



Qualitative Indicators and Approaches for assessing progress on Ending Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Unions

Report

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child
marriage**
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April 2024

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Acronyms

CEFMU Child, early and forced marriage and unions

CSE Comprehensive sexuality education

FGD Focus group discussion

GBV Gender-based violence

GHD Girls' holistic development

GPECM Global Programme to End Child Marriage

GTA Gender-transformative approach

MEL Monitoring, evaluation and learning

SRHR Sexual and reproductive health and rights

Executive summary

Many programmes, including the UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage (GPECM), incorporate gender-transformative approaches in their work. While quantitative measures help understand the extent of change towards gender equality and to ending child, early and forced marriage and unions (CEFMU), they provide less information on how gender-transformative change happens and the meaning behind the numbers. The purpose of this report is to outline qualitative indicators and approaches to monitoring, to help programmes:

- learn from their work
- understand if programmes are progressing towards aspired outcomes and impact
- provide opportunities to adjust or adapt programmes to changing realities.

Qualitative indicators can provide additional insight on the processes of change, and guide programme implementers with nuanced detail from participants' everyday realities.

It focuses on tracking gender-transformative change that contributes to the prevention of CEFMU. The report is organized as follows:

Section 1: Introduction. This section describes the GPECM theory of change, what gender-transformative approaches mean in the context of preventing CEFMU, and lays out some common factors that underlie CEFMU.

Section 2: What to Monitor. This section describes how qualitative indicators can: help understand whether and how programme activities are affecting change; identify resistance; and inform discussions on whether programmes' strategies need adjustment.

Subsection 2.2 includes a five-step approach to developing a qualitative monitoring plan, drawing from information in this report. These steps include developing a theory of change, identifying key domains of gender-transformative change, selecting indicators relevant to the key domains, developing progress markers to track qualitative change, and selecting and adapting qualitative monitoring tools for collecting data.

Subsections 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 present qualitative indicators organized by three areas: **agency, gender relations and structure**. Each area includes a description of the type of information that may be monitored followed by a table with suggested indicators. The tables are organized by key domains each with indicators. The indicators are split into two categories: those which show changes directly related to CEFMU, and those which show change in wider gender equality issues, and which contribute to an enabling environment for ending CEFMU. Programmes would select a feasible number of indicators based on their domain of interest.

Section 3: Tools and methods to monitor change. This section presents some examples of data-collection methods and tools, with a focus on light-touch, qualitative monitoring methods. A summary table describes how they can be used, their advantages and challenges. Four case studies provide examples of how programmes monitor change using qualitative approaches: CARE's Tipping Point Programme, Girls Holistic Development, SASA! Together, and the evaluation of We-Care.

Finally, **Annex 1** provides a draft monitoring tool drawn from the indicators presented in the main report. We have selected nine indicators of central importance to monitoring CEFMU, and provided example questions to assess change. The nine indicators are highlighted in **blue** in the main report.

1. Introduction

UNICEF and UNFPA are at the forefront of global momentum to prevent child, early and forced marriage and unions (CEFMU). Many programmes, including the Global Programme to End Child Marriage (GPECM), have begun to incorporate gender-transformative approaches (GTAs) in their work. Programmes recognize that CEFMU is underpinned by gender inequality at all levels, and that ending CEFMU requires a transformation of power dynamics and other dimensions of gender inequality.

Transforming gender relations is a long-term process. It is important to collect monitoring data that shows interim changes, which may help indicate what works and what does not. Implementers increasingly recognize that, to measure gender-transformative change, quantitative indicators and tools must be supplemented with qualitative measures and indicators that can capture the nuance of incremental change (Marcus, Samman and George, 2020). Qualitative reporting on outcome measures also allows for more adaptive programming that can respond more swiftly to changes (UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage, 2023, p. 74).

Programmes to end CEFMU often use quantitative surveys and rigorous baseline and endline data to understand the effects and impact of programmes. While these measures help understand the extent of change towards gender equality and ending CEFMU, they provide less information on how gender-transformative change happens and the meaning behind the numbers. Gender-transformative change is complex, nonlinear and involves the influence of different actors and levels of influence (Batliwala, 2006; Kantor and Apgar, 2013; Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015).

The aims of monitoring qualitative indicators, and the approaches proposed in this report are:

- to help programmes learn from their work
- understand if they are progressing towards aspired outcomes and impact
- provide opportunities to adjust or adapt programmes to changing realities on the ground.

A qualitative approach “provide[s] detailed information on any changes taking place, the nature, character, extent and scope of these changes or the process leading to those changes...(it) also emphasizes the importance of getting close to project participants in order to understand more authentically their realities and the details of their everyday lives.” (Lopez Peralta and José de León, 2021).

This report provides guidance on qualitative indicators and approaches to track gender-transformative change that contributes to the prevention of CEFMU. The report showcases a range of indicators and tools as options for inclusion in monitoring, all of which:

- focus on short-to-medium-term change
- examine intermediate results
- apply to programme implementation across the socioecological framework, from individuals to policy level.

These indicators and tools are drawn from a review of the literature and programming and from stakeholder interviews with people working on CEFMU prevention, monitoring evaluation and learning (MEL) and research. The measures and tools can be applied in development and humanitarian contexts.

1.1 The Global Programme’s theory of change

The GPECM adopts an “adolescent girl-centred approach that aims to empower the individual adolescent girl to make decisions about if, when and whom to marry, within a web of support that involves her family, the community, society and public structures, institutions, systems and services” (UNFPA-UNICEF, 2019, p. 25). Phase III of the GPECM has a longer-term, gender-transformative goal to end child marriage by enabling the most

marginalized adolescent girls to live healthier, more empowered and safer lives (UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage, 2023). To realize this, the GPECM works at different levels: with girls, with their families and communities, and with governments via laws, policies and services to support girls’ empowerment and agency, and to prevent CEFMU.

The GPECM theory of change is centred around three intermediate outcomes.

1. Adolescent girls at risk of, and affected by, child marriage effectively make their own informed decisions and choices regarding marriage, sexual and reproductive health (SRH), education and livelihoods.
2. Relevant sectoral systems and institutions effectively respond to the needs of adolescent girls and their families in targeted Global Programme areas.
3. Enhanced legal and political responses to prevent child marriage and to support pregnant, married, divorced or widowed adolescent girls and girls at risk of marriage.

Outcome 1 aims to support girls with information, life skills, assets and support networks around awareness of their rights, sexual and reproductive health and rights, financial literacy and gender equality. It also involves building knowledge, awareness and support for girls' rights among men and boys, families, traditional and religious leaders, community groups and others, to value and invest in girls. Community support and changes in gender relations are vital to achieve girls' empowerment. As a result, girls will be able to make effective choices about their lives, understand their rights and express their opinions.

Outcome 2 aims to strengthen gender-responsive services through formal and non-formal education, including leveraging existing social protection and poverty reduction programmes. It also involves increasing the capacity of multisectoral programmes to deliver coordinated, high quality programmes and services that are responsive to the needs of adolescent girls and their families.

Outcome 3 identifies that the policy environment needs to support ending CEFMU. Associated activities will seek to support countries to develop and build capacity to implement action plans on child marriage at national and subnational level and to generate, disseminate and use quality and timely evidence.

Within these specific goals, the GPECM recognizes that gender equality and ending child marriage are interdependent: each is necessary to achieve the other. GPECM targets both actions specific to ending child marriage, and actions that support gender equality more widely. It includes a focus on development and humanitarian settings.

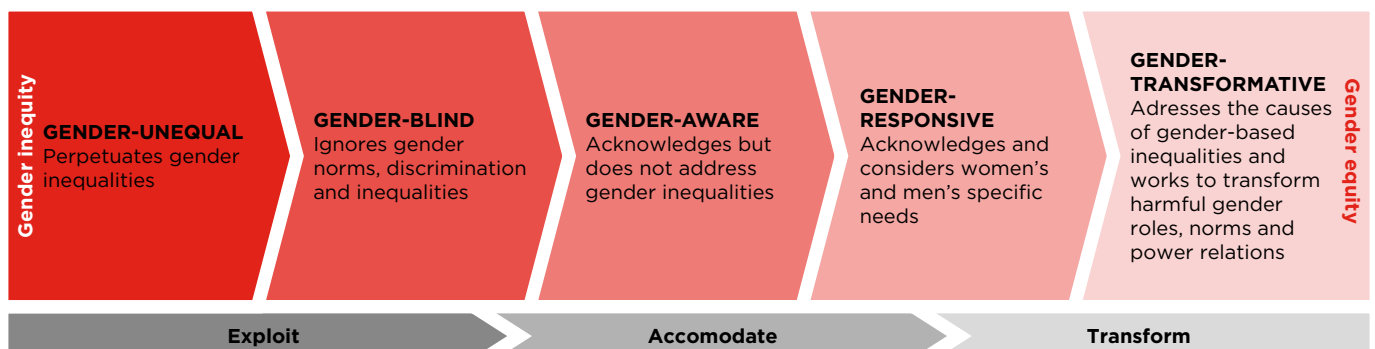
This report takes a specific focus on qualitative indicators and tools to assess progress towards gender-transformative change in programmes to prevent child marriage. It follows the GPECM's theory of change in identifying measures in three interconnected domains of gender-transformative change: agency, gender relations (intra-household and community) and structures (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015). They are given equal importance in this report.

1.2 Gender-transformative change and GPECM

The GPECM recognizes child marriage as “a symptom and a result of deep-seated gender inequalities and restrictive gender norms” (UNICEF, UNFPA and UN Women, 2019). Figure 1 shows the

gender equity continuum for programming interventions; the GPECM aims for Phase III to be truly gender-transformative.

Figure 1. The gender integration continuum



Source: UNICEF, UNFPA and UN Women (2019, p. 1)

Gender-transformative change promotes gender equality by:

- fostering critical examination of inequalities and gender roles, norms and dynamics
- recognizing and strengthening positive norms that support equality and an enabling environment
- promoting the relative position of women, girls and marginalized groups and transforming the underlying social structures, policies and broadly held social norms that perpetuate and legitimize gender inequalities. (UNICEF, UNFPA and UN Women, 2019).

Working across countries and regions, the Global Programme takes a contextualized approach to CEFMU. In each setting, the factors that uphold or prevent child marriage and the acceptability and effectiveness of specific strategies and approaches for the prevention of CEFMU may differ (UNFPA-UNICEF, 2019). Similarly, gender-transformative change will look different for different communities and social groups (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015). Monitoring must therefore be responsive to locally-defined ideas of what constitutes gender-transformative change.

The GPECM's theory of change for Phase III outlines the following strategies to achieve its goals:

- 1. Integrate adaptive programming:** Employ adaptive programming in development and humanitarian settings, particularly those affected by the polycrisis and megatrends.
- 2. Create and expand opportunities for the empowerment of adolescent girls:** Increase scale and reach of child marriage programmes, especially for the most marginalized; leveraging, coordinating and complementing other government, United Nations and civil society-led initiatives in line with national action plans.

1.3 Understanding CEFMU

While CEFMU exists in most societies, broader gender inequality and the range of structural, economic and sociocultural factors that uphold it vary considerably. Some of these are outlined briefly below. Additional UNFPA and UNICEF documents provide a more thorough review of drivers of CEFMU (e.g. Conrad and Lapsansky, 2020; UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage, 2023).

3. Invest in SRHR and CSE: Increase the scale and reach of services that ensure that adolescent girls can realize their rights associated with bodily autonomy and integrity, including deciding whether and when to have children and having a safe and satisfying sex life as they mature.

4. Promote a supportive and gender-equal family and community environment: Create dialogue to raise awareness and challenge dominant norms that sustain gender inequalities and their negative consequences for women, men, girls and boys, the economy and society; and build collective efficacy by working with local champions and influencers at all levels, including in households, communities, local institutions (including schools and health centres) and in the government, to address them.

5. Strengthen governance to prevent and respond to child marriage: Foster an enabling legal and policy environment, government leadership, financing and accountability, multi-sectoral system coordination, including voices from civil society, youth-led organizations and women's rights organizations, feminist movements and coalitions, researchers, media, traditional and religious leaders and other influencers for effective actions to end child marriage.

6. Enhance the sustainability and impact of child marriage programmes: Support evidence-based, contextually relevant and sustainable programmes and strategies at national and local levels.

7. Strengthen global, regional and local coalitions: Leverage additional resources and co-investments on preventing and responding to child marriage and adolescent pregnancy in programme areas (UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage, 2023, p. 48).

Economic factors underpin child marriage through different pathways including poverty constraints, expression of wealth status and marriage transactions (Malhotra and Elnakib, 2021b). Where there is extreme poverty, insecurity and lack of opportunity, child marriage can be a strategy to reduce the household economic burden of providing for more people (UNFPA-UNICEF, 2019). Marriage payments can incentivize child marria-

ge, if families make decisions to marry their daughters to minimize dowry costs or maximize bride price (Malhotra and Elnakib, 2021b, p. 37).

Lack of educational opportunities can lead to child marriage as a coping strategy. Where girls are not expected, or able, to complete secondary school, perhaps because of the cost of schooling, distance or the norm that girls do not need school, it can appear to make sense for them to marry young to start their adult lives. Further, if there are no jobs for young women and constraints on their working outside the home, there is little incentive to complete school. Additional factors that limit girls' education and thus underpin child marriage include poor-quality schools, direct and indirect costs of schooling, lack of menstrual health and hygiene services, reinforcement of discriminatory gender norms in school settings, distance to school, school-related gender-based violence, excessive domestic workload, and threats to schools and girls in situations of conflict and humanitarian crises (Greene and Stiefvater, 2019).

Lack of comprehensive sexuality education and access to quality reproductive health care including adolescent-friendly services and family planning, can increase vulnerability to unplanned and early pregnancy and child marriage (Woog and Kågesten, 2017). Low levels of knowledge about sexual and reproductive health and rights makes it difficult for girls and boys to negotiate safe sexual practices, birth spacing and early pregnancies, both inside and outside marriage.

Adolescent-led decisions to marry or elope without consultation or involvement of their parents. Some adolescents choose to elope when they lack sufficient financial resources to pay a bride price, or the consent of their parents. Some male and female adolescents have more opportunities to interact with each other than youth of previous generations, in person or via phones; they may make plans to marry for love or against their parents' wishes (Jones *et al.*, 2016; Kenny *et al.*, 2019).

Gender norms and attitudes affect adolescent, parent and community expectations, opportunities and interactions. These include gender ideologies and roles that assign girls domestic chores and care giving work, limiting their time or opportunity to study (Marcus and Harper, 2014).

Expectations of boys to provide and care for their parents at older ages can lead parents to invest in boys' education over girls. Social expectations concerning the appropriate age or time of marriage can place pressure on parents to marry their daughter at early ages to ensure her future (Marcus and Harper, 2014). A girl's transition through puberty is sometimes seen as a marker of her development and therefore readiness for marriage and new responsibilities, for example in Afghanistan (the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2018). The importance of puberty as a marker for marriage readiness is changing with girls attending school for longer periods. Teenage pregnancy also drives child marriage, either because pregnant girls are expected to marry, or because parents marry daughters early to prevent unmarried teen pregnancy (Plan International Netherlands, 2020). Boys and men may be forced to marry girls that they have got pregnant, sometimes seen as assuming a manly responsibility for them (Greene *et al.*, 2015). Cultural and/or religious values that place importance on girls' virginity can lead parents to make decisions to protect a girl's honour and that of her family by marrying her at an early age (Rialet, Greene and Lauro, 2022).

Crisis events, such as environmental or conflict-related disaster or forced migration, can:

- influence child marriage-related norms, either by reinforcing them or reducing their importance (Greene and Stiefvater, 2019, p. 9), and
- damage family and community structures and lead to lack of safety and financial insecurity (Hutchinson *et al.*, 2016).

Increasing frequency and intensity of these crises, in addition to rising inequality and demographic shifts, poses a risk to achievements in CEFMU prevention (UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage, 2023). For example, the precarious security situation in humanitarian settings may lead parents to choose to marry their daughters to protect them from the possibility of rape or assault. Marriage can also offer the potential for economic, land, or legal security (for example, via the receipt of visas) for displaced persons.

A gender-transformative approach to CEFMU will respond to the relevant underlying drivers.

2. What to monitor

► TIP

Rather than assessing every pathway and potential monitoring outcome, a more useful strategy is focusing qualitative measurement on key points of expected changes.

2.1 Understanding qualitative indicators

Qualitative indicators and tools can be used to help understand processes of change, whether programme approaches need adjustment, and whether the programme is moving in expected or unexpected ways along the path to preventing CEFMU. The indicators detailed here are complementary to quantitative monitoring and evaluation methods and not intended to replace them. Instead, project teams should use a mix of qualitative and quantitative monitoring methods, selecting indicators and approaches that suit their implementation approach, monitoring and learning needs and resources. Some qualitative indicators and tools are light-touch; others involve more resources or skills to implement (see Table 4 in Section 3 on tools and methods).

Qualitative indicators can help show whether and how:

→ programme activities are influencing beliefs, attitudes, and actions

- programme activities are shifting norms
- programmes are changing life-course possibilities for women and girls
- programmes are influencing institutions and policy, including the implementation of policy
- to adjust, respond to, and reinforce changes as they happen
- to respond to resistance to or a backlash against new ideas and behaviours.

This level of monitoring, for example, goes beyond documenting that a law was passed to end CEFMU. Qualitative indicators would seek to understand whether and how communities interpret, internalize and respond to the law and how this affects their actions related to CEFMU. Qualitative indicators “can include changes in sensitivity, satisfaction, influence, relevance, awareness, understanding, attitudes, quality, the perception of usefulness,” etc. (Seavey and Ta’ba, 2020, p. 17). See Box 1 for an example.

Box 1. The value of qualitative indicators and approaches to understand outcomes: a SRHR example

A project to engage men in pregnancy care might examine change between baseline and endline in an indicator such as *the percentage of men who accompany their pregnant wife to a clinic*.

What this indicator means is not clear. A man could go to a clinic because of his interest in caring for his wife and in parenthood. He could go because he thinks it is not safe or good for a woman to travel alone. He could accompany his wife to make important health decisions for her. He could go with her to the clinic to limit what she shares with health care staff and other women. Or he could go to understand her health, that of the baby and how he can support her. Qualitative indicators and approaches can help bring more meaning to these types of indicators, and thus help programmes to understand whether the desired effects are transformative.

Example based on Malhotra, 2021, p. 6.

All indicators are at risk of social desirability bias, where respondents give the answer that they think researchers want to hear, or to make themselves look good to interviewers or peers. It is not pos-

sible to eliminate bias completely, but it can be mitigated by anonymity, neutral wording, indirect questioning or fictional narratives.

In any initiative it is likely that some people will have more access to programming, some institutions will take on activities with more depth and some people will engage in programming with greater intensity. It is best practice to assess who is included – and therefore who is excluded from or has less access to programming. Measures of exposure to and engagement with programming should be included in assessments and MEL frameworks. Qualitative monitoring may be able to reveal patterns of exclusion beyond that identified by quantitative approaches.

Resistance to gender-transformative change

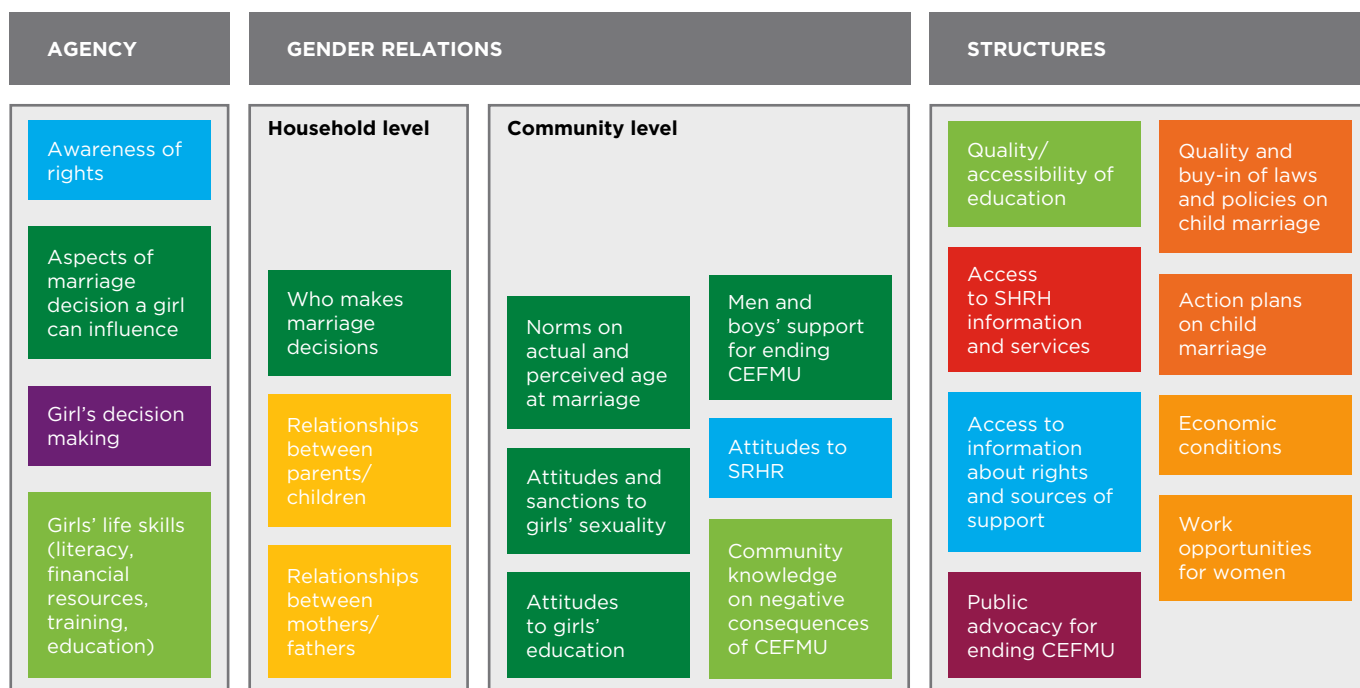
Gender-transformative change can challenge existing hierarchies, power imbalances and gender relations. While some people will support these changes, others will resist (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015; Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change, 2019). This does not mean programmes have to be in limbo while resistance takes place, instead, resistance points to opportunities to support early/earlier adopters, facilitators and others. Resistance does not need to be avoided, hidden or a reason to stop programming; staff, with

communities, can use monitoring data to reflect on what and how people are resisting and why. Resistance can indicate a shift in power relations, presenting opportunities to amplify existing change and mediate tensions early (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015). For example, intimate partner violence can occur in resistance to power shifts between intimate partners. Safety planning and working with women can guide programmes in how to prevent, prepare for and respond to these situations. Implementing partners are best placed to know how to respond in their own setting.

Qualitative measures of resistance seek to understand how people are responding to new forms of engagement, new ideas and behaviours. These complement, and do not replace, continuous engagement with activity implementers and feedback from communities.

Figure 2 provides an overview of the dimensions of gender-transformative change that could be tracked for child marriage-related outcomes. These are grouped into three key dimensions of empowerment: agency; gender relations; and structures.

Figure 2. Overview of CEFMU issue areas to monitor



KEY	Rights	Norms	Education and knowledge	Family	Economic	Law and policy	Services	Advocacy
	Decision-making							

The report identifies possible qualitative, intermediate measures in these issue areas. Programmes should choose the most relevant measures, indi-

cators and tools for their specific area of focus. These choices should be based on the formative research conducted before a programme starts,

and its theory of change, making sure to monitor the specific issues that a programme tries to change (see Section 2.2 for additional guidance).

The following sections start with brief guidance on how to select qualitative indicators and tools and then identify three (agency, gender relations, structure) areas of monitoring gender-transformative change that contribute to the prevention of CEFMU. Each section discusses what to monitor in that area and ends with a table listing the suggested indicators drawn from the literature.

Suggestions for indicators are drawn from the programming and academic literature and consultations with stakeholders working on CEFMU prevention. They were selected because they have been used in some programmes and proved useful to understand progress and barriers towards transformative change related to CEFMU prevention. Programmes that work on gender equality more broadly (including those that engage with

Indicators in the report's tables are split into two categories: those which show changes directly related to CEFMU, and those which show change in wider gender equality issues, which contribute to an enabling environment for ending CEFMU.

girls after marriage) may find some of these indicators relevant, with some adjustment (Aguilera *et al.*, 2022). Priority was given to light-touch, easy to implement measures. Indicators are split into two categories: those which show changes directly related to CEFMU, and those which show change in wider gender equality issues, which contribute to an enabling environment for ending CEFMU. The tables focus on feasible measures, so some areas may not be present if they are impractical to track.

2.2 An approach to developing a qualitative monitoring plan

A qualitative monitoring plan should reflect a specific programme's approaches related to gender-transformative change and what it seeks to influence to prevent CEFMU. Information collected in formative assessment can guide pro-

gramme design and inform the development of the specific qualitative indicators to be assessed in monitoring and evaluation. The following steps outline a process that can be

“A strong indicator that tracks transformative change in the underlying drivers of discrimination is one that illustrates real changes in attitudes and prevalence, and how these open (or close) empowerment pathways for women.”

(...) researchers propose that most effective that most effective approach for achieving social transformation for women and girls is to focus on tackling discriminatory social norms. Progress should then be measured through transformative indicators, both under a dedicated gender goal and mainstreamed throughout all other goals

(Harper *et al.*, 2014, p. 4).

used to develop a qualitative monitoring plan for CEFMU prevention programming.

1. Align indicators with the programme theory of change. Use the pathways of change that outline how programmes expect participants to understand, internalize and develop new practices, to develop areas to monitor. It is helpful to do this for different population groups and levels that the programme focuses on. Involve staff who are familiar with the partici-

pating communities, who have implemented CEFMU programmes, and who are familiar with the evidence on CEFMU prevention.

2. Identify key domains of gender-transformative change that the programme considers important to its impact. Instead of being comprehensive in selecting key areas of change, focus on what the programme considers a priority to be successful. Consider selecting a few indicators to limit the amount of data-col-

lection needed to track change. For example, a programme with a strong emphasis on working with parents may consider increased dialogue and shared decision-making important to how it will prevent CEFMU.

3. Select indicators that are relevant to the key areas.

Review the tables below to select qualitative indicators relevant to the gender-transformative change the programme identifies as priority. In selecting indicators, consider what is important and feasible for the programme to track during implementation. Staff who have experience working on CEFMU in this community, baseline assessments and previous CEFMU programme evaluations in the country may point to gradual gender-transformative change that is important to programme success. In selecting indicators, consider whether it is important to the programme to track qualitative indicators by specific subgroups, for example married and unmarried girls and boys.

4. Develop progress markers to track qualitative change using the qualitative indicators.

Progress markers are described in Section 3 and describe levels of change using an ‘expect, like and love to see’ framework.¹ Detailing the change that a programme would expect, like and love to see can be used to track change

in qualitative indicators, helping programmes to see how they are progressing towards their goals. The aim is not to achieve the ideal (‘love to see’) for all indicators; instead, it is to look cumulatively to see if the programme is affecting change in the desired way.

5. Select and adapt qualitative monitoring tools.

Common, practical tools that can be used to track qualitative indicators are described in Section 3. Consider the resources, skills, time needed to choose an approach that meets programme needs to track qualitative indicators. The selected tool should be one that provides data in a way that can be analysed and used during the implementation period. Define the frequency with which data will be collected, with whom it will be collected, and how the data will be analysed and used within the programme.

The next three sections outline potential indicators of transformative change around CEFMU, for each of the three domains of agency, gender relations and structures. The proposed indicators include both those that show changes directly related to CEFMU, and those that indicate change in underlying factors, including the broader gender equality environment.

2.3 Agency

In the context of CEFMU programmes, agency can be understood as having the power to decide if, when and who to marry. Girls’ agency for decision-making, collective action and leadership, and the transformation of power relations are core components of ending CEFMU (Aguilera *et al.*, 2022). To a lesser extent, boys’ agency and choice over their marriage is also a gender-transformative measure to track. Girls’ choice is a long-term goal that will rarely result from an individual programme. Therefore, interim indicators that show steps in this direction are needed.

In many contexts, people involved in decisions about marriage may include the girl’s parents, extended family, the bridegroom, his parents and community leaders. Girls’ choice and contribution to discussions about whom and when to marry may look different in settings where family and community relationships are prioritized over individual choice.

► TIP

Girls’ role in making marriage decisions is the key gender-transformative measure to track for agency and empowerment related to CEFMU prevention.

Decisions to marry young are not always made by elders. It is important to recognize that adolescents may well exercise their agency to enter unions before age 18 years (self-initiated marriage) (Lokot *et al.*, 2021). For example, in much of Latin America, the Caribbean, South-East Asia and many African contexts, it is relatively common for young people to enter consensual unions under the age of 18. The differing contexts mean that increased adolescent choice does not necessarily mean a reduction in child marriage and

1. This framework is derived from outcome-mapping methods.

unions. Girls' agency must be considered within a network of other drivers of child marriage and gender inequality and should not be the only measure that a programme tracks.

Therefore, when making decisions about what to monitor and how to assess progress towards girls' role in making decisions about marriage, consider culture, context and what is important locally, as with monitoring any kind of behaviour change.

Interim progress towards change can be tracked through measuring girls' ability to share their opinions, concerns, and to seek support and whether norms are shifting to support girls' voicing their views on a proposed marriage or specific bridegroom (see Table 1). For example, if families are starting to ask for and listen to girls' preferences, this suggests a shift in the balance of power, even if the final decisions are still made by parents/caregivers.

Girls' agency can also be monitored through their perceptions of who they can turn to if they are being told to marry against their will: teachers;

grandmothers, uncles or aunts; religious leaders; and services like helplines, shelters or counselling. Complementary monitoring could look at whether these sources of support are advocating on behalf of or with girls (see Section 2.4: Gender relations).

Staying in school is an important pathway to ending child marriage, especially for girls. With regards to girls' agency, some education-related indicators include whether girls are able to assert a desire to complete education before getting married, and whether they could continue to receive education after having a child or getting married. Other indicators on schooling are in section 2.5.1 on Education and employment.

More broadly, proxy empowerment measures such as girls' school attendance and girls' mobility can show the wider landscape of gender equality. Mobility underpins girls' access to services and training (Jones *et al.*, 2019). These, in turn, can bring about delays in age of marriage and girls' increased agency over marriage decisions and contribute to gender-transformative change more broadly.

Table 1. Measures on agency

Measure	Domain and indicators
1.1	Girls' role in marriage decision-making
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<p><i>Girls' aspirations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → changes in girls' aspirations for their futures → changes in girls' preferred age of marriage <p><i>Girls' voice in decision-making</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → who makes the final decision on marriage → changes in parents asking for or acting on girls' opinions about marriage or specific grooms → changes in perceived support for girls' voicing their preferences around marriage and aspirations → perceptions of the acceptability and commonness of acting on girls' opinions and aspirations related to marriage and their future among those important to girls → girls' knowledge and attitudes to make informed decisions about CEFMU → knowledge of the negative consequences of CEFMU <p><i>Refusing proposed marriages</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → attitudes to whether girls should be able to have a choice in their marriage → perceptions of girls' ability to refuse marriage → who girls can turn to for support in refusing a marriage proposal → consequences girls face when they refuse a proposed marriage

Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → girls' literacy, negotiation skills and self-confidence → girls' ability to move freely in public spaces → girls' self-efficacy (belief in their ability to complete tasks and reach their goals, for married and unmarried girls) → knowledge of legal rights → knowledge of SRHR → girls' self-confidence to become agents of change in their communities
1.2	Girls' agency to complete school
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → girls' confidence in their ability to complete their education → girls' ability to express their desire to stay in school to their families → girls' perceptions of the value of schooling → girls' perceived ability to return to school after dropout, when married, pregnant or with children

Sources: The authors; Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015; CEFM and Sexuality Programs Working Group, 2019; Greene and Stiefvater, 2019; Girls Not Brides, 2022.

2.4 Gender relations

2.4.1 Family relationships and attitudes

A core relationship for the ending of CEFMU is that between parents and their adolescent children (girls and boys). Extended family members such as aunts, uncles and grandparents and elders in the community may also be influential in providing information, influencing decision-making, holding and transforming norms and allowing for or resisting change. It is important to monitor how parents and other caregivers make decisions about marriage for their children, particularly targeting those who have a child at risk of early marriage, as this is a key intervention moment. Who makes the final decision? Who do they discuss it with? What factors do they take into consideration? For example, if an unmarried girl is pregnant, the families might take into account the level of shame of having a child outside marriage, the reliability and financial status of the father, and what consequences there are for the girl, such as leaving school or starting work.

In CARE's Tipping Point project to prevent CEFMU, programme monitoring probes the quality of communication between parents and children by asking questions of both parents and children

about how they interact and discuss all kinds of issues. This can be a useful way to explore the evolution of family relationships, girls' ability to share their opinions on marriage, and parents' willingness to listen to adolescents. But it can be resource-intensive for programme implementers, intrusive and at risk of social desirability bias, where respondents give the answer that they think interviewers want to hear.

Roles in marriage decision-making

In many places, it is considered appropriate for parents and other family members to be involved in deciding on marriages, giving guidance and assessing future partners' ability to provide a happy, stable and economically viable marriage (Hutchinson, 2019). Adolescents may agree to an unwanted marriage to avoid conflict in their family or because of pressure to provide grandchildren (Jones *et al.*, 2019). In these cases, marriage decision-making is underpinned by the norm of children's obedience to parents, and the value placed on family cohesion over individual choice.

Box 2 illustrates the importance of understanding the local context when selecting and monitoring qualitative indicators.

Box 2. Tailoring indicators of change in marriage decision-making to the local context

The role of mothers, fathers, extended family and girls in discussions of and decisions about girls' marriages depends on context. For example, among some Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon, it is the mother of the bridegroom who approaches the mother of the potential bride (Hutchinson, 2019). If a proposal is promising, the rest of the families will meet to discuss the marriage contract, dowry and future living arrangements (Hutchinson, 2019). Other Syrian girls living in urban refugee communities in Jordan described how they choose when and whom to marry, but their parents can accept or reject their choice (Freccero and Taylor, 2021). South Sudanese girls living in refugee settlements in Uganda described enduring negative consequences, including increased chores, non-payment of school fees or abuse, to not agreeing to their parents' choice of timing and whom to marry (Freccero and Taylor, 2021).

In each of these examples, what meaningful change looks like may be different. For example, an indicator on "parents ask for girls' opinions" and "girls' ability to refuse marriage" could be relevant to all three settings. Yet, in the South Sudanese example, understanding the consequences associated with girls voicing their marriage preference will be important. The Syrian girls in urban Jordan reported that they could voice their opinion, so a different indicator may be more relevant, such as whether parents listen to girls' preferences.

In many settings, fathers are often considered to be the final decision maker on marriage for their daughters. They may take other family members' opinions into account, especially their children's mothers. In the Yes I Do Alliance across seven countries,² young people were more likely to say that they can talk to their mothers about sensitive issues than their fathers (Plan International Netherlands, 2020). Plan International suggests that there needs to be more investment in engaging fathers and men.

However, mothers are not necessarily more opposed to child marriage than fathers. Mothers may support early marriage because they agree with it, or because they are unable to challenge patriarchal social norms (Sonke Gender Justice, 2021). Mothers of sons might prefer a younger daughter-in-law, whom they could expect to be easier to control (Greene *et al.*, 2015).

More broadly, fathers are often referred to in programmes as having considerable influence over the lives of their daughters (Girls Not Brides, 2018). Engaging fathers as champions for their daughters' development and success can be a core strategy for improving girls' outcomes. When fathers adopt gender-equitable attitudes and are positively involved with their daughters' lives, girls achieve more in school, and have greater self-esteem, which builds their capacities and mitigates risks, including child marriage (Sonke

Gender Justice, 2021). It is important, however, not to recast men as 'saviours' of women, but engage them as equals.

Grandmothers may also be important figures in decision-making on marriage. The Girls Holistic Development project in Senegal draws on grandmothers' traditional roles to engage them as advocates for their granddaughters. Using accepted positions for grandmothers as authorities on girl-children, the project creates an environment for alternative life paths for girls. In qualitative and quantitative evaluation, girls and parents reported being more likely to seek advice and support from grandmothers on household decisions on schooling and marriage (Kohli *et al.*, 2021). A possible measure for change might be whether other family members are involved in decision-making as advocates against early marriage.

Gender equality between spouses

Girls who marry young are more likely to experience gender inequality within their marriages. This may include: increased domestic violence, lack of voice in household decision-making, little control over sexual relations with their spouse, and the inability to divorce (Greene and Stiefvater, 2019). Girls who get married later are more likely to have completed their education, and to have bargaining power with their spouses, increased financial autonomy, and may be more able to exercise influence over marriage decisions for

2. Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Pakistan and Zambia.

their own children (Harper *et al.*, 2014). Restrictive gender roles, interpersonal violence and power inequalities can be transmitted from parents to children, meaning that the next generation of children remains vulnerable to child marriage (Rialet, Greene, and Lauro, 2022). Girls' empowerment is shaped by the gender equality context in their families (as well as the community and wider environment).

► TIP

Equitable relationships between husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, and other caregivers might indicate a balance of power that is moving towards gender equality and an enabling environment for ending CEFMU.

Equitable relationships between husbands and wives – as parents and as spouses – could be background indicators of shifts relevant to child marriage. As patriarchal masculinities and attitudes towards women and girls change, there may be increased public and parental support for equitable relationships with girls and women including ending CEFMU (UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage, 2023). Greater gender equality in the household – such as division of roles and responsibilities, communication and decision-making – can indicate changing gender and power dynamics in the home. Better communication between spouses leads to improved relationships, which in turn, has helped increase men's support for women's rights, and may be a first step towards a transformation in power relations (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015). Modelling gender-equitable relationships transmits gender equality from parents to children, transforming gender relations for the next generation and decreasing the likelihood of child marriage. Boys who are raised in a non-violent household are far less likely to be violent towards their own partners (Sonke Gender Justice, 2021). Changes in the household may indicate shifts towards an enabling environment that includes a more expanded view of life aspirations for girls and transformative change for the next generation.

2.4.2 Community relationships and support

Much programming to end CEFMU operates at the community level, including most norms-change

programmes, which aim to create an environment where girls can use their agency. Norms related to social hierarchy and patriarchy underlie family dynamics and uphold CEFMU (Girls Not Brides, 2022). These include norms related to gender roles in the household, expectations and aspirations for girls, purity and protection of girls, and decisions to delay CEFMU. Changes in these norms indicate shifts towards an enabling environment to support gender equality, including preventing CEFMU.

Programmes working to shift norms often engage with powerful community members, who may influence others' decisions (reference groups), as possible champions of change. These include religious leaders and elders. Where these groups are important stakeholders, programmes should monitor changes in their attitudes or practices.

Community-level changes reflect some of the broadest dimensions of gender-transformative change: changing domestic and public roles for men and women; access to SRHR; norms on girls' schooling and girls' mobility; and community views on age of marriage.

Men and boys

Programmes to end child marriage usually acknowledge the role played by men and boys, and many have separate strands working with them. Since men and boys influence marriage decisions to a greater or lesser extent, and once married, typically hold more power in a relationship than adolescent girls, their support is a critical element in ending CEFMU. This area of programming promotes a supportive, gender-equitable family and community environment, which leads to gender transformation. At its strongest, work with men and boys to end CEFMU can transform harmful masculinities and change the distribution of power and resources towards gender equality (Rialet, Greene, and Lauro, 2022).

Programmes should try to track changes in beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of men and boys towards greater gender equality. It is particularly important to track changes among adolescent and young men and whether these differ to older men, as this might indicate a generational norm shift is occurring. The indicators outlined in this report, the monitoring tool in Annex 1, and techniques outlined in Section 3 could be used to understand shifts in norms and practices among men and boys in more depth.

Changing relationships between boys and girls and men and women can indicate a shift towards greater gender equality in all spheres. Where boys and girls can communicate confidently and respectfully with each other, this lays the groundwork for equitable relationships and attitudes towards women's rights.

As noted above, an underlying driver of CEFMU is the expectation that women's primary role is in the home. Gender-transformative approaches might track men and boys' attitudes to women's domestic roles and the division of household labour as building blocks to ending child marriage. If men and boys show evolving expectations of childcare and women's work outside the home, this may indicate the wider norm shift required to end CEFMU. Encouraging men to be more involved in care work and child-rearing reduces the likelihood that they will use violence, and increases gender equality between spouses: which are gender-transformative changes (Sonke Gender Justice, 2021).

Beyond measuring attitudinal change, it may be possible to track how many (and which) men and boys speak up as advocates for gender equality and ending CEFMU (CEFM and Sexuality Programs Working Group, 2019). While this may also be an endline indicator, an ongoing increase in the number of advocates or actions taken would

► TIP

It can be helpful to the programme to collect, and track select qualitative indicators by subgroups, depending on the programme focus. For instance, in some settings, monitoring could distinguish between married and unmarried girls if the desired change is important and different for these populations.

show progress. The type and form of advocacy may vary from intervening with family members on behalf of a sister or cousin who is resisting marriage, to becoming a peer educator, to public actions like attending meetings or demonstrations. For male community leaders, using their positions to advocate directly for ending CEFMU might be a good measure (see Table 2).

Table 2. Measures on gender relations

Measure	Domain and indicators
2.1	Family relationships and attitudes to girls' marriage
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<p><i>Decision-making</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → who makes the final decision on marriage → who parents discuss marriage with → whether parents take others' opinions into account on marriage → family advocates, like grandmothers or brothers, act with or on behalf of girls to delay girls' marriage, support girls' continued schooling or life aspirations <p><i>Consequences of delaying marriage</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → perceived consequences for girls and families if daughters are unmarried after a certain point → among those important to you, perceived circumstances in which it is acceptable for a girl to delay marriage <p><i>Life paths for girls</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → what roles parents and caregivers envision for their daughters → parents' aspirations for educating daughters

Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → among those important to you, perceived acceptability of communication between parents and adolescents about marriage, sexuality and gender equality → attitudes on desirable age for girls' marriage → fathers' positive engagement as caregivers for their daughters; active involvement in their lives and ability to discuss issues with them
2.2	Community views and expectations on marriage.
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<p><i>Perceptions of ideal practices</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → among those important to you, perceptions of the ideal age of marriage (for boys and girls) → the ideal qualities for brides and grooms → who should make the decision on marriage <p><i>Knowledge</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → community knowledge of the negative consequences of CEFMU → attitudes towards girls and families who delay girls' marriage <p><i>Perceptions of changing practices</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → among those important to you, perception of commonness for girls to delay marriage → among those important to you, perception of change in community responses to families who delay girls' marriage → perception of changes in community response to unmarried girls who get pregnant → consequences unmarried girls face if they become pregnant → consequences unmarried boys face if they get someone pregnant → parents, peers or community members support efforts to prevent CEFMU → parents, peers or community members express negative thoughts, feelings or actions in response to ideas and behaviours related to CEFMU
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<p><i>Sexuality and childbearing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → attitudes related to girls' pregnancy before marriage → attitudes related to family honour → among those important to you, perceptions of unmarried girls seeking SRH information and services → acceptability of sex before marriage → community leaders and gatekeepers attitudes towards the SRHR of adolescent girls → acceptability of divorce <p><i>Gender roles and girls' empowerment</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → attitudes towards household division of labour → attitudes towards girls' schooling → among those important to you, perceptions of ideal household divisions of labour → among those important to you, perceived acceptability of women's paid work outside the home → among those important to you, perceptions of changing social support for girls staying in school → among those important to you, perceptions of changing social support for girls' mobility → girls' meaningful participation in decision-making bodies

2.3	Gender equality between spouses
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<p><i>Decision-making and communication</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → changes in how couples discuss family-related topics and consider each other's opinions → married girls' influence in marital decision-making → women's decision-making power in the household → changes in the expectations of male and female decision-making domains
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<p><i>Gender roles</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → see background qualitative indicators for 2.2 <p><i>Intimate partner violence (IPV)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → acceptability of IPV in specific circumstances
2.4	Men and boys' support for ending CEFMU
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → boys and girls discuss their aspirations, roles and preferences → men's and boys' increased knowledge of children's rights and the harmful effects of CEFMU → increased involvement of boys and young men in advocating against child marriage and adolescent childbearing → proactive engagement of male caregivers in the prevention of and response to cases of child marriage
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → respectful communication between boys and girls → men's support for women's rights in reproductive decisions → changes in norms around having many children → acceptability of gender-equal roles in the division of household labour → attitudes related to girls' aspirations, roles and preferences → attitudes related to girls' sexuality → attitudes around sexual harassment, especially from boys to girls

Sources: The authors; Aspen Planning and Evaluation Program, 2015; Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015; CEFM and Sexuality Programs Working Group, 2019; Greene and Stiefvater, 2019; Sonke Gender Justice, 2021.

2.5 Structures

2.5.1 Education and employment

Monitoring of gender-transformative approaches to ending child marriage needs to include changes in opportunity structures for girls (and boys). Education and employment are especially important, as these open alternative life paths for girls beyond marriage and motherhood. Interventions that support girls' schooling through cash or in-kind transfers show the clearest pattern of success in preventing child marriage (Malhotra and Elnakib, 2021a). Provision of accessible and affordable good quality education, combined with the norm that all young people complete primary and secondary education, will significantly reduce child marriage.

Education for boys also contributes to gender-transformative change, since they tend to hold more gender-equitable attitudes and behave more equitably if they have completed more schooling (UNFPA-UNICEF, 2019, p. 20). Schools also serve as hubs for tackling other issues: they are an important delivery point for comprehensive sexuality education; they host girls' empowerment clubs; and teachers are often well-placed to spot children at risk and those who need referrals to protective services. Teachers might be the first people that children turn to if they are facing, or expected to go ahead with, an unwanted marriage (Jones *et al.*, 2020).

Programmes focusing on CEFMU prevention do not need to monitor the quality of schooling per se, but there are important aspects of education that they should track. These include:

- schools' support for girls' participation, especially for married girls
- delivery of and support for life skills and comprehensive sexuality education
- female teachers as role models
- menstrual hygiene facilities
- engagement on issues of safety and security on the way to school and in school.

► TIP

Girls' education is possibly the single most important opportunity structure, especially secondary education, which is known to be transformative for girls (Brown, 2012).

These and other indicators will show the extent of an enabling environment for girls' education, and whether they have opportunities for alternative life paths beyond marriage.

Quantitative monitoring data on girls' school enrolment and attendance should be available from national statistics and does not necessarily need to be collected by a child marriage programme. Data on norms about employment and livelihoods for women outside the home may also be available at a national or subnational level. This can be complemented by selected qualitative data on the perceived value of girls' education, and its accessibility.

Employment opportunities can encourage girls to complete education – if there are decent jobs and economic opportunities available that require a certain level of schooling, girls, boys, and families are more likely to see the value in completing school (Jensen, 2010). For girls, earning an income broadens their life opportunities and can help change any perceptions of them as an economic burden on the household.

Social protection programmes play a role in preventing child marriage, because they can provide an economic buffer for households, and keep girls in school. For example, the Ethiopian Productive Safety Net Programme, although not focused on child marriage, has protective effects for girls by reducing financial pressure on families so they do

not need to marry off their daughters, and by increasing their capacity to pay school fees (Innocenti, 2020). On the other hand, increased income could also be used to cover the costs of a wedding, and financial security might generate more marriage proposals (Innocenti, 2020).

Since child marriage is often driven by poverty, programmes may be able to use existing quantitative data to triangulate information on the prevalence and severity of poverty, women's employment levels by age and region, against local data on perceptions of opportunities for women.

2.5.2 Laws, policies and advocacy

Legal support or prohibitions are an essential part of ending child marriage. All contexts need a national law that prohibits child marriage, as well as legislation that requires the free and full consent for marriage of both female and male parties. Consent cannot be 'free and full' when one of the individuals is not sufficiently mature to make an informed decision about a life partner (Aspen Planning and Evaluation Program, 2015).

Laws on the threshold age for marriage, on their own, rarely change social practices (Batyra and Pesando, 2021). In some countries, there are legal exceptions to the minimum age of marriage, such as where parents approve, or different rules for different faiths (Greene and Stiefvater, 2019). Qualitative interim indicators are able to capture the nuance of how a law is interpreted and applied, showing the underlying social shifts needed for the law to be effective.

Laws may be national or subnational, but also regional, such as the Southern Africa Development Community's model law on preventing child marriage (Plan International Zambia, 2019). And relevant provisions may also appear in laws against gender-based violence, children's rights, education laws or national constitutions. Policies and action plans to end CEFMU or support married girls are not legally binding but might lay out concrete goals and actions that programme implementers can use for accountability.

Many CEFMU programmes do not include monitoring laws and policies in their scope, beyond documenting their existence (or not). But some programmes include a component on enhancing institutional capacity and find it useful to periodically review the policy environment. Many aspects

of this kind of review can be done by members of the programme's staff own assessment, document review or interviews with officials.

A review for Girls Not Brides suggests that monitoring laws and policies to end child marriage could encompass a law policy or procedure:

- being drafted/presented for public or stakeholder consultation
- being proposed/presented for legislative or other official action
- being passed/adopted
- beginning to be implemented (Aspen Planning and Evaluation Program, 2015).

These steps are useful to track the progress of a law coming into practice.

Laws and policies can be assessed qualitatively by reviewing them for gender-sensitivity, by tracking changing levels of community knowledge or buy-in and in implementation capacity.³

Programmes may also aim to enhance the capacity of the administration to produce and implement action plans, so interim indicators might include measuring the knowledge of staff. Some programmes work with local government to

strengthen institutional-level capacity to tackle child marriage (Plan International Zambia, 2019). Indicators might therefore track knowledge, the systems to respond or community perceptions of institutional response.

From a community-level perspective, improvement in the legal and institutional environment might include reduced barriers to accessing cultural, legal and political processes, such as support services and access to justice (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015). It could also include perceptions of reduced delays, or greater responsiveness or sensitivity among law enforcement personnel and the legal system.

On advocacy for ending CEFMU, indicators of medium-term change might include how deeply young people are involved in advocacy campaigns, whether there is peer-to-peer education, or if young people can participate in decision-making spaces, especially girls (CEFM and Sexuality Programs Working Group, 2019). Media campaigns can be useful tools for raising awareness against CEFMU, but can be hard to track qualitatively, beyond documenting broadcasts and audience numbers. Figure 3 shows sample progress markers for lobbying government officials or policy-makers, that can be adapted for other kinds of advocacy work as well:

Figure 3 Example progress markers for lobbying work

Example progress markers for lobbying work	
<i>Expect to see decision-makers...</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → responding to requests for meetings → agreeing to meet with CSO to discuss concerns → sending staff to meetings with the appropriate level of authority
<i>Like to see decision-makers...</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → reading materials provided by CSO before the meeting(s) → asking relevant questions during the meetings → making positive statements during meetings about future actions → proactively inviting the CSO to supply further information or attend future meetings
<i>Love to see decision-makers...</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → making public declarations around issue raised by CSO → taking independent action on issues raised by CSO → inviting CSO to further meetings to review progress

Source: Simister and Ross, 2020, p. 4

3. Parallel quantitative indicators could include: the number of cases reported, the average time taken for a case to be processed and the conviction rate.

2.5.3 Service provision

Several social services are of importance to ending child marriage – principally education (as discussed above); youth-friendly health services, including sexual and reproductive health; child protection services; and gender-based violence prevention and response services. Programmes to end CEFMU will not monitor all these wide-ranging services, but Table 3 below provides a few indicators that can be adapted to keep track of the wider supporting environment for ending CEFMU and creating gender-transformative change.

Health and education services are vital entry points for spotting the warning signs of early marriage, and stepping in to prevent it. As above, programmes do not need to fully assess the capacities of services, but it is useful to know if services exist; if they have knowledge about child marriage; and if they are able to refer to other appropriate services, including law enforcement and shelters (Aspen Planning and Evaluation Program, 2015). This information can be gained from asking for community perceptions of services available to them; for example, do service providers come to community meetings to talk about child marriage?

Access to SRHR is important to ending CEFMU because adolescent pregnancy often leads to child marriage. Where young people are sexually active but a pregnancy is unwanted, they need access to contraception and advice without stigma. Comprehensive sexuality education is also useful for improved knowledge on contraception and healthy sexuality. CSE has the potential to achieve gender-transformative change by empowering girls and boys with accurate SRHR knowledge, improved decision-making and negotiation skills, and commitments to gender equality (UNFPA, 2015). While quantitative indicators can capture

the prevalence of modern contraceptive methods and the numbers of people using the services, qualitative indicators can explore perceptions and knowledge around young people's sexuality, including attitudes of health care providers. Programmes working at the community level should try to assess community perceptions of boys and girls seeking SRHR services, since stigmatizing attitudes or norms disapproving of adolescents accessing these services contribute to adolescent pregnancy and CEFMU (CEFM and Sexuality Programs Working Group, 2019).

A child protection system provides multisectoral support for children's rights, including preventing CEFMU and the rights of children within marriages and divorced children. Core child protection system functions include:

- complaints and reporting mechanisms, and referral to the justice system where required
- child protection services (e.g., shelters, psychosocial support)
- coordination between service providers and between community, district, province and national levels
- child protection information systems (Girls Not Brides, 2021).

For light-touch monitoring, programme staff can ask community members whether they know of such services, and their perceived effectiveness and quality in cases of CEFMU.

Girls who are married before the age of 18 are at greater risk of interpersonal violence, from husbands and other family members (Greene and Stiefvater, 2019). Access to quality GBV prevention and response services may improve the lives of married girls, and a reduction in GBV is an integral part of gender-transformative change.

Table 3. Measures on structures

Measure	Domain and indicators
3.1	Girls are supported to attend and stay in school
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<p><i>Schools' preparedness to respond to CEFMU</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → schools identify and resource a designated office or person to whom children can safely report concerns about child marriage → school staff confidence and ability to intervene on behalf of a girl → boys' and girls' comfort in speaking to school staff about CEFMU → schools' policy on continuing to teach pregnant girls, married girls and girls with children <p><i>Public discourse on education and CEFMU</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → public discussion or advocacy for girls to complete education before getting married → public discussion or advocacy for policies that allow married or pregnant girls to continue their education
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<p><i>Schools actively promote girls' participation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → girl-friendliness of schools (e.g., separate toilet for girls, a system for reporting GBV, extracurricular activities for girls) → quality of menstrual hygiene management facilities and education at school → gender-equitable school practices (e.g., gender-responsive pedagogy, girls' engagement in classrooms, girls' leadership opportunities, female teachers) → perceived adequate quality of teaching in nearby schools <p><i>Financial support to stay in school</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → girls/families report that schooling is affordable and accessible (including distance and safety) → financial incentives available to promote continuation of (or re-entry into) education among girls <p><i>Public discourse on girls' education</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → public discourse/community norm shift about the value of education for girls
3.2	Quality of services
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → access to relevant services, including SRHR services, legal support, social services → girls' and boys' increased accurate knowledge after receiving comprehensive sexuality education → girls' and boys' knowledge of SRHR services → girls and boys feel they are able to access SRHR services → perceptions of girls and boys who access SRHR services → health centre staff provide SRH services to unmarried young people → staff confidence and ability to provide youth-friendly services, including CSE → child protection actors are able to intervene on behalf of a girl (school staff, health service providers, community leaders, religious leaders, etc) → service providers including CEFMU programmes have mechanisms to make referrals to other appropriate services
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → youth-friendliness of services. E.g. staff do not express stigmatizing attitudes, confidentiality is respected, young people can attend alone if they choose, young people's choices are respected → service providers come to community meetings to talk about child marriage

3.3	Livelihoods opportunities for young women and their families.
Direct qualitative indicators of changes related to CEFMU	<p><i>Opportunities for young women</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → girls'/ young women's participation in skills development or income generating activities → perception of value of these programmes in CEFMU prevention <p><i>Families' economic opportunities and stress</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → levels of economic stress reported by parents of adolescent girls → families' participation in social protection programmes (general, or specifically targeted at families of girls at risk of CEFMU) → parents' participation in programmes designed to increase access to productive economic resources (assets, credit, income or employment) → parents' perception of the value of these programmes in CEFMU prevention
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → norms around gender roles (see measure 2.2)
3.4	Supportive legal and policy frameworks.
Direct qualitative indicators	<p><i>Quality of relevant policies</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → how well sector policies (e.g. education, health) include CEFMU prevention issues or support to married girls <p><i>Community buy-in</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → awareness of rights in family law → community support for laws and policies to end CEFMU → actions taken by community members in support of an issue → civil society support for existing policies to end CEFMU (e.g. by youth-led; women-led; feminist organizations) <p><i>Capacity to deliver</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → knowledge among service providers of child marriage laws, risk factors for child marriage, and how to report law violations → local government staff knowledge and understanding of laws and policies on CEFMU → extent of enforcement capacity → perceived adequacy of resourcing to relevant policies and programmes
Background qualitative indicators of gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → involvement of women and marginalized groups in policy development → people with policymaking responsibility are engaged with, and discuss, CEFMU at community level → people with policymaking responsibility are engaged with, and discuss, CEFMU with programme implementers → institutions support and encourage discussion of ideas and behaviours in relation to gender equality, girls' agency and CEFMU prevention

Sources: The authors; Aspen Planning and Evaluation Program, 2015; Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015; CEFM and Sexuality Programs Working Group, 2019; UNFPA-UNICEF, 2019; Koster *et al.*, 2021; Advanced Centre for Women's Studies, Tata Institute of Social Science, *et al.*, 2022; MacFarlane and Metzler, 2022.

3. Tools and methods to monitor change

3.2 Overview of data-collection methods

This section focuses on light-touch, qualitative monitoring methods that can be applied easily by programmes that work towards ending child marriage. These tools can identify the gradual changes that lead to programme outcomes, check the pace and scope of change, any negative outcomes and course-correct if needed. CARE's Tipping Point programme, Girls Holistic Development and SASA! Together are included as case study examples of programme monitoring; We-Care's evaluation provides further insights on the use of participatory approaches to monitor gender-transformative change.

Programmes can use one or more of the tools described below to collect information on their qualitative indicators. These tools are intended to be simple and feasible to apply by programmes with limited resources, time and ability to design, collect and use data.

The basic approach used by most programmes is to conduct interviews and focus group discussions with programme participants and key informants every few months. Some programmes use participatory methods such as drawing and mapping, or storytelling methods to capture stories of change. An even more light-touch approach is to ask staff to regularly record their impressions of change in the programme's key areas and use these to track progress.

Within the selected tools and during implementation of activities, programmes can monitor whether there are signs of resistance to change. For example, this could include questions in focus group discussion or interviews. Activity observation is a less intensive approach that involves observing multiple activities and noting who sup-

ports and who speaks against change and how others respond. Discussion of observations with facilitators would add more context and guide understanding of resistance to a change in norms.

Setting progress markers at the beginning of a programme, after developing a theory of change, sets a benchmark. Progress markers⁴ are "a set of statements that describe a gradual progression or milestone change" (Lopez Peralta and José de León, 2021), recognizing that change may be gradual, nonlinear or not necessarily fully transformative. Rather than showing change over time, progress markers are developed around key areas of change and are framed in terms of what programmes would expect to see, like to see and love to see. Progress markers are designed around specific actors, describing what gender-transformative change looks like for this actor and oriented around specific domains of change that the programme seeks to affect. For example, in Figure 4, the actors are an empowered woman and a male champion.

Expect to see progress markers describe changes that a programme expects to see in response to programme inputs. For example, if you are conducting a training, you expect people to be better informed or have relevant skills by the end of the training. *Like to see* progress markers are the changes that a programme would hope to see as it takes root in the setting. *Love to see* progress markers are the transformational attitude, value and behaviour change the programme seeks to affect (Dyer, 2014). Figure 4 provides an example of progress markers taken from the programme run by international economic development organization MEDA in the South Shouneh area in Jordan.

4. Progress markers are a component of Outcome Mapping. The approach is used here to track change in qualitative indicators though the full Outcome Mapping approach is not discussed in this report as it requires substantial time and capacity.

Figure 4. Examples of progress markers: expect, like and love to see

<p>Empowered Woman: Confident, organized, bold, can talk freely in any situation or place she is in, leader, had good communication skills, humble, productive, serve her community, has enough patience to challenge the negative social norms (culture of shame) and can create anything from scratch</p>			
<p>Male Champion: trust his wife and help her in the household chores and with the kids, take the kids for health care if needed, have not had good communication skills especially with his wife, support his wife in her business if she has one, promote his wife business and work, doesn't depend on her financially (if she has income)</p>			
Domains	Expect to See / Start to see (direct response to project inputs)	Like to See (what we hope to see as Jordan Valley Links gains traction and starts achieving)	Love to see (transformational of the attitudes, values, priorities and behaviours)
Division of Labour and workload sharing (household level)	Men help in the household chores if they were asked to and spend limited time with the children (while the wives are in business)	Men help in the household chores when women are in businesses and take care of the children as a support for her business roles	Men are sharing household chores and spending leisure time with their children
Self Confidence (autonomy and leadership)	Women have the fear of starting new businesses because of the limited financial and technical skills and have small homebased seasonal income generating activities	Women are comfortable about their financial and technical knowledge and officially started their homebased unregistered businesses which increased their household income Women with the support of the Key Facilitating Partner is meeting the market actors and market their products and negotiate for better prices	Women are making deals with different market actors and negotiate for better prices
Recognition by households and Community	Husbands and male family members keep their wives' small income generating activities in low profile because of culture of shame and community gossiping	The community sees the value of women's contribution to the home and economy and women can express their ideas/ experiences among themselves Husbands and male family members talk about their wives' business in front of the bigger family	Husbands and male family members talk proudly about their wives' businesses in front of the community members

Table 4 lists data-collection tools in common use across CEFMU programmes and identifies what you learn, and their advantages and disadvantages. It includes tools that can be used during activity implementation, at periodic intervals to assess beliefs, and to illuminate pathways to change.

Table 4. Types of tools to monitor CEFMU programmes

Measure	What it is	What you learn	Advantages	Disadvantages
Tools for staff or change agent observations during activity implementation				
Activity observations	M&E trained staff record their impressions of change during any programme activity.	How a community is responding to ideas that challenge norms. How social approval and disapproval play out in public spaces.	Simple to collect. Low time commitment.	Relies on staff member's personal interpretation, therefore subject to bias. Not necessarily easy to compare observations over time.
Temperature check (CARE, 2017a)	Used to understand how well activities are being received and internalized. Can be used to look at a range of outcomes, such as changing attitudes, changing norms, openness to parent-child dialogue, etc. Relies on observation with a focus on how people respond to new ideas, opinions or discussions.	In response to ideas or opinions that challenge the existing attitudes, norms or behaviours, do most participants voice resistance or agreement? If participants voice resistance or support to ideas that challenge the attitude, norm or behaviour, how do (most) other participants react?	Simple to collect. Low time commitment.	Relies on staff member's personal interpretation, therefore subject to bias. Not necessarily easy to compare across observations over time.
Incident tracking Sheet	Documents (anonymously) incidents of resistance or backlash against individuals, groups, staff or the organization.	Provides information on what happened, when, why and responses from the organization or others. Can track how often resistance is happening. Tracks how the organization is responding to resistance.	Simple to collect. Facilitates engagement with and response to resistance. Can be used to inform engagement with staff and community to understand how to mitigate and respond to resistance.	Need to keep data secure, especially if any personal information is documented.
Community change tracker (Raising Voices, 2020)	Understand how participants react to key ideas using a 'know, feel, do' framework for each outcome. Uses a rating scale to understand group agreement with key ideas and change over time.	Assesses incremental progress towards specific outcomes in a programme.	Can be done periodically with select activities. Uses a simple 1-5 rating scale for each 'know, feel, do' statement.	Observer needs to maintain a neutral position when completing the rating scale based on what they heard. Needs some practice before operationalizing. Subjective rating.
Measure	What it is	What you learn	Advantages	Disadvantages
Tools to explore participants' beliefs				
Interviews (semi-structured or unstructured)	Individual in-depth interviews conducted by a trained interviewer.	Deep individual perceptions of change. Detailed accounts of particular events. Attitudes and beliefs.	Can reveal personal beliefs, perceptions and private behaviours. Allows participant to share more context and nuance.	Takes more skill and time to collect and analyse data.

Focus group discussions	Groups of peers are brought together to have a discussion on key issues, guided by a trained facilitator. FGDs can use a range of tools and activities to help explore issues, including vignettes (below).	The nuance of possible gender-transformative change. Comparison across groups or across time is useful to identify where change is happening faster or slower.	Reveals areas of consensus and disagreement. Easier to reach a larger number of participants than individual interviews.	Needs good facilitation skills to manage the group and participation.
Vignettes	Groups are shown a realistic but fictional story about characters. They discuss guiding questions with a trained facilitator.	To what extent attitudes vary between boys, girls, men, women and across different age groups. Insight into perceived expectations, constraints and enablers, sanctions/ rewards and strength of a norm. Vignettes potentially reduce social desirability bias (respondents giving the answer they think facilitators/ interviewers want to hear).	Allows for rich discussion. Identifies places of agreement and disagreement, and changing norms, values and behaviours. To discuss sensitive issues like GBV or sexual orientation without putting undue pressure on participants to reveal personal information.	Takes time, skill and understanding of local context to craft a vignette. Data analysis might be more involved.
Measure	What it is	What you learn	Advantages	Disadvantages
Participatory tools that illuminate pathways to change				
Body mapping	Typically one or more participants or the facilitator will draw a sketch of a person and use this to stimulate discussion of key issues.	Participants' perceptions e.g. focusing on the heart (girls' aspirations); the mouth (girls' ability to voice their preferences); legs (girls' ability to go to school/ work outside the home/ return to school after pregnancy) etc. Can be used to prompt questions about what is changing and why.	Can help ground discussion; visual tool can help shyer participants open up in ways that direct questioning may not.	Using the body as a prompt may bring up issues of violence and abuse and facilitators need to be prepared to respond. Some creativity may be needed to make the link between different body parts and CEFMU issues.
River of life	Individuals are asked to sketch rivers/ roads etc. with key events in their personal timeline. This could also be adapted to create idealized timelines for a girl at risk of CEFMU and one who has been able to achieve her aspirations.	Key challenges and sources of support for girls in realizing their aspirations.	Can be used to focus on aspirations, what obstacles girls face and how these could be overcome, and how sources of support could be strengthened, thus helping hone programme priorities.	If focusing on individuals' personal stories/ timelines there is a risk of bringing up past/ current trauma. It may be better to present the tool as focusing on a typical girl rather than individuals. It can be helpful to focus on the recent past rather than early years.
Pile sorting	Participants indicate visually how far they agree with a statement, or how common they think a practice is, by grouping items (e.g. beans, stones etc) in piles.	Can indicate perceptions of the prevalence of norms and practices and can be used to stimulate discussion about what is changing and why.	Can help people think concretely about the prevalence of a norm or attitude; can be more engaging than just answering a question.	Can be time-consuming; some participants might find it patronizing and would prefer simply to answer questions.

PhotoVoice	Participants share their lives through an open-ended photographic documentation assignment, followed by discussion or interview about select images.	Can show which activities are perceived to bring about change. Improves programme staff members' understanding of the community.	Allows for rich and personal sharing of experiences, aspirations and change. Engaging and fun for participants.	Requires cameras or phones with cameras. Cannot cover a wide range of topics in depth in one exercise.
Community score cards (CARE Malawi, 2013)	Collect information to influence the quality, efficiency and accountability with which services are provided at different levels. Uses a dialogue in a participatory setting engaging both providers and users. The community (rather than a population group) is the unit of analysis.	Gathers immediate feedback and focuses on immediate response and decision-making to ensure accountability. Through dialogue, facilitates common understanding of issues and solutions.	Emphasis on accountability, transparency and responsibility from providers. Improves relationships between community and providers.	Requires time and skill, especially as accountability for providers may be a new concept. Needs skilled facilitation to avert and manage conflict. If not facilitated well and transparent, it can raise expectations of community members. Needs a few days to prepare, implement, analyse and disseminate.

3.3 Case studies

3.3.1 CARE Tipping Point

CARE's Tipping Point programme in Nepal and Bangladesh is an important example of a gender-transformative approach to ending child marriage. It works across the domains of agency, gender relations and structures to facilitate household- and community-level action to challenge and shift social norms perpetuating child marriage. Its theory of change is grounded in principles of gender-transformative change (Hillenbrand *et al.*, 2015) and its approach rooted in challenging social expectations and repressive norms and promoting girl-driven movement building and collective action led by girls.

Tipping Point uses multiple qualitative measures throughout the programme.

'Rolling profiles' are interviews with girls, boys, mothers and fathers every four to six months. They capture relations between family members and changing gender roles, asking questions such as 'Which topics do you and your mother talk about on a day-to-day basis?' and 'What are the expectations in your family for an adolescent girl?'

In their focus group discussions, CARE uses Norm by Norm FGD guides for boys, girls and parents to assess how social norms are changing.

Tipping Point uses the Social Norms Analysis Plot framework to assess change in social norms around child marriage (CARE, 2017a). Example questions include:

- What do the people of your village think when a 12–16 year old girl moves in and around the community on their own: Do they perceive this positively or negatively or in any other way?
- Do you think most or only a few girls (12–16 years old) do this in your village? What do people in THIS village think of girls that do these things? How much would this community reaction matter for the girl and for her family?
- Are there certain situations where it is okay for the girl to behave that way, for there to be no negative consequences?
- Are there some girls in your village for whom it is okay to behave that way with no negative consequence?
- Are there certain girls who are behaving like that, despite the consequences?

Tipping Point has used Photovoice with adolescent girls to understand their perceptions of social norm change towards gender equality in their communities. Girls were trained in using digital cameras and asked to photograph changes and actions that were happening. The photo-

graphs were discussed and analysed for themes. The results showed which activities were perceived to bring about change while also furthering programme staff members' understanding of the community as they designed Phase 2 programming. A challenge was that participants photographed many of the same things because they were from a small community.

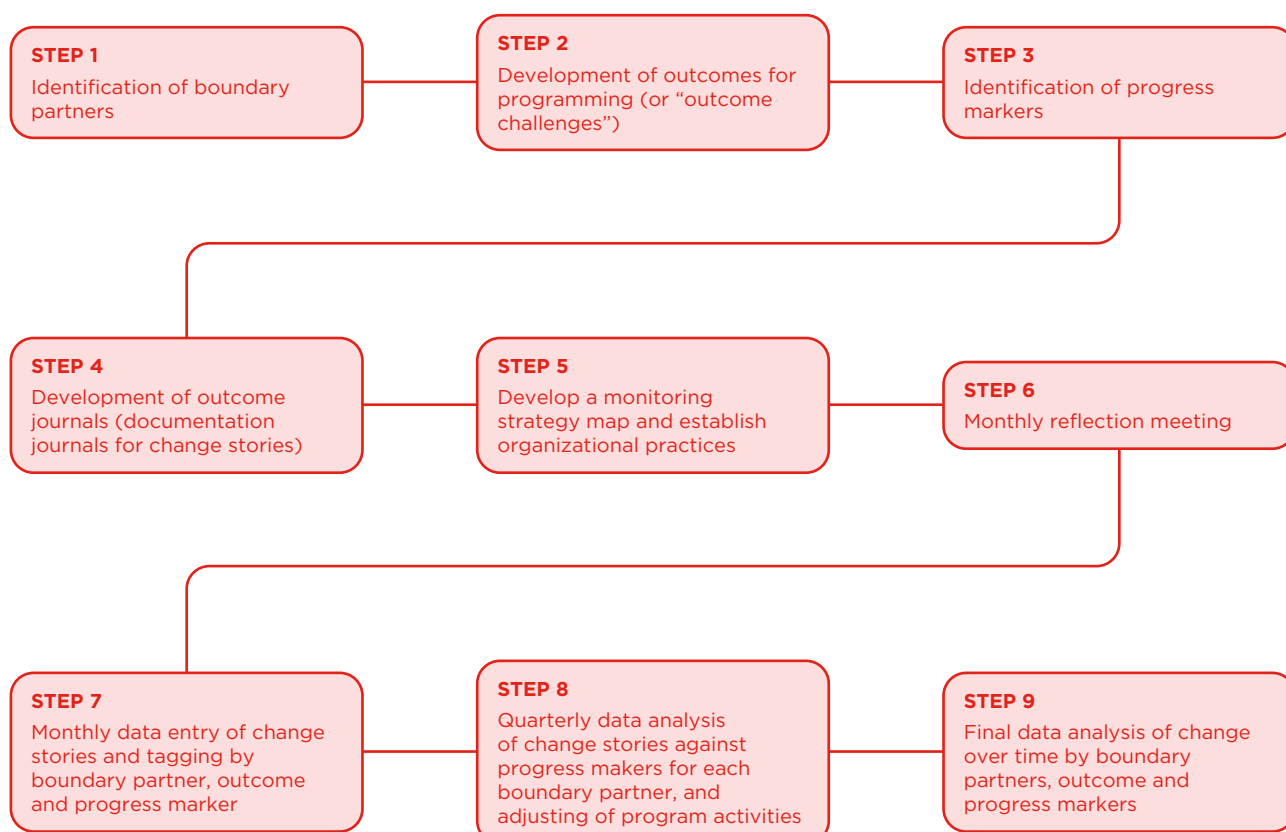
Tipping Point used outcome-mapping (Figure 5) in its first phase. It set its boundary partners, outcome challenges, and progress markers⁵ at the beginning of the programme, and monitored them by collecting stories of change. Stories were collected continuously by programme staff through discussions with participants and docu-

mentation journals. Staff then tagged the stories in monthly or quarterly staff meetings – whether it represented:

- positive or negative change
- expected or unexpected change
- minor or important change
- an estimated percentage of the change that could be attributed to Tipping Point's work (CARE, 2017b).

Each story was later coded by identifying the most relevant boundary partner, project outcome and progress marker reflected in the story and entered into a database for analysis. Figure 5 shows an overview of the steps in the process.

Figure 5. Overview of Tipping Point's outcome-mapping process



Source: CARE (2017b, p. 1)

Tipping Point used outcome-mapping to identify parts of the programme that did not seem to be working. At the end of the programme, the stories data were re-analysed as part of the evaluation process. Outcome Mapping can be a useful tool for both continuous monitoring and final evaluation, to capture the strength of change. Howe-

ver, it cannot be implemented halfway through a programme, as identifying appropriate progress markers requires a formative analysis at the beginning. It is also subject to significant human error in tagging and coding, since this is completed by several different people.

5. Boundary partners are people or institutions that the programme can influence; outcome challenges state the ideal behaviour for each boundary partner; progress markers describe the path towards that ideal behaviour.

3.3.2 Girls holistic development, Senegal

Girls Holistic Development (GHD), developed and implemented by the Grandmother Project – Change through Culture (GMP), promotes change in social and gender norms by building on culturally defined roles and values, and relationships. GHD seeks to prevent child marriage, early pregnancy and FGM/C and keep girls in school. The programme works in communities (including with formal and informal leaders, women and men, traditional and religious leaders, adolescent girls and boys) and schools. GHD activities include:

- multiple intergenerational and cross-gender dialogue forums
- training of grandmother leaders
- building relationships between girls, mothers and grandmothers in and across families
- reinforcement of positive cultural and educational values and teachings.

Ongoing reflection supports an iterative process of learning and adjustment of the community strategy or programme and is part of GHD's approach. To do this GHD:

- developed a programme theory of change that specifies activities, actors, values, norms and other factors that uphold behaviours
- defined theorized pathways from activity to changed behaviour in their theory of change
- prioritized inclusive dialogue to promote consensus building for change in the community.

The programme uses qualitative approaches to observe, document and track possible changes that are happening. For example, qualitative monitoring of intergenerational dialogues involves observation and extensive note-taking on what different people say and how they react to new ideas. Through analysis, the GHD team makes sense of what the different groups are feeling and thinking during participatory learning activities, how they are reacting to new or different ideas, and any signs of collective consensus in favour of more gender-equitable norms. Implementing teams discuss the analysis, reflect on their work to see what is working and what needs adjustment.

The team also conducts occasional in-depth interviews with particular groups to get a better sense of their experience participating in the dialogue-based consensus building activities. Among

other topics, the interviews explore:

- how participants experience the participatory learning activities
- individual and group participation in discussions
- what they feel and think about the intergenerational discussions
- possible changes in their knowledge or attitudes
- if they have acted differently in their family or community, based on what they learned.

These in-depth explorations help the team to understand in more detail how subgroups of the population (e.g., male leaders) are responding to an approach that catalyses discussion between gender and generations on new ideas.

3.3.3 SASA! Together learning and assessment cycle.

SASA! Together is an evidence-based community mobilization approach to prevent violence against women and girls. Its monitoring tools are straightforward to apply to child marriage programmes with slight adjustments, as the underlying principles of change are very similar.

SASA! Together's learning approach captures changes related to what people know, how they feel and what they do. SASA! Together staff track progress through continuous data-collection using a variety of tools. Every month, the tracking data are entered into a database. Every quarter, data are analysed to identify key lessons learned and to assess trends. Every quarter, feedback sessions help SASA! Together staff to interpret and expand on their findings. Table 5 shows the qualitative tools that SASA! Together uses throughout the programme cycle.

It may be possible to use this approach with a lighter touch; for example, by selecting a number of activities for monitoring during a programme phase rather than documenting each activity. This could be used for reflection in feedback sessions with staff.

Table 5. SASA! Together monitoring tools

Tool	What does it assess?	Who completes it?	When or how often?	How many?
Activity Plan and Report for Local Activism, Community Leadership and Institutional Strengthening strategies	Location, number of participants and type of every SASA! Together activity conducted by activists, leaders and allies	Community activists, community leaders, institutional allies and SASA! Together staff	The first part is completed when planning activities, with remaining details added after completing each activity; the Activity Plan and Report is submitted to SASA! Together staff once a month (for activists and leaders) and once a quarter (for allies)	Depends on the intensity of your programming (remember that every SASA! Together activity is recorded on this form)
Activity Observation Form for Local Activism and Community Leadership strategies	Quality of SASA! Together activities, facilitation skills and community engagement	SASA! Together staff	Each time a staff member observes a SASA! Together activity in the community	20 per month (minimum)
Community Change Tracker for Local Activism and Community Leadership strategies	Progress toward SASA! Together's phase-specific outcomes	SASA! Together staff or L&A staff	Select specific activities to track, as determined through systematic sampling (see page 28)	Depends on the size of your program (15 per month minimum)
Institutional Change Tracker Institutional Change Tracker strategy	Progress toward SASA! Together's phase-specific outcomes	SASA! Together staff in collaboration with institutional allies	Toward the end of each phase	One per phase (if institution has multiple offices, complete one in each)
Community Focus Group Discussions Institutional Change Tracker strategies	Insights, experiences and perspectives from women and men in the community	SASA! Together staff, L&A staff or consultant	Toward the end of each phase	Approximately six per phase
Activity plan and report for local activism, community leadership and institutional strengthening strategies	Location, number of participants and type of every SASA! Together activity conducted by activists, leaders and allies	Community activists, community leaders, institutional allies and SASA! Together staff	The first part is completed when planning activities, with remaining details added after completing each activity; the Activity Plan and Report is submitted to SASA! Together staff once a month (for activists and leaders) and once a quarter (for allies)	Depends on the intensity of your programming (remember that every SASA! Together activity is recorded on this form)
Activity observation form for local activism and community leadership strategies	Quality of SASA! Together activities, facilitation skills and community engagement	SASA! Together staff	Each time a staff member observes a SASA! Together activity in the community	20 per month (minimum)
Community change tracker for local activism and community leadership strategies	Progress toward SASA! Together's phase-specific outcomes	SASA! Together staff or L&A staff	Select specific activities to track, as determined through systematic sampling	Depends on the size of your program (15 per month minimum)

Institutional change tracker for institutional strengthening strategy	Progress toward SASA! Together's phase-specific outcomes	SASA! Together staff in collaboration with institutional allies	Toward the end of each phase	One per phase (if institution has multiple offices, complete one in each)
Community Focus Group Discussions for local activism and community leadership strategies	Insights, experiences and perspectives from women and men in the community	SASA! Together staff, L&A staff or consultant	Toward the end of each phase	Approximately six per phase

Source: Raising Voices (2020, pp. 11-12).

The SASA! Together community change tracker observes acceptability and resistance to ideas, by whom, and how a community perceives violence against women and gender roles. Trained monitoring and evaluation officers witness a project activity and fill in the 'know, feel, do' matrix, rating each question on a scale of 1-5, based on their observation. The form also includes a space for

staff reflection, which includes the prompt "Was there any issue discussed that caused a lot of disagreement among participants?" Table 6 shows one example from the second phase of the SASA! Together approach. Annex 1 adapts this approach for use specifically in monitoring gender-transformative change in CEFMU.

Table 6. SASA! Together community change tracker observation form, filled out by facilitators

1	2	3	4	5
Almost no participants	Very few participants	About half of participants	Many participants	Almost all participants

	Community members KNOW...	Rate 1-5
1	Violence against women can be physical, emotional, sexual or economic.	
2	Violence against women has negative consequences for women, men and children.	
3	Men's power over women (not other factors) is the root cause of violence against women.	

	Community members FEEL...	Rate 1-5
4	Violence against women is never acceptable.	
5	It is important to balance power in relationships—including in sexual relationships.	
6	Their silence about violence against women allows it to continue.	

	Community members DO...	Rate 1-5
7	Analyze how they use power in their own relationship or in the community.	
8	Talk to others about the benefits of change.	
9	Speak out against violence against women.	

Source: Raising Voices (2020, p. 31).

Participants are not expected to say these statements, but observers need to listen and assess approximately where the community is on the rating scale. As this relies on subjective interpretation, it

requires practice and discussion at the beginning, so staff members will be roughly consistent in their ratings. All the observation forms are entered into the tracking database and analysed regularly.

SASA! Together's institutional change tracker focuses on the programme's institutional strengthening strategy. Towards the end of each of the four phases, the programme staff, with institutional allies, engage in a discussion where they rate progress on a pre-set list of questions that are specific to desired changes in each phase. This is followed by reflection questions on what the most important changes in this phase are, which important item is pending or in need of further improvement, and whether the programme resulted in any unexpected changes.

The exercise shows how far along the programme is in building responsive institutions and it helps identify areas of additional attention before moving to the next phase. It also highlights achievements that deserve special celebration.

All of SASA! Together's learning and assessment is regularly reviewed by staff in [feedback sessions](#). All staff come together to review findings and prioritize actions, at least quarterly. SASA! Together also recommends quarterly feedback sessions with community participants to ensure the programme is meeting their needs.

3.3.4 WE-Care Philippines and Zimbabwe

In 2016, Unilever and Oxfam formed a partnership to support activities to transform unpaid care and domestic work as part of the Women's Economic Empowerment and Care project. It combined advocacy with interventions to improve laundry infrastructure, to provide household equipment and efforts to promote positive social norms of men and women sharing unpaid care and domestic work.

The project's overall objective was to support women and girls to have more choice and agency over how they spend their time and to enable them to engage in social, personal, economic and political activities; and to redistribute care work to men and boys. A 2019 evaluation used mixed-methods to assess progress (León-Himmelstine and Salomon, 2020). These included:

- quantitative approaches using Oxfam's Household Care Survey to compare similar groups of treated and control households and individuals
- qualitative approaches to produce a more in-depth analysis of how changes in the lives of women and girls took place and evolved,

employing a review of secondary data and primary data-collection using intergenerational trios, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews with selected local, national and global stakeholders (a small group of non-participants served as a control group)

- participatory approaches, undertaking participant observation and employing participatory ranking exercises as part of FGDs.

Intergenerational trios

Evaluators interviewed same-gender family members of different generations: either an adolescent girl, her mother and grandmother; or an adolescent boy, his father and grandfather. Participants were interviewed all together or individually, depending on timing and availability. Intergenerational trios were conducted with respondents from different wealth or social and ethnic backgrounds and in different work situations, and programme participants and non-participants.

The interviews aimed to explore how experiences and perspectives on gender norms varied across different generations, directly exploring whether WE-Care influenced an equitable distribution of unpaid care work between men and boys and women and girls in their households and communities.

Participatory ranking

Ranking exercises aim to show which activities or issues are most meaningful to a group of people or individual.

During FGDs, participants were asked to name WE-Care components that they could recall, to create a list representing the project activities in their communities. Evaluation teams asked questions to help participants recall all project components, and grouped the activities and components into their respective categories:

- water infrastructure
- time and labour saving equipment
- social norms activities
- media.

Then each participant was given five beans or tokens and asked to score the components according to their importance and their perceived benefit for the household. Table 5 shows an example from the Philippines evaluation. This exercise was followed by direct questions about each project component, to explore how these connect and

take form in each country, what components are perceived as more important by different types of participants, and the role of each of these components in the lives of women and men.

Table 7. Example output from ranking exercise showing components participants perceived as most important

Component		Mindanao FGD (women)	Mindanao FGD (women)	Mindanao FGD (men)
Water infrastructure	Water point (pump/tank)	12	13	15
TSLE	Pushcart	5	0	0
	Water jug	5	0	0
	Stove	2	8	0
	Container drum	1	0	7
Social norms activities	'Care work is Teamwork' activities	0	10	6
	Personal hygiene seminar	0	1	0
	Forum on UCDW	0	0	1
	Rapid Care Assessment	0	0	0
	Orientation on UCDW	0	0	1
	Couples cooking contest	0	0	0
	Islamic Symposium	0	8	0
Media	TV	0	0	0
	Nang Ngumiti and Langit (TV Show)	0	0	0
	I Laba Yu poster	0	0	0
	Film viewing/video streaming	0	0	1
	Flyers	0	0	0
Total number of votes		25	40	30

Source: León-Himmelstine and Salomon, 2020, p. 71

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Annex 1: Qualitative monitoring tool for gender-transformative change in CEFMU

The draft monitoring tool is adapted from SASA! Together's community tracker. It will need pilot testing and adaptation to specific contexts.

Purpose: This tool documents changes that indicate a programme's progress towards gender-transformative change to prevent CEFMU.

Who fills this in: Implementing partner staff fills in this form.

How to collect information: Implementing partners can collect this information in different ways depending on their existing monitoring approaches, resources and capacity. These may include:

- focus group discussions or in-depth interviews that include questions on indicators below
- participatory activities like timelines, maps, pile sorting etc. that include a focus on the selected indicator.

Who to collect information from: To triangulate different perspectives it is recommended to collect information from:

- a group of girls
- another community group, most likely parents, but also potentially boys or community stakeholders.

The questions are slightly different for each group, as some people will not be able to answer all questions usefully.

Rating scale:

1	No/almost no respondents (0-20%)
2	Few respondents (21-40%)
3	Some respondents (41-60%)
4	Many respondents (61-80%)
5	Almost all respondents (81-100%)

How often is the information collected: The implementing partner team should determine how often to conduct this data-collection based on when they expect gender-transformative change to be visible, existing resources and time. Data-collection can take place during community engagement. Data should be collected at least on a quarterly basis.

Questions: For each indicator several questions are suggested. Implementing partners should select the most relevant given their interventions and activities, and their programming context. Normally one question would be rated per indicator. However, other questions may be used for wider discussion.

How to rate responses: A five-point scale (from no people to almost all people) is used to rate responses to each question. The purpose is to translate qualitative responses into quantitative estimates that can be used to gauge the approximate proportion of people that agree with the listed statements through observation, discussion or participatory activities, to facilitate communication of changes. Though this may not be scientifically valid, efforts should be made that implementing partners can collect data from at least 95 participants/beneficiaries per community, per cycle of data-collection. Before rating, those assigned to rate should discuss each of the questions and the rating scale to ensure common understanding, approach to assessment and consistency of rating.

Monitoring tool

Completed by:				
Name		Position	Date	Location
Domains	Indicators	Who to ask	Monitoring questions	Rating 1-5
Agency				
Girls' role in marriage decision-making	1. Girls' aspirations for their futures	Girls	Can girls identify and freely discuss their aspirations for their futures: → with trusted friends/ relatives → with parents and other people who influence marriage decisions.	
Girls' role in marriage decision-making	2. Who makes the final decision on marriage	Girls; parents & community	Do key decision makers for girls' marriage seek girls' opinions about when to marry or on specific bridegrooms before making decisions? Are girls' opinions and preferences a primary factor guiding decisions for when and with whom girls marry?	
Girls' role in marriage decision-making	3. Who girls can turn to for support in refusing a marriage proposal	Girls	Do girls feel there are people they can turn to for support in refusing a proposal? Do these people take action to support girls who want to refuse a proposal?	
Girls' agency to complete school	4. Girls' perceived ability to return to school after dropout, when married, pregnant or with children	Girls; parents & community	Can girls return to school after dropout? Are there other places where girls can continue education after getting married? Do parents and other family members support married girls to continue schooling?	
Gender relations				
Family relationships and attitudes to girls' marriage	5. Perceived consequences for girls and families if daughters are unmarried after a certain point	Girls; parents & community	If a girl delays marriage past X age, is she still able to get married? Would a girl's sisters/brothers still be able to get married if she was not married by X age? Do community members (family, neighbours, leaders, influential others) publicly support delaying girls' marriage until adulthood?	
Community views and expectations on marriage	6. Perception of changes in community response to unmarried girls who get pregnant	Girls; parents & community	Does the community support unmarried pregnant girls to freely choose who they marry, and when? Can an unmarried pregnant girl seek and obtain SRHR services?	

Structure				
Quality of services	7. Access to relevant services, including SRHR services, legal support, social services	Girls; Parents & community	<p>Can boys and girls speak to school staff about early marriage?</p> <p>Have/would child protection actors (school staff, health service providers, social service providers, law enforcement services, community leaders, religious leaders, etc) intervene on behalf of a girl?</p> <p>Does the community support boys and girls who access SRHR services?</p> <p>Do service providers direct girls and families to health, education, social or legal support to prevent CEFMU?</p> <p>Do service providers come to community meetings to talk about child marriage?</p>	
Livelihoods opportunities for young women and their families	8. Girls'/ young women's participation in skills development or income generating activities	Girls; parents & community	<p>Do older girls/ young women in this community take part in skills training or income-generation programmes?</p> <p>Do older girls/ young women in this community do paid work (have jobs, run their own businesses or farm?)</p>	
Supportive legal and policy frameworks	9. Community support for laws and policies to end CEFMU	Parents & community	<p>Are community members aware of laws or policies to end CEFMU?</p> <p>Do community members express support for laws or policies to end CEFMU?</p> <p>Do men and boys [insert other group as relevant e.g., religious leaders] speak up as advocates for ending CEFMU?</p>	

*Note, the above indicators are suggested for qualitative monitoring for programmes working on gender-transformative change to prevent CEFMU. Programmes may choose alternate direct or broader indicators listed in the report that are more relevant to their theory of change, resources and expected outcomes.

Domain	Indicator	Possible responses to low score
Agency	1. Girls' aspirations for their futures	→ enhance opportunities for girls to identify, and discuss aspirations/marriage preferences and practice communication skills
	2. Who makes the final decision on marriage	→ raise awareness among girls of sources of support and train service providers (see also 7)
	3. Who girls can turn to for support in refusing a marriage proposal	→ intergenerational forums to build understanding and support for girls' aspirations/marriage preferences, and support for adolescent mothers
	4. Girls' ability to return to school after dropout, when married, pregnant or with children	→ targeted financial or childcare support for adolescent mothers to return to education → work with schools, training providers and community leaders to increase opportunities for adolescent mothers to return to education.
Gender relations	5. Perceived consequences for girls and families if daughters are unmarried after a certain point	→ intergenerational dialogues to shift perceived desirability of child marriage, including in cases of adolescent pregnancy
	6. Perception of changes in community response to unmarried girls who get pregnant	→ engage community and religious leaders in discussion, training and reflection to shift support for girls' delayed marriage → encourage public demonstration or role modelling to support girls' delayed marriage.
Structures	7. Access to relevant services (education, SRHR, legal support etc.)	→ training and skill building for service providers to strengthen adolescent-friendly provision → strengthen programmes addressing financial barriers to services and poverty-related causes of CEFMU. training and skill building for service providers to strengthen responses in cases of (proposed) CEFMU
	8. Girls'/ young women's participation in skills development or income generating activities	→ strengthen community-based training, employment and entrepreneurship opportunities for young women to expand possible options and life paths.
	9. Community support for laws and policies to end CEFMU	→ engage in intergenerational facilitated dialogue, reflection and discussion of policies, laws, values, norms and behaviours → work with local institutions to publicize laws, policies and create implementation plans.

Qualitative Indicators and Approaches for assessing progress on Ending Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Unions

Report

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marriage**
A voice. A chance. A future.

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