-Advancing-Young-Peoples-Sexual-and-Reproductive-Health-and-Rights-in-India.pdf
[205] Pulerwitz, J. and Barker, G. (2007). "Measuring Attitudes toward Gender Norms among Young Men in Brazil: Development and Psychometric Evaluation of the GEM Scale." *Men and Masculinities.* 10 (3): 322-338
[206] Stefanik, L., and Hwang, T. (2017). *Applying Theory to Practice: CARE's Journey Piloting Social Norms Measures for Gender Programming*. Washington, DC: CARE USA. Accessed at http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/care-social-norms-paper-web.pdf
[207] Plan International. (2015). Index of Acceptability: Getting the Evidence Research. (Asia Child Marriage Initiative).
[208] Plan International ARO. (2015). *User guide: Index of acceptability* (Asia Child Marriage Initiative). Bangkok: Plan International ARO.
[209] Firestone, R., Dotson, M., & Greifinger, R. (n.d.). Regional insights for design of adolescent-focused reproductive health initiatives. Retrieved from https://www.psi.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Emerging-Regional-Insights_final.pdf
[210] Some interesting work has been done on 'compulsory marriage,' the situation in much of South Asia, by Ravinder Kaur. See Kaur, R. and Palriwala, R., eds. (2014). *Marrying in South Asia: Shifting Concepts, Changing Practices in a Globalising World*. New Delhi: New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
[211] Local implementer interview.
[212] Amnesty International (2018). *Body politics. A primer on criminalization of sexuality and reproduction*. London, UK: Amnesty International. Retrieved from https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL4077632018ENGLISH.PDF
[213] Prof. D. N. A. B. M. Awal, interview, n.d.
[214] Human Rights Watch (2015). *Unequal and unprotected. Women's rights under Lebanese personal status laws*. New York, NY: Human Rights Watch Retrieved from https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/lebanon0115_ForUpload.pdf
[215] (2013). Divorce. In N. J. DeLong-Bas (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Women*. Retrieved from http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref:oiso/9780199764464.001.0001/acref-9780199764464-e-0108
[216] Sullivan, M. (2018). "Divorce is prohibited in the Philippines, but moves are underway to legaliseit." Retrieved from: https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2018/05/23/613335232/divorce-is-prohibited-in-the-philippines-but-moves-are-underway-to-legalize-it
[217] http://irh.org/projects/passages/
[218] Karim, N., Greene, M. E., & Picard, M. (2016). *The cultural context of child marriage in Nepal and Bangladesh: Findings from CARE's Tipping Point project community participatory analysis*. Washington, DC: CARE. Retrieved from http://www.care.org/sites/default/files/documents/CARE_Tipping_Point_External%20Report_Web.pdf
[219] It is not possible to reference all of these programs, but a quick look at this database quickly reveals the startling lack of impact evaluations on adolescent sexual and reproductive health in East and Southeast Asia: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (2017, February 2). *Adolescent sexual and reproductive health evidence gap map*. Retrieved from http://gapmaps.3ieimpact.org/evidence-maps/adolescent-sexual-and-reproductive-health-evidence-gap-map

[220] Regional expert interviews. See also: Chandra-Mouli, V., McCarraher, D. R.,, Phillips, S. J., Williamson, N. E., & Hainsworth, G. (2014). Contraception for adolescents in low and middle income countries: needs, barriers, and access. *Reproductive Health, 11*(1),1-8 . Retrieved from https://reproductive-health-journal.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1742-4755-11-1

[221] WHO & Expandnet (2010). *Nine steps for developing a scaling-up strategy*. Geneva, Switzerland: WHO. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/44432/9789241500319_eng.pdf;jsessionid=5FA2619490BBDE685468A47AF21BBF31?sequence=1

[222] Huaynoca, S., Chandra-Mouli, V., Yaqub Jr, N., and Marie Denno, D. (2014). "Scaling up comprehensive sexuality education in Nigeria: From national policy to nationwide application." *Sex Education*. 14. 10.1080/14681811.2013.856292.

[223] Svanemyr, J., Baig, Q. & Chandra-Mouli, V. (2015). Scaling up of Life Skills Based Education in Pakistan: A case study. *Sex Education. Sexuality, Society, and Learning, 15*(3), 249-262.

[224] Chandra-Mouli, V., Mapella, E., John, T., Gibbs, S., Hanna, C., Kampatibe, N., & Bloem, P. (2013). Standardizing and scaling up quality adolescent friendly health services in Tanzania. *BMC Public Health, 13*(579), 1-7.

[225] Kempers, J., Ketting, E., Chandra-Mouli, V., and Raudsepp, T. (2015). "The success factors of scaling up Estonian sexual and reproductive health youth clinic network - from grassroots initiative to a national programme 1991-2013." *Reproductive Health* Vol. 12 Issue 2.

[226] Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University & Save the Children (2016, September). *Scaling up normative change interventions for adolescent and youth sexual and reproductive health literature review findings and recommendations*. Washington, DC: Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University. Retrieved from http://irh.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Scaling_Up_AYSRH_Norm_Change_Interventions.pdf

[227] Advance Family Planning (AFP) (2017). *Advocacy portfolio*. Retrieved from https://www.advancefamilyplanning.org/advocacy-portfolio

[228] Israt (Plan Bangladesh), personal communication, n.d.

[229] Achyut P., Bhatla N., Khandekar S., Maitra S. and Verma R.K. (2011). Building Support for Gender Equality among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India. ICRW, New Delhi.

[230] Chandra-Mouli, V., Plesons, M., Barua, A., Gogoi, A., Katoch, M., Ziauddin, M., Mishra, R., Nathani, V., & Sinha, A. (2018). What did it take to scale up and sustain Udaan, a school-based adolescent education programme in Jharkhand, India? *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, *13*(2), 1-23.

[231] CEDPA was acquired by Plan International in 2012.

[232] Pathfinder International (2016). *PRACHAR: Advancing Young People's Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights in India*. Watertown, MA: Pathfinder International. Retrieved from http://www.pathfinder.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/PRACHAR-Advancing-Young-Peoples-Sexual-and-Reproductive-Health-and-Rights-in-India.pdf

[233] Pathfinder International (2016).

[234] Pandey, N., Jejeebhoy, S. J., Acharya, R., Singh, S. K., & Srinivas, M. (2016). *Effects of the PRACHAR project's reproductive health training programme for adolescents: Findings from a longitudinal study*. New Delhi, India: Population Council. Retrieved from https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2016PGY_PracharReport.pdf

[235] Melles, M.O., and Ricker, C.L. (2017). "Youth participation in HIV and sexual and reproductive health decision-making, policies, programmes: perspectives from the field." *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth,* DOI: 10.1080/02673843.2017.1317642

[236] Villa-Torres and Svanymeyr (2014).

[237] Wetheridge, L, Antonowicz, L., and Marphatia, A. (2018).

[238] Vaitla, B., Taylor, A., Van Horn, J., and Cislaghi, B. (2017). *Social Norms and Girls' Well-Being: Linking theory and practice.* Washington, DC: Data2x.

© Plan International staff

ACCELERATING EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE IN ASIA

Worldwide, 15 million girls marry before the age of 18 each year – the equivalent of one every 2 seconds. Over 700 million women alive today were married as children. If there is no reduction in child marriage, the global number of women married as children will reach 1.2 billion by 2050. It is estimated that the welfare gains from ending child marriage could be more than US$ 4 trillion for the period 2014-2030. The greater Asia region is home to a high number of children who are forced to marry for economic, socio-cultural and family reasons.

Without concerted and accelerated efforts, an estimated 70 million girls will be married as children over the next five years. Therefore the time to act is now – we need to think big and act at scale to eliminate child marriage!

Plan International's Asia Hub has identified the elimination of CEFM as one of its strategic priority areas for influencing and programming. We have conducted comprehensive research to present the latest knowledge on CEFM and to identify effective and successful emerging models for interventions most likely to end child marriage.

ABOUT THIS RESEARCH REPORT

TIME TO ACT! (PHASE II): IDENTIFYING EFFECTIVE MODELS TO BE SCALED UP

The *Time to Act!* report builds on the previous report *Their Time is Now*, providing recent evidence on the prevalence, causes, trends, drivers and impact of CEFM, and outlines actions that should be taken to prevent and eliminate CEFM in Asia, emphasizing the strong commitment needed from stakeholders at multiple levels. *Time to Act!* report delves into emerging interventions that have high potential to be successful and effective in preventing, reducing and eliminating CEFM, and highlights the factors that might lead to success. It also identifies initiatives and innovative approaches that seem most likely to eliminate CEFM if implemented at scale by governments and other relevant stakeholders in Asia and beyond. Extensive document review and interviews with a range of stakeholders were conducted in five focus countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Vietnam) to identify promising interventions and key success factors, challenges, opportunities and themes.

PARTNER WITH US!

This ambitious research agenda contributes significant new knowledge to inform and guide efforts by governments and other relevant stakeholders to eliminate CEFM across the Asia region.

Plan International's Asia Hub intends to partner with a range of leading and contributing actors to convert the findings and recommendations of the research reports into action. We are welcoming new partners who would be willing to join our effort, and combine resources and technical expertise to accelerate the elimination of child, early and forced marriage in Asia.

THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW!

PlaninAsia

PlanAsia

PlanAsia

Plan International Asia Regional Hub

14th Floor, 253 Asoke Building
Sukhumvit 21, Klongtoey Nua
Wattana, Bangkok 10110, Thailand
Tel: +66 2 204 2630-4
Fax: +66 2 204 2629

PLAN INTERNATIONAL | GIRLS GET EQUAL