Advancing the Evidence Base on Strategies to End Child Marriage and Support Married Girls

Meeting report

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Geneva, Switzerland
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INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the millennium, child marriage was not recognized as an issue that required widespread action, research or advocacy, even though it was considered a demographic, social, gender and reproductive health concern in many country contexts. Between 2005 and 2010, the term was coined in the international development vernacular and picked up by advocates and researchers. Between 2011 and 2015, child marriage became a globally recognized issue as exemplified by landmark events, including the creation of Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage, the inaugural Day of the Girl in 2012 and the Girl Summit in London in 2014 – both focusing on child marriage, – agreement on a Sustainable Development Goal target on child marriage, and the launch of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)–United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) Global Programme to Accelerate Action to End Child Marriage.

In 2013, as this momentum picked up, the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)/UNFPA/UNICEF/WHO/World Bank Special Programme of Research, Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction (HRP), Girls Not Brides and UNICEF organized a global meeting to identify research gaps and set priorities for research in five key areas: (i) prevalence and trends of child marriage; (ii) causes of child marriage; (iii) consequences of child marriage; (iv) efforts to prevent child marriage; and (v) efforts to support married girls.1

While it is clear that much progress has been made in filling evidence gaps on a number of fronts, many gaps remain, and a range of new issues have emerged. Meanwhile, child marriage is now a global concern: it is well embedded in the Sustainable Development Goals, in organizational strategies for agencies such as UNICEF and UNFPA, in the Global Strategy for Women, Children’s and Adolescents’ Health, and as a priority for a number of governments. Policymakers, programme implementers and advocates are eager to act, and require clarity on strategic and cost-effective interventions that they can use to achieve national and global commitments.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the meeting were as follows:

- To review the progress made in addressing research priorities on ending child marriage and supporting married girls identified in the WHO/HRP/UNICEF/Girls Not Brides meeting held in 2013
- To identify an updated set of research priorities for the next five years and the rationale for these priorities, taking into account the current state of child marriage globally
- To identify how best to support the dissemination and uptake of the research findings and the execution of the new research agenda

PARTICIPANTS

Forty-nine participants attended the meeting, representing a range of global, regional and national perspectives and expertise on child marriage, other areas in health (e.g., female genital mutilation and violence against women), as well as on related issues (e.g., gender and education). The participants included researchers who have contributed and have the potential to contribute to building the evidence base in this area of work. Additionally, the participants included representatives of other stakeholder groups involved in preventing child marriage and mitigating its consequences, including civil society organizations, governments, international organizations and funders.
KEY MESSAGES

The evidence base on child marriage has grown substantially over the past 5–10 years, especially with regard to its levels and trends, and causes and consequences. This evidence has been particularly useful in making the case for investing in child marriage prevention – and for doing so urgently and with cross-sectoral efforts. We now need to make the case for ending child marriage in more targeted and actionable ways at the subnational level in geographic regions – such as South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa – where national efforts have accelerated during this period. We also need to expand the evidence and make the case for investment and action at both national and subnational levels in other geographic regions – such as the Middle East and North Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean – where attention to this issue is only beginning to gather momentum.

We have more clarity around some key issues:

- Levels and trends: Child marriage is most common within poor and rural communities. Further, as a result of intersecting vulnerabilities, girls living in the most poor and rural communities are the most affected by child marriage and its consequences and are also the least likely to be reached by interventions. It is important to note, however, that child marriage also occurs in richer and urban communities.

- Drivers: While there are contextual and temporal differences, the basic drivers of child marriage have a number of important similarities across regions. These include: economic motivations, insecurity, unequal gender-power structures, including those that relate to control of girls’ sexuality, and lack of opportunities and life options for girls. In combination, these drivers often manifest as gendered social norms.

- Protective factors: Girls’ education – especially at the secondary level – is the most consistent protective factor against child marriage. Urban residence, being part of educated and financially secure families, and having better employment prospects for girls are also protective factors in most settings. In some settings, other household dynamics, such as female-headed households or the presence of older sisters, also act as protective factors.

We have less clarity around other key issues:

- Factors leading to large-scale declines: We have evidence that child marriage rates are declining in many countries (or in certain locations within countries), and are even doing so sharply in a few places. We also have evidence that they are static or even increasing in some other countries (or in certain locations within these countries). We have very limited understanding of the factors – especially those at the macro level such as laws and policies, the security situation, the economic situation, climatic conditions, etc. – that are propelling declines or holding countries back.

- The child marriage situation at subnational levels: While there is a growing evidence base on the overall child marriage situation in a country, this is less true about the situation within countries. We need a better understanding of the prevalence, trends, determinants, correlates and characteristics of child marriage at subnational levels. To achieve this, we need disaggregated subnational data on levels and patterns of marriage (e.g., agency within the marriage, age differences between spouses, etc.).

- Efforts to prevent child marriage:

  - Where child marriage levels have declined, this is because of a combination of ecological factors and a variety of interventions. We need a better understanding of the effectiveness, cost and cost-effectiveness of a critical package of interventions to prevent child marriage. This includes determining the impact of specific sectoral
investments, and whether selected interventions could contribute to preventing child marriage or whether a comprehensive package is required.

- We also need a better understanding of what it takes to deliver the above-mentioned package of interventions at scale and sustainably. Most initiatives to prevent child marriage have not gone to scale. Further, most of the initiatives that have been well evaluated have been small-scale and short-term. Some at-scale initiatives (e.g., cash transfers for poverty reduction) present mixed results; this is possibly because they were not developed with an outcome related to child marriage in mind. Finally, there is a lack of documentation and evaluation of country-level efforts to end child marriage – from the national to the local levels.

**Efforts to support married girls:**

- We need a better understanding of the effectiveness, cost and cost-effectiveness of a package of interventions to meet the needs of married girls. This includes determining the impact of specific sectoral investments, and whether selected interventions could contribute to mitigating the effects of child marriage or whether a comprehensive package is required. Studies on the needs of married girls and approaches to addressing these needs represent a very small proportion of child marriage research over the last five years. Further, most of the evidence that does exist focuses on supporting the education and health needs of married girls.

- As mentioned above, we need a better understanding of what it takes to deliver the above-mentioned interventions at scale and sustainably.

**We need to be more transformational in linking research to policy and programme needs, by:**

- Establishing a research consortium to intentionally define and maintain a global learning agenda to inform more strategic and responsive research on efforts to end child marriage and meet the needs of married girls:
  - Gather inputs from a wider range of stakeholders to further prioritize among the areas identified in the course of this meeting
  - Organize regular country-level convenings which bring together researchers, program-makers and policymakers to reflect on the existing evidence base and implications for policy and programme design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation

- Investing in more innovative approaches for rapidly translating evidence into effective action at scale:
  - Establish consensus on what we consider to be ‘at scale’, and prioritize approaches for scaling up key interventions
  - Invest in implementation research to generate learnings on delivering interventions at scale with quality and equity, and on the cost of interventions and their delivery
  - Invest in participatory action research to ensure the meaningful engagement of adolescents and young people in policy and programme development, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation

- Documenting and sharing learnings from community-led efforts to address child marriage and shift social norms
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01. Evolution of research on child marriage

The participants first sought to review the progress made in addressing research priorities on ending child marriage and supporting married girls identified in the WHO/HRP/UNICEF/Girls Not Brides meeting held in 2013. They did so by discussing overarching progress and challenges and then discussing specific areas in greater depth.

Evolution of research and programming on child marriage: Progress and challenges

During this session, the participants sought to establish a broad overview of the progress made in research and programming on child marriage in recent years and identify key challenges to be discussed in detail during later sessions.

First, Anju Malhotra presented the results of a scoping review of research on child marriage from 2000 to 2012. The review included a systematic search of main electronic databases and a purposive search of grey literature for English-language research with child marriage as a significant rather than incidental focus. It included original analyses of primary/secondary data, as well as reviews with new insights. The review found an exponential increase in research on child marriage over the time period of interest, predominantly due to an increase in research from South Asia (especially India and Bangladesh), sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa. Research from Latin America and the Caribbean was noticeably lacking. The majority of the research focused on consequences (especially those related to sexual and reproductive health and social well-being), determinants and correlates (both proximate and structural), prevalence (mostly using secondary survey data) and intervention effectiveness (especially related to social mobilization, awareness-raising, and cash transfer interventions). The presentation concluded with a discussion on what we now know that we did not know in 2000. This includes an improved understanding of rates and prevalence of child marriage in most countries (especially in West Africa and the Middle East and North Africa); the relationship between child marriage and health, social and economic outcomes; and the ways in which macro-contextual drivers interact with proximate and structural drivers. It also includes improved indicators and methodologies for short-term measures and intervention outcomes, and more evidence on intervention effectiveness, including at scale.

Second, Anju Malhotra presented the results of a scoping review of the knowledge base of the Global Programme to End Child Marriage from 2016 to 2019. It included 64 research-related outputs from Phase I of the Global Programme, which cumulatively captured approximately 70 per cent of the completed outputs. The majority of the publications were long or short reports or brochures/policy briefs and were from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. The majority of the publications focused on prevalence of child marriage, followed by drivers, consequences, mappings/reviews of interventions, intervention evaluations, intervention protocols/descriptions, perceptions of child marriage and legal/policy analyses.

The publications were primarily intended to inform programme planning and design, assess progress, and identify and document challenges.
Third,
Margaret Greene presented the results of a scoping review of research on child marriage from 2013 to 2019. The review included a comprehensive search of 7 databases, the websites of 15 relevant organizations and the outcomes of 4 expert convenings for publications in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. It identified 787 peer-reviewed research articles, dissertations, reports, commentaries, protocols, toolkits, evidence-generating briefs and fact sheets. The review found that the greatest number of publications were published in the years 2017, 2018 and 2016, and were from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia or were global in scope. Most publications approached child marriage from a human rights perspective, followed by maternal and child health, women’s empowerment, economic empowerment, political participation and voice, and youth empowerment. Most publications focused on consequences of child marriage, followed by causes and determinants, prevention efforts, prevalence and trends and, finally, mitigation efforts. The most common thematic domains of the recommendations of the publications were norms, health, education, research, laws, and assets and empowerment.

Fourth,
a panel composed of Auxilia Ponga, Lazarus Mwale, Nankali Maksud, Priyanka Sreenath and Raffaela Ermani reflected on the progress and challenges from a variety of constituency perspectives. Their discussion focused on a few key issues, including understanding the complexities and nuances of child marriage in different regions and populations, translating knowledge so that it is useful for various groups, and using evidence for advocacy to bring partners and communities on board.

First, Anju Malhotra and Margaret Greene summarized the latest evidence from their reviews (see above). Their key messages were that between 2000 and 2012, there was considerable variation in the way that child marriage was measured in the published literature. For example, different indicators were used to measure prevalence through current and retrospective analyses, and estimates of absolute numbers were inconsistent across countries. There was also limited trend, cohort and longitudinal analysis. However, they noted that similarities are often lost in the differences – specifically, that four key factors (economic incentives, attitudes and norms regarding sexuality, gender power structures and lack of options/opportunity) tend to determine child marriage across contexts. Lastly, they encouraged use of the terms ‘determinants’ and ‘correlates’ as opposed to ‘drivers’ in the context of child marriage work.

Second, Claudia Cappa presented an overview of what we know about child marriage rates, trends and determinants at the global and regional levels. She noted that overall, child marriage rates have declined globally, although this is not universally the case across and within countries. In some places, rates have actually increased, and in others, declines have only taken place among the wealthier populations, whereas child marriage has actually increased among the poorest populations. Further, she described that although prevalence of child marriage is decreasing, as the population of adolescents increases in countries with high growth rates – especially in sub-Saharan Africa – so will the absolute number of girls married as children. She also noted that the pace of decline is not fast enough: only three countries (Algeria, Tunisia and Maldives) are on track to eliminate child marriage by 2030. She projected that if trends continue at their current pace, Western and Central Africa will have the highest prevalence of child marriage, followed by Eastern and Southern Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Lastly, she cautioned that it is important to be clear about the choice of indicator – current prevalence indicators (the proportion of girls aged 15–17 or 15–19 currently married or in union) underestimate child marriage rates, since girls still have additional years of risk for child marriage, whereas retrospective indicators (the proportion of women aged 20–24 who were married by age 15 or 18) cover the entire period of risk but can only be calculated once all of the relevant cohort is past age 18.

Third, Gina Crivello presented an overview on the findings related to child marriage that have emerged from Young Lives, a 15-year longitudinal study of childhood poverty in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Viet Nam. She noted that their results have identified various factors associated with child marriage, including poverty, rural location, educational level of the primary caregiver, and having an older sister. She also noted that better parent–child relationships and communication decreased the child’s likelihood of being married as a child.

Rates, trends, and determinants

During this session, the participants sought to take stock of the progress made in understanding rates, trends and determinants of child marriage.
Fourth,
Ingrid Fitzgerald presented the results from three studies commissioned either jointly or individually by the UNICEF South Asia Regional Office and the UNFPA Asia and the Pacific Regional Office. These include a study to estimate the number of child marriages in South Asia as a baseline for programme target-setting, a study of drivers of declining rates in Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan, and an evidence review for Phase II (2020–2023) of the Global Programme. With regard to the estimation study, she described and noted benefits and limitations of the Markov model for estimating the number of child marriages in a population. Its strength lies in allowing for estimations for those under 18 currently married with data from various sources and without excessive time lag, censoring and with limited sample size. Its limitations are that if the data used are more than five years old, the results are not as robust. With regard to the drivers assessment, at the micro level she noted that factors associated with a higher risk of child marriage include living in rural areas, and belonging to a household with sons and daughters living away from home, and that factors associated with a lower risk of child marriage include having a female household head, as well as other indicators for women’s empowerment (e.g., women’s influence on decision making, and attitudes towards domestic violence). At the macro level, she noted that the study found that a declining proportion of households in poverty, above-average economic growth, lower fertility rates and better access to media were associated with declining child marriage rates. The study also found that a higher share of women in older cohorts being married as children was associated with increasing child marriage rates, while it found no association in declining child marriage rates with shifts in women’s average school attainment or migration rates. With regard to the evidence review, she noted the following lessons learned: there has been an increase in the number of policy and legislative frameworks to address child marriage, but they have shown limited coherence and implementation; empowering girls with information, skills and support is promising but not sufficient; awareness-raising and community engagement is a significant area of investment that requires rigorous evidence of impact; evidence on economic interventions (e.g., cash transfers) is mixed; and the unintended consequences of legislative and programmatic interventions require further attention.

Fifth,
Shatha Elnakib presented an overview of the evidence on child marriage in humanitarian settings. She noted that there is very limited evidence about child marriage in humanitarian settings, due to limited data on the subject in the context of conflict. However, research from some settings (e.g., Bangladesh, Jordan, Lebanon, Niger and Somaliland) has demonstrated exacerbated vulnerabilities in humanitarian settings, which may elevate the risk of child marriage. She then described ongoing research in Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq and Yemen using a multi-stage, cluster sample survey of displaced and disaster-affected populations, including household and individual questionnaires. Lastly, she noted challenges, such as how to provide estimates of current child marriage rates, ethical considerations in conducting research with children and adolescents in humanitarian settings, and maintaining the safety and security of data collectors.
Consequences of child marriage and approaches to address the needs of married girls

During this session, the participants sought to take stock of the progress made in understanding consequences of child marriage, and the progress made in research and programming to address the needs of married girls.

First, Anju Malhotra and Margaret Greene summarized the latest evidence from their reviews (see above). With regard to consequences, they noted that the majority of available evidence focuses on maternal and perinatal health consequences, followed by the social, health, developmental and intergenerational impacts. Less studied are broader health and social vulnerabilities, economic costs, and the consequences for the health and social vulnerabilities of younger adolescent girls. With regard to approaches to support the needs of married girls, they noted that the majority of available evidence focuses on supporting their access to and use of health, education and social services, followed by their connection to community networks and resources. Less well examined are the specific needs of separated, divorced and widowed girls, and the implications for equitable marital relationships.

Second, Suzanne Petroni presented the findings from the joint study by the World Bank and the International Center for Research on Women on the economic impacts of child marriage. She noted that child marriage leads to higher fertility and population growth, and is the main factor leading to early childbirth (which, in turn, increases risks of under-five mortality and stunting). It is a key reason for girls to drop out of school, and consequently impacts education and earnings over a lifetime. Specifically, she described that the annual gains in earnings/productivity that would be observed in 15 countries if women had not married early are estimated at US$26 billion. Lastly, she noted a number of other direct impacts, including modern contraceptive use, intimate partner violence, decision-making ability, land ownership, psychological well-being and food security.

Third, Yvette Efevbera presented on the consequences of child marriage on nutrition and sexual and reproductive health. With regard to nutrition, she described the results of a study on child marriage and undernutrition in 35 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. It was found that for women of reproductive age, child marriage was associated with a lower probability of being underweight (BMI < 18.5), and that this association held in sensitivity analyses in 8 of the 35 countries. With regard to sexual and reproductive health, she described that child marriage has been found to be associated with early age at first birth, increased number of children, decreased birth spacing, decreased contraceptive use, increased unwanted or unintended pregnancies and decreased antenatal visits. Lastly, she presented the findings of a study on child marriage and health in Conakry, Guinea, in which women described negative sexual and reproductive health outcomes in the context of their early marriages.

Fourth, Marina Plesons presented the findings of a review of approaches to meet the health and social needs of married girls. She described that the majority of the evidence identified in the review was from South Asia, followed by Eastern and Southern Africa, and Western and Central Africa. She noted that the publications included a wide variety of definitions for the focus populations, and that interventions for married girls were often integrated into programming for wider population groups. She also described that the vast majority of projects/programmes addressed the sexual and reproductive health of married girls, used community and health facility-based interventions and measured knowledge, attitudinal and behavioural outcomes.
Fifth,
Erin Murphy Graham presented insights on approaches to support the educational needs of married girls from research in Honduras. She noted that re-enrolment in school post-pregnancy or post-union is quite rare. She described that multisectoral action is needed to remove barriers to school re-enrolment (e.g., explicit and implicit school policies, social norms that expect married girls to stay at home, lack of childcare, costs of schooling and opportunity costs, and poor quality of education). Lastly, she presented the Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial, a multi-component model for addressing these barriers, which consists of curriculum/texts, tutors, study groups, and training/coaching/monitoring for communities and implementing organizations.

Approaches to prevent child marriage

During this session, the participants sought to take stock of the progress made in research and programming to prevent child marriage.

First,
Anju Malhotra and Margaret Greene summarized the latest evidence from their reviews (see above). They found that the majority of published evidence on preventing child marriage focuses on laws on child marriage and their implementation, followed by the essential components of child marriage interventions and efforts to change child marriage norms and practices.

Second,
Sajeda Amin presented the lessons learned from two evaluations, the BALIKA randomized control trial (RCT) and the More than Brides Alliance. The BALIKA RCT in Bangladesh evaluated the effectiveness of three intervention strategies (education, gender-rights awareness training and livelihood skills training) in which all girls received basic life-skills training, information and communications technology (ICT) support and community awareness training. She noted that all three arms showed significant impacts on child mar-
riage, school enrolment, gender attitudes and health behaviours, and that only the gender-rights awareness training arm showed improvements in wage work and a reduction in sexual harassment. She then described the More than Brides Alliance, which is a five-country, multi-level intervention aiming to delay marriage, increase awareness of and access to sexual and reproductive health services, enrol and keep girls in school, build girls’ confidence and empower them to advocate for their own rights, increase their access to economic opportunities, and promote legal and policy environments that are protective of women’s and girls’ rights. She noted that the key lessons learned from the Alliance relate to the need to consider context when designing programmes, the need to balance the strengths of implementers and adherence to the same design across contexts, and the need to ensure buy-in for research to preserve the integrity of research design and prevent contamination. Lastly, she described the difficulty of evaluating advocacy efforts at state or higher levels.

Third, Margo Mullinax presented the American Jewish World Service’s approach to ending child marriage, which focuses on the ‘Four A’s’: aspirations, agency, availability and access. She described a review that the organization conducted to map the initiatives that it supported against the ‘Four A’s’ and a variety of domains (i.e., gender, marriage negotiations, education, sexuality, advocacy, collectivization and livelihoods). Lastly, she discussed the organization’s focus on collectives to build active citizens.

Fourth, Rashmila Shakya described the work of the Her Choice programme in Bangladesh, Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Ethiopia, Mali, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Uganda, which aims to build child marriage-free communities where girls are free to decide if, when and whom they marry. She then presented the findings of a case study in south-east Nepal, which found that self-initiated marriages are frequent and that young men and boys are also negatively affected by child marriage due to norms around masculinity and ‘graduating into manhood’.

Fifth, Ramya Subramanian presented on the evidence of the effectiveness of economic programmes to address child marriage. She described the design and learnings emerging from the Transfer Project, Apni Beti Apna Dhan (‘Our daughters, our wealth’), the MUVA project and the Gender Responsive Age Sensitive Social Protection (GRASSP) project. She then reflected on the lessons learned on the impact of cash transfers on gender equality and safe transitions into adulthood. She noted that there is limited evidence on the relative costs and benefits of these interventions, on the synergies of these interventions with other programme components in integrated or bundled programmes, and on the impact of such interventions on men and boys. She cautioned that ‘modifiers’ (i.e., individual and household characteristics) need to be unpacked, and that the use of models and instruments developed and proven effective for poverty alleviation objectives are promising but far from automatic for gender equality/safe transitions objectives. She described a further challenge in the fact that design options are rarely unpacked to assess differential effects on men and women; given this, it is difficult to make design recommendations. Lastly, she described that short-term evaluations might find positive effects, but medium-term evaluations often find that effects have dissipated; as such, she noted a need to ensure longer evaluation frameworks.

Sixth, Jamela Al-Raiby presented on the situation of adolescent health and child marriage in the Eastern Mediterranean region. She highlighted a number of challenges specific to the region, including the political and security situation, strong child marriage norms, low investment in child marriage prevention, limited documentation and research activities, and limited national capacities to implement and monitor initiatives. Lastly, she highlighted an ongoing initiative to prevent child marriage in Yemen.
During this session, the participants sought to build a common understanding of lessons learned on scaling up interventions to prevent child marriage and accelerate population-level declines.

First, a panel composed of Annabel Erulkar, Ashok Dyalchand, Dhuwarkha Sriram, Lazarus Mwale and Nicola Jones reflected on the definition of ‘scale’. Their key messages were that the definition depends on the nature and magnitude of the problem, the size of the country, and the type and longevity of the impact targeted.

Second, the panellists deliberated on the opportunities that can be leveraged to scale up interventions. Their key messages were that it is critical to build on existing policies, initiatives and structures, and to nest data generation and interventions within broader initiatives. For example, Nicola Jones noted that the Overseas Development Institute is collecting information on child marriage in Rohingya communities in Bangladesh within an existing large World Bank study on livelihoods and labour force participation. However, the panellists cautioned that in the most remote areas, there may be few existing sectoral platforms (e.g., schools, health facilities) on which to build. In such contexts, they noted that other structures, such as places of worship and village institutions, exist and may be leveraged. They noted that this is easier to accomplish in relatively homogenous communities with strong social cohesion. Further, the panellists cautioned that maintaining the quality and fidelity of interventions, especially those related to gender and social norms, is a major challenge.

Third, the panellists debated on whether or not we are overloading social workers with unrealistic expectations. Ashok Dyalchand noted that there are 1 million accredited social health activists (ASHAs) in India, each of whom is responsible for promoting multiple maternal, child and adolescent health outcomes in about 200 houses. He stated that they seemed like a natural choice to carry out child marriage prevention activities but that the government did not provide guidance on what activities they should carry out in this area. Non-governmental organizations filled this gap in some places, but incentivizing these workers to take on these additional tasks with limited pay and support has been a challenge.

Fourth, the panellists discussed the specific example of Ethiopia. Annabel Erulkar informed the participants that the Population Council will soon release a paper on the declines in child marriage in the country, which shows that declines have been concentrated in urban areas and within the Amhara region. These declines were driven by government commitment from the national level to the kabele level, and were helped by increased primary school enrolment, dissemination of information on child marriage, and access to contraception through the national health extension worker programme. In Oromia, however, the analysis found an increase in child marriage.
Approaches to work through sectoral platforms to address child marriage

During this session, the participants sought to share experiences of approaches to work through the education, health, labour force and social protection sectors to address child marriage.

First,
Aparajita Gogoi presented the experience of the Centre for Catalyzing Change in working through the education sector using a life-skills approach to address child marriage, along with a range of other issues. She shared the approach taken to move from design of the Udaan and Tarang programmes to implementation in every secondary school in the Jharkhand and Bihar states of India. Her key messages included the need for a policy mandate to allow for the design, delivery and monitoring of the programme through government platforms. She also noted the need to contextualize the content and receive sign-off and leadership from relevant high-level government authorities; secure a place for the content in school timetables and incorporate the programmes into the education department’s annual plans and budgets; ensure the capacity of teachers through intensive capacity-building; generate and share evidence that is simple to understand and relevant to the interests of policymakers; and proactively build support and counter backlash. Lastly, she noted that the success of the programmes were – to a certain degree – contingent on the quality of the schools and education system.

Second,
Bente Abuya presented the experience of the African Population and Health Research Centre in using a complementary and quality education approach to address child marriage. She described their experience in designing and implementing the A LOT change model, which included life-skills training, after-school homework support, training in leadership, parental counselling and a secondary school transition subsidy. Her key messages were that using a targeted and multifaceted approach was important; that co-creating the programme and involving various stakeholders in its monitoring created greater ownership and engagement; including parents and community members eased some of the burden on the schools; including boys and fathers helped to reinforce the importance of keeping girls in school; and that the sustainability of the programme relied on the relationships built with the communities and the sustained engagement of policymakers.

Third,
Gitanjali Chaturvedi presented the experience of using an economic activities and skilling approach to address child marriage. Her key messages were that mothers’ education is critical in educating girls, especially when the mother is involved in economic activity; that role models play an important role in shaping aspirations; and that girls exposed to education and economic opportunities are aspirational and recognize that society creates barriers to the achievement of their aspirations. As an example, she noted that transportation problems and limited access to childcare services could hinder women’s ability to get to and hold jobs. It is thus important to ensure that the transportation sector improves women’s mobility and that a variety of childcare options are available for women.

Fourth,
Asha George presented the experience of using a health approach to address child marriage. She noted that the health sector holds opportunity given that it often has a large national budget, has a network of providers throughout countries, holds legitimacy in that it addresses a universal concern, and that its providers are seen as credible and authoritative. However, she cautioned that the health sector is ‘triplly blind’ due to its gendered workforce, its emphasis on ‘sick care’ (i.e., treating health problems, rather than promoting health) and its neglect for certain populations. Lastly, she reminded participants that the health sector is held accountable for mortality and service outputs, which do not directly translate to child marriage prevention and mitigation efforts.

Fifth,
Niaz Asadullah presented an overview of the evidence on gender norms and cash transfer interventions. He noted that conditional cash transfers have been shown to bring about sustained improvements in girls’ education but not in child marriage, and that unconditional cash transfers have led to significant declines in child marriage, but these gains quickly disappeared after support ceased. He described that the logic of using cash transfer interventions to address child marriage relies on the assumption that poverty is the (or a) main driver. However, he noted that this fails to account for social and gender norms related to child marriage. Further, he noted that cash transfers target parental behaviour instead of adolescents’, and that parents are free to adjust other parameters associated with decisions related to marriage as they see fit. For example, they may lengthen the engagement period and/or enter into prolonged negotiations with the groom’s family regarding the terms of the marriage, as was demonstrated in case examples from the FSSAP programme in Bangladesh and the ABAD programme in India. Lastly, he noted specific challenges related to the narrow evidence base and lack of consensus and external validity; variability in dosage size, impact threshold and sustainability; and concerns related to the cost associated with scaling up such interventions.
Drawing lessons from research on related issues and on forging convergence

During this session, the participants sought to draw lessons from research and programming on related issues to inform efforts to address child marriage. Additionally, they aimed to draw lessons on approaches to forge and improve convergence between sectors.

First, Jacinta Muteshi shared lessons from research and programming on female genital mutilation (FGM). She noted that the FGM community has learned that it is important to understand the geography and characteristics of the practice (especially at the subnational level and in ‘hot spot’ areas) to target investments, provide rigorous evidence, address methodological challenges to understand the efficacy of complex interventions, and understand the benefits (and also the limitations) of legislation. With regards to the relationship between child marriage and FGM, she noted that the associations between the two practices vary by country, but that there are a number of similarities in their drivers (e.g., that they increase social status, relate to maintenance of chastity and are based on gendered power structures). With regards to implications of this relationship, she noted that there is a need for more evidence on the best strategies for supporting the abandonment of FGM and child marriage, including the drivers and consequences in specific contexts, the impact of interventions on wider gender norms, and improved coordination among stakeholder groups.

Second, Avni Amin shared lessons from research and programming on violence against women (VAW). She noted that the VAW community has learned that it is important to apply a public health approach, create partnerships between researchers and women’s rights organizations, use research to shape advocacy and action, use research evidence to develop guidelines, and avoid pitting prevention against mitigation. In terms of country-level action, lessons learned include the importance of building political will and strengthening country capacity to drive change in countries. With regards to the relationship between child marriage and VAW, she described that interpersonal violence starts during adolescence, and that is, therefore, an important life stage for interventions to prevent intergenerational perpetuation of violence. She also noted that child marriage is a risk factor for interpersonal violence, and that VAW and child marriage have a number of common risk factors, including gender inequality and poverty. With regards to implications of this relationship, she noted that addressing child marriage contributes to preventing VAW, that married girls are an important group to focus on for both prevention and mitigation, and that efforts to change gender norms should evaluate outcomes for both child marriage and VAW.
Third, Ruben Avila shared lessons from research and programming on family planning and meaningful youth engagement. With regards to family planning, his key messages focused on the importance of promoting autonomy of adolescents, ensuring male engagement, creating safe spaces, and increasing attention to married girls. With regards to meaningful youth engagement, he emphasized the need to ensure that diverse young people are included in all stages of research, policymaking and programming; support their participation through capacity-building and mentorship; break down power dynamics so that young people are partners and leaders, rather than only beneficiaries; and promote clear and transparent communication.

Fourth, Rajesh Mehta shared lessons from efforts to scale up quality improvement of health services. He described the South-East Asia regional framework for improving quality of care, as well as the cyclical process used to identify performance gaps, analyse problems, develop and test changes and sustain improvement. He described the efforts the region has taken to scale up both horizontally and vertically. Lastly, he shared key lessons learned on scaling up, including that interventions should be designed for local relevance and tested locally for feasibility and effectiveness, and that stakeholders should ensure that initiatives are embedded within existing programmes and undertake deliberate efforts to scale them up horizontally and vertically.

Fifth, Marina Plesons presented on the lessons learned from a review on strategies for improving multisectoral coordination at the national and subnational levels. At the national level, she noted that countries should identify and engage committed and skilled leadership, build a shared understanding of the target issue and how to address it, and delineate and clarify the roles and responsibilities of relevant stakeholders. At the subnational level, she stated that countries should establish coordination mechanisms, build awareness and capacity of staff, use subnational evidence to contextualize and tailor interventions, develop coordinated budgets and cost-sharing mechanisms, and integrate monitoring and evaluation systems.

Priorities for implementation research

During this session, the participants sought to discuss experiences in undertaking implementation research and how such research might be leveraged to address child marriage.

First, Sanuykta Mathur described the experience of DREAMS in carrying out implementation research on HIV prevention in seven countries. She described the hallmarks of implementation research – namely, that it is practical/applies evidence generation focused on ‘how to’ questions, that it bridges perspectives of multiple stakeholders, and that it promotes integration of research findings into policy and practice. She then described the process DREAMS has undertaken, involving planning meetings, prioritization of research questions, development of study plans and methods, and selection of in-country research partners. Lastly, she highlighted their key findings, which relate to the HIV risk profiles of adolescent girls and young women and their male partners, behavioural and social drivers, changes in HIV risk and service use over time, and effective introduction of PrEP.

Second, connecting remotely, Priya Nanda described the experience of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation in carrying out implementation research on supportive supervision to improve the performance of front-line workers. She described the process her team used to develop a means, motives and opportunities framework to diagnose the barriers to front-line workers’ performance. She next noted that front-line workers tend to have limited control over their performance, and described five possible solutions: supportive supervision, incentives, skills and training, m-health and participatory learning approaches. Lastly, she discussed a potential research design that could be used to test three different models, including training on guidelines, training on guidelines plus peer and self-supervision, or training on guidelines plus coaching/mentoring for block officials and front-line workers.

Third, Mona Sherpa and Ashok Dyalchand described their experiences in integrating implementation research in their activities in Nepal and India, respectively.
Priority research questions for moving the agenda forward

The participants next sought to identify the key research gaps that require attention over the next five years and the rationale for defining these gaps, taking into account the current state of child marriage evidence globally. Over the course of the three days, and in follow-up to the meeting, participants identified the following research gaps related to various aspects of child marriage:

Prevalence, trends, determinants and correlates

- Carry out subnational- and subpopulation-level data collection and analysis of prevalence, trends, determinants and correlates of child marriage.

- Ensure that such analyses are disaggregated by both sex and age (and include year-by-year analysis where possible).

  Rationale: To make the case and to focus investments more precisely; to understand where within countries and in which subpopulations declines are happening, and why.

- Carry out such analyses during and in the aftermath of humanitarian crisis situations.

  Rationale: To better understand short- and long-term implications and potential options for response.

- Map shifts in prevalence of child marriage against changing macro-, meso- and micro-level social and economic trends.

  Rationale: To understand what factors contribute to shifts in child marriage over time.

- Assess timing and prevalence of pregnancy and childbearing in relation to child marriage.

  Rationale: To better anticipate concurrence and lags in how these correlated outcomes change, and to inform the design of approaches to address both.

- Define measures and approaches to assess the attributes of marriages, with a particular focus on power and girls’ empowerment, in conjunction with the age at which these marriages occur.

  Rationale: To understand the differences in the status of girls and young women in relation to the age of marriage.
Consequences

- Carry out analyses of short- and long-term consequences – both perceived and real – of child marriage for girls across the life course on key dimensions (e.g., childbearing, health, including mental health, education, economic well-being/opportunity, family size and structure, power relations, violence and social support systems), for the men and boys whom they marry, for their children and families.
  
  Rationale: To inform advocacy, prevention and support efforts, and to forge links with programmes addressing girls and women.

- Carry out analyses of marriage transitions following child marriage/early unions (e.g., household formation or dissolution, separation, divorce, widowhood and desertion).
  
  Rationale: To better inform support efforts for girls whose child marriage/union unravels.

- Carry out analyses of short- and long-term consequences of child marriage – both perceived and real – for girls and for their families in humanitarian/refugee contexts (including with temporary/contractual arrangements).
  
  Rationale: To better inform advocacy, prevention and support efforts in humanitarian/refugee contexts.

Intervention effectiveness studies

- Carry out intervention effectiveness studies/evaluations to assess the impact of specific intervention strategies to delay marriage, targeted at different groups (e.g., girls, boys/men, parents and communities) and in specific contexts.
  
  Rationale: To fill gaps in evidence in relation to specific intervention strategies, such as cash transfer schemes where the existing evidence is mixed, and in contexts such as in West Africa and Latin America where few such studies have been carried out.

- Carry out intervention effectiveness studies/evaluations to assess the impact of single versus comprehensive interventions.
  
  Rationale: To determine whether comprehensive packages of interventions which have been shown to be effective but are difficult and resource-intensive to scale up are just as effective as single interventions which are easier and less resource-intensive to scale up.

- Carry out intervention effectiveness studies/evaluations to assess the impact of interventions aimed at bringing about change at the individual or community level versus those aimed at doing so at the system level.
  
  Rationale: To determine whether interventions aimed at bringing about change at the system level which have been shown to be effective in other areas but are difficult and time-consuming should be applied in child marriage prevention.
Implementation research studies

Delivery platforms and approaches:

- Map functional and at-scale platforms that could be leveraged to intensify/accelerate the delivery of interventions (i) to prevent child marriage; and (ii) to support married girls and their children both in humanitarian crisis and non-crisis settings.

  Rationale: To make best use of available mechanisms which could be used to extend the reach of effective interventions to prevent child marriage and respond to needs of married girls and their children.

- Identify approaches for closer integration of child marriage activities within delivery platforms in other sectors (e.g., education and employment) and work areas (e.g., FGM and VAW).

  Rationale: To ensure greater effectiveness and efficiency.

- Identify approaches to address the needs and problems of the hardest-to-reach girls and communities.

  Rationale: To ensure that programmes respond to the challenge of reaching those in the most remote rural areas and in the lowest wealth quintiles.

- Assess the cost, scalability and sustainability of single versus comprehensive interventions.

  Rationale: To determine whether comprehensive packages of interventions which have been shown to be effective but are difficult and resource-intensive to scale up are just as effective as single interventions, which are easier and less resource-intensive to scale up.

Costs:

- Assess investment needs and gaps for preventing child marriage and supporting married girls.

  Rationale: To determine the required funding, against the available funding.

Role of civil society organizations in scale-up efforts:

- Assess what capacities civil society organizations will need to support the scale-up of child marriage activities with the government and/or private sector, both in contexts where the government capacity is weak and in those in which it is not but where the government is not playing a leading role.

  Rationale: To determine the outcomes of stronger coordination and collaboration, and what it will take to bring this about.

- Assess the sustainability and impact of civil society organizations in scale-up efforts.

  Rationale (for both items): While civil society organizations have played and continue to play the role of advocate and innovator, they are increasingly being called on to contribute to scale-up efforts.

Documentation and evaluation of country policies and programmes:

- Document and evaluate scaled-up programmes – their scale and time frame, what they did and how they did it, how much they cost, and their strengths and weaknesses.

  Rationale: To draw out lessons that are being learned through learning-by-doing in countries which are seldom documented and evaluated.

- Assess whether a gender and equity perspective is retained as initiatives move from small to large scale.

  Rationale: As projects evolve into programmes, they face the pressure of reducing the issues they address in the interest of scale.

- Assess the potential benefits and risks of implementing strategies to create an enabling legal and social environment to address child marriage and respect girls’ rights, particularly with regard to their sexual and reproductive rights.

  Rationale: To determine whether such activities could lead to unintended negative effects (e.g., backlash from communities or driving the practice underground).

- Assess the features of policy coalitions that have contributed to scale-up on issues with similar complexity to child marriage.

  Rationale: To draw on lessons learned in other areas of health and development.

- Assess what could be achieved through more coordinated action between United Nations agencies, funders, government bodies and civil society organizations in a few specific countries.

  Rationale: To determine the outcomes of stronger coordination and collaboration, and what it will take to bring this about.
Lastly, the participants sought to identify how best to support the dissemination and uptake of the research findings and the execution of the new research agenda.

There was solid consensus that for research to be used, it must be grounded in the needs of policymakers and programmers. Participants thus discussed options for ensuring the needs of policymakers and programmers inform research, packaging existing and emerging research to encourage uptake, and resourcing the research questions identified. A number of practical suggestions emerged from these discussions.

Prioritizing, resourcing and carrying out research

- At the global level, establish a research consortium to intentionally define and maintain a learning agenda on preventing child marriage and on responding to the needs of married girls.
- At the country level, bring together researchers, international agencies, government and civil society to support the establishment of similar mechanisms.
  
  *Rationale: To ensure that the research priorities are set collaboratively with the full involvement of stakeholders at global and country levels, and that they truly respond to the evolving needs of the field.*
- Link research funding to a research framework focusing on intervention research and what supports strategic interventions and investments (DREAMS is a good example of linking implementation with implementation research).
- Build the capacity of country-based researchers in designing and carrying out research, and in interpreting the ‘so-what’ of their research findings.
- Invest in participatory action research to ensure the meaningful engagement of adolescents and communities in carrying out research.

  *Rationale: To use the opportunity to build research capacity, alongside executing research.*
Packaging and translating research findings

- Involve policymakers and programmers in the design of research outputs.
  
  **Rationale:** To ensure that the findings of research are presented in ways that respond to their needs.
  
- Systematically reach out to all relevant sectors (e.g., health, education, gender, economic empowerment) to share research findings.
  
  **Rationale:** To ensure that all relevant sectors can make the contributions they could to this area.
  
- Ensure that research findings are published in open access journals.
  
- As a complement to reports and journal publications, develop briefs, blogs, infographics and slide sets for various audiences.
  
- Use available information exchange platforms.
  
- Develop a ‘help-desk’ mechanism where policy and programme questions could be asked and responded to.
  
  **Rationale:** To expand the accessibility of research findings in a variety of formats and channels.

The meeting brought together researchers and programmers working on child marriage and in other areas that could usefully inform the work on child marriage. Through preparatory work done and presented at the meeting, it was clear that there has been a substantial amount of research in this area over the last 10 years, although there are gaps in the issues covered and in the geographic regions where it has been done.

Participants agreed that the child marriage field is moving rapidly and highlighted a number of critical gaps in evidence. They also agreed that there is lot of evidence already available that needs to be made more accessible to advocates, programme designers, policymakers and funders so that their ongoing efforts to prevent child marriage and support married girls are well informed by evidence.

Participants called for a more purposive global learning agenda that responds to where the field is in different settings and contexts. They also called for efforts to regularly bring together the consumers of research, those doing research and those funding research. Finally, they stressed the importance of fully involving the countries and communities affected in setting research priorities and in carrying out research.
## Annexes

### 01—List of participants

#### TECHNICAL EXPERTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benta Abuya</td>
<td>African Population and Health Research Centre</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajeda Amin</td>
<td>Population Council</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niazi Asadullah</td>
<td>University of Malaya</td>
<td>Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruben Avila</td>
<td>International Youth Alliance for Family Planning</td>
<td>Monterrey, Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitanjali Chaturvedi</td>
<td>World Bank, India</td>
<td>New Delhi, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gina Crivello</td>
<td>Young Lives</td>
<td>Oxford, United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ashok Dyalchand</td>
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<td>Pachod, India</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Léa Rouanet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rashmila Shakya</td>
<td>University of Amsterdam</td>
<td>Amsterdam, Netherlands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mona Sherpa</td>
<td>CARE, Nepal</td>
<td>Kathmandu, Nepal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manahil Siddiqi (remote)</td>
<td>University of Washington School of Public Health</td>
<td>Seattle, United States</td>
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02—Agenda

30 September

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session title</th>
<th>Focal point</th>
<th>Moderator</th>
<th>Presenters</th>
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</table>
| 9.15 — 10.45 | Welcome remarks  
Introductions  
Overview of the meeting | V. Chandra-Mouli, A. Malhotra, E. Travers |                  |                                                                             |
| 10.45 — 11.00 | Coffee/tea break                  |                              |                  |                                                                             |
| 11.00 — 12.30 | Evolution of research and programming on child marriage: Progress and challenges  
Presentations and panel, followed by discussion in plenary | E. Travers, S. Chalasani | M. Greene, A. Malhotra  
R. Ermani, N. Maksud, L. Mwale, A. Ponga, P. Sreenath |                                                                             |
| 12.30 — 13.30 | Lunch                           |                              |                  |                                                                             |
| 13.30 — 15.00 | Measuring child marriage rates, trends and determinants  
Presentations, followed by discussion in plenary | A. Malhotra, N. Jones | M. Greene, A. Malhotra  
C. Cappa, G. Crivello, S. Elnakib, I. Fitzgerald |                                                                             |
| 15.00 — 15.30 | Coffee/tea break                  |                              |                  |                                                                             |
| 15.30 — 17.00 | Determinants and correlates of child marriage: Complexity, contextualization and implications for response  
Presentations and group work, followed by discussion in plenary | M. Greene, M. Greene | M. Greene, A. Malhotra |                                                                             |
| 17.00 — 18.30 | Reception                        |                              |                  |                                                                             |
### 1 October

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Focal point</th>
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<tr>
<td>9.00 — 9.15</td>
<td>Review of day 1</td>
<td>V. Chandra-Mouli</td>
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</table>
| 9.15 — 10.30 | Consequences of child marriage and approaches to address the needs of married girls  
*Presentations and group work, followed by discussion in plenary* | A. Finnie  | M. Plesons  | M. Greene, A. Malhotra  
Y. Efevbera, S. Petroni  
E. Graham, M. Plesons                                                      |
| 10.30 — 11.00 | Coffee/tea break                                                             |             |             |                                                                           |
| 11.00 — 12.30 | Preventing child marriage: Evidence on the effectiveness of interventions  
*Presentations, followed by discussion in plenary* | A. Malhotra | K. Flynn-Dapaah | M. Greene, A. Malhotra  
S. Amin, M. Mullinax,  
J. Al-Raiby, R. Shakya,  
R. Subramanian                                                            |
| 12.30 — 13.30 | Lunch                                                                        |             |             |                                                                           |
| 13.30 — 15.00 | Scaling up interventions and accelerating population-level declines  
*Panel, followed by discussion in plenary* | A. Malhotra | A. Malhotra  | A. Dyalchand,  
A. Erulkar, N. Jones,  
L. Mwale, D. Sriram                                                      |
| 15.00 — 15.30 | Coffee/tea break                                                             |             |             |                                                                           |
| 15.30 — 17.00 | Working through sectoral platforms to address child marriage  
*Presentations, followed by discussion in plenary* | V. Chandra-Mouli | V. Chandra-Mouli | B. Abuya, N. Asadullah,  
G. Chaturvedi,  
A. George, A. Gogoi                                                      |

### 2 October

<table>
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<tr>
<td>9.00 — 9.15</td>
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<td>V. Chandra-Mouli</td>
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</table>
| 9.15 — 10.30 | Drawing lessons from research on related issues and on forging convergence  
*Presentations, followed by discussion in plenary* | M. Plesons  | Cory-Worneil | A. Amin, R. Avila,  
R. Mehta, J. Muteshi,  
M. Plesons, L. Say                                                      |
| 10.30 — 11.00 | Coffee/tea break                                                             |             |           |                                                                           |
| 11.00 — 12.30 | Priorities for implementation research  
*Presentations, followed by discussion in plenary* | V. Chandra-Mouli | V. Chandra-Mouli | E. Ahmed,  
A. Dyalchand,  
S. Mathur, P. Nanda,  
M. Sherpa                                                               |
| 12.30 — 13.30 | Lunch                                                                        |             |           |                                                                           |
| 13.30 — 15.00 | Partnering for better evidence generation, communication and translation  
*Group work, followed by discussion in plenary* | A. Finnie, E. Travers |           |                                                                           |
| 15.00 — 15.30 | Coffee/tea break                                                             |             |           |                                                                           |
| 15.30 — 17.00 | Setting out next steps  
Closing                                                                  | V. Chandra-Mouli, A. Malhotra, E. Travers |           |                                                                           |