A Mixed Methods Study on the Drivers of Child Marriage

STUDY FINDINGS AND MULTI-SECTORAL STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSION

APRIL, 2019
BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Research Questions
Mixed Methods Study Design
Analysis
Research Questions

The main research questions driving this study are:

• What are the underlying social and behavioural drivers of child marriage in Jordan,

• How does normative beliefs and expectations influence child marriage among different groups and in what circumstances, and

• What can be done to address these drivers?
Mixed Methods Study Design

• In order to address these questions, a mixed methods study was developed under the leadership of the National Committee for the Elimination of Child Marriage.
  • A systematic literature review of academic and grey literature including 29 studies on risk and protective factors for child marriage in Jordan to analyse the situation and the root causes contributing to child marriage in Jordan.
  • A secondary analysis of DHS datasets from four years in order to triangulate findings with the findings from the systematic literature review on risk and protective factors contributing to child marriage, and
  • A qualitative study on the social and behavioural drivers of child marriage.
A systematic literature review: Inclusion Criteria

- Studies were included and data extracted if they met the following criteria:
  - Were research studies on child marriage in Jordan including information on prevalence as well as causes and risk factors of child marriage
  - Published between 2000 to 2018.
  - Were published as peer-reviewed and non peer-reviewed journal articles, research reports and other ‘grey’ literature, between 2000 to 2018.
  - With a geographic focus in Jordan
  - Research published in English and Arabic
- Data were extracted into Excel for key variables
- Each study was measured against a quality assessment tool which asked 17 specific questions about the way in which information and research has been structured, implemented, recorded, reported and applied. Scores were tallied: 7 was used as the cut-off score for inclusion and only high-quality studies were included in the final review.
A secondary analysis of DHS datasets

- Conducted with the four DHS datasets (2017/18, 2012, 2010 and 2007)
- Analysed the raw datasets utilising the existing DHS weights.
- Explored the extent of child marriage, factors leading to child marriage (exploring key factors such as educational status, wealth, ethnicity, adherence to negative gender norms, etc.)
- Conducted a trend analysis on child marriage and if the prevalence has changed over time.
- The secondary analysis data was triangulated with systematic review findings to provide hypotheses that were discussed with the National Committee for the Elimination of Child Marriage in September 2018 and that were further explored in the qualitative data.
A qualitative study on the social and behavioural drivers

Sampling for Qualitative Study

- **Purposive sampling** → geographic mix and key issues surrounding child marriage
- The sampling frame was developed and approved with UNICEF, Government and key civil society organisations of the National Committee to End Child Marriage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sampling Criteria</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High prevalence of child marriage</td>
<td>Percentage of population living below the national poverty line</td>
<td>Number of people registered in Palestinian refugee camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of registered Syrian refugees</td>
<td>Known/reported concentrations of Dom communities</td>
<td>Geographic distribution across the three regions (North, Central, South), and targeting urban/ rural/Badia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Selected sites:** Mafraq, Zarqa, Irbid, Amman, Karak, Ma’an and Jerash

- Pre-tested in Amman
- Worked with National Data Collection Team *Analyseize*
### National Qualitative Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of participants in FGDs (+ Social Norms Surveys)</th>
<th>Number of Participants IDIs</th>
<th>Additional Social Norms Surveys</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adolescents</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended Family Members</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals &amp; Policymakers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikhs, Religious and Community Leaders</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom Community</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>350</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>526</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thematic Analysis

• **Thematic analysis** involves discovering, interpreting and reporting patterns and clusters of meaning in the data.

• The data was analysed within two separate frameworks: The Child–Centred Framework (a revision of the socio-ecological model) and the Social and Behaviour Change Framework and also according to the participatory activities (the top three drivers were ranked and agreed by participants and then they explored deeper drivers of these three main ones)

• All transcripts were double-coded and analysed using NViVo
FINDINGS: SYSTEMATIC REVIEW & SECONDARY ANALYSIS

Systematic review of peer reviewed journal articles and research reports
Scale of Child Marriage

- Administrative data captures only about half of all the child marriages captured in nationally representative datasets
- More than 1 in 4 children are married before the age of 18 and nearly 1 in 10 are married before the age of 15 according to recent DHS data
- A recently declining trend over the last five years has reversed and child marriages are now increasing

Proportion (%) of Women Aged 20-24 Years Old Who Were Married Before the Age of 15 and Before Age 18, DHS Data

Percentage of under 18 marriages and divorces in 2016 and 17 from Statistics from the Annual Report from the Department of the Supreme Judge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of all under 18 marriages in 2016 % (n)</td>
<td>0.41% (334)</td>
<td>13.4% (10,907 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of all marriages that took place in 2017 % (n)</td>
<td>0.38% (299)</td>
<td>13.4% (10,434)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of all divorces that took place in 2016 % (n)</td>
<td>0.1% (21)</td>
<td>4.06% (893)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of all divorces that took place in 2017 % (n)</td>
<td>0.1% (16)</td>
<td>4.6% (976)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Scale of Child Marriage

- DHS Data from 2017 also measures child marriages by ethnicity
- Those who report being ethnically Syrian also report higher percentage of being married before the age of 18
- Nearly 1 in every 5 Syrians Young Adults aged 20-24 years old reporting they were married before the age of 18 compared to 1 in every 9 Jordanian young women.

Proportion (%) of Women Aged 20-24 Years Old Who Were Married Before the Age of 18 by Ethnicity, DHS 2017 Data

- Syrian: 19.7%
- Jordanian: 12.0%
Is Child Marriage Increasing or Decreasing and Why Differences between National Numbers?

- There are several sources of national data on child marriages including the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) and the Justice Supreme annual statistics among other sources.
- **These data sources** often have different respondent populations and are often measuring slightly different things—so they **are not directly comparable**.
- Instead, each dataset helps us answer a piece of the puzzle to understand the situation of child marriages and all are important.
  - DHS is a *nationally representative* household survey that asks about age at marriage. The same question is asked in each subsequent round of DHS data of a randomly chosen set of participants.
  - Other data sources represent administrative data – meaning data that organisations and entities collect about their services and operations. This data, depending on who is collecting the data, monitors marriage registrations among other key data from those who come in contact with the services.
- DHS shows an increase in child marriages in 2017 after a decade of decline, partially driven by Syrian respondents. Justice Supreme data shows a decline in registered child marriages but these may not be capturing certain populations and others who register but marry later.

*Both datasets are important for understanding the complexities of the situation of child marriage.*
Economic Factors, Household Size and Child Marriage

- The percentage of child marriages for both under 15 and under 18 are lower among the wealthiest quintile households. The decline is steeper for children married under 18.

- The percentage of child marriages increase substantially in households with more than 6 household members.
Scale of Family Marriages

- Family Marriages represent over 1 in 4 of all child marriages under 18 and over 1 in every 20 marriages under the age of 15.

- The likelihood of marrying a relative decreases when the age of marriage increases.

- There has been very little change in these statistics over the last decade.

- The earlier 2002 DHS data also found that 43% of married females aged 15-49 had been related to their current or previous husband prior to marrying.

- 26% had married first cousins, while 4 per cent were dual first cousin marriages.

- **Girls married by age 20 or less were more likely to marry a relative than those who first married at older ages.**
Child Marriage and Divorce

- In 2012, divorce among those who married aged 18 years or younger was slightly more common in the poorest and poorer wealth quintiles compared to the middle and richer quintiles.

- This trend has changed direction in 2017 where the richest and richer quintiles are more likely to get divorced.

- Of the one year that collected data on divorce and whether respondents lived in Rural (Badia as referred to in DHS) or Palestinian camps (“Badia camps”)—those in Palestinian camps who were married as children were 3 times more likely to get divorced.
The Importance of Legislative and Policy Changes on Child Marriages

- What is evident, even despite the current increase from the 2017 DHS data, is a downward trend of child marriages across time which is also reflected in administrative data.

- The key legislation and policies are also mapped against this downward trajectory. While it is impossible to causally link the legislation to decreases in child marriage—there does appear to be a temporal association.
SNAPSHOT OF QUALITATIVE STUDY FINDINGS

Focus Group Discussions
Social Norms Surveys
In-Depth Interviews
The Level One Drivers

- This report sets out the drivers of child marriage as suggested by participants across 50 focus groups. Participants in each focus group individually voted on their top three drivers from the lists generated in the focus groups and these votes were tallied to come up with the top three for the group.
- The focus groups were conducted with parents, extended family members, refugees and adolescents. The top drivers identified by participants across all focus groups were:
  - Customs and Traditions (n.32/50)
  - Poverty (n.31/50)
  - Broken Home / Family Disintegration (n.14/50)
  - Ignorance (n.20/50)
  - Sutra (n.10/50) (defined in multiple ways by participants but mostly as the protection of the reputation of girls)
- The latter two — Ignorance and Sutra were also frequently mentioned in the first three.
## Level Two Drivers

*The Causes of the Causes: The Top Three Level Two Drivers Identified under Each Main Driver, Qualitative Data*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Driver</th>
<th>Traditions and Culture</th>
<th>Poverty</th>
<th>Family Disintegration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causes of the main driver</td>
<td>Inherited Beliefs and Behaviours</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>Spousal Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tribal Culture / Family Based Marriages</td>
<td>Poor Education</td>
<td>Multiple Wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Culture of Shame / Community Expectations</td>
<td>Number of Family Members</td>
<td>Family Interference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Level 3 Drivers of Tradition and Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of the Causes (Level 3 Drivers)</th>
<th>Inherited Beliefs and Behaviors</th>
<th>Tribal Culture/ Family based Marriage</th>
<th>Culture of Shame Community/ Expectations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tradition and Culture</td>
<td>Belief of predetermined inevitability</td>
<td>Preservation of the status que</td>
<td>Desire of preserve reputation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to preserve a way of being</td>
<td>Male benefits of affiliation</td>
<td>Community pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avoidance of harm/ Fear of ostracization</td>
<td>Desire of family persistence</td>
<td>Fear of exclusion and loss of respect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Level 3 Drivers of Poverty and Family Disintegration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes of the Causes (Level 3 Drivers)</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
<th>Poor Education</th>
<th>Number of Family Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>Lack of Suitable Jobs</td>
<td>Infrastructure and Cost</td>
<td>Pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Conditions</td>
<td>Attitudinal Barriers</td>
<td></td>
<td>Male Preference (for sons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalised Group Membership</td>
<td>Prioritising Survival (for refugees)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of Knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of the Causes (Level 3 Drivers)</th>
<th>Spousal Conflict</th>
<th>Multiple Wives</th>
<th>Family Interference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Disintegration</td>
<td>Absent or violent father</td>
<td>Male Desire/ Obligations</td>
<td>Financial Interdependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Different age/education between spouses</td>
<td>Male Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>Sulta (Mother-in-law power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No love or respect/ forced marriages</td>
<td>Culture/Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>Child Marriage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KEY FINDING 1:

Social Norms are the Key Driver of Child Marriages in Jordan
Percentage of respondents by region who agree or disagree with the statement: “I would like to live in a community where girls below 18 do not have to marry”, n=500
Percentage of respondents by respondent type who agree or disagree with the statement: “I would like to live in a community where girls below 18 do not have to marry” n=500
Inherited Beliefs and Values—Level Three Drivers

- THREE key types of inherited beliefs and values:
  - **Belief in a Predetermined Inevitability**
    - ‘There is no other option’
    - ‘we can’t abandon them’
    - ‘it is ‘routine’ ‘the surrounding environment drives them’
    - ‘they are convinced their way is the right / only way’

- One focus group of 15-17 year old adolescents expressed the view that
  - ‘we were born that way’

- suggesting the perception that beliefs and behaviour are pre-determined (rather than learnt through social-interaction and the experience of rewards and punishments).
Culture of Shame

• No-one was exempt from the power exerted by the ‘culture of shame.’ However, it was also notable that the drivers for this were either gender neutral or expressly referred to females.

  • In respect of females it was said: ‘If a female marries late, society will question her integrity’ (Fathers, Irbid);
  • while extended family members observed that the ‘culture of shame’ is driven by a wish to ‘avoid females making mistakes,’ and to ‘preserve the girls reputation.’
  • When asked for drivers for the ‘culture of shame,’ Adolescents said it is ‘so they don’t speak ill of their daughter’ and ‘protecting a girl’s reputation.’
  • Adolescents also said that the culture of shame ‘allows parents to follow blind customs for their daughter’s Sutra’ (even to the extent that she may be denied the opportunity to go to work in order that she does not meet men).
  • Adolescent boys said ‘their reputation is the most important thing in life.’
  • One group of parents gave the desire for ‘social acceptance’ as a driver of the culture of shame.
The Key Elements Underpinning the ‘Culture of Shame’

Desire to preserve reputation

Fear of Exclusion and Loss of Respect (Desire to Avoid Gossip)

Community Pressure (Desire for social acceptance)
Recap of Key Differences between Men and Women as to the Drivers of Tribal Culture/Family Marriages

**Male**
- Power
- Mode of dispute resolution
- Source of brides
- Maintenance of Status Quo

**Female**
- Family persistence
- Fear of gossip and other sanctions if they don’t follow
- Social benefits of connectedness
- Resolving disputes among relatives
Recap on Key Finding 1: Social Norms

• Many individuals strongly agree or agree that they want to live in a community without child marriages (individual beliefs)

**YET**

• The number one driver listed across all groups was inherited beliefs and customs held in place by reference groups (community pressure, elders/grandparents, tribal elders) and reinforced by sanctions if norms aren’t followed (gossip, being ostracized, loss of respect, loss of reputation (Sutra))

• **Highlighting how this main driver is driven by social norms**
  
  • This means that interventions tailored to addressing individual behaviour will not work to change this—targeted messaging and interventions need to try and change the community perceptions and the *influencers* (reference networks) as well as the community perceptions about what will happen if you do not follow the norm (changing the perceptions around sanctions).
KEY FINDING 2:

Girl's Education is Important as a Protective Factor YET attitudinal barriers to education need to be addressed
Child Marriage and Education

- Increasing education is associated with lower percentages of child marriage, especially among girls.

- The decline in child marriages due to education is steepest for marriage under 18.

- Transitioning between primary and secondary school is especially important.

- Another study analysing Judicial Judge statistics reported that 35.8% of Jordanian females with a primary level school education married at the age of 17 years or younger, and that 33% of illiterate Jordanian females married at the age of 17 years or younger (SIGI, 2016).

- Illiteracy among men was also identified as a risk factor for early marriage. The average age of marriage for women who marry illiterate men is 19.7 years of age (Karadsheh, 2012).
Poor Education Third Level Driver of ‘Unemployment’

- Poor Infrastructure and Costs
- Attitudinal Barriers to Education
- Prioritising Survival (Refugees)
Exploring the Underpinning Themes of the Level Three Driver of ‘Unemployment’

1. Lack of suitable jobs
2. Culture of shame around accepting a low status job
3. Increasing number of graduates competing for same jobs
4. Lack of graduate jobs available
5. Increasing population in rural areas
6. Political and economic status of the country
7. Lack of government investment in jobs
8. Low number of public sector jobs
9. Lack of organisation in job distribution

Lack of Suitable Jobs
KEY FINDING 3:

Family Violence, in the form of intimate partner violence and spousal conflict, is both a driver and a consequence of child marriages.
Spousal conflict

- Absent or violent father
- Different Age/Education between spouses
- No love or respect/forced marriages
- Mental illness
- Bad choice of spouse
- Large numbers of children (family stress)
- Affairs (including online)
- Working away/Living abroad
- Avoidance of responsibility
- Lack of communications (especially between father and sons)
- Lack of self confidence
- Husband jealous of wife’s greater success or education
Important note on spousal conflict as a driver of Divorce

• The review of the drivers of ‘Family Disintegration’ revealed that ‘Divorce’ was regularly mentioned.
• Divorce may be seen as a consequence of family disintegration as well as potentially triggering a range of consequences of its own.
• The drivers of ‘divorce’ were reviewed and found to be essentially the same as those given for ‘Family Disintegration’ more broadly.
• Following this review, ‘Divorce’ was added to the pathway between ‘Family Disintegration’ and ‘Child Marriage’.
  • This is because when family disintegration leads to divorce, daughters may be married off, rather than their father allow them to live in the home of another man. Respondents also commented that the father may not want them to live with him as this could create conflict with his new wife. However, as not all ‘Family Disintegration’ results in divorce, a direct link between ‘Family Disintegration’ and ‘Child Marriage’ was retained.
• Focus group members also gave a child seeking to leave an oppressive home as a driver of child marriage.
Child Marriage and Intimate Partner Violence

- DHS trend analysis indicates that those who married under the age of 18 years were more likely to have injuries as a result of violence from their husband, as well as less severe forms of violence.

- Those who report being in a child marriage more frequently report these severe forms of intimate partner violence compared to those in marriages initiated in adulthood. This trend is also consistent across the tend year time period between surveys.

Percentage of Child Marriage Before 15 and 18 years of Age and Experienced Injury from Intimate Partner Violence, DHS datasets 2007, 2012 and 2017/18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married before 15</th>
<th>Married before 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Married before 15</th>
<th>Married before 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married before 15</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married before 18</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married before 15</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married before 18</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Divorce of Child Marriages and Intimate Partner Violence

- There is also an association between the intimate partner violence in child marriages and divorce.

- The relationship is even starker when respondents are asked if they are afraid of their partner.

- The secondary analysis of DHS data makes the links much clearer between child marriages and the negative consequences for children including violence and divorce (which then has additional negative societal consequences, especially for girls).
Conclusion: the Four Main Messages from Study Findings

1. **We must address social norms through interventions if we are to reduce child marriages.**
   - Since social norms was identified as the key driver, legislation and policies alone without significant social norms and life skills programming, will not reduce child marriages.

2. **Educational transition from primary to secondary school completion, especially for girls, is important for reducing child marriages**
   - Should be in coordination with addressing attitudinal barriers to education among parents/caregivers and adolescents.

3. **Family Violence, in the form of intimate partner violence and spousal conflict, is both a driver and a consequence of child marriages.**
   - In order to reduce child marriages, we need to focus on family support and reducing intimate partner violence and addressing the root causes of family disintegration.

4. **All sectors must be engaged to address the root causes of child marriage.**
   - Based on the findings of the study, the National Committee to End Child Marriage will review the national framework and revise it based on the suggested strategic plan of action that has been created based on the findings of the study to address the root causes of child marriages.
KEY FINDING 4: THE ROOT CAUSES ARE MULTI-SECTORAL

INSPIRE Framework
Linkages with the National Action Plan

An enabling environment (Policies/services/data) to limit marriage under the age of 18 in Jordan

Outcomes

- Supportive legislation to limit marriage under the age of 18
- Amended laws and legislation to limit marriage under the age of 18 in Jordan
- Specific and comprehensive data on the numbers of marriages involving persons under the age of 18 to support decisions, legislation and facilitate monitoring and evaluation

Outputs

- Health and counseling services available to support cases and implement programs to limit marriage under the age of 18
- 1. Case management program for intending spouses and married females under the age of 18.
- 2. Create a health and social environment to limit the percentage and consequences of marriage under the age of 18, enhance institutional and human capacity, and secure funding sources to ensure access the best services and implement the National Action Plan effectively and efficiently.
- 1. Reinforce the culture of protection and knowledge of marriage under the age of 18 to create a society aware of the consequences of this marriage.
- 2. Protection concepts, values and methods to limit marriage under the age of 18 embedded in educational programs and school curricula at all levels.

Cross-cutting Interventions

- Cross-cutting interventions to implement the National Action Plan / sufficient funding/M&E system encompassing all levels and sectors/capacity building in policy analysis, service delivery and communication to change behaviors/adoption of policies/leadership and decision-makers support
INSPIRE: Seven Strategies for Ending Violence against Children

1. Implementation and enforcement of laws
2. Norms and values
3. Safe environments
4. Parent and caregiver support
5. Income and economic strengthening
6. Response and support services
7. Education and life skills

Cross-cutting activity 1: Multisectoral actions and coordination
Cross-cutting activity 2: Monitoring and evaluation
Community Level Risk Factors
Tribal culture/Family Marriages

Interpersonal Level Risk Factors:
Spousal conflict in the home
Absent or violent father

Institutional Level Risk Factors:
Norm of not registering marriages among certain groups

Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:

- Implementation and enforcement of laws to limit marriage under the age of 18
- Enhance Processes for Registration of Marriages (especially among low registering groups alongside educational/awareness raising programming)
- Harmonise multi-sectoral framing and definitions of child marriage so that external communication is clear

Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:

- Outcome 1: Supportive legislation to limit marriage under the age of 18
- Output 1: Amended laws and legislation to limit marriage under the age of 18 in Jordan
- Output 2: Specific and comprehensive data on the numbers of marriages involving persons under the age of 18 to support decisions, legislation and facilitate monitoring and evaluation
**Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:**

- Intergenerational norms discussions (especially including tribal elders and grandparents) harnessing the *positive* elements of inherited beliefs and values to reduce child marriages (reshaping existing norms)
- Norms programming/campaigns around addressing the culture of shame → changing perceptions of the possible sanctions from others about not following inherited beliefs and values
- Norms programming/campaigns around family marriages with different messaging for men vs. women
- Norms programming/campaigns about *sutra* → changing to positive influence to *reduce* child marriages
- Norms programming/campaigns to try and change attitudinal barriers to girl’s education (for both parents and adolescents)
- Norms programming targeted at refugee groups and the Dom community (particularly for males)
- Harness the influence of religious leaders and teachers –especially through their normal communication channels (Friday sermons, etc)

**Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:**

- **Outcome 3:** Positive change in the perceptions and behavior of members of society to limit marriage under the age of 18
- **Output 1:** Reinforce the culture of protection and knowledge of marriage under the age of 18 to create a society aware of the consequences of this marriage.
- **Output 2:** Protection concepts, values and methods to limit marriage under the age of 18 embedded in educational programs and school curricula at all levels.
Community Level Risk Factors
Tribal culture/Family Marriages

Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:

• Enhance institutional capacity and resources to undertake multi-sectoral strategy
• Provide additional modes of dispute resolution (to address this as a driver of family marriages)

Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:

• Output 2 (under Outcome 2): Create a health and social environment to limit the percentage and consequences of marriage under the age of 18, enhance institutional and human capacity, and secure funding sources to ensure access the best services and implement the National Action Plan effectively and efficiently.
Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:

- Parent and caregiver support programming to improve parent-child communication (especially father to son to address driver of conflict in the home) and grandparent-child communication (noting the influence of grandparents)
- Programming to reduce family stress due to large family sizes (family planning support, parenting/caregiver support, childcare support, etc)

Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:

- Output 2 (under Outcome 2): Create a health and social environment to limit the percentage and consequences of marriage under the age of 18, enhance institutional and human capacity, and secure funding sources to ensure access the best services and implement the National Action Plan effectively and efficiently.
Community and Individual Level Risk Factors:
Attitudinal barriers to education (because of need to prioritise survival, especially among refugee groups)

Interpersonal Level Risk Factors:
Family stress due to poverty
Poverty due to unemployment

Structural Level Risk Factors:
Poverty

Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:
• Develop employability skills and job creation strategies particularly for older adolescents and young adults
• Analyse existing labour sector policies for job creation and addressing unemployment and track and monitor (& target) for those families most vulnerable to child marriages
• Enhance social protection programmes particularly for refugee and other vulnerable groups

Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:
• Output 2 (under Outcome 2): Create a health and social environment to limit the percentage and consequences of marriage under the age of 18, enhance institutional and human capacity, and secure funding sources to ensure access the best services and implement the National Action Plan effectively and efficiently.
Interpersonal Level Risk Factors:
Domestic violence in the home

Community Level Risk Factors:
Lack of information on current programmes for adolescents, need for increased case management

Structural Level Risk Factors:
Poverty

Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:

- Information and case management provided to adolescents about interventions to reduce child marriages
- Response and support services to address domestic violence in the home (both as driver for children leaving homes but as a driver of spousal conflict which leads to family disintegration)
- Enhance social protection programmes particularly for refugee and other vulnerable groups
- Response and support services for adolescent intimate partner violence

Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:

- Outcome 2: Health and counseling services available to support cases and implement programmes to limit marriage under the age of 18
- Output 1: Case management programme for intending spouses and married females under the age of 18.
- Output 2: Create a health and social environment to limit the percentage and consequences of marriage under the age of 18, enhance institutional and human capacity, and secure funding sources to ensure access the best services and implement the National Action Plan effectively and efficiently.
**Individual Level Risk Factors – Perpetration:**
Lack of education
Attitudinal barriers to education for girls among parents and adolescents

**Protective Factors:**
School attendance and transitioning from primary to secondary schooling for girls

**Related Evidence and Recommendations from the Study:**
- Interventions to improve transitioning from primary to secondary schooling especially for girls
- Life skills interventions for adolescent girls and boys around decision making, negotiation and strategic thinking.
- Interventions aimed at ensuring an enabling environment for both boys and girls to study what they want rather than what they are expected to do by gender stereotypes by first examining classes/topics that boys and girls are taught or encouraged to major in and whether these are limiting employability and opportunities for young people.
- Inclusion of awareness raising and skills to limit child marriages under 18 in school curriculum
- Community campaigns to change the attitudes to education among both parents and adolescents

**Matched to Outcomes and Outputs from the National Action Plan:**
- Output 2 (under Outcome 2): Create a health and social environment to limit the percentage and consequences of marriage under the age of 18, enhance institutional and human capacity, and secure funding sources to ensure access the best services and implement the National Action Plan effectively and efficiently.
Cross-cutting Activity Recommendations

• Multi-sectoral actions and coordination: follow-up on these recommendations and create advocacy processes through the National Committee to End Child Marriages.

• Monitoring and evaluation:
  • Add more social norms questions to the DHS surveys
  • Output 2 (of Outcome 1) from National Action Plan: Specific and comprehensive data on the numbers of marriages involving persons under the age of 18 to support decisions, legislation and facilitate monitoring and evaluation