

Qualitative research toolkit to explore child marriage dynamics and how to fast-track prevention

Nicola Jones, Elizabeth Presler-Marshall, Agnieszka Małachowska,
Emma Jones, Jude Sajdi, Kifah Banioweda, Workneh Yadete,
Guday Emirie and Kiya Gezahegne

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1 Conceptualising our tools for research with ever-married adolescents

As adolescent girls have moved up the development agenda and the elimination of child marriage has become an international objective under Sustainable Development Goal 5's broader objective of empowering girls and women (Target 5.3), research focused on child marriage has grown exponentially (Siddiqi and Green, 2019). Some of that work has aimed to identify the risk factors that leave girls vulnerable to child marriage, looking for entry points that might be used for prevention; some has explored the threats that married girls face, in part to better tailor services to their needs and in part to build political will to commit to elimination.

The Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) study is making important contributions to this growing evidence base. Our synthesis products highlight knowledge gaps and best practices in our focal countries (Stavropoulou et al., 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; Stavropoulou and Gupta-Archer, 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; 2017d; Cunningham and D'Arcy, 2017). Our baseline research underscores the complexity of the relationship between child marriage and girls' broader capabilities, the importance of focusing on the most marginalised groups of girls (including those married at the youngest ages, those who are refugees and at heightened risk of marriage as children, etc.), and the necessity of attending to local and national contexts when examining incidence, drivers, impacts and change strategies (Baird et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2019a; 2019b; 2019c; Simac et al., 2019; Ghimire et al., 2018; Khan et al., 2018; Isimbi et al., 2017).

Despite the growing evidence base – and the reality that the 2030 deadline to eliminate child marriage is only a decade away – the practice still ensnares one in five of the world's girls (Girls Not Brides, 2019). In addition, GAGE's baseline work, as well as earlier work on child marriage completed by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (Harper et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2016a; 2016b), strongly suggests that future progress is unlikely to match recent progress. For example, in India, which has seen strong economic growth and has invested heavily in promoting

girls' education, the proportion of girls married in childhood fell from half to one-quarter between 2006 and 2016 (UNICEF, 2019), but tackling the remaining 25% of girls at risk of marriage as children is likely to require a different approach given the compounded vulnerabilities and service access challenges that many girls in this cohort face.

Not only are the girls at risk today on average more vulnerable than those in the past, but the practice of child marriage is shifting form, making it less immediately amenable to elimination because the change strategies in play were designed for the past. For instance, in Jordan, where economic growth has been flat in part due to the spill-over effects of the influx of Syrians fleeing conflict, the proportion of Syrian refugee girls married before 18 rose from one-quarter to one-third between 2014 and 2016 (UNICEF, 2016). In Ethiopia's Oromia region, where despite rapid national-level declines the median age of first marriage remains unchanged over the last decade at 17 (CSA and ICF, 2017), child marriage is transitioning from parent-pushed to adolescent-driven, meaning that change strategies must be quickly adapted if that country is to meet its own elimination deadline (2025 rather than 2030) (Jones et al., 2019d).

Shifts in who marries in childhood mean that the consequences of child marriage for girls may be shifting as well. In Jordan, for example, refugee men's lack of access to steady and stable employment appears to be fuelling a post-displacement increase in gender-based violence, as some men take out their broader frustrations on their wives (and seek to demonstrate their masculinity through violence rather than breadwinning) (UNFPA, 2016; Hassan et al., 2015; Jones et al., 2017). In Gaza, continued high rates of unemployment and poverty are leaving married girls less able to depend on emotional and practical support from their own parents (Abu Hamad et al., 2018).

Much of what we know about child marriage, on a global and national basis, is drawn from large-scale national surveys that track the patterning of incidence and the

correlates of child marriage (including various women's empowerment indicators) (Siddiqi and Green, 2019). For example, the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), which are undertaken in over 90 countries throughout the Global South, report the proportion of girls married by what age (by 15, 16...19), the adolescent fertility rate and the proportion of married adolescent girls with (some) decision-making over topics including mobility and contraception, exposed to gender-based violence, and with (some) control over income and spending.

Because large-scale surveys are aimed at identifying broader patterns, however, the evidence they generate regarding child marriage is insufficiently nuanced to inform tailored policy and programming strategies to maintain and accelerate progress. First, only 'women' over the age of 15 are included.¹ This ignores the youngest and most vulnerable child brides. Second, because both the DHS and the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) group respondents into five-year age cohorts (e.g. 15–19), the developmental transition between middle and late adolescence is effectively erased, obscuring the reality that the drivers and impacts of child marriage for younger girls are often quite different from those of their older peers. In addition, while survey implementation varies across countries,² most DHS and MICS surveys are not sufficiently disaggregated to allow for a focus on especially vulnerable sub-populations such as ethnic minorities or refugees. Where they are disaggregated in this manner, sample size precludes further disaggregation by age, i.e. adolescent refugees are either subsumed within a broader category of adolescents or within a broader category of refugees. This is also the case for ethnicity and residence location (e.g. urban versus rural or state/region). The DHS and MICS also tend to take too little account of context, for instance only rarely including questions aimed at exploring physical and psychological violence by in-laws, even in countries where it is known to be a common risk.

Complementing national surveys is an array of smaller-scale mixed methods and qualitative research.

The majority of this research – including our own baseline work – explores the patterning, drivers and impacts of child marriage in particular countries or with particular geographic or ethnic sub-populations (e.g. Vietnam's Hmong) (Harper et al., 2018; CARE, 2016; Plan International and UNFPA, 2017; Young Lives, 2016). A growing body of research is based on randomised control trials that are aimed at both prevention (e.g. BALIKA³ in Bangladesh, see Amin et al. (2016)) and supporting already married girls (e.g. TESFA⁴ in Ethiopia, see Edmeades et al. (2016)). While this research has been critical to growing the evidence base and strengthening political will, much is again either not inclusive of the most vulnerable (e.g. Young Lives does not work in Ethiopia's 'emerging' regions or include young people from the most remote communities) or moving so slowly that significant contributions to the 2030 deadline are unlikely (e.g. it took a generation to see that India's Apni Beti Apna Dhan cash transfer did not prevent child marriage).

In addition, many of the qualitative tools used by these smaller-scale studies, again including our own baseline work, are relatively more exploratory. For example, formative work by ODI asked open-ended questions, such as 'at what age is a girl considered too old for marriage?' and 'what happens if a family is not willing to marry their daughter in childhood?' (Harper et al., 2018). CARE's research in Nepal and Bangladesh explored the relationship between child marriage and the seasonal calendar (CARE, 2016). Young Lives asked married girls what changes – in terms of relationships, responsibilities and plans for the future, for example – they had experienced since they were married (Young Lives, 2016). While these lines of questioning are critical to identifying openings for policy and programming – and for ensuring that offerings are sufficiently tailored – this body of work is less well positioned to inform the quick wins needed to meet 2030 goals.

Outside of our own baseline work, there has also been too little emphasis on girls' broader capabilities. Siddiqi

1 Because so few 'men' age 15–19 are married, DHS figures are not able to adequately capture vulnerability and risk factors. In Ethiopia, for example, only 5% of men 20–24 were married by 18 and only 50% of men 25–29 were married by 25 (OSA and ICF, 2017). Because marriage occurs so late for men in some locations, the Ethiopian DHS is not able to report a median age at first marriage for men 25–59 for all regions (ibid). Even in Nepal, where 10% of men 20–24 were married by 18, the median age of marriage for men is nearly 22 (MoH and ICF, 2017).

2 Ethiopia hosts one of the world's largest populations of refugees. Despite this, the Ethiopian DHS makes no attempt to disaggregate between host and refugee populations, only by region of residence and ethnicity. Jordan's most recent Population and Family Health Survey does distinguish between Jordanians and Syrians, but lumps all others into a catch-all 'other' category. This is problematic given that 20% of Jordan's Palestinian population (370,000 people) still lives in UNRWA refugee camps and is marginalised in all regards (UNWRA, 2019; Tiltne and Zhang, 2013).

3 Bangladeshi Association for Life Skills, Income, and Knowledge for Adolescents.

4 Towards Economic and Sexual Reproductive Health Outcomes for Adolescent Girls.



GAGE researcher and study participant in Ethiopia © Kassahun Tilahun/GAGE 2019

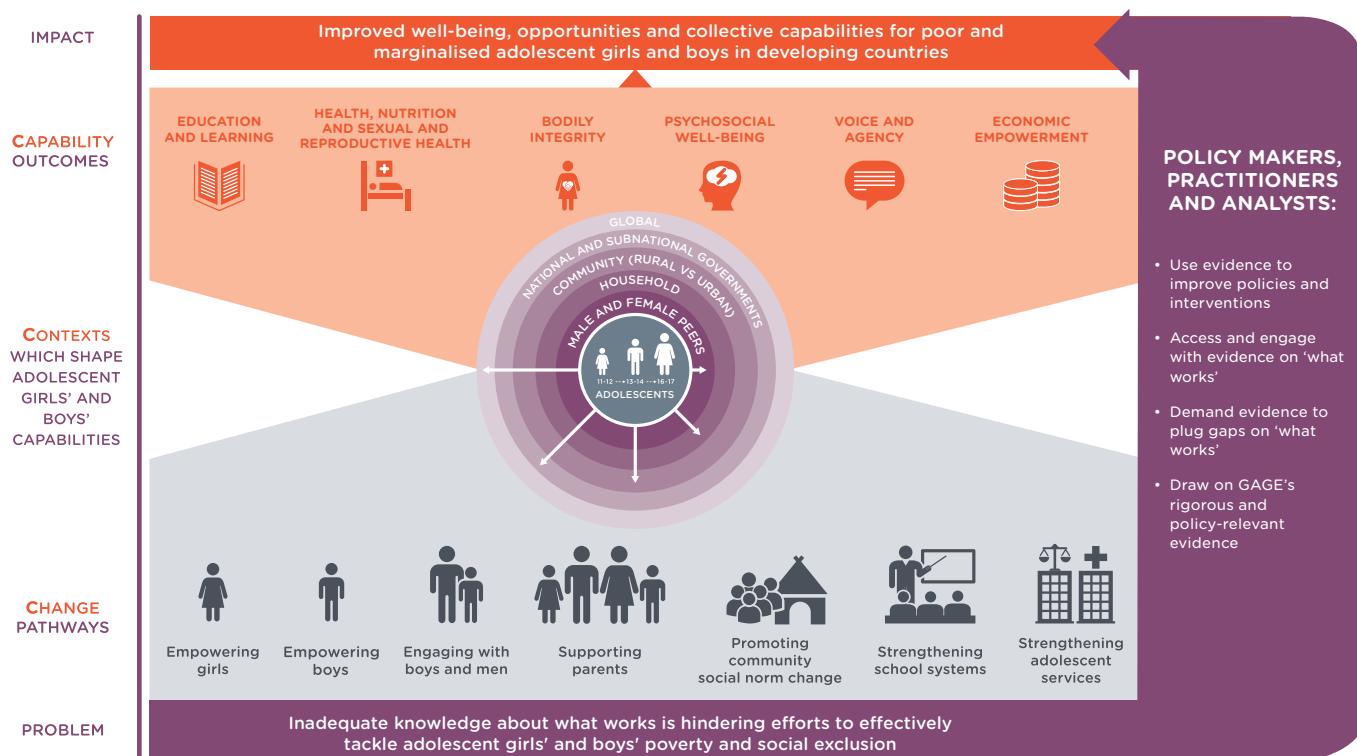
and Greene (2019) observe that while there are hundreds of papers on child marriage and education, and child marriage and sexual and reproductive health, only 4% of authors discuss the relationship between child marriage and mental health. Given the growing recognition that adolescent mental health is foundational to adult mental health, with 50% of all mental illnesses starting by age 14 (WHO, 2019), and our own work that highlights the relationship between child marriage and social isolation, voicelessness and depression (Jones et al., 2019a; 2019b), there is a need for more comprehensive tools that move beyond simplistic human capital approaches to see the 'whole child'.

In addition to these cross-cutting deficits, a key observation based on our rapid review of the tools used to study child marriage – and in line with Siddiqi and Green's (2019) review of the state of the evidence base on child marriage more broadly – is that several groups of actors have been largely excluded. Three of these groups are vulnerable adolescents. In large part because child marriage has been seen as an end-point, and married girls therefore seen as 'lost', there has been comparatively little effort to explore what can be done to mitigate the impacts of child marriage. Siddiqi and Greene (2019) report that only 7% of recent publications have been aimed at efforts to support child brides. Separated and divorced girls have

been almost entirely ignored (only six publications). Given that our baseline research has underscored how often child marriages end in separation and divorce – and how marginalised separated and divorced girls can be – this oversight is glaring, even in the context of limited attention to already married girls (Jones et al., 2019a; 2019d). Efforts to understand boys' experiences with child marriage are also rare (only 24 publications). On the one hand, relatively few boys marry in childhood. On the other hand, those who do – like the girls who marry in childhood – see their opportunities, especially for education and decent work, truncated. In addition, because most boys who marry before adulthood marry girls even younger, a benefit of preventing a boy from marrying in childhood is in many cases saving a girl from child marriage as well. The final two groups of excluded actors are the husbands (mentioned in only 13 publications) and in-laws of child brides (mentioned in only one publication), each of which not only influences married girls' daily lives, but is also responsible for the perpetuation of child marriage.

Finally, existent tools aimed at child marriage have almost entirely ignored services and the ways in which they can prevent child marriage as well as improve the lives of those who are (or have been) married. Our own baseline work began to explore this issue with adolescents, caregivers and service providers. We identified many useful

Figure 1: GAGE conceptual framework



Source: GAGE consortium, 2019

entry points, including teachers (who can alert authorities and have marriages cancelled in Ethiopia) and programme providers (who in Jordan have sometimes offered English classes to young mothers under the guise of helping them teach their children English). Clear from our baseline, however, is that more focused attention is needed in this regard – as girls (and their caregivers, husbands and in-laws) need to be walked step by step through the process of considering which services might be brought to bear to meet which needs.

Accelerating progress towards eliminating child marriage and empowering married girls requires not just more research, but different tools. Tools that are designed with action and inclusion in mind. GAGE's new child marriage toolkit builds on existent tools, including those we used in our formative and baseline work (see *GAGE baseline qualitative research tools*, available at www.gage.odi.org/publication/gage-baseline-qualitative-research-tools/), and hones in on how to prevent child marriage – for girls and boys – and mitigate its impacts on adolescent girls, including those who are separated and divorced. Our new tools focus on marriage decision-making and ask marriage decision-makers what might encourage them to make different decisions. They also trace the threats and opportunities that girls (and boys)

face at various steps along the child marriage pathway (engagement to divorce) and explore how a range of services might improve outcomes. Most importantly, our new child marriage toolkit is built around the decision-making underpinning child marriage and the experiences of married adolescents, rather than indirectly through an exploration of adolescence more broadly. Our tools are directly aimed at two questions: 1) how can we prevent child marriage and 2) how can we make married girls' (and boys') lives better?

A few of my favourite things

Our 'favourite things' exercise, adapted from a tool initially designed by Rachel Thomson, Mary Jane Kehily and Lucy Hadfield's longitudinal qualitative research with UK adolescents (Thomson et al., 2011; Thomson and Hadfield, 2014), allowed us to flexibly explore with adolescents what they consider to be important in their lives. We asked young people, in individual interviews, to identify three objects that are their 'favourite things'. In urban areas, adolescents were asked to draw these objects to help them relax and feel more comfortable with the interview process. In rural areas, where most young people lacked drawing skills, the interviewer drew the objects as the participant described them. Depending on the objects selected by adolescents,

interviewers then probed in a conversational style about the significance of the object in their life and how it relates to the six capability domains in the GAGE conceptual framework: education, health, bodily integrity and freedom from violence, psychosocial well-being, voice and agency, and economic empowerment.

Because of the completely open-ended nature of this tool, it proved useful in highlighting similarities and differences between unmarried and married adolescents, allowing us to see through a child's eye the impacts of child marriage. For example, while across countries both unmarried and married girls often chose clothing or jewellery, unmarried girls tended to emphasise looking good, whereas married girls often emphasised their relationship with the person who had given them the item. Similarly, where girls selected school supplies or books as a favourite thing, unmarried girls often spoke of how much they valued and enjoyed school – and their future plans – whereas married girls tended to speak of the opportunities and social networks they had lost. A number of married girls also selected simple household items like a vase or a small table as a symbol of the new household management responsibilities they were now shouldering.

Social support networks and social network hexagons

Our social support networks exercise allowed us to explore with adolescents who in their environments inspires them and who lends them emotional and practical support. We asked young people, including ever-married adolescents, who in their community they would most like to be like and why, who they spend time with and why, who they can confide in, and who they avoid spending time with.

Our social network hexagon tool took this one step further and included specific categories of people with whom adolescents might interact and from whom they might draw support. This included members of both natal and marital families, friends at school and in the community, work colleagues and employers, and online contacts in the digital environment.

The differences that emerged between unmarried and married girls were striking. Across countries, married girls reported far fewer interactions with non-family members, only partially offset by their sometimes close relationships with sisters-in-law. In some cases, girls' isolation from their peers is driven by their workloads at home. They simply do not have the time to see friends due to engagement with household chores and childcare. In other cases,

isolation is driven by restrictions on their mobility, as after marriage girls are often prohibited from leaving the marital home by their husbands and in-laws without permission or a chaperone. Indeed, in some cases, married girls are prohibited from regular interaction with their natal families – both in person and by phone. Unmarried girls often highlighted that they avoided spending time with their brothers, who in Jordan in particular can serve as girls' gatekeepers. Married girls, on the other hand, tended to emphasise avoiding in-laws – and sometimes husbands – due to demands that when unmet could result in violence.

By contrast, married boys reported fewer changes in their social interactions and did not as a rule need to answer to parents or in-laws about their whereabouts or behaviour. The important exception, however, that emerged clearly from our findings was the role that both parents and in-laws play in stemming 'unacceptable' levels of intimate partner violence. While gender-based violence appeared in many contexts to be normalised, separating temporarily to live with their natal families was an important exit option that adolescent girls were able to exercise vis-à-vis husbands whose use of physical violence was deemed to have 'gone too far'. In this case, married adolescent boys and girls both noted that parents and elders would play a key role in mediating between the young couple, and attempting to reconcile the relationship.

Marriage chain tool

Our marriage chain tool, which we use in individual interviews with girls and boys who were married before the age of 18, explores the specific risks and needs of early married adolescents, from betrothal through to the wedding, into married life. In recognition of the reality that many child marriages end in separation and divorce – the chain tool also includes stages for girls and boys who have left their marriages.

Because a key finding from our baseline research is that many girls (and in rare cases boys) capitulate, and even agree, to an unwanted marriage because they are afraid of fomenting family conflict, at the betrothal stage this tool is aimed at identifying adolescents' allies (e.g. teachers, older siblings, etc.) and opponents (e.g. imams, uncles, etc.) and analysing how stakeholder power is distributed. It also asks adolescents about their interactions with legal, religious and medical officials (e.g. to obtain certification, officiation or HIV testing) to ascertain whether and how safety nets could use existent points of contact as a scaffold.

At the wedding stage, our chain tool explores, among other things, the costs of marriage, looking for ways to head off the debts – and poverty – with which many of our young Syrian and Palestinian respondents begin their married lives. It also explores, in Ethiopia, the systems that are in place to secure girls' consent to marriage and the links between FGM/C and child marriage.

To explore how married girls (and boys) might be better supported, the chain tool asks married adolescents to identify differences in their lives before and after marriage across an array of pre-defined topics – to ensure a comprehensive accounting. Girls are also asked a variety of specific questions regarding sexual and reproductive health as well as about their relationships with their husbands and in-laws (in order to identify entry points for making girls' lives better by building programming for those in their households).

Because our baseline research has underscored the vulnerability of separated and divorced girls, which is, as noted above, amplified by their near invisibility in research, our chain tool asks separated and divorced girls to compare married and single-again life as well as to detail the supports and processes with and through which separation and divorce were accomplished.

The final set of prompts in our chain tool is dedicated to identifying quick wins in terms of programming for each

group of adolescent girls and boys – married, thinking of divorcing, separated, and divorced. The tool explores what services girls have used, which they have found useful and which they would like to see made available to them.

In Jordan, field analysis with our marriage chain tool has found that girls married as children are at heightened risk of separation and divorce, especially as many refugee adolescents are married outside extended family circles into unfamiliar clans and domestic life norms. In terms of the programming that might improve girls' lives, we are finding that while an array of services is available, girls' access to reproductive health information, vocational and skills training, legal aid and psychosocial support, among others, is constrained by lack of transportation and social norms that limit their mobility – as well as by widespread service quality and provider bias issues. For boys in Jordan, our chain tool uncovered quite different decision-making, though broadly similar economic impacts. Refugee boys who married as adolescents reported that they largely did so to provide their parents with grandchildren, which they noted was particularly important in cases where family members had been lost in the war. Married boys reported that marriage increased their stress levels – particularly after they became fathers – due to poverty and pressure to provide in a context where little work is available.



17-year-old girl in Jordan who is separated from her husband © Nathalie Bertrams/GAGE 2019

Our chain tool highlighted vast differences between girls and boys in Ethiopia. In Zone 5 (Afar), where girls have zero input into whom and when they will marry and attempted suicide is not uncommon, early marriage is a sign of masculine prowess and clan favour for boys, who are most often given livestock upon marriage. In East Hararghe zone, we found that the putative 'adolescent-driven' marriages are in reality driven by boys, who often use threats of violence against girls to secure their 'consent' to marriage. Early marriage allows boys to claim both the girl whom they fancy and adult status. It also brings needed labour (mostly for water collection) into their own family homes. For girls, we are finding that FGM/C and child marriage are both closely associated with participation in traditional *shegoye* dancing. Girls cannot dance until they have been circumcised, and after they begin dancing, marriage often quickly follows (to prevent premarital birth). This suggests that both practices could be eliminated by focusing on dancing traditions. We are also finding that while there are ostensibly systems in place to secure girls' consent to marriage, in many cases girls are married without even being present. Girls' exclusion continues after marriage – with most so isolated and over-worked that mobile outreach services will be required.

Marriage decision-making pairs

Our marriage decision-making pairs tool complements our decision-making FGDs and is aimed at further disentangling beliefs and practices and identifying open pathways to elimination. This tool is used with two groups of respondents. The first includes fathers, mothers and husbands of married adolescent girls – adults who have demonstrated that they are willing to engage in child marriage regardless of what they might believe. The second includes fathers and mothers of adolescent girls who have remained unmarried. To facilitate more open communication, the tool uses a series of vignettes, tailored to both the context (e.g. nationality) and the particular respondent (e.g. father). These short stories juxtapose two characters, similar in most ways but one supporting child marriage as the most desirable pathway for girls (character A) and the other insisting on secondary school and adult marriage.

After a facilitated conversation aimed at uncovering participants' beliefs (which may vary despite their practices), the tool then asks which messenger might

change character A's beliefs about the desirability of child marriage. Options include his/her spouse, daughter, son, father, older brother, local clan leaders, wealthy community members and religious figures, as well as UN/NGO programming and mass media.

The tool next enquires as to what message might alter character A's beliefs. Because most respondents have been bombarded by messages about child marriage – which have clearly been insufficient given that they are the parents or husbands of child brides – the tool imagines a pair of magic glasses that lets character A see a variety of pairs of outcomes for the adolescent girl in question: one in which she married as a child and one in which she married as an adult. The health message pair, for example, lets him/her see the girl married in childhood suffer complications giving birth, because her body was not yet mature. The girl married as an adult gave birth to a healthy son. The poverty message pair shows one family struggling to feed their children and another family well fed and clothed. Pairs are also aimed at the girl's happiness with her marriage (including exposure to violence), the success of (grand) children, and social status in the community.

The tool's final set of prompts is similar to the FGDs' and asks what behaviour change incentive might shift character A's practices, even if his/her beliefs remain unchanged. Options are tailored to respondents and include cash and in-kind transfers for girls' continued education (for parents), public recognition for girls' continued education (for parents), marriage officiation by a prestigious religious figure if the bride is over 18 (for husbands), cash or in-kind incentive to support marriage costs for adult marriage (for all), and priority for a work permit or training programme (for all).

Preliminary field experiences in Jordan suggest that this tool may be identifying genuinely transformational change pathways. We found that parents are marrying their daughters out of desperation and fear and that when they are presented with concrete facts about the risks of child marriage, and are supported to think through possible consequences rationally and for the longer-term, some are open to change. Others remain highly concerned about the potential risk to their daughters' and family's honour, and prefer to opt for the 'safer' path of early marriage.

In Ethiopia's Hararghe zone (in the Oromia region), early analysis suggests a more complicated picture – largely born of a lack of options. Few adolescents attend school after the eighth grade, access to sexual and reproductive

healthcare (including contraception) is extremely limited, and NGOs, role models and girls' empowerment programming are almost non-existent. Economic incentives twinned with parenting classes aimed at keeping girls in school may be the best route forward.

Marriage decision-making focus groups

Our focus group discussions (FGD) on early marriage decision-making include community leaders and are aimed at identifying the most likely and fastest pathways through which to create change. Participants are presented with nearly two dozen reasons for child marriage – based on our baseline research as well as the broader evidence base – and asked to sort them into three piles: highly relevant, possible and unlikely. Responses include economic reasons (e.g. need to reduce monthly expenses and seeking husband from a different nationality), family reasons (e.g. need for more parental privacy and pressure from extended family), cultural reasons (religious requirement and to protect daughter's and family honour) and adolescent reasons (e.g. daughter is in love and peer pressure).

Participants are then presented with a list of interventions that might be brought to bear to prevent child marriage. Options here are diverse and include cash and in-kind transfers, legal sanctions, community

conversations, messaging by religious leaders and other role models, and mass media. Recognising that beliefs and practices do not necessarily shift in unison, respondents are asked to identify the three methods most likely to change beliefs and then the three methods most likely to change practices.

A preliminary analysis of the findings from Jordan suggests a consensus among refugee families that child marriage is more likely to be driven by fears related to girls' safety and family honour, and opportunities to expand family networks with other nationalities who may have greater access to contacts and resources, than bridal price payments. This provides important insights into the design of appropriate messaging and possible interventions. Interestingly, while FGDs suggested that messaging from role models may prompt parents to reflect on their beliefs, participants tended to be of the view that is unlikely to change their behaviour vis-à-vis timing of marriage for their daughters as it is a 'personal conviction'. However, in contexts where religious leaders lead by example, parents thought it could have a positive effect on adolescent thinking about marriage. Access to social assistance such as cash or asset transfers emerged as the most likely interventions to shift practice, but some participants also thought that financial penalties for marrying children under 18 years could be effective as could access to factual information about risks and alternative opportunities on Facebook.

2 Toolkit



Tool 1: A Few of My Favourite Things

Purpose: This tool is especially adolescent friendly and is likely to be highly personalised and open-ended because of the way it is driven by things that are important to the adolescent.

Participants: Adolescent girls and boys from two age cohorts 10–12 years and 15–17 years, including the most vulnerable e.g. married girls, adolescent mothers, adolescents with disabilities, out-of-school and working adolescents.

Format: For this activity you must tell the adolescent in advance to come to the interview with an object that is very important to them (could be a photo, toy, clothing, a letter, song).

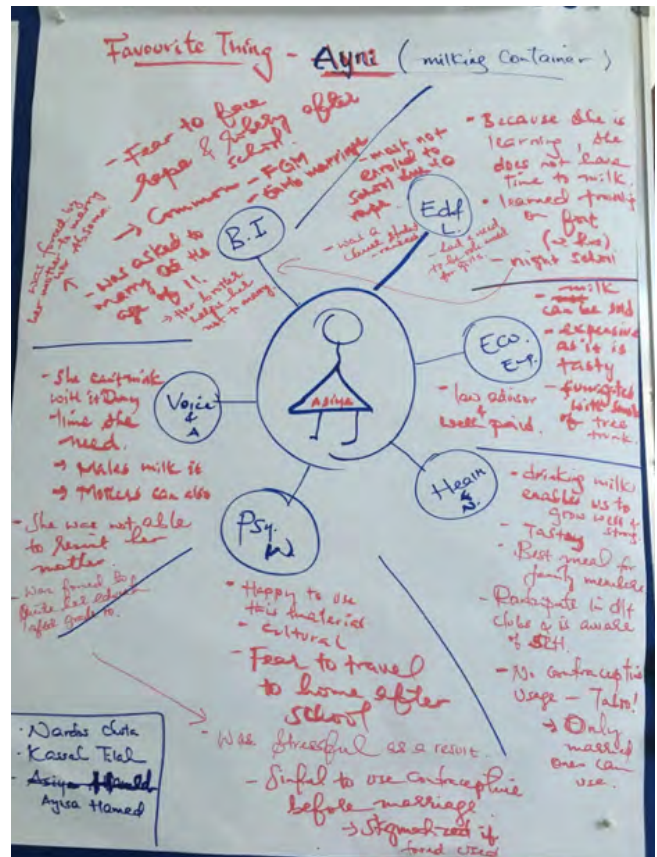
Explain to the adolescent that you really want to get to know them and understand what is important to them, and that you'll be asking them about three of their favourite things.

1. Ask the adolescent to show you the object they brought to the interview (or to draw it) and then to tell you why it is important to them and why they chose it – of all the other objects they might own – to bring.

Probe for:

- > What is the object?
- > How long have they had it?
- > How did they get it? (Who gave it to them? Who allowed them to purchase it? Where did they get it? Etc.)
- > Why did they choose this one object?
- > What objects did the NOT bring and why is this one 'better'?
- > Does the object make them think of the past or the future? If the first – get the story. If the latter – get the dream.

Figure 2: A Few of My Favourite Things exercise



- > Does the object make them think of a specific person? Explore the story.
 - > Then use this story to probe according to the six GAGE capability domains.
2. Ask the child what their favourite event or festival is and why (use only if favourite object response is not sufficient to cover all capability domains)

Tool 2: Social support networks

- Ask the adolescent to tell you about an adult they would most like to be like when they are grown up (could be someone in their family, the community, a celebrity). Probe for:
 - Who is this person?
 - What does the adolescent admire about them?
 - Does the adolescent have a personal relationship with the person – or admire her/him from a distance?
 - How often do they see the person?
 - What do they DO with the adolescent?
 - Can the adolescent talk to this person about fears/hopes/dreams?
 - What would the adolescent have to do to get to be like this person?
 - Who could help them become like this person?
- Ask the adolescent to tell you about the friend they most enjoy spending time with. Probe for:
 - Who is this person?
 - How long have they known this person?
 - What do they DO with the person?
 - How often do they see the person?
 - What does the adolescent really like about the person – how is the other adolescent similar to this adolescent – how are they different?

- What is something really special that they would love to DO with this other kid if they could?
- Now ask the adolescent to use a flipchart, divide the page into four quarters representing people the adolescent spends time with, gets support from about their worries, shares good news with and prefers to avoid. Start with a picture of them in the middle and go through each quarter asking them to list the people it applies to.
 - First, ask the adolescent to think about the people they spend time with and draw symbols for the activities they enjoy doing together.
 - Next, ask them to think about all the people (teacher/aunt/mother/peer/sibling/friend/other relative – not just name – name + relationship to adolescent) in their lives who could help them if they had a problem. If they answer ‘a peer’, then probe ‘Is there an adult you would go to as well? If not, why not?’ and vice versa.
 - If something positive/exciting happened in their life who would they share this with? Ask about overlaps with whom they would talk to/confide in – are these the same people or different and why. Have them write them down their names or draw them. When they say that they talk to someone, ask how, for example, face-to-face, on the phone or via the internet.
 - Finally, ask the adolescent whether there are any people they do not enjoy spending time with and why? If this feels too sensitive, phrase as ‘who do girls/boys of your age like spending time with and with whom don’t they like to mix?’

Figure 3: Social support networks





Tool 3: Worries and accomplishments exercise

Ask adolescents to write down on index cards (or help them to do this) all the things that they have worried about in the last week or month. This should be a free listing – let the adolescents generate their own ideas.

These should be worries that are 'local', so it doesn't have to be about ensuring world peace, and it should be relevant to their lives. For example, related to family, friends or school.

Have them sort them into 'things you worry about but can't fix' and 'worries that you could potentially fix', putting them into two different envelopes.

Tell them they can go back and add more cards to the envelopes if they have other ideas while you talk.

(We need to either record in the notes or through a photograph which cards went in which envelope.)

After they have finished –pull the cards out and talk about them one by one. Each card will likely be short and simple – so probe to get the full story behind the worry. Do NOT try to add to adolescent's list of worries – just probe carefully to understand each one fully.

E.g. hunger, not being able to go to school, not having enough school supplies, bullying at school, having to

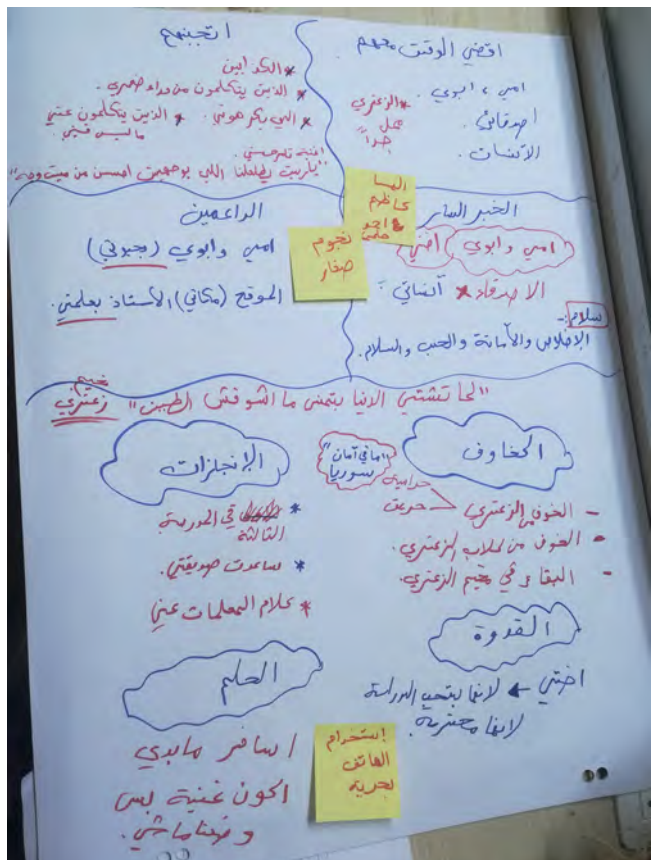
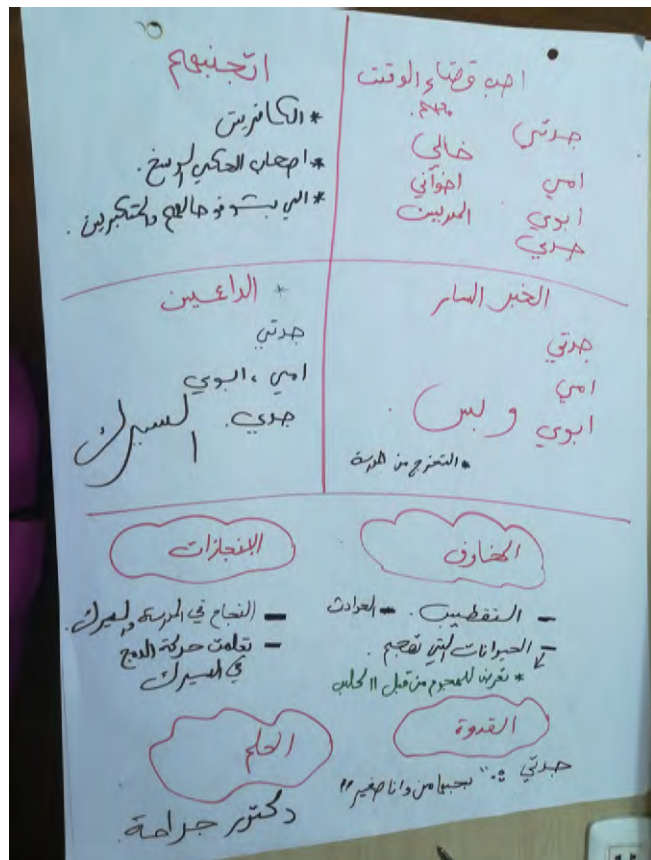
drop out of school, violence in the broader community, disagreements in the household, body changes, toilets (e.g. in slum areas and schools, communal toilets in the context of menstruation), adolescent marriage, risk of violence at home (e.g. for boys and girls themselves, though also for mothers and siblings) [here you need to take GREAT care as to who is present during the interview], etc. according to the local context.

In the case of worries that relate to intra-household disagreements, ask what sorts of things these relate to, what people do, how the adolescent responds and how they feel about it. We are looking not only for disagreements between adolescent and adults or between siblings – but also at whether the young adolescents are aware of very grown-up worries in their environments (violence, alcoholism, poverty, etc).

With each, ask them who could help them with this worry – and how – and then find out whether they have ever sought support.

After the adolescent has completed more recent worries that are concrete to them, ask them what sorts of things they are worried about for the future – in the next year or two. Again, probe carefully and ask them who they could go to for help if this worry should eventuate.

Figure 4: Worries and accomplishments exercise, Jordan



Tool 4: Social network hexagon

Who: Adolescent girls and boys aged 10–19, including the most vulnerable e.g. married girls, adolescent mothers, adolescents with disabilities, out-of-school and working adolescents.

Objectives:

- To understand the social networks with whom young adolescents interact and how these differ by location, gender, for in-school and out-of-school children.
- To understand how these social networks differ over time as children transition through adolescence, and to explore the relative importance of family compared to peers.
- To learn who provides different types of support to young adolescents and where entry points could be for strengthening support.
- To explore the similarities and differences between young adolescents’ physical worlds and their virtual worlds (for those who are active readers or active online – likely primarily urban children).
- To explore over time as adolescents migrate how they relate to their hometown and their new location.

Materials: A2 printouts of the social network hexagon, coloured post-it notes

Social network analysis tool

Social network analysis (SNA) consists of the following elements:

- Six key segments – family, friends, school, work, community and online community.
- Each segment is sub-divided into types of people with whom an adolescent may have a social relationship.
- Closest relationships are those at the centre (closest to the heart of the adolescent).
- More distant/less influential relationships are closer to the outer ring.
- Colour coded post-it notes – purple for girls, blue for boys and yellow for different nationalities.

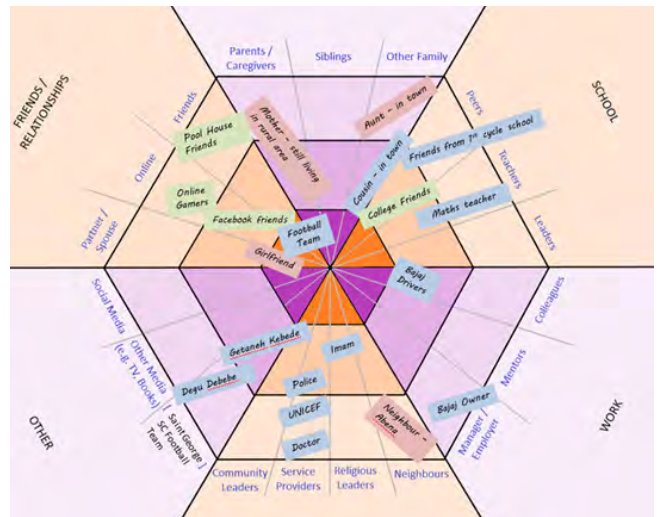
Interview steps:

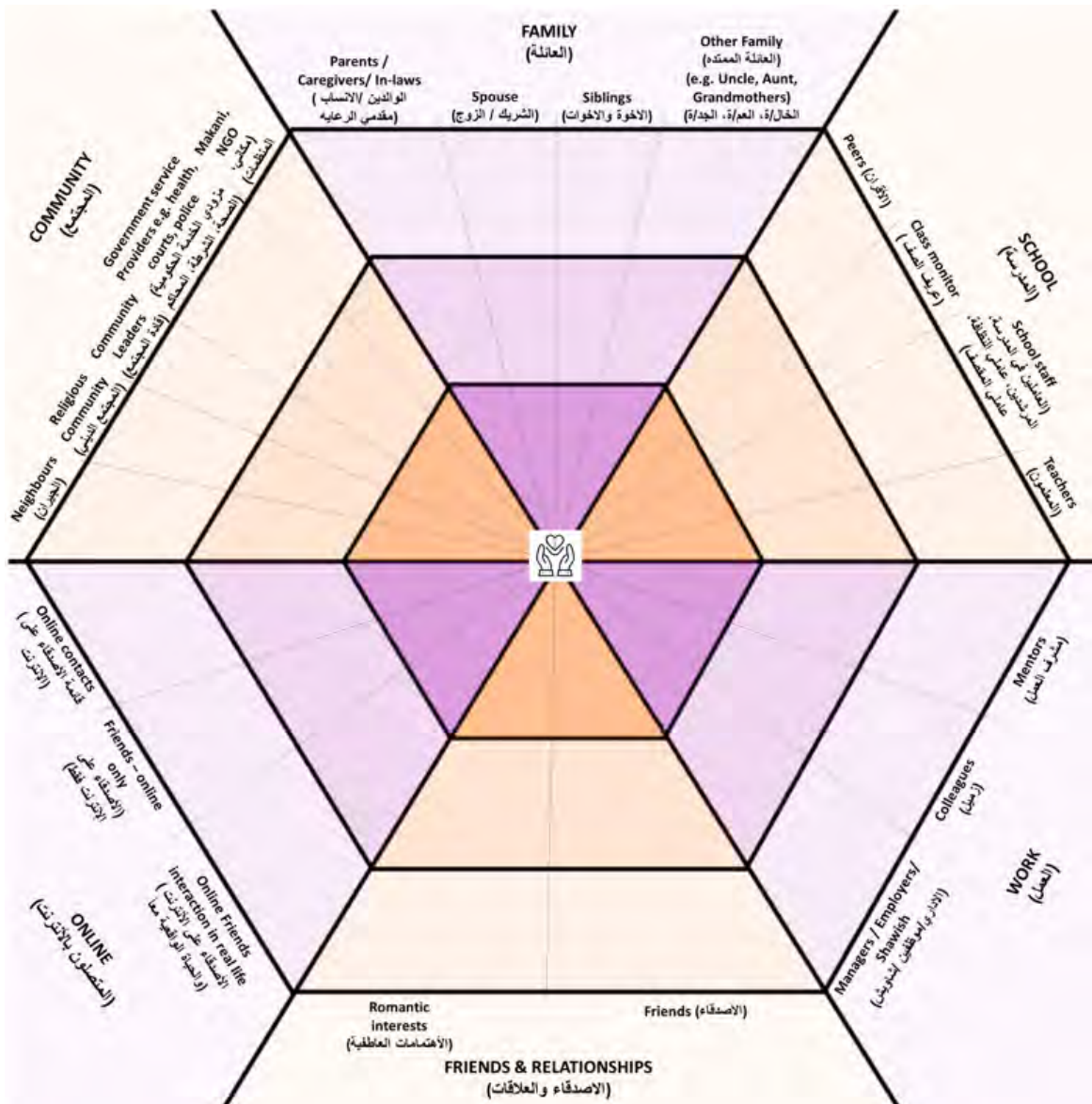
Core questions to ask per segment

Start with the family segment and work clockwise (online community is discussed last). Discuss each of the following segment by segment.

- › Which people within your family (family/school/work/friends/online/community) do you interact with?
- › Pick an appropriate sticker (purple for girls, blue for boys and yellow for different nationalities), write the person’s name and relationship (e.g. mother, friend, mentor) and ask the adolescent to identify where on the hexagon they want to place them – with closest relationships at the centre and those least close furthest away.
- › How and how regularly do they interact with the persons they have identified? Is the relationship positive, negative, mixed and why?
- › What, if anything, would they change about the relationship and why?
- › If you look at this segment, do you think that boys and girls interact with people in the same way? Why is that? (explore specific examples)

Figure 5: Social network hexagons





Capability probes to ask around the SNH in general

Once you identify the adolescent's relations in all segments, you move to explore support networks.

- › Of the people on your social network hexagon, to whom would you turn to discuss and seek support from in the case of the following and why?
 - › Education
 - › Problems at school
 - › Corporal punishment
 - › Health
 - › Information or advice regarding sexual and reproductive health (SRH)/puberty
- › Violence
 - › Risks or experience of violence – corporal punishment in family, gender-based violence (GBV), sexual violence

- › Peer bullying or violence
- › Psychosocial well-being
 - › Psychosocial distress/something that is upsetting (especially for friends, family, community, online)
 - › Peer pressure
- › Voice and agency
 - › Something personal like love or your body (family, friends, community)
 - › Guidance on social media use
 - › Are any of these people role models?
- › Economic empowerment
 - › TVET/skills building or future career options to realise economic aspirations
 - › Advice about financial matters/savings

General network-wide questions to probe

- › Who tends to give the best advice – what is ‘best’ about it?
- › What do you typically do with advice – follow it closely, follow it with adaptation, ignore it but let it inform your choices?
- › Are there things you would like to talk about but don’t have someone to talk with?
- › Are there relationships with any individual or a type of person that you wish you had but currently don’t? Why is this?
- › Who comes to you to talk when they need advice/support? About what?
- › Overall, I see that you interacted a lot/little with people of different nationalities – why is that?





Tool 5: Marriage chain with adolescents

Who: For married, separated or divorced girls (and boys).

Objectives: To better understand child marriage decision-making processes and life quality following marriage; for married girls skip 'separation' and 'divorce'.

Format: Draw this marriage chain on a flipchart and follow the probes per chain segment. If a boy, please adjust the tool accordingly.

In total you should have five flipcharts – or at least five key parts to the interview:

- > marriage decision
- > stakeholder power analysis around reactions by the adolescent and by key stakeholders
- > wedding ceremony
- > married life, probing also about husband and about in-laws, and family planning/SRH
- > services – but asking about what adolescents in general need first, then probing about the individual adolescent specifically.

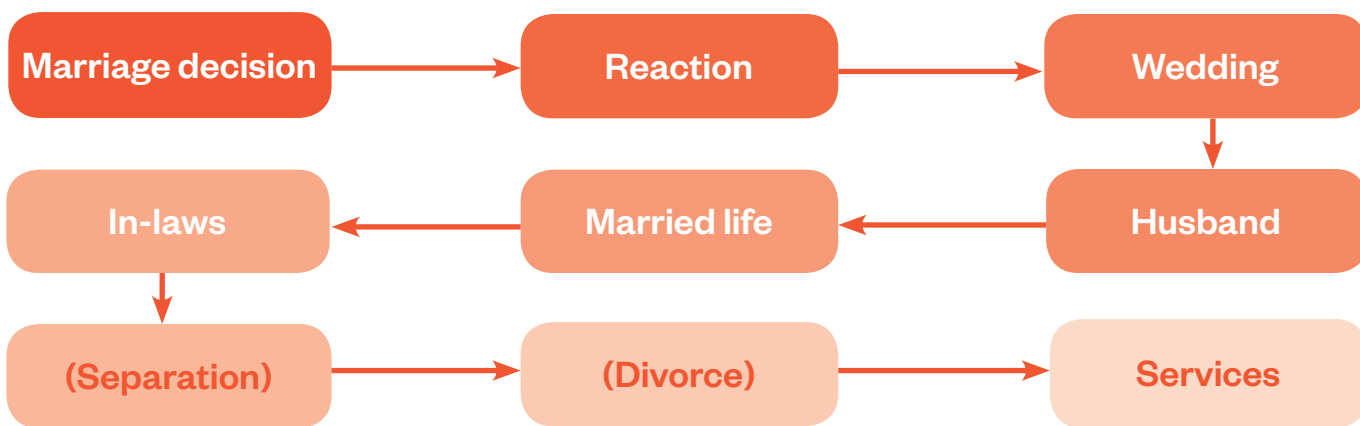
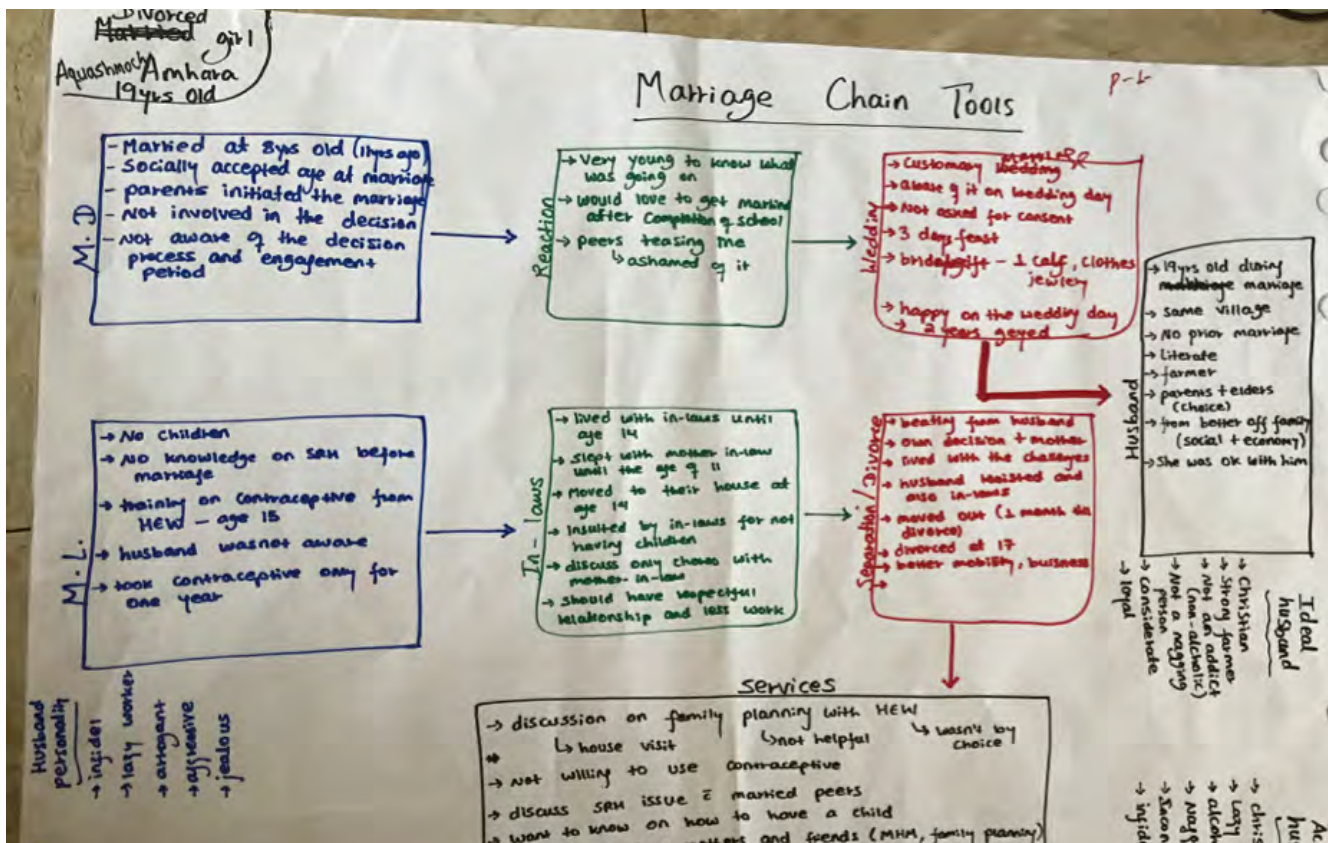


Figure 6: Marriage chain example



Marriage decision

Key probes

- › What is your current age?
- › So you got married XX years ago when you were XX years old? (If second marriage, probe for age at both.)
- › Who had the idea that marriage at XX age would be appropriate?
- › Why was XX thought to be the 'right' age? (Custom, finances, conflict, pressure from extended family, etc.)
- › Were brokers or lobbyists (e.g. friends of the groom) involved in the decision to get married?
- › Did you have an engagement period? How long was it?

Reaction

Stakeholder power analysis – key probes

Start with the stakeholder power analysis tool as in the table below and as you discuss each actor, probe their reactions using these prompts:

Your reaction

- › Were you pleased with XX age, OK with XX age, unhappy with XX age or very unhappy with XX age? Explore.
- › Did you voice your opinion? To whom? What was the response? (Did they talk to parents, siblings, friends,

teachers? Did they express a preference for waiting versus threatening suicide or any other reaction?)

- › If the choice was not yours, when would you have liked to marry? Why?

Family reaction

- › Did other people in your family agree or disagree about the timing of your marriage? Why/why not? (See Figure 7.)
- › Mother, father, grandparents, uncles, brothers, sisters? Did they voice their opinions publicly? To whom? What was the response?
- › When did they want you to marry? Why? (E.g. legal or economic concerns, social norms, educational opportunities, maturity, avoiding parents' mistakes.)
- › Did they discuss the appropriateness of your proposed partner with you and offer an opinion as to what they value in a daughter-/son-in-law?

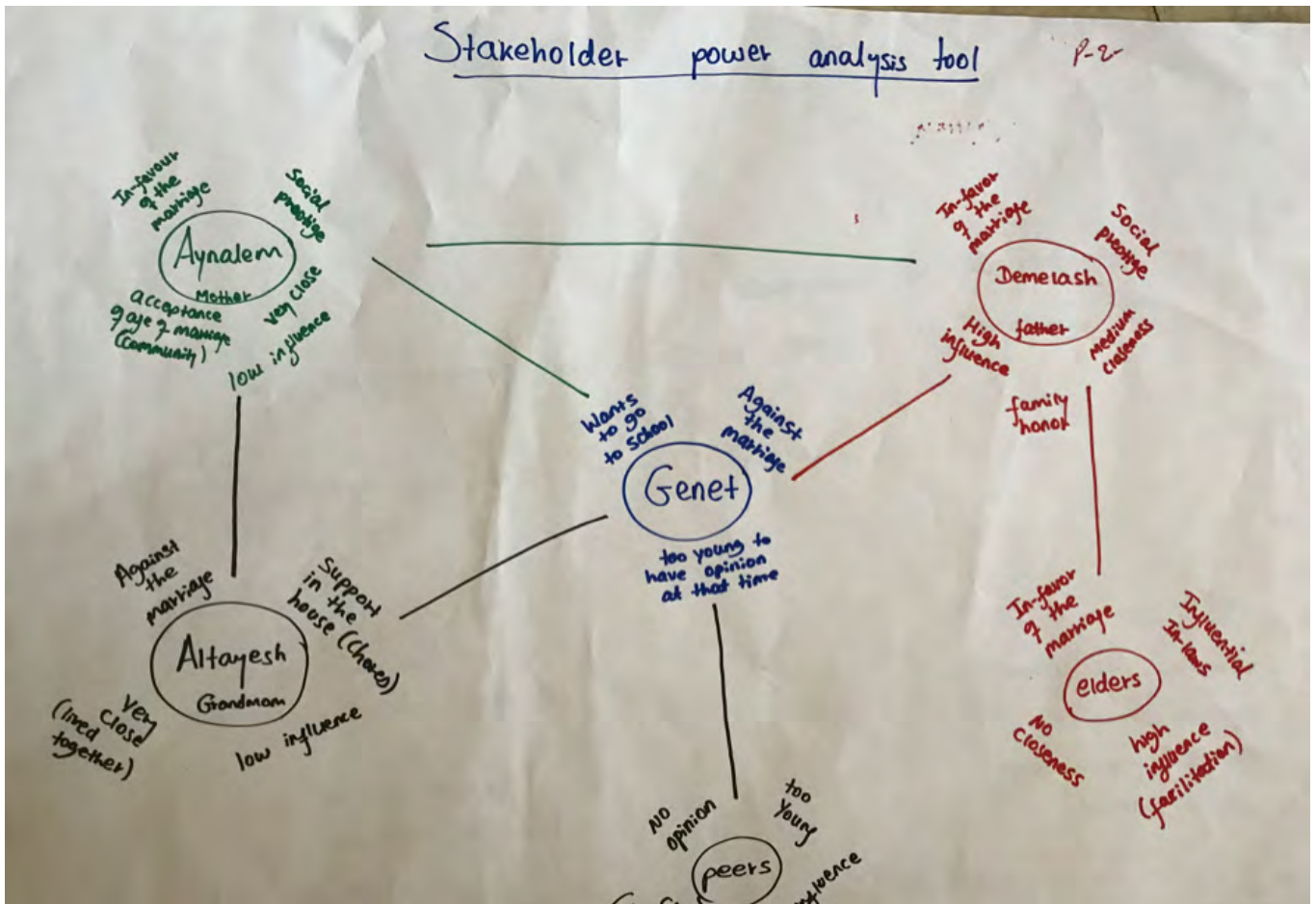
Community reaction

- › Did anyone outside of your family know that you were to be married at XX age?
- › Did other people in the community (including friends/peers/teachers/mentors/elders, religious leaders, local authorities, *qeerroo*, HTP committee) agree or disagree about the timing of your marriage?/What about media/social media?
 - › Did they voice their opinions publicly? To whom? What was the response?
 - › When did they want you to marry? Why?
 - › What was the impact of others' reactions on you and your decision? Probe especially for peer pressure and community pressure and its effects.

Figure 7: Stakeholder power analysis – examples

Stakeholders	For or against early marriage	Rationale for view	Importance/closeness to adolescent	Relative influence/power
Girl herself	Against but wavering	Wants to go to university to study engineering but doesn't want conflict with her father	n/a	n/a
FAMILY				
Mother	Against	Does not want same life for daughter as hers	High	Medium
Father	In favour	Prestige in clan and community	High	High
Uncle	In favour	Family honour, tradition	Medium	High
COMMUNITY				
School teacher	Against	It's against the law; lost educational opportunity	High	Medium
Religious leader	In favour	It's in line with religion	Low	High

Figure 8: Stakeholder power analysis tool



Stakeholder power analysis – probes

Once you discuss each actor, use these additional probes:

- > Who ultimately decided the timing of your marriage?
- > Unless the marriage is a love match – looking back on it, is there anyone/any argument that could have altered who and when you married?
- > What would have happened if you had totally refused?

Wedding

Key probes

- > Was your marriage formal/ civil/ religious/ customary?
- > Can you tell me the timeline from a) learning you would be married, b) the signing of the contract, c) the engagement party and d) the wedding day?
- > Did the officiator ask your consent/verify requirements/ point out the law?
- > And did you give consent? (If yes, why? If no, then how was the marriage pushed through?)
- > What were the preparations that you and your family undertook for the engagement and wedding?

- > Did you have the premarital medical exams (HIV test)? Who performed it? What was done? How was quality? Were you offered any counselling? (The DHS says this are mandatory for all marriages in Jordan – but in 2012 only 40% of people had them – key entry point.)
- > Outside of the cost of the clothes, ceremony, and reception/celebration – was money involved? (e.g. parental endowment or bridal gift) How much? Or if a gift what was it? Who covered the cost of the wedding feast?
- > How did you feel on your wedding day? (e.g. happy, resigned, upset etc.)
- > How did you feel on your wedding night? Or if young and in Amhara was there a guido/gedio? If so, for how many years?
- > How did you feel during your honeymoon?



As you go through the table in Figure 9, use the probes on husbands, in-laws and SRH.

Husband - Key probes

- > How old is he? Is he from the same community as you?
- > Was it his his first marriage? If not, what happened – e.g. divorced, widowed? Does he have children?
- > Does he have other wives? (Age, length of marriages, number of children, etc.)
- > How much education does he have?
- > What is his occupation?

Figure 9: Married life analysis tool

	Before	After	Different/unexpected	Similarities/differences to married peers
Activities on an average day				
Interact with on an average day				
Where you go in an average week				
What makes you happy (e.g. education, friends, spending time with family)				
What makes you sad/worried				
What decisions do you get to make?				
What did you aspire to/ hope for in your life?				
Expectations around economic security				

Figure 10: Married life analysis example

	Before	After	Different / Unexpected	Similarities / Differences to married peers
Activities On an Average day	HH and Farming chores with family members	HH chores & Farming all alone	No support after marriage with HH tasks	Similar
Interact With on an Average Day	With peers: school mate - shagoyyee	married friends - no shagoyyee	Restricted Mobility	Similar
Where you go in an average week	Local Market - Mosque	Nearby Towns cloth washing	Travel far from the locality	Similar
What makes you happy	Going to shagoyyee	Living with husband	Different Unexpected	Similar
What makes you sad	workload Family Supervision / control	workload	Unexpected	Similar
What decisions do you get to make	Partner selection	Friends		

- › How was he chosen to be your husband? (E.g. is he a relative, were there economic/social interests at the heart of the choice, was it love?)
- › At first, were you happy with who was chosen, OK with who was chosen, unhappy with who was chosen, or very unhappy with who was chosen? Explore.
- › What did you think about the age of your husband?
- › Would you have preferred a different husband at that time? [Draw a flipchart with characteristics of the ideal husband vs the actual one.]

Ideal husband	Actual husband

- › Would you have preferred to be allowed to choose yourself?
- › Please compare the following on a flipchart: think of five key words to describe your personality and to describe your husband's personality.

My personality	My husband's personality

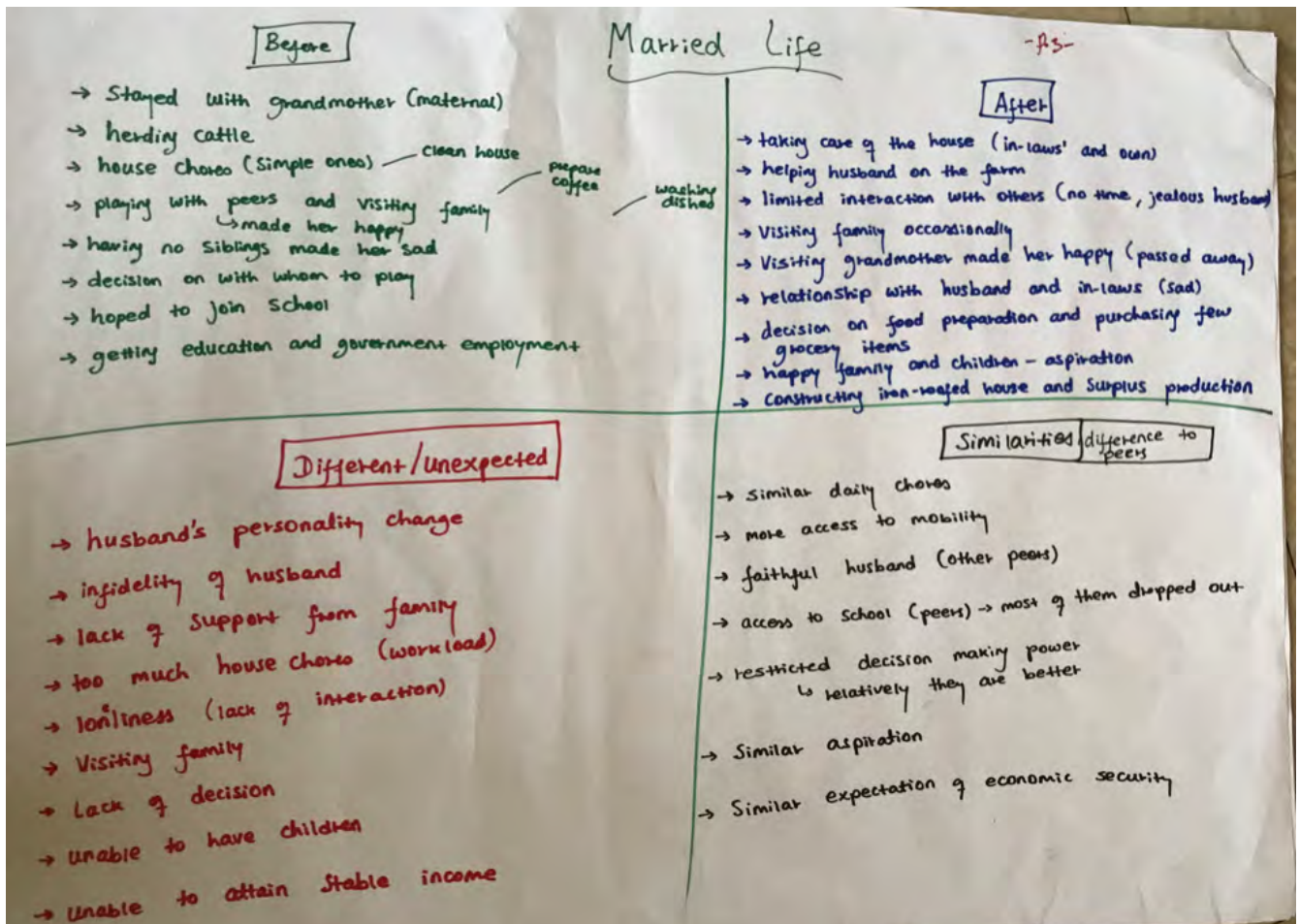
In-laws - Key probes

- › With whom did you live?
- › Describe the space you lived in – did you have any privacy? Why/why not?
- › What was your relationship like with your in-laws?
 - › Mother-in-law
 - › Father-in-law
 - › Brother/ sister-in-laws
- › What could you talk about with your in-laws and what could you not talk about? What did you agree/disagree about?
- › If you could have changed anything about the relationship, what would have been your priority changes and why?

Married life - Key probes (SRH/sensitive)

- › Do you have children? How many? What ages?
- › Before you were married, did you know about sexual and reproductive health issues?
- › How did you learn? When did you learn? What did you learn?

Figure 11: Married life analysis example



- › Did your husband appear to have more/different knowledge than you? Do you know how and when he learned?
- › Did you discuss these things with your husband? Why/why not?
- › Do you know about family planning and birth spacing? What do you know?
- › When did you learn? (Did you know about this before marriage?)
- › Who taught you?
- › Did you use it? Was your husband aware? What about your in-laws?

(Separation)

(Only for divorced and separated girls) - Key probes

- › Why did you get separated? What was the event(s) that triggered your decision?
- › Was it your decision? Why/why not? What sorts of internal challenges did you have to wrestle with and how did you overcome these?

- › Did you seek advice from others about this decision? Why/why not?
- › How did you feel once you made the decision? Why?
- › How did your husband react at the time? What about your in-laws? Your family?

(Divorce)

Key probes

- › When did you get divorced? What was the reason? Was it your choice?
- › What was the process/timeline for getting divorced? (Legal agents involved, return of bride wealth, splitting of 'assets', custody of children, moving out, etc.)
- › Who supported you in terms of interacting with a lawyer and taking you to the court? How did you secure the money to do this?
- › How has your life changed after your divorce? (E.g. by shaping access to education? By shaping options for next partner? Mobility? Voice?)
- › How did the society/community around you react to your divorce? And how is this similar/different for cousin



marriages? Are you under pressure to get remarried – and if so, from whom?

- › Thinking about your life married versus divorced... What are the advantages of being divorced?
- › What are the disadvantages of being divorced? Has your life changed post-divorce in a way you did not anticipate? (Fill out the below on a flipchart)

Advantages	Disadvantages	Unexpected

Services

Key probes on services to support married and divorced girls

- › Thinking about your experience with marriage and divorce, what information, services and programmes could improve the lives of girls/boys like you who are married, separated or divorced?

Questions about SRH information and services

- › Have you ever discussed family planning with a doctor or healthcare provider? (Who and at what point of contact?)
- › Where did you get it? Why did you choose this type? What was the service experience like?
- › If not, why not and do you plan to use family planning at some point in the future? Explore.
- › Is there anyone in your life you can discuss SRH with? Are there SRH topics you still want to know/know more about? (E.g. family planning, infertility, HIV/STIs.)

Figure 12: Services analysis

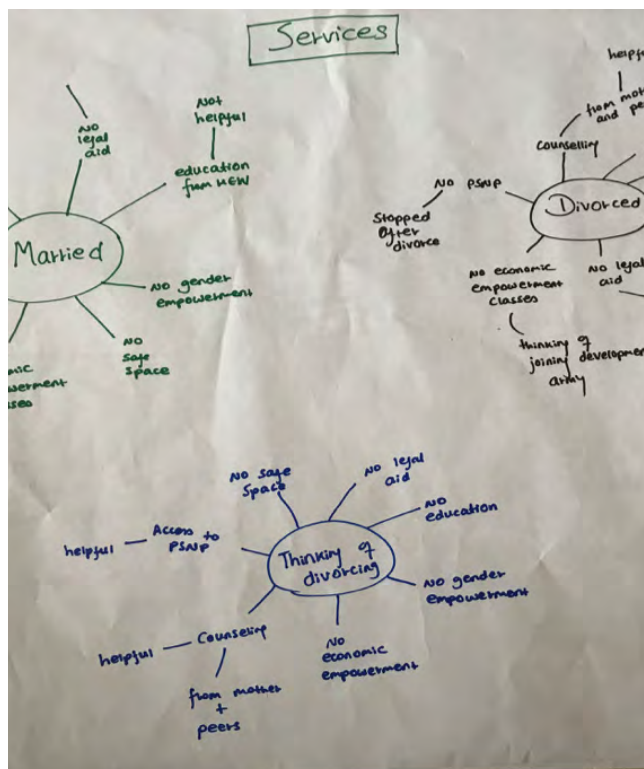
Type of service or programme	Married		Thinking of divorcing		Separated		Divorced	
	Is it helpful?	Accessed	Is it helpful?	Accessed	Is it helpful?	Accessed	Is it helpful?	Accessed
Education								
Married girls or boys clubs that meet regularly								
Economic empowerment classes								
Cash transfers								
SRH information								
Counselling								
Safe space								
Legal aid								

- › What do you think girls need to know? At what age or what life stage do they need to know? In your view, who should teach them/how should they learn? Face to face or through virtual channels?

For young mothers:

- › Ask about points of contact with doctors regarding pre-natal care and delivery.
- › Ask whether they had access to a doctor to ask questions about postnatal care. If not – why?
- › Do they have access to a paediatrician? If not – why?

Figure 12: Married life analysis example





Tool 6: Marriage decision-making pairs

Who: Mothers, fathers, husbands of girls married under 18 years – grouped in pairs.

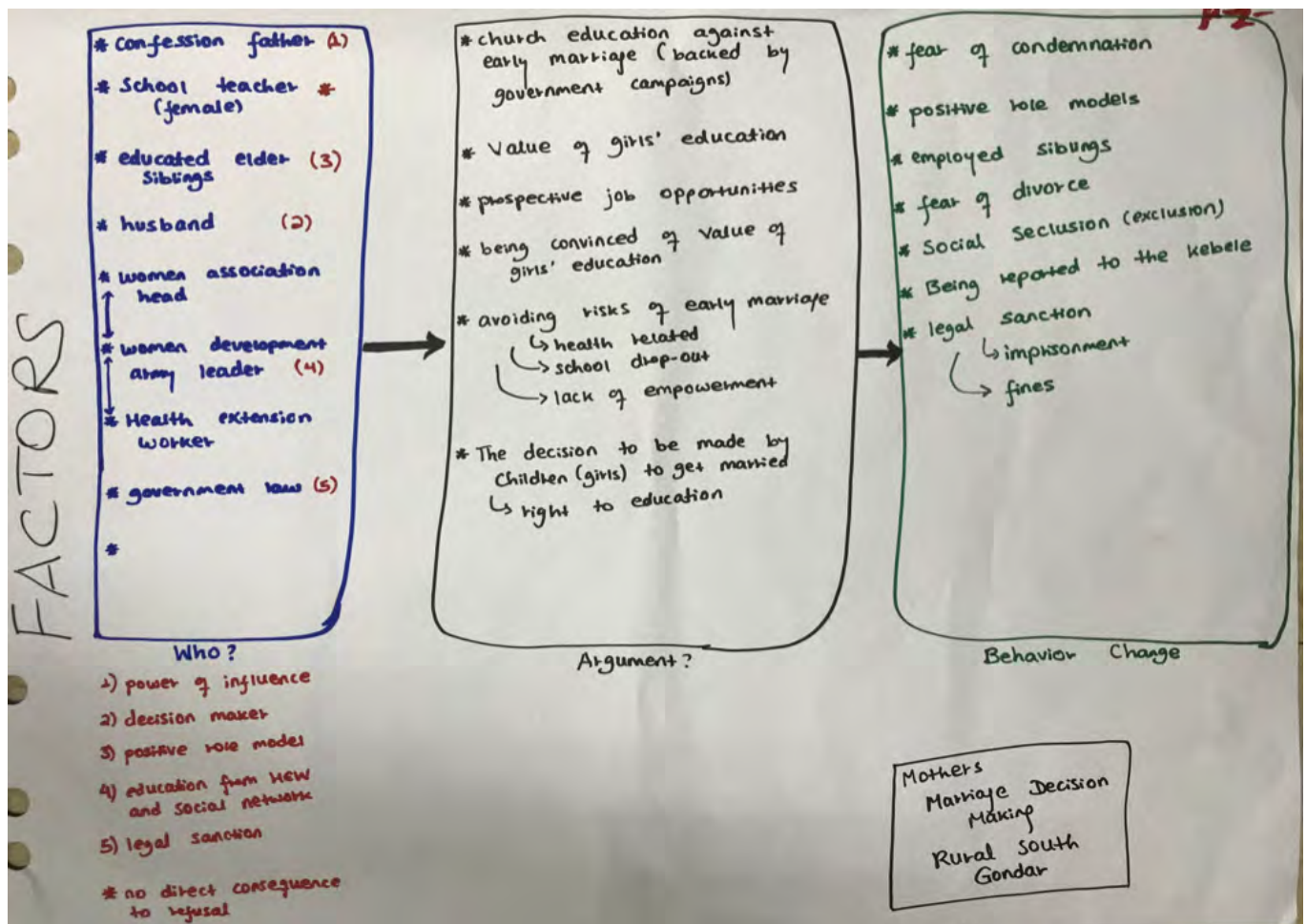
Objectives: To understand why parents and husbands choose to marry girls under 18 years and what factors could potentially shift their thinking or behaviour in order to inform programming.

Format: Read vignettes and then go through the questions related to (a) who could shape the views of proponents of child marriage, (b) what arguments could be persuasive and (c) what incentives might help shift their behaviour even if their attitudes may remain unchanged. All names and places should be changed to something locally appropriate.

Note that the vignettes and the questions are colour coded per pair – fathers = grey, mothers = green, husbands = purple.

Materials: Flipchart and cards with incentives.

Figure 13: Marriage decision-making pairs example



Vignettes for fathers – which path is best for girls?

Abreham and Mesele are neighbours in XX [put in the location where the discussion is being had]. They have a great deal in common. They are both farmers with a basic level of food security. They both have four children – including daughters who are 15.

What Abreham and Mesele want for their daughters, however, is quite different.

Abreham wants a traditional life for his daughter. He will allow her to finish basic education but has already told her that she may not attend secondary school. Because he believes that girls are better off safely married, he has arranged for her to marry next year.

Mesele values marriage as well – but he feels strongly that his daughter must at least complete secondary school before she marries. Even though his brother is pushing to arrange a marriage between their children, Mesele is holding firm. No marriage until after she completes her schooling!

Vignettes for mothers – which path is best for girls?

Meseret and Almaz are neighbours in XX [put in the location where the discussion is being held]. They have a great deal in common. They both completed basic education to grade 4. Meseret's husband is a farmer and Almaz's husband is a trader. They both have four children – including daughters who are 15.

What Meseret and Almaz want for their daughters, however, is quite different.

Meseret wants a traditional life for her daughter. She left school after basic education in order to marry, and wants her daughter to do the same. She and her husband are arranging a marriage for soon after their daughter's next birthday and they have already told her that when she completes grade 10 she must leave school.

Almaz values marriage as well – but she feels strongly that her daughter must at least complete secondary school before she marries. Even though her husband's brother has been pushing to arrange a marriage between his son and their daughter, Almaz is standing firm and making sure that her husband does the same. No marriage until their daughter completes her schooling!

Vignettes for husbands – which path is best for girls?

Daniel and Farid are neighbours in Amman [put in the location where the discussion is being had]. They have a great deal in common. They are both Syrian [change nationality depending on who you are talking to, originally from Homs [change as needed]. They have been in Jordan for seven and eight years respectively. Neither was able to complete secondary school because the war disrupted their schooling. Both work when they can, Daniel in a small shop and Farid as a house painter. Both are 22 and would like to marry soon.

Daniel and Farid are looking for different things in a wife.

Daniel wants a more traditional wife. He prefers that his parents find him a bride who is 16 or 17 years old. As long as she can read, he does not care about her level of schooling.

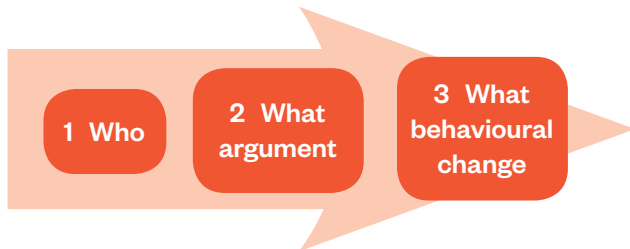
Farid would rather marry an older girl who has completed secondary school and ideally university. If this means that he must wait while his intended bride finishes her schooling, then so be it.

Questions (for all pairs)

- › In your opinion, which of the characters in the story is making the better decision? Why?
- › Who is the decision better for?
 - » Girls?
 - » Fathers?
 - » Mothers?
 - » Husbands?
- › What are the advantages of the decision for:
 - » Girls?
 - » Fathers?
 - » Mothers?
 - » Husbands?
- › What are the disadvantages of the decision for:
 - » Girls?
 - » Fathers?
 - » Mothers?
 - » Husbands?

Understanding decision-making influencers

Now consider what factors could potentially lead the characters to reconsider child marriage.



Fathers

1 Who

We are interested in who you think might be able to change Abreham's mind about this. Not what their arguments might be, but who. (Ask participants to begin by free listing to see who they generate.)

Now, I would like to ask you about some particular people – to see if you think they might be able to change Abreham's mind.

- › His wife – if Abreham's wife strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could she change her husband's mind?
- › His daughter – if Abreham's daughter strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could she change her father's mind?
- › His son – if Abreham's son strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change his father's mind?
- › His father – if Abreham's father strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Abreham's mind?
- › His older brother – if Abreham's brother strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Abreham's mind?
- › A wealthy successful businessman that Abreham admires a great deal – could he change Abreham's mind?
- › The community/clan leader – if he strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Abreham's mind?
- › The imam/priest at Abreham's mosque/church – if he strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Abreham's mind?

- › A much-respected religious leader from Addis – if he issued a fatwa/religious decree saying that girls must not marry until they have completed secondary school, could he change Abreham's mind?

Anyone else that you've thought of? What about?

- › The Ethiopian government?
- › Programmes on the radio?
- › Programmes on TV?

Of the people you think might be able change Abreham's mind – please rank the top five. Why do you think these people are the most likely to succeed?

Who do you think are the least likely to succeed in changing Abreham's mind? Why?

2 What argument/future knowledge

Now that we know who you think might change Abreham's mind, we are interested in knowing what you think he might find most convincing.

- › Remember that Abreham feels strongly that marriage is a better path for his daughter than secondary school.
- › We want to understand what would genuinely change his mind – and encourage him to believe that secondary school is a better choice than marriage.
- › We know that Abreham has likely already heard many messages about marriage versus education. He probably knows that marriage is illegal before the age of 18. He has been told that girls who complete secondary school can get better paid jobs. He has heard that some girls who marry young – and become mothers young – may have difficult pregnancies and births. Many people like Abreham hear things but they do not see how they apply to their own daughters.
- › We are going to give Abreham a pair of magic glasses to let him look into the future. He can see what his own daughter's life will be like in the future if she marries instead of going to secondary school – and what her life will be like if she waits to marry until after secondary school.
- › We would like to know what you think Abreham needs to see to change his mind.

What other outcomes for his daughter might be persuasive?

If his daughter marries early, instead of going to secondary school – he sees	If his daughter waits to marry until after she has finished secondary school – he sees
His daughter is sad in her marriage – she was not ready to be a wife and mother and finds every single day difficult, and sometimes faces abuse at the hands of her husband.	His daughter is happy to be married and be a mother – she had time to grow up first and is old enough to handle the challenges of marriage and motherhood.
His daughter became very ill and developed long-term health problems giving birth to twins when she was 17 because her body was too small to handle the delivery.	His daughter just gave birth to healthy twin boys and everyone is doing well.
His daughter’s family is very poor and she and her husband struggle to feed their children.	His daughter’s family is economically comfortable, and she and her children are well fed and clothed.
His grandchildren are not able to attend school regularly, because the family is so poor that they must work.	His grandchildren are successful students and may even win scholarships to attend university.
His daughter takes in washing/cutting <i>khat</i> from better off families to make extra cash, and her neighbours talk about how she would not have to do such menial dirty work if only she had been allowed to complete her schooling.	His daughter is a schoolteacher – all the girls in the community look up to her – and all the adults respect her for making the difficult choice to support her education.
His grandson has just been sentenced to prison for theft and explained to the court that he would never have been forced to steal if only his family had believed in education and been less poor.	His grandson is the <i>woreda</i> administrator – and says on TV that he owes his success in life to his mother, who supported his education all the way, and to his grandfather, who believed in education so much that he allowed his daughter to become educated even when that was not common for girls.

3 Behaviour change incentives

Abreham’s still strongly believes that marriage is better than secondary school for his daughter. We would like to know if you think that Abreham’s behaviour might be changed – even if his mind cannot.

Now we would like for you to imagine that Abreham is stubborn. No one can change his mind. Nothing he sees in his magic glasses can change his mind. He still strongly believes that marriage is better than secondary school for his daughter. We would like to know if you think that Abreham’s behaviour might be changed – even if his mind cannot.

First, are there any incentives that Abreham might be provided that would encourage him to send his daughter to secondary school – even though he still strongly feels that marriage is a better choice?

- › What if Abreham was offered an extra food grain from PSNP every month that his daughter stayed in school?

- › What if Abreham was offered cash at the end of every term that his daughter completed?
- › What if at the end of every term, Abreham and the other parents of successful students were publicly recognised?
- › What other incentives might encourage Abreham to send his daughter to school even though he would rather she marry?

Second, are there any penalties that Abreham might incur that would encourage him to send his daughter to secondary school – even though he still strongly feels that marriage is a better choice?

Mothers

1 Who

We are interested in who you think might be able to change Meseret's mind about this. Not what their arguments might be, but who. (Ask participants to begin by free listing to see who they generate.)

Now, I would like to ask you about some particular people – to see if you think they might be able to change Meseret's mind.

- > Her husband – if Meseret's husband strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change her mind?
- > Her daughter – if Meseret's daughter strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could she change her mother's mind?
- > Her son – if Meseret's son strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change his mother's mind?
- > Her father – if Meseret's father strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Meseret's mind?
- > Her brother – if Meseret's brother strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Meseret's mind?
- > A wealthy successful woman that Meseret admires a great deal, could she change Meseret's mind?
- > The community/ clan leader – if he strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Meseret's mind?

- > The imam/priest at Meseret's mosque/church – if he strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Meseret's mind?
- > A much-respected Mufti/Pope from Addis Ababa – if he issued a decree saying that girls must not marry until they have completed secondary school, could he change Meseret's mind?

Anyone else that you've thought of? What about?

- > The Ethiopian government?
- > Programmes on the radio?
- > Programmes on TV?

Of the people you think might be able change Meseret's mind – please rank the top five. Why do you think these people are the most likely to succeed?

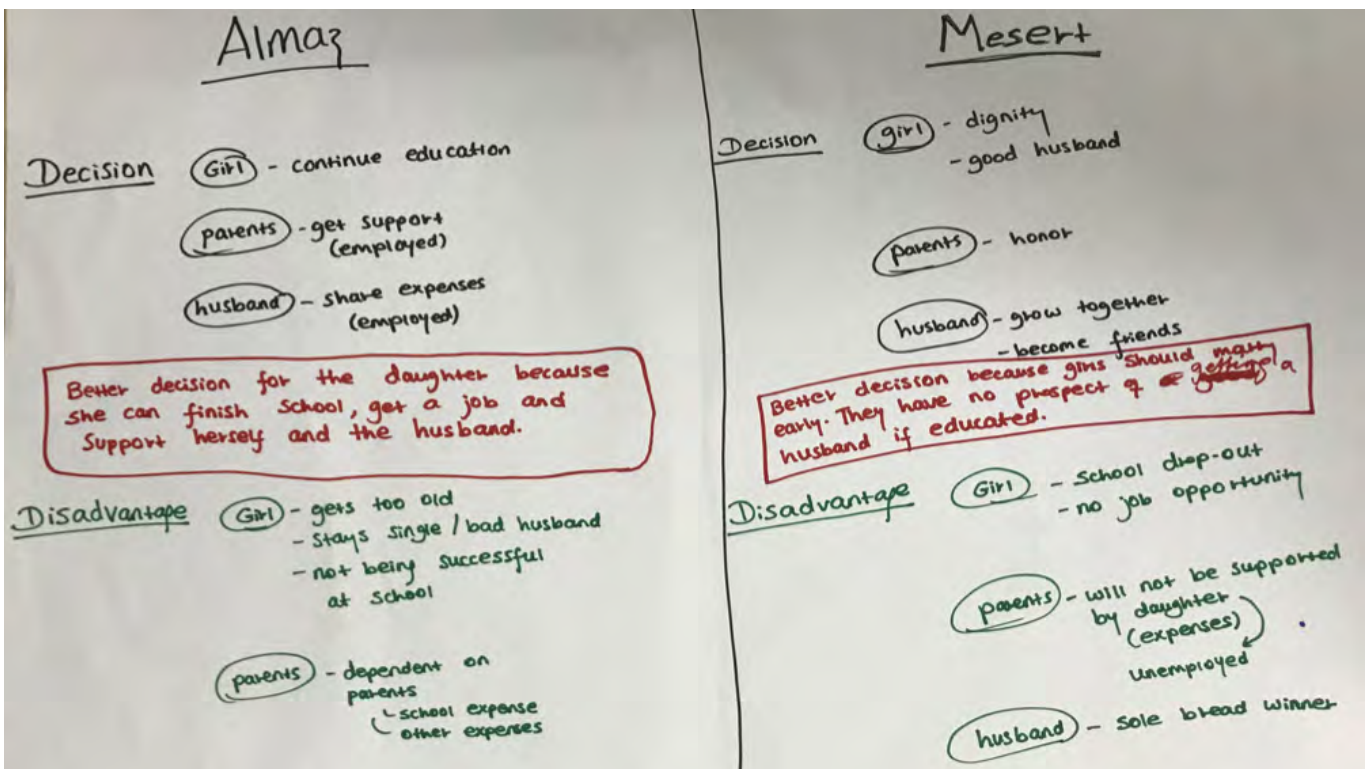
Who do you think are the least likely to succeed at changing Meseret's mind? Why?

2 What argument /future knowledge

Now that we know who you think might change Meseret's mind, we are interested in knowing what argument you think she might find most convincing.

- > Remember that Meseret feels strongly that marriage is a better path for her daughter than secondary school.

Figure 14: Marriage decision-making pairs example



- › We want to understand what would genuinely change her mind – and encourage her to believe that secondary school is a better choice than marriage.
- › We know that Meseret has likely already heard many messages about marriage versus education. She probably knows that marriage is illegal before the age of 18. She has been told that girls who complete secondary school can get better-paid jobs. She has heard that some girls who marry young – and become mothers young – have difficult pregnancies and births. Many people like Meseret hear things but they do not see how they apply to their own daughters.
- › We will give Meseret a pair of magic glasses to let her look into the future. She can see what her own daughter's life will be like in the future if she marries instead of going to secondary school – and what her daughter's life will be like if she waits to marry until after secondary school.
- › We would like to know what you think Meseret needs to see to change her mind.

What other outcomes for her daughter might be persuasive?

3 Behaviour change incentives

Meseret still strongly believes that marriage is better than secondary school for her daughter. We would like to know

if you think that Meseret's behaviour might be changed – even if her mind cannot.

Now we would like for you to imagine that Meseret is stubborn. No one can change her mind. Nothing she sees in her magic glasses can change his mind. She still strongly believes that marriage is better than secondary school for her daughter. We would like to know if you think that Meseret's behaviour might be changed – even if her mind cannot.

- › First, are there any incentives that Meseret might be provided that would encourage her to send her daughter to secondary school – even though she still strongly feels that marriage is a better choice?
- › What if Meseret was offered an extra food grain from PSNP every month that her daughter stayed in school?
- › What if Meseret was offered cash at the end of every term that her daughter completed?
- › What if at the end of every term, Meseret and the other parents of successful students were publicly recognised?
- › What other incentives might encourage Meseret to send her daughter to school even though she would rather she marry?
- › Second, are there any penalties that Meseret might incur that would encourage her to send her daughter to secondary school – even though she still strongly feels that marriage is a better choice?

If her daughter marries early, instead of going to secondary school – she sees	If her daughter waits to marry until after she has finished secondary school – she sees
Her daughter is sad in her marriage – she was not ready to be a wife and mother and finds every single day difficult, and sometimes faces abuse at the hands of her husband.	Her daughter is happy to be married and be a mother – she had time to grow up first and is old enough to handle the challenges of marriage and motherhood.
Her daughter became very ill and developed long-term health problems giving birth to twins when she was 17 because her body was too small to handle the delivery.	Her daughter just gave birth to healthy twin boys and everyone is doing well.
Her daughter's family is very poor and she and her husband struggle to feed their children.	Her daughter's family is economically comfortable, and she and her children are well fed and clothed.
Her grandchildren are not able to attend school regularly, because the family is so poor that they must work.	Her grandchildren are successful students and may even win scholarships to attend university.
Her daughter takes in washing from better-off families to make extra cash, and her neighbours talk about how she would not have to do such menial dirty work if only she had been allowed to complete her schooling.	Her daughter is a schoolteacher – all the girls in the community look up to her – and all the adults respect Meseret for allowing her daughter to pursue her dreams.
Her grandson has just been sentenced to prison for theft and explained to the court that he would never have been forced to steal if only his family had believed in education and been less poor.	Her grandson is the <i>woreda</i> administrator – and says on TV that he owes his success in life to his mother, who supported his education all the way, and to his grandparents, who believed in education so much that they allowed their daughter to become educated even when that was not common for girls.

Husbands

1 Who

We are interested in who you think might be able to change Daniel's mind about this. Not what their arguments might be, but who. (Ask participants to begin by free listing to see who they generate.)

Now, I would like to ask you about some particular people – to see if you think they might be able to change Daniel's mind.

- › His father – if Daniel's father strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Daniel's mind?
- › His mother – if Daniel's mother strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could she change Daniel's mind?
- › His older brother – if Daniel's brother strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Daniel's mind?
- › His intended wife – if Daniel's fiancé strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could she change Daniel's mind?
- › A wealthy successful businessman that Daniel admires a great deal – could he change Daniel's mind?
- › The Community/clan leader – if he strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Daniel's mind?
- › The imam/priest at Daniel's mosque/church – if he strongly disagreed and had convincing arguments, could he change Daniel's mind?
- › A national sports hero or leading Ethiopian music star discuss this issue on national TV?
- › President Sahlework in a speech to his governorate?

Anyone else that you've thought of? What about?

- › The Ethiopianian government?
- › Programmes on the radio?
- › Programmes on TV?

Of the people you think might be able change Daniel's mind – please rank the top five. Why do you think these people are the most likely to succeed?

Who do you think are the least likely to succeed at changing Daniel's mind? Why?

2 What argument/future knowledge

Now that we know who you think might change Daniel's mind, we are interested in knowing what you think he might find most convincing.

- › Remember that Daniel prefers a wife who is very young – only 16 or 17 years old – and does not care if she is educated beyond literacy.
- › We want to understand what would genuinely change his mind – and encourage him prefer an older girl or young woman who has completed secondary school.
- › We know that Daniel has likely already heard many messages about child marriage and girls' education. He probably knows that marriage is illegal before the age of 18. He has been told that girls who complete secondary school can get better paid jobs. He has heard that some girls who marry young – and become mothers young – have difficult pregnancies and births. Many people like Daniel hear things but they do not see how they apply to their own lives.
- › We are going to give Daniel a pair of magic glasses to let him look into the future. He can see what his own life will look like if he marries a young girl with only basic education – and what his life will look like if he marries an older girl who has completed secondary school.
- › We would like to know what you think Daniel needs to see to change his mind.

What outcomes might be persuasive?

If Daniel marries a younger girl without much education – he sees:	If Daniel marries an older girl or young woman who has completed secondary school – he sees:
His marriage is unhappy. His wife finds every day as a wife and mother to be difficult – because she was still a child herself when they married – and he finds her sadness and complaints infuriating.	His marriage is happy. He loves his wife. His wife loves him. There is little fighting and they both take pleasure in parenting.
His wife become very ill giving birth to twins when she was 17 because her body was too small to handle the delivery.	His wife just gave birth to healthy twin boys and everyone is doing well.
His family is very poor and they struggle to feed and clothe their children.	His family is economically comfortable and his wife and children are well fed and well clothed.
His children are not able to attend school regularly, because the family is so poor that they must work.	His children are successful students and may even win scholarships to attend university.
His wife takes in washing from better-off families to make extra cash and their neighbours talk about how she would not have to do such menial dirty work if only she had been allowed to complete her schooling.	His wife is a schoolteacher – all the girls in the community look up to her – and all the men feel that Daniel was very lucky to have married a woman with such skills.
His son has just been sentenced to prison for theft and explained to the court that he would never have been forced to steal if only his family had believed in education and been less poor.	His son is the <i>woreda</i> administrator – and says on TV that he owes his success in life to his mother, who supported his education all the way, and to his grandfather, who believed in education so much that he allowed his daughter to become educated even when that was not common for girls.

3 Behaviour change incentives

Daniel still strongly prefers to marry a younger wife. We would like to know if you think that Daniel's behaviour might be changed – even if his mind cannot.

Now we would like for you to imagine that Daniel is stubborn. No one can change his mind. Nothing he sees in his magic glasses can change his mind. He still strongly prefers a wife who is girl rather than a woman. We would like to know if you think that Daniel's behaviour might be changed – even if his mind cannot.

- › First, are there any incentives that Daniel might be provided that would encourage him to refuse to marry any girl who had not reached the legal age of 18?
- › Are there any incentives that Daniel might be provided that would encourage him to insist on a bride who had completed secondary school?
- › What if Daniel was offered cash towards the cost of his wedding – but only if his wife was over 18/had completed her schooling at the time of marriage?
- › What if Daniel was invited to attend a special training programme to build his skills and then matched with a decent job?

- › What if Daniel were given free ox/provided a free Kiosk?
- › What if Daniel were promised a motor bike to get around more easily and save on transport costs?
- › What other incentives might encourage Daniel to marry a young woman over the age of 18?
- › What other incentives might encourage Daniel to marry only a young woman who has completed secondary school?
- › Second, would penalties be effective at changing Daniel's behaviour?
- › Are there any penalties that Daniel might incur that would encourage him to marry a young woman over the age of 18 – even though he doesn't want to?
- › Are there any penalties that Daniel might incur that would encourage him to marry only a young woman who has completed secondary school – even though he does not really care?

Example of incentives cards - to be adjusted for the local context

Incentives for parents

- › Offer of an extra food voucher every month that the daughter stayed in school.
- › Cash at the end of every school term that the daughter completed.
- › Mother/father given priority for a work permit.
- › Public recognition at the end of every school term for parents of successful students.

Incentives for husbands

- › Offer of cash towards the cost of wedding – but only if wife was over 18/had completed her schooling at the time of marriage.
- › Marriage officiated by a prestigious imam.
- › Husband given priority for a work permit.
- › Invitation to attend a special training programme to build husband's skills and then matched with a decent job.
- › Assistance with rent/provision of individual caravan.
- › Offer of motor scooter to get around more easily and save on transport costs.





Tool 7: Marriage decision-making focus groups with community leaders

Who: Community leaders.

Objectives: To discuss with community leaders the prevalence of early marriage in their community, the reasons behind people's decisions to marry off their daughters early and entry points for change.

Format: Participants are presented with nearly two dozen reasons for child marriage and asked to sort them into three piles: highly relevant, possible and unlikely. Participants are then presented with a list of interventions that might be brought to bear to prevent child marriage.

Materials: Flipchart and cards with reasons for early marriage and incentives for changing behaviour.

Ask everyone to review the cards on possible reasons why parents decide to marry their daughters under 18 years and sort into three piles – highly relevant, possible, unlikely.

Reasons for early marriage cards – example

Reasons for early marriage cards
To secure domestic labour for the groom's family.
Believe that it is important in religion.
Worried about daughter's reputation in the community now that she is growing up.
Consider it to be part of their culture.
Worried about daughter's reputation in the community – because daughter sometimes does or says things you disapprove of.
Pressure from own parents or grandparents.
Need to reduce monthly costs in terms of food and other expenses for daughter
Need more privacy in their tent/caravan.
Need more privacy in the house for parents.
Received marriage proposal from a wealthy man.
Received marriage proposal from a socially influential man.
In order to have children and expand the family.
Because of pressures to go back to Syria.
Received marriage proposal that includes offer of a large dowry.
Did not feel it was safe to send daughter to school/lacked safe transportation for school and the daughter is not sitting idle.
Costs related to education are too high and marriage is a better alternative.
Quality of learning at school is poor so the marriage is a better alternative.
To avoid honour killings.
Daughter is in love with the bridegroom.
Pressure from peers.
In the case of divorcees/widows – a desire to keep their daughter's safe.
Seeking husband from a different nationality.
Pressure from family of bridegroom.
To avoid exposure of secret love relationships.
To establish a new family to secure new cash transfer/in-kind assistance.
To have the opportunity to travel to other countries.
To have the opportunity to travel to other countries.

Among the highly relevant pile ask them to add any additional reasons and to rank them from most to least important/prevalent and explain why.

Now ask them what do they think would help to either change the attitudes or behaviour of families who marry their daughters under 18 years old? Ask them to pick the three most important out of a pack of cards containing the following:

- > Cash transfers (regular or tied to schooling or tied to non-marriage).
- > In-kind transfers (e.g. transport vouchers, school stationary/bags, food packages).
- > Education scholarships for girls for secondary and university education.
- > Community conversations aimed at changing norms around girls' education and age of marriage.
- > Awareness-raising sessions around risks of early marriage for parents and adolescents.
- > Legal sanctions/fines.
- > Higher costs for medical care/delivery of children.
- > Imams preaching against child marriage at mosques on Friday.
- > Radio and TV drama shows that highlight risks of child marriage and benefits of delaying marriage.

Incentives for changing attitudes or behaviour cards - example

Incentives for parents:
Offer of an extra food voucher every month that the daughter stayed in school.
Cash at the end of every school term that the daughter completed.
Mother/father given priority for a work permit.
Public recognition at the end of every school term for parents of successful students.
Incentives for husbands:
Offer of cash towards the cost of wedding – but only if wife was over 18/had completed her schooling at the time of marriage.
Marriage officiated by a prestigious imam.
Husband given priority for a work permit.
Invitation to attend a special training programme to build husband's skills and then matched with a decent job.
Assistance with rent/provision of individual caravan.
Offer of motor scooter to get around more easily and save on transport costs.

Figure 15: Marriage decision-making FGDs example



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GAGE Programme Office

Overseas Development Institute
203 Blackfriars Road
London SE1 8NJ
United Kingdom
Email: gage@odi.org.uk
Web: www.gage.odi.org

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Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) is a nine-year longitudinal research programme generating evidence on what works to transform the lives of adolescent girls in the Global South. Visit www.gage.odi.org.uk for more information.

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