ENGAGING

MEN AND BOYS

TO END

The Practice of Child Marriage

Margaret E. Greene, Stephanie Perlson, Alice Taylor and Giovanna Lauro

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GreeneWorks
Social change for health & development

PROMUNDO

GreeneWorks
3733 Warren Street, NW
Washington, DC 20016
United States

Promundo
1367 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036
United States

Introduction

Girls and boys who marry as children—before the age of 18, the end of childhood as defined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child—can experience a lifetime of harmful limitations on their development and their health. Girls are disproportionately affected by child marriage, being more likely than boys to marry as children and to have their schooling, peer contact and mobility limited by marriage. Many groups worldwide are working to eliminate child marriage through programs that empower and educate girls, support young activists, mobilize communities, enforce laws, provide incentives to keep girls in school, and raise awareness among elders and community leaders.

Increased awareness of the relational aspects of gender suggests that a comprehensive, evidence-based response to child marriage should engage not only women but also the brothers, fathers, uncles, and future husbands and fathers-in-law of the girls who have been the focus of programmatic efforts. This engagement is necessary for challenging harmful gender norms and increasing understanding of the myriad negative consequences of inequitable relationships. Yet the development community has paid only nominal attention to the role of men and boys in changing harmful marriage-related norms and, in most settings, has failed to address boys' own vulnerabilities. This has arisen from a desire to focus on the rights and well-being of girls, but has limited the range of interventions used to end the practice of child marriage.

This paper does three things:

- It reviews our knowledge of child marriage and informal unions between girls and boys/men in the Global South;

- It provides an analysis of the attitudes of male family and community members regarding child marriage and the role of masculinity in shaping these attitudes. This section draws from various sources, including the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), and on emerging evidence from Brazil on the attitudes of families and community members, especially the men, regarding the practice of child marriage;

- It surveys interventions currently working with men and boys to see what can be built upon more systematically in future work on child marriage.

What we know about child marriage

Child marriage, generally defined as marriage before age 18, is most common in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.[1] In 2010, over 67 million married women aged 20 to 24 had been wed as girls; in the next decade, an additional 14.2 million girls under 18 will be married each year.[2] Most girls married as children live in rural areas, are poor, and are less educated. Compared to their unmarried peers or to older women, girls who marry before the age of 18 are less likely to complete primary school, more likely to experience unwanted pregnancies, and are at greater risk of sexual and reproductive health morbidities and maternal mortality.[3]

Unfortunately, law and practice frequently contrast quite dramatically: India, which outlawed child marriage in 1929, is today home to the largest number of the world's child brides of any country: about six million a year, or over 40 percent of the 14.2 million annual total.[4] In 2010, 158 countries reported the minimum legal age of marriage for women without parental (or other authority) consent to be 18 years (it is often but not always the same for boys)[5], yet in 146 countries, state or customary law allows girls under 18 to marry with parental consent. In 52 countries, girls under 15 can marry with parental consent; boys younger than 15 can marry with parental consent in 23 countries. Approximately 13,000 who are under 15—some as young as eight or nine—become brides each day, or five million per year.[6]

Child marriage occurs everywhere in the world, but this paper focuses on the practice in the Global South where the rates of child marriage tend to be the highest. Most of the time, young girls marry older men, but adolescent boys also marry young. When boys are taken out of school early, they, like girls, face decreased livelihood opportunities, which in turn fuels the cycle of poverty, poor health and vulnerability.[7] Fathers and male relatives and community members play a significant role in perpetuating child marriage for a variety of reasons, most of which stem from inequitable gender norms, such as an emphasis on family honor as it relates to the control of girls' sexuality, and economic issues of property and land ownership. We must also reach tomorrow's husbands and fathers to end the practice of child marriage.

In some settings in sub-Saharan Africa, informal intergenerational relationships share many of the characteristics of child marriage. Girls' labor and virginity are commodities valued and purchased by men. Intergenerational sexual relationships are characterized by older men's access to resources and control, including over the terms of sex. Though many girls experience material gain from these relationships, the inequitable terms place control in the hands of the men and contribute to adolescent girls' rates of unintended pregnancy and HIV infection.[8]

Older men are also able to take young women and girls as sexual partners because they possess the income, employment and resources necessary to establish relationships or marry, whereas younger men often do not. Many girls leave school during this time, so they do not benefit from the empowerment and confidence that education could instill; their limited livelihood opportunities give the upper hand to older men in relationships with girls. In addition, domestic and care work, usually performed by women in their homes, is unpaid, whereas men typically work outside of the home for money.

In settings where educational attainment is low and poverty is high, and where patriarchal beliefs have been entrenched for generations, religious and traditional leaders—usually men—are viewed as keepers of knowledge, of culture, as authorities on how to live. Ending child marriage is difficult in some settings not only because of familial support for it, but because of traditional and community leaders' support for the practice: religion and culture will sometimes be cited as unassailable reasons for its continuation. Ending child marriage therefore requires us to work with men to address the socio-cultural beliefs and norms that drive this practice.

Causes and consequences of child marriage

Poverty and rigid gender norms that prescribe a limited life-course for girls and allow no alternatives are commonly-cited explanations from the communities

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practicing child marriage. Girls living in poor households in settings where child marriage is common are roughly twice as likely to marry before the age of 18 as girls living in better-off households in the same settings.[9] Many families from countries where child marriage is practiced (such as Malaysia, India, and Ethiopia) point to economic incentives for marrying daughters early: for many poor families, daughters are economic burdens; families must feed, house and clothe girls even as they know (in many cases) that they will have to make the payments necessary to secure husbands for their daughters. In refugee settings, families may consider child marriage the best way to protect their daughters and ease pressure on the household's resources.[10] Where dowry is exchanged, it tends to increase with the age of the girl, placing a downward pressure on age at marriage—marrying girls young can save the family significant costs. A desire for a submissive wife, who learns to obey her husband from an early age; and a desire for high fertility, so that women start childbearing very young so as to achieve maximum fertility over their lifetimes, also lead families to marry daughters young.

In many of the settings where child marriage occurs, young people have little autonomy in their lives and are taught from a young age to 'respect their elders'—typically older relatives such as grandparents, aunts and uncles—who make many of life's big decisions, including arranging marriage for the children in their families. This leaves most girls and young women, especially those from poor families, powerless and vulnerable.

Child marriage prevents girls from leading healthy and productive lives; it imposes motherhood and domestic roles on girls early in their adolescence, a time that could otherwise be dedicated to growth, learning, identity for-

mation and experimentation. Girls are required to assume adult roles and responsibilities before they are physically, emotionally and psychologically prepared. They may be socially isolated, may experience unwanted separation from family and friends, and face exploitation.[11]

Girls entering marriage face difficulties in protecting their sexual and reproductive health; they generally lack knowledge about their sexual and reproductive health and any services available to them, and are often uninformed of their rights in this area. They are often powerless to refuse sex or to insist their husbands use condoms, are less likely to access health services and more likely than older women to experience unwanted, ill-timed and often dangerous pregnancies.[12] The greater sexual experience of older male partners makes girls vulnerable to HIV and other STIs.[13] This is especially true since in many settings, extramarital sex, for men, is accepted, if not expected. In many settings, restrictions on girls' mobility and social contact are justified as necessary for their protection, but it is largely done in order to control their sexuality. The expectation that girls prove their fertility also poses perils, and the complications of early pregnancy and childbirth are the leading cause of death for girls aged 15 to 19 in developing countries.[14] Infants born to adolescent mothers also experience higher mortality rates.[15] In addition, young married girls are especially vulnerable to domestic violence (physical, sexual and psychological), and are more likely to accept it.

Leaving school early is another factor in girls' vulnerability to child marriage.[16] And poverty, the low status of women and girls, and norms that cause parents not to value investing in girls and their education all contribute to girls leaving school early. Indeed, studies show that girls' educational attainment (or lack thereof) is one of the strongest predictors of child marriage.[17] Across all regions, the more years of schooling a girl has, the less likely she is to marry as a child—and, the better her economic opportunities. Educating girls is not only better for the girls: it promotes economic development and poverty reduction by improving girls' income-earning potential, helping to achieve international development goals.

Men, masculinity and attitudes regarding marriage

Socially and culturally defined notions of masculinity, femininity and sexuality shape relationship and marriage practices everywhere in the world. To end child marriage, we must understand the cultural and gender norms that have contributed to this practice. In many settings, men are socialized to assume the role of breadwinner, to be dominant and to make most, if not all family decisions. Women, in contrast, are raised to run the household—cooking, cleaning and clothing—and produce and care for children, as well as sick and elderly relatives.

Domestic roles and division of labor

The original International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), conducted in six low- and middle-income countries, collected data on men's perceptions of gender roles and expectations. A little more than half of men in Brazil, Chile and Mexico and over 80 percent of men in Rwanda agreed that women's most important role is to take care of the home and cook; and from 38 percent in Chile to 62 percent in Croatia and 86 percent in India said that being a man means being tough.[18]

According to the IMAGES findings, between 50 and 60 percent of men reported participating in domestic duties; but in Brazil and Rwanda, only half as many women (26 and 23 percent, respectively) reported men's participation. The smallest discrepancy between men's and women's reports came from Mexico, where 47 percent of women and 54 percent of men reported men helping with domestic work.[19] In India, only 16 percent of men reported participating in domestic duties.

A majority of women and men in each site expressed satisfaction with this strongly gendered division of labor, indicating their strong socialization. The largest gap between men's and women's satisfaction, at 80 percent of women and 94 percent of men, was in Chile. A 13 percent satisfaction gap was observed in Croatia. In every other country surveyed, the gap between men's and women's reported satisfaction was less than 10 percent.[20]

More recently, a Partners for Prevention (P4P) survey, with data on the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale from multiple countries in Asia, found that across all sites (except for Papua New Guinea), at least half of men responded that women performed more domestic duties; the division of labor was most unequal in Bangladesh. The majority of the remaining responses were that the division of labor was more equal, as in Papua New Guinea, where over three-quarters of the men stated this.

Even where prescribed social and gender norms tend to be more closely adhered to, there are men and boys, women and girls, who uphold equitable ideas of relations between the sexes, or who simply disagree with the injustice that ensues when one group has power over another. Programs do well when they identify these "positive deviants," figuring out how they got to be the way they are, and structuring their activities in ways that recruit more people to challenge harmful gender norms.

Social constructions of sexuality

Ending child marriage requires questioning the social constructions of sexuality. In many settings, men are taught that they can act freely upon their sexual desires; in these same settings, women are often taught to expect and accept this behavior. Women are typically socialized to be chaste and to submissively adhere to men's sexual preferences; men to be dominant and more expansive in their sexuality.

The widely held view that women must make themselves available to men's sexual desires, that it is their duty to do so, and that men have the right to have sex with women and to control sexual relations is borne out in the IMAGES data. From IMAGES Mali, 33 percent of men and 49 percent of women were in total agreement on the GEM scale with the statement that "A man has the right to have sex even if the woman says no," and another third of men and 15 percent of women were in partial agreement. When asked whether men need more sex than women, nearly 90 percent of women and 70 percent of men were in partial or total agreement.[21] Demonstrating the norm

Child marriage is a business transaction, an agreement between families that regulates girls' and women's sexuality and reproduction.

that men must be virile, on the question of whether men should be embarrassed about their inability to get an erection, over 90 percent of men and over three-quarters of women in Mali totally or partially agreed; in Brazil, 37 percent of men agreed with this statement; in Chile, it was 46 percent; in India, 91 percent; Mexico, 13 percent and Rwanda, 59 percent.[22] Around one third of men in Croatia and Mexico, 57 percent in India and 70 percent in Rwanda believed that men need sex more than women and between 34 percent in Croatia and 61 percent in India agreed that men are always ready to have sex. The Partners for Prevention survey portrays how ingrained these attitudes are among both men and women. For instance, with the statement that a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband, 67 percent of women and 58 percent of men of Sri Lanka agreed or strongly agreed; 50 percent of women and 42 percent of men in Cambodia agreed or strongly agreed; and in China, 33 percent of women and 41 percent of men agreed or strongly agreed.

A sense of men's sexual entitlement is also extensively documented in the Partners for Prevention data. The study directed a question about the motivations for rape to men who reported ever having raped a woman or girl, including partners and non-partners. Rural and urban Bangladesh, China, Papua New Guinea (Bougainville) and urban Indonesia reported the highest levels of rape for the reason of "sexual entitlement," at 71 to 86 percent. The percentages of men reporting they had raped a woman or girl out of fun or boredom ranged from 66 percent in rural Bangladesh to 63 percent in Papua New Guinea, to 23 percent in urban Indonesia. Significant proportions of men also reported raping women and girls for reasons of anger and punishment. The final reason, "drinking," is compatible with all of the other reasons and can drive and support the other motives for rape.

Sexual, physical and emotional violence have intergenerational consequences, socializing the next generation to tolerate violence and to rationalize it as a tool in the subordination of girls and women. As the *State of the World's Fathers* report (forthcoming in 2015) details, fathers' violence against mothers has a lasting impact on children.[23] Surveys of adolescent and adult perpetrators and survivors of violence often reveal that they experienced violence in their childhood homes.[24]

IMAGES data point to the harmful effects on men of having experienced violence—committed directly against them or against their mothers—as children:[25] Men are more likely to commit partner violence as adults if they experienced violence as children. In India, for example, 44 percent of those who were victims of psychological and/or physical violence used physical violence against a female partner, compared to only 22 percent of those who were not victims of abuse. Men who experienced physical or psychological violence as a child were twice as likely to have low self-esteem as an adult and much higher uses of alcohol. Men who witnessed their mother being beaten by a partner were over 2.5 times more likely ever to have perpetrated violence against their own partners.[26]

The low value attached to females—other than for their sex, reproductive and domestic roles—partially accounts for the sense of male sexual entitlement to girls and young women and their commodification in some settings. Child marriage is a business transaction, an agreement between families that regulates girls' and women's sexuality and reproduction, while men's sexuality remains unrestrained and in some cases, encouraged, both within and outside of marriage. Perceptions of masculinity and acceptable sexuality for men and women; girls' and women's lower worth compared to boys and men; and poverty and the power imbalance between the sexes create a situation in which families and communities feel obliged to marry their daughters very young.

An assessment of Uganda's age-of-consent law revealed interesting attitudes regarding men's, usually fathers', sense of entitlement to and control over girls' and women's sex(uality) and reproduction. It exemplifies the low value attached to girls in strict patriarchal settings

and their resulting commodification.[27] Parents' rationale for marrying their daughters early is to protect them from "illegitimate" sexual relations and to ensure they are provided for, i.e., in marriages to older men. Sex in instances where the man and the girls' parents have engaged in the transaction giving her to him to be provided for, is legitimate; it is a marriage. As the author writes, "The traditional engagement ceremony (called the 'Introduction') during which bridewealth is established and exchanged remains an important symbolic process through which a man, and, by extension, his kin, *obtain legitimate access to a young woman's reproductive capacities and productive labor… sexual liaisons with a young woman without consent of her father is considered theft, a crime committed by one man against another man's property"* [emphasis added].[28]

Parents were uncomfortable with the shifting balance of power in which girls would establish their own sexual relationships and benefit directly from any resulting transaction. Parents would stand to lose in such a transaction. When Uganda's Defilement Law was passed, therefore, it provided a way for fathers to reassert their right to control sexual access to their daughters and for parents to gain economically. Men of means, however, "have the economic resources and reputational incentive to pay omutango (compensation), the social capital to evade the law, and the social leverage to transform their transgressions from possible scandals into public silences." While the law's theoretical purpose was to protect girls from sexual relations with older men, it led to much concern about its underlying goal of "punishing men for what many saw as a masculine right—sexual access to younger females."[29]

In one South Asian community, the concepts of *izzat* (honour) and *sharam* (shame) suggest that "the bodies and actions of women and girls represent community or individual honour."[30] These concepts were found to be integral in convincing young women to comply with their parents' wishes for marriage and may be employed even more so with South Asian girls in the UK due to fears about premarital sexuality and the influence of western values. Parents justify these marriages as the steps parents must take in order to regulate young people's

sexuality and maintain their reputation within the family and community.

An entry point for changing attitudes

Raj and colleagues (2011) found religious leaders in Afghanistan to hold loose interpretations of who is an adult and qualifies to be legally married, since customary practice defines adulthood as the onset of puberty; what most agreed upon was that *forced* marriage is forbidden.[31] Other study participants, including teachers, police, etc., noted that child marriage had no positive effect. Of the few who believed there to be positive effects of child marriage, they cited protective factors, that marrying early would teach the girl how to behave and prevent her from entering into prostitution. All of the participants stated the negative effects of child marriage, especially on the health of the mother and her children. A male religious leader cited the discontinuation of the girl's schooling as a problem and a female teacher thought leaving her parents early would have negative psychological consequences. Participants also felt that a girl could not properly handle the responsibilities associated with being a wife and mother, leading to further complications.

In results from IMAGES in Mali, in the focus group discussions conducted, wide support for inequitable gender norms and gender-based violence was found; for example, 90 percent of men and 75 percent of women agreed that men should make the final decision in their home; 90 percent of men and 77 percent of women agreed that the most important role for a woman is to take care of her family and home; and 63 percent of men and 41 percent of women agreed with the statement that there are times when women deserve to be beaten.[32]

Yet the evidence in Mali also suggests possible inroads for persuading men and boys not to participate in child marriages. While—on the topic of child marriage—over 60 percent of male and female respondents agreed with the statement that a girl who is not married young is a risk for her family (suggesting a negative view of sex outside of marriage), *only 15 percent of men and 16 percent of women felt the practice of early marriage should continue*. Suggestive of a possible shift in attitudes between generations, young men and women and those with higher

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education levels held more equitable attitudes. The Mali surveys revealed that young men and women agreed that men should be role models for their children and faithful, and some women stated that a good man treats his wife gently and satisfies her sexually. Also, 77 percent of men and 86 percent of women agreed that couples should decide together about family planning.

The harms that arise from strict and unequal gender norms are well-documented, but Matthewson's (2009) study of young men's health behavior in Senegal reveals a way to use gender norms to encourage their positive behavior. While those she interviewed held many of the gender inequitable beliefs that make up a dominant masculinity, she found that the key concept of male responsibility—part of hegemonic masculinity—was compatible with health-seeking behavior since a man needs to be

healthy to fulfill this role. Boys were also seen to "become men" based on others' considering them men, which was often based on their work status. An additional element of being considered a man was getting married and dealing with the associated responsibilities. It might be possible to appeal to men to delay marriages with very young girls by promoting the idea that *responsible* men protect the health of their sisters, daughters, nieces and wives.

These studies highlighted that while many men assert male privilege and dominance over women, believing men should be in control and make all final decisions, they also attribute great power and agency to women. As Matthewson points out, "Saliou clearly felt the injustice lay in women replacing men in the workplace, rather than in the sexual exploitation of women. He was convinced that 'all women were materialistic' and easily seduced by money. He declared that the majority had many boyfriends at once in order to be well looked after financially. He lamented, bitterly: 'You know, girls nowadays don't know how to say "no." You see the girl for the first time, you talk to her and she accepts [to go out with you]. They do it because they don't work—it's their way of extracting money from men.'"[33] This statement conveys the perception of women's power and agency in relationships.

RESEARCH CASE STUDY: **Emerging evidence on child marriage in Brazil**

We know little of the preferences, views and choices of men regarding marriage, which have not systematically been studied. A study in Brazil on child marriage is just yielding its first qualitative findings:[34] There is no one pathway to child marriage in Brazil, suggesting the diverse roles men and boys can play in influencing marriages.[35] Child marriages in Brazil are largely informal unions, but their causes and consequences are similar to those of formal marriage. Many couples self-identify as married, and involve girls in their early adolescence and men 5 to 10 years older, though sometimes much older than that.

Brazilian husbands' advantage begins with their position as key decision-makers in determining whether marriages will take place. Marriages are often framed as men 'assuming responsibility' for girls due to pregnancy, or as protective figures if girls suffered abuse from a family member or complained of their parents' restrictions on their mobility. Men view marriage as a marker of manhood and responsibility, entitling them to exercise different forms of control and to demand that girls adhere to the men's preferences, from everyday to larger choices. Husbands control girls' sexual activity (when they have sex, whether they used protection), childbearing and education, and mobility. Men's regulation of girls' access to their social networks include expecting their wives to stay at home, while they continue to go out and enjoy their own independence. Jealousy and control of girls' mobility are highly normalized, and emerged as the most common sources of conflict. Many girls seek to negotiate or contest the points of their marriage they disagree with, but husbands hold the last word.

Husbands also face lesser consequences upon separation than wives do: the men have had greater work and education experience while the wife has had none or less than he, and husbands are not expected to participate in caregiving of children (nearly all interviewees said the children would stay with the wife if the couple separated). As a result women are often left with financial and child-care burdens, and lower prospects for re-marriage. Informal marriages also mean no legal protection for girls and women.

Young men (in early adolescence through their early twenties) were the demographic which girls, men over 30, and family members most consistently described in negative terms and as unattractive as potential husbands. Adolescent boys and young men were consistently referred to as irresponsible and good-for-nothing, as vagabonds who only want to have fun. Younger husbands often 'test' their power and control over wives; therefore, there appears to be potential in working with them to transform their gender norms through caregiving programming and other approaches. Girls' rejection of young men was an important factor in the acceptability of marriage to older men since these men are viewed as more responsible, stable, and more likely to hold better jobs.

Expectations around men's potential and actual roles as caregivers and husbands tended to be minimal, on the part of all groups who participated in the field research. Three types of fatherhood and caregiving were identified:

1. **Some fathers of married girls:** Encouraged, or did not play a decisive role in discouraging girls' marriages even when they disagreed, suggesting their role in preventing marriages could be enhanced;

2. **Some husbands of married girls or fathers of young children:** Played little to no role as fathers apart from being providers (mothers and grandmothers were expected to help raise young wives' children);

3. **Some older husbands as father figures to their young wives:** Assumed the role of provider and imposed control and discipline. These husbands—especially those who were significantly older—also held attitudes associated with being a girl's father figure, such as wanting to "teach" girls how to have sex and wanting to "give them what they never had."

Many husbands and wives expressed opposition to child marriages, but social norms continue to support them, and they—and their impact on other development and human rights issues—remain highly under-recognized in Brazil.

Programs that engage men and boys to end child marriage: A scan of approaches

In addition to working with girls and mothers, talk to the fathers and uncles who make the decisions.

—Archana Dwivedi, Nirantar, India

Why engage men and boys to end child marriage? In a patriarchal society, in order to change the status quo, men and boys, as the wielders of power both in the home and the community, must be included in any effort to change social norms, if the effort is to progress and continue beyond the duration of the program. Their understanding of what it means to be a man and of the roles embedded within that understanding—brother, husband, father, partner—needs to shift toward a desire to be caring, respectful, supportive, non-violent, to share decision-making and domestic duties and not to instill intimidation or use control tactics. And the women in their lives and their community should expect, celebrate and encourage this.

Interventions working to alter unequal gender and social norms help males of all ages who may hold some gender inequitable attitudes to understand the benefits of adopting more equitable attitudes in all aspects of their lives, an understanding which is key to preventing child marriage. Being a good husband and father should not be defined as earning an income, or intimidating those around you; it means valuing, and therefore *respecting and supporting* one's wife and children, especially girls, as much as oneself and other males. Therefore, fathers and other older male relatives, typically those making marriage decisions, start to value education for their daughters as much as for their sons; they listen to and respect the thoughts and feelings, hopes and dreams, of their wives and daughters; they share responsibility for household and domestic tasks and they ensure, in a shared decision-making capacity with their wives, that their daughters and sons have the best possible opportunities to build a fulfilling and healthy future.

In addition to this attitudinal shift, they learn that taking girls out of school early sets them and their families on a path to poverty. They learn that girls are not physically, emotionally, or mentally ready to be wives and mothers, and that the impact of early marriage on their overall health, and the health of their children, is harmed. As men's value and respect for women and girls increases, and as their perception and comprehension of the negative consequences of a gendered power imbalance grows, they will not want to see any harm come to the women in their lives. This is how we get men to help stop child marriage.

Since unequal and harmful gender and social norms are socially constructed, it is possible to teach norms that are equitable and promote fairness. Well-evaluated and well-designed programs, though limited in reach, show that adult men and husbands can be encouraged and supported to adopt behavior that will delay child marriage or mitigate its negative effects on child wives. This section reviews programs working with men and boys to prevent or mitigate child marriage.

Working with boys and brothers

Parents, peer groups, schools and other institutions socialize boys to adopt gender-specific attitudes and behaviors. As are those for girls, these gender norms often dictate rigid, socially constructed roles that have negative consequences for women and girls, and for men and boys themselves.[36] In most societies, the notion of a *real man* is associated with risky sexual behaviors, violence and a neglect of care work. Male youth often have no space to question these norms. The evidence shows that with adequate support, boys (and men) can adopt equitable attitudes and behaviors, which are associated with protective effects against harmful practices and acts of gender-based violence; better sexual and reproductive health (SRH) outcomes; greater involvement in domestic chores;

and better education outcomes for girls.[37,38,39] More research is needed on boys' perceptions of marriage, but we briefly describe some recent findings from young grooms' perspectives later in the paper.

Save the Children's *Choices* curriculum worked with very young adolescents (youth aged 10 to 14) to question gender roles and norms. This is an important time to intervene since young people's attitudes and beliefs are still forming, allowing them to question harmful gender and social norms.[40] The program was piloted in children's clubs in a district in Nepal using trained facilitators to implement age-appropriate participatory activities, such as taking photos portraying gender inequalities, to explore and discuss the unequal gender norms—and their feelings about them—in their community. Statistically significant results showed the program to be effective at promoting more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors among participating boys and girls. For example, more participants felt that daughters should have the same opportunities as sons to go to school or to work outside the home, and parents of participants reported their sons discussing their desire for equality for their sisters. By creating an opportunity for these youth to explore new ideas and question previous ones, they were socialized differently, ideally in ways that will support more gender-equitable attitudes and behaviors throughout their lives.[41]

Working with young men and future husbands

Jagriti Youth works in India, specifically with unmarried youth aged 10 to 21 in areas with low information, high rates of anti-female and anti-child practices, and weak state systems and services.[42] The youth are trained with life skills and encouraged to make their voices heard and to make informed decisions about the issues they face as they become adults, as well as to lead by example in groups they form, and to train and mobilize their communities to end harmful practices. By providing them with livelihood skills, encouraging entrepreneurship and informing them of their rights and the negative impact of some social practices, Jagriti Youth hopes to break the cycle of poverty as well as help participants avoid harmful practices such as child marriage.

The Gender Roles, Equality, and Transformations (GREAT)

Project in Uganda was developed by the Institute of Reproductive Health at Georgetown University, Save the Children, and Pathfinder International, as well as local partners. It targets very young adolescents (aged 10 to 14) and unmarried and newly married and parenting adolescents (aged 15 to 19) and young adults (aged 19 and older), as well as their communities, to promote gender-equitable attitudes and sexual and reproductive health (SRH), transform gender norms and reduce gender-based violence.[43] The interventions are based on the life-course perspective and seek to engender more equitable and healthy behaviors within each group, in addition to encouraging community involvement so as to provide an enabling environment for such gender norm change. *GREAT* involved multiple components, including:

- Engaging community leaders engaging in dialogue about changes they would like to see in the community and how to make them happen;

- Training Village Health Teams to strengthen their services for SRH and reduce the stigma attached to this, as well as providing more gender-sensitive services for all community members;

- Producing *Oteka*, a serial radio drama reflecting the challenges community members face and promoting community involvement in gender equality, sexual and reproductive health and combating gender-based violence;

- Generating radio discussion guides for the adolescents of each age group to discuss the themes in the program and how they apply to their lives; as well as activity cards, a community engagement game, and a coming-of-age book for very young adolescents to help them understand the changes in their lives and adopt more gender-equitable behaviors.

CARE's *Tipping Point* program works in Bangladesh and Nepal to understand the "demand" side of child marriage: the grooms and their families looking for young brides. Unmarried adolescent boys in both countries stated a preference to marry later, when they become self-reliant. Boys with more education also preferred to marry girls with more education. Like girls, however, boys do not

have much decision-making power regarding their marriages, unless they are contributing financially to the family. Additionally, mothers of sons expressed a preference for younger daughters-in-law since they are more likely to do what they are told. Where boys' and girls' aspirations differ from those their parents have from them, boys can have the power to shift marriage expectations. Thus, *Tipping Point* works with groups of boys and girls using a gender synchronized approach to think critically about masculinity and power and build knowledge and skills in leadership, gender, power, and sexuality, self-awareness and interpersonal communication.[44]

The International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), along with local partners, developed the *Development Initiative Supporting Healthy Adolescents (DISHA)* in India.[45] The program activities encouraged youth participation and sought to improve young people's SRH through access to information and services, as well as to reduce the social and economic constraints that restrain their choices and actions, such as strict gender norms. The program used youth groups, peer education, youth income-generation opportunities, community mobilization with community leaders and youth, adult groups and youth-adult partnership groups, youth-friendly reproductive health services and NGO capacity building for sustainability. Some of the program's behavior- and knowledge/attitude-change benefits included the age of marriage increasing by almost two years (from close to 16 to almost 18); a 30 percent increase in the number of male and female youth who knew the legal marriage age for girls, as well as a 30 percent increase in the number of youth believing that girls should wait to marry until they are at least 18 years old (from 66 percent to 94 percent of males); and among adults exposed to *DISHA*, there was an increase from 48 percent at baseline to 83 percent at endline believing that girls should wait until age 18 or older to marry.

Working with fathers

Working with fathers seems an especially promising route for action. Approximately four out of five men will become fathers in their lifetimes. All males, from early childhood to late adulthood, will interact with other males of different ages. These interactions shape male percep-

tions of child marriage, but even as brothers, uncles, and mentors, these men and boys also exert considerable direct influence on women and girls. When men and boys ascribe greater value to girls' education and more equitable roles in decision-making, there are measurable benefits for girls, for families, and for men themselves.[46]

As part of the MenCare campaign, Promundo and World Vision adapted the *Program P* curriculum to engage fathers in India in the promotion of gender equality in the home and the prevention of child marriage. The goal of the *A More Equal Future: A MenCare Manual to Engage Fathers to Prevent Child Marriage in India* curriculum is to encourage men, their partners and daughters, to reflect upon the cultural and gender norms that devalue girls and present barriers to men's participation as caring, involved fathers. Some of the fathers' groups' objectives included improving men's understanding of how gender inequality influences relationships between men and women and supports child marriage, encouraging men's caregiving in relationships and in the home—such as sharing domestic household duties and financial decision-making—and supporting girls' education. Traditional gender roles were found among participants, with men not sharing in any child care or housework, girls' education not being prioritized since they will go to another family and it is sons who will support their family, and interestingly, some women, mainly mothers-in-law (who in South Asian culture hold much power over their daughters-in-law and sons[47]), objecting to women's economic activities outside the home and men's increased participation in the home, finding these to be indications that they somehow had failed in their duties as a woman.

Despite the existence of strict gender roles and expectations, the study found that the men's groups were aware of gender inequalities and the need for change. This finding suggested the potential efficacy of strategies such as awareness-raising within the family and community to influence social norms; promoting girls' education; promoting economic resources for families to mitigate the economic factors that lead to child marriage; police involvement and enforcement of laws; organizing groups to educate fathers about the need to prevent child marriage; and providing couples a chance to discuss child

marriage. Activities and indicators were created, and a five-day training took place, involving fathers and couples in gender-transformative group education in which participants could utilize the objectives they developed, and finalize the outcomes for engagement of fathers. Sessions included topics such as gender roles in society, power and early marriage, household decision-making, and the influence of fathers during formative years.[48]

The *Promises* Curriculum, developed by Save the Children and used in Nepal, seeks to encourage parents to engage in more gender-equitable behavior so as not to pass on the imbalance of negative gender roles to their children. This intervention uses three evidence-based approaches to influence people's behavior: emotion-based messages, word-of-mouth marketing, and 'influence principles'.

Posters with the desired behavior-change messages were placed strategically around the community in gathering spots and changed regularly to maintain people's interest and influence them toward the desired behaviors. Influential members of the community (teachers, social workers, etc.) were identified by local NGOs to talk about the issues. The first element of the intervention was promoting girls' education—again, using emotion-based benefits, for parents and their children—with the desired behavior change being parents' support for their daughters to finish school before marriage. Poster topics included girls' hopes and dreams for their future; parents' hopes and dreams for their daughters; personal testimonials from educated women and their parents; lost opportunities for girls who were married early; community leaders' opinions about keeping girls in school; and parents committing to keep their daughters in school.

The second element of *Promises* focused on ending domestic violence by promoting the vision of harmonious relationships and thoughtful and respectful communication, rather than violence, between husbands and wives. These posters expressed the future dreams and hopes of youth, their parents, and couples, for violence-free and respectful, caring relationships. In addition to using emotion-based appeals to reach people with empathy, this intervention creates a safe and familiar space for them to discuss and question their beliefs and behaviors with other members of their community.[49]

Working with husbands of young brides

Efforts to address child wives have often ignored their husbands. In many settings, child brides are socially excluded, and engaging child brides without a consideration for their partners' influence on girls' social capital, education, health, and fertility regulation may not yield sustainable results. Opportunities exist to adapt and to pilot effective group-education activities that engage men and boys in HIV prevention, family planning, and violence prevention in the context of child marriage. These materials should include guidance on how to work with husbands and fathers, young and old.

Adult men and husbands can be engaged in efforts to delay child marriage or to mitigate its negative effects on child wives. Dynamics of power within couples are shaped by social norms that set roles for men and women, but also by spousal gaps in education, sexual experience, and health information. [50]

Addis Birhan (Amharic for 'New Light') works with married men in Ethiopia on issues concerning harmful gender norms, relationships, caring for children and families, SRH and gender-based violence.[51] Developed by the Population Council and the Amhara Regional Bureau of Youth and Sports, the program trained male mentors with at least six years of education to mobilize groups of married men (25 to 30 men in a group) within the community to meet weekly. The program encourages non-judgmental dialogue, expression of one's feelings and self-exploration, and uses a curriculum with many pictures since the targeted participants are men with low levels of education. Changes reported by both participants and their families included increased couple communication rather than only men directing their wives; men reported sharing what they learned in the group with their wives and children, described changes in how they view the division of labor within the home, and started taking on some typically female responsibilities, such as fetching water, or childcare. Over 130,000 married boys and men (ages 10 to 85) have participated in *Addis Birhan*, with the majority between 25 and 39 years old. Therefore, many men of the typical marriage age are changing their views on gender relations, positively impacting the factors that often lead to child marriage.

Mobilizing community members

Since no group exists in a vacuum separated by sex, age or any other demographic characteristic, for any norm-change interventions with men and boys, women and girls, to be effective, the entire community must be involved in the process. When we speak about an *enabling environment*, this means community members are working together in support of the same goal. Without creation of an enabling environment through the mobilization of community members, those seeking to change norms will be swimming upstream, against the tide, rather than swimming downstream with it. Additionally, people tend to act in a group, following what they observe others doing; thus, a few individuals taking action become a small group which snowballs into a community. Also, the more pervasive the messaging in the community, the greater the number of community members exposed to the messages, as well as the greater the likelihood that community members internalize them.

Breakthrough works in India and the U.S., using mass media campaigns to mobilize communities to act against gender-based violence.[52] Currently, through their *Nation against Early Marriage* campaign in Bihar and Jharkhand, they use street theater, mass media, community engagement, and youth leadership training to raise awareness of the harmful consequences of child marriage and to build cultural support for ending it. They train young people, particularly men and boys, to be change agents, helping create cultural norms for an environment accepting of alternatives to child marriage. Breakthrough's strategies include targeting men and boys as leaders of change within their communities to reject child marriage and promote human rights for all; and focusing on increasing girls' access to school and livelihood skills while also increasing their value as human beings, since women and girls' lower status is a key driver of child marriage.

CARE Ethiopia implemented *TESFA* ("hope" in Amharic) or Towards Improved Economic and Sexual/Reproductive Health Outcomes for Adolescent Girls, in the Amhara region, working with communities to mitigate the effects of child marriage by supporting ever-married adolescent girls in Ethiopia. The program focused on providing adolescent married and unmarried girls with health information and services, empowerment, financial literacy, and livelihood and negotiation skills. In their efforts to support married adolescent girls and to delay marriage for unmarried girls, they trained community members, including village elders, religious leaders and health workers through peer education methods. Through this process, these community members reflected upon the factors leading to child marriage and how early marriages impact girls' and their families' lives—a key element for catalyzing community change.[53]

Vikalp Sansthan works in the state of Rajasthan to empower women and girls, and engages boys and men to help achieve a more equitable society.[54] One of their goals is to end child marriage, for which they campaign to increase the value of girl children, and organize teams of local youth and community leaders to address education, marriage and girls' rights in their communities. Vikalp involves many community stakeholders, including caste leaders, religious leaders, local government and police officials, education institutions, wedding-related service providers, and community youth and families in participatory activities. They also advocate with police for enforcement of the Prevention of Child Marriage Act and to stop child marriages.

MAMTA, a New Delhi-based NGO, works on a range of initiatives to improve the sexual and reproductive health and rights of marginalized communities in India.[55] They work to change public opinion about and prevent harmful traditional practices by empowering young people, mobilizing the community, networking and strengthening the capacities of civil society organizations on child marriage, and strengthening the administrative systems for enforcing laws and policies. MAMTA's interventions promote more equitable norms as a prevention strategy, especially around definitions of masculinity, among marginalized and vulnerable adolescents in rural settings. They use group education interventions to influence young men's and community gatekeepers' attitudes toward gender roles.

Tostan's *Community Empowerment Program*[56] has

As custodians of culture and tradition, these leaders are held in high regard by their communities, and can be influential advocates for change in their communities.

worked in Senegal, using a trained local facilitator within each village who belongs to the same ethnic group as community members. Classes for youth and adults meet weekly and use modern non-formal education techniques to ensure everyone's participation, as well as traditional African traditions such as theater, dance, storytelling and song so that lessons are more easily absorbed by community members. In addition to learning life skills such as literacy, math and management skills, they discuss issues such as democracy, human rights, problem-solving, and understanding ways to maintain proper health. By discussing new ideas and practices within an open and familiar environment, participants feel more comfortable with the facilitator and each other as they discuss building a healthier community.

Plan mobilizes children and communities in Bangladesh to prevent child marriage.[57] Using a *Child-Centered Community Development (CCCD)* approach in which children are key participants, Plan also engages other stakeholders such as parents, community leaders and government officers. They raise awareness about child rights and the negative impact of child marriage; even children who were not members of the children's organization were aware of Plan's messages. The most reported increased awareness was of the danger to girls' health and development. Plan also partners with local government institutions to identify and celebrate child marriage-free villages, emphasizing publicly the importance of changing such norms, as well as supporting the government 's efforts to institute online birth registration, which makes it more difficult to falsify a child's age and birth certificate once it is on record. Plan's *CCCD* approach also links with

teachers, religious and community leaders, and these local leaders recognize and appreciate Plan's presence.

Engaging traditional and religious leaders to end child marriage

Coexist Kenya, formed in 2002, is a network of men's and boys' organizations working to address multiple forms of gender-based violence, including child marriage. In 2012, Coexist worked with the men and boys of the Maasai Moran community, who became members of Coexist's *Changed Men Initative*. They focused on working with community elders to prevent the socially-accepted abuses of girls, child marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM). The community elders praised the men who had joined the Coexist Initiative, and girls who had been married returned to school; and in 2012, in the strict Kaya community, no one under the age of eighteen was married. They also saw an increase in the number of men supportive of gender equality and girls' and women's empowerment. [58]

The Zambian government has launched an important initiative with chiefs and tribal leaders. As custodians of culture and tradition, these leaders are held in high regard by their communities, and can be influential advocates for change in their communities. The Ministry of Chiefs and Traditional Affairs has worked with First Lady Dr. Christine Kaseba, the United Nations and other support to launch a nationwide campaign to end child marriage.[59] Traditional leaders in Zambia are increasingly using public forums to educate their communities about the harmful consequences of child marriage and calling for the arrest and prosecution of people perpetuating it. For example, Princess Kapuwamba of the Lotzi people in Western Zambia, who is a commissioner at the Human Rights Commission and at The Law Development Commission in Zambia, speaks with parents and community leaders about the negative effects of marrying their children at an early age. By engaging in discussions with parents and community leaders, she maintains, sustainable solutions can be developed collaboratively. Another local leader, Chief Mpezeni, created a school scholarship fund to assist vulnerable children, particularly girls, to stay in school

and avoid an early marriage. Chief Simamba believes that, to end the practice, those marrying their daughters early should be punished, and has called on other local leaders to report all cases of child marriage to authorities. He also encourages parents to stop early marriages so young girls can receive their education and reach their aspirations.

Religious leaders, often men, are uniquely positioned to make a difference. Their views influence those of their congregations and communities. Given their social networks, religious leaders are pivotal intermediaries between communities and administrators at various levels of government. Places of worship (churches, mosques, temples) are often the only institutions with which people have contact in an ongoing way, particularly in rural Africa. Engaging faith-based institutions and individual religious leaders can support the development of gender-equitable messages that discourage early marriage, promote girls' development, and support social norm change. Some child marriage interventions have worked with community and traditional leaders to discourage child marriage, and sometimes other related practices, such as FGM, but more research is needed to determine the impact of these on girls' lives.

The Center for Interfaith Action (CIFA), with Nike Foundation support, sought to empower faith leaders in Ethiopia and Nigeria with the knowledge and tools to change attitudes and behaviors around child marriage and female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), a common prerequisite to marriage.[60] Because, in settings with low levels of education, faith and religious leaders hold an important role in their communities, often shaping people's beliefs and behaviors with rationalizations based on culture and/or tradition, CIFA worked with them to change their attitudes, and together, to develop tools the faith leaders could use with their congregants in order to change their beliefs and behaviors. The program shifted faith leaders' attitudes on child marriage from 40 percent in favor of eliminating it to between 93 and 100 percent in favor of its elimination in Ethiopia (Muslim and Christian); and in Nigeria, at baseline, 25 percent of the faith leaders were in favor of eliminating child marriage and at endline, 80

percent were willing to use the tools developed with their congregations. In Ethiopia, 100 percent of Christian and 93 percent of Muslim faith leaders who participated in the training were engaging their congregants.

Additional resources of interest include:

■ The Ethiopian Orthodox Church's Development Bible, produced in collaboration with UNFPA and the Population Council. In many remote rural Ethiopian communities, churches and mosques are the only institutions with which they have regular contact. The patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church decreed the writing of the Development Bible to take advantage of the church's reach to convey health and development messages to its congregants via trained priests.[61] An initial evaluation showed positive effects on knowledge and commitments of the priests.[62]

■ UNICEF and Religions for Peace. 2010. *From Commitment to Action: What Religious Communities Can Do To Eliminate Violence Against Children*. New York: UNICEF.

This volume references child marriage as an important traditional practice that is perpetrated "without a primary intention of violence" but reflects deeply rooted discrimination against women and girls. It offers many ways that religious leaders can engage in ending diverse forms of violence against children.

Publicizing the example of prominent individuals who are positive deviants

Positive deviants are individuals who decide to act as change agents, going against harmful community norms to adopt and promote positive behaviors that are beneficial for themselves and their communities. Because they are members of the communities they are able to question norms in culturally relevant and sensitive ways that do not alienate others, often while demonstrating the benefits of the changes they embody. Men and boys play a key role in standing up against child marriage and other forms of gender-based violence and discrimination and encouraging their peers and communities to do the same.

Saidal Pazhwak, an Afghan father of two girls, works with

the Welfare Association for the Development of Afghanistan, which has trained over 10,000 women teachers and over 30,000 local leaders, on the importance of girls' education. He believes girls have a right to pursue their education.[63]

Ziauddin Yousafzai, Malala Yousafzai's father, exemplifies "positive deviance" in his strong support of girls' education, which he instilled in his daughter. Malala's own accomplishments and her response to the difficulties she has faced have highlighted Mr. Yousafzai's unusual vision and commitment.[64]

Youssef is an 18-year-old student from Egypt who belongs to a youth group campaigning against child marriage and helping girls to leave their forced marriages.[65] After seeing several classmates leave school against their will and endure unhealthy pregnancies, Youssef wanted to help them and prevent other girls, such as his 15-year-old sister, from the same experience.

By excluding men, programmes fail to create an atmosphere in which change—especially on sensitive issues—can be nurtured.

– Qamar Naseem, Blue Veins, Pakistan

Qamar Naseem, born into a very conservative family in Pakistan, co-founded Blue Veins in 1999. They initially worked to raise awareness of breast cancer, but he and the staff realized there were deeper issues surrounding women's control of their own bodies that needed to be addressed. Despite threats from the community, Blue Veins grew into a women's empowerment program that included women and men. Community support groups were formed to bring women and men together to discuss community issues, such as delaying marriage for girls, imams participated in training sessions and spoke at local community gatherings. Over 300 community support groups have been established. Additionally, Qamar and Blue Veins have brought communities together to rebuild the schools bombed by Islamic militants who reject girls' education and control the region. During the destructive flood of 2010, which created a humanitarian emergency, Qamar urged camp officials to respond to women's unique needs (such as reproductive health services and supplies) and to monitor the situation for an increase in child marriages that might result from families seeking protection for their daughters amid the insecurity. [66]

Conclusions and recommendations

As decision-makers and potential husbands, men and boys are central to any effort to end child marriage. Though marriage generally requires the participation of both men and women, a concern with the rights and empowerment of vulnerable girls has focused the field more narrowly on them than is strategic. Marriage especially calls attention to the limitations of this focus on one sex. Marriage transactions are resolved in a market, a market where individuals and families of brides and grooms find and negotiate linkages with grooms and brides. A broader perspective that takes the full range of players in the marriage market into account is likely to be more advantageous.

Two key themes that require more systematic focus in work with men and boys are 1) the cultural construction of sexuality, since it helps to shape preferences for young, malleable wives and significant spousal age gaps; and 2) the structural drivers of the age gap between spouses, including young men's difficulties in transitioning to adult roles that include paid employment. One of the reasons for the age gap is that men cannot get married until they have work, and older men are more likely to have achieved stable employment. IMAGES-Mali for example found that younger men were frustrated at the older men who married their female age-mates. This may represent an opportunity for discussion around the favoring of elders over young people in the context of patriarchy.

Which men are we talking about when we advocate for engaging men and boys in ending child marriage? Several categories of men are especially important to involve:

- Grooms represent the demand side of child marriage; though some of them may also be children, many if not most are not. We need to understand much more about their preference for very young brides, and the constraints to their individual desires to marry young women who are a bit older.

- Fathers and other senior male relatives play important roles in negotiating and deciding on matches that are advantageous for the family.

- Religious leaders play a dual role, directly officiating marriages that may involve children, and more indirectly influencing community opinion with their views and actions.

- Male community members reflect the peer context for individual and family decisions about marriage, schooling, health care and other issues. These men can support or discourage marriage-related decisions taken by others in the community.

- Male teachers, health care providers and local government officials are often influential in communities and their actions and opinions can have an important influence on public opinion.

Relatively few programs are working directly with men and boys to stop child marriage. This review has identified some interesting examples, however, though many have not yet been evaluated. Some of the most promising work involves changing norms among adolescent boys and in communities, and engaging traditional and religious leaders in their roles as authority figures and as officiants.

A number of specific recommendations emerge from this review.

Work with boys from an early age to challenge and change norms regarding gender and sexuality. One key programmatic approach is to address early marriage in the context of comprehensive sexuality education. Adolescence is a key age at which to engage boys in light of their emerging sexuality and the increasing opportunities they face to reinforce or question inequitable gender norms. Programs should provide children and adolescents of all ages with in-school (teachers, administrators) and out-of-school (mentors, peer groups, positive deviants) support and safe spaces to question and discuss the challenges they face, including child marriage.

Work with boys as grooms and potential grooms. Because families often have higher expectations for boys, it may be productive to challenge the practice of child marriage by focusing more attention on the experiences of young grooms. Boys who marry young do not experience some of the negative consequences that girls do, but many end up with less education or employment training when fatherhood leads them to assume roles as providers.

Foster community spaces and activities to engage young boys and girls given that school generally does not fill the day and is not fully engaging. There are few positive, healthy spaces children and adolescents can go to spend time with peers. Creation of these activities would need to be done in ways that do not generate conflict with parents who limit children's mobility. Examples could include sports, dance, arts and culture and other activities that could be complemented by education on transforming gender norms, relationships and sexuality.

Target interventions at the fathers of adolescent boys and girls. Raise aspirations of fatherhood beyond their roles as providers and decision-makers. In addition, fathers could have so much to share and discuss with their sons. Reaching parents and youth alike in ways that encourage discussion on healthy relationships and appropriate sexual behavior. In the Latin American context, this could drive discussions of shared responsibility for contraceptive use, rather than an overemphasis on losing virginity and the need for early marriage as a consequence.

Provide gender transformative training for local government officials and traditional leaders. As the work in Zambia has shown, a systematic approach to raising the awareness of leaders—and encouraging them to address child marriage in ways that work in their communities—can have very positive effects. These leaders, most of whom are men, mediate between the law and its implementation, and are essential to engage in efforts to end child marriage.

Provide training on child marriage for professionals in the health and education sectors. Work with ministries of health to ensure that all clinical staff and community health workers are trained to monitor for child marriage cases and gender-based violence, stopping by homes and educating families about the benefits of delaying marriage. Teachers and heads of school should be empowered by local government officials to talk to families about the negative consequences of child marriage, and to monitor/report possible child marriage cases. Work with ministries of education and other appropriate ministries to develop curricula that promote more equitable gender norms, challenge discrimination and discourage child marriage, and train teachers and administrators to teach and implement these curricula.

Support and celebrate positive deviants in their efforts and help them recruit others to this cause. Get them into schools to talk to students, families, teachers and administrators; support them in health facilities; encourage them to seek invitations to speak in houses of worship. If there are positive deviants in local government or especially traditional and religious leaders, celebrate the steps they have taken and encourage them to continue their important work and to reach out to others.

Engage male community members more systematically. This requires reaching out to them in places that are meaningful to and frequented by men, to include sports venues, health service centers, schools, places of worship, public administration facilities and in the businesses that provide services for weddings. Another approach is to organize community conversations involving positive deviants within religious or traditional institutions, health care providers, educational settings and local government. Local authorities could propose how they might implement the ideas discussed and community members would hold them accountable.

Conduct more research on the roles of men and boys in child marriage and the programs that are evolving to end the practice. What measures are adequate to capture the impact of working with men and boys? Is it enough to measure the impact of programs on the knowledge and attitudes that men hold? If we wish to go beyond attitudinal change, how can we measure the impact of work with men and boys on the lives of children at risk of marrying? A second major area for more research is to study the way male and female sexuality are defined in different

settings. The cultural construction of sexuality is funda-mental to structuring sexual relationships, and supports much of the inequality in these relationships.

The limited attention that men and boys have received in the global movement to end child marriage offers an enormous opportunity. Their engagement as individu-als, family members, community members, health and education workers, employees, traditional and religious leaders and government officials will amplify the many good programs that currently focus on women and girls. Only by engaging men and boys in gender transforma-tive ways can we systematically challenge the inequality and discrimination faced by girls and young women who marry as children, address the difficulties experienced by boys who marry as children, and improve a host of health and development outcomes.

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Research was conducted in Pará and Maranhão (urban areas)—the two states with the highest prevalence in Brazil. Child marriage in Brazil is highly normalized and widespread in terms of numbers: according to the most recent national census (2010), over 42,700 girls aged 10-14 were living in a union. Globally, Brazil is the fourth country in terms of population size with women aged 20-24 who were married by age 15 (UNICEF, 2013). Child marriage practices, which are most common in Brazil's poorest regions, also provide an important case for understanding such practices in other contexts of the Latin America region.

35 Six motivations to marriage emerged from the qualitative findings. In the first set of motivations, **a family member drove the decision, with input from the girl and husband**, specifically: (1) **girls married upon getting pregnant and upon losing their virginity**, in anticipation of a pregnancy); (2) **girls married when they or a family saw an older man able to provide financially**, making the girl 'one less mouth to feed' for a low-income family. In the second set of scenarios, **girls drove the decision, exercised their own (conditional) agency (often met with the husband's convincing too)** because: (3) **girls wanted to leave the parent's house** due to a challenging relationship or mistreatment from a family member, or restricted mobility; (4) **girls 'ran away from home'**, wanting to leave the parents' house and marry against a parent or grandparent's wish, in the absence of evidence of a situation of mistreatment in the house (more often due to the husband's convincing or a girl's own agency). Finally, husbands **drove the decision, in the final scenario motiving the marriage:**

they courted and convinced the girl to accelerate the relationship (again, often tied to the latter reasons).

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