

SOCIAL AND GENDER NORMS TIP SHEETS

Changing Norms to Address Gender-based Violence and Harmful Practices

Tip Sheet 3: Child Marriage

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UNFPA's Asia Pacific Regional Office has developed a series of Social and Gender Norms Tip Sheets. These resources are designed to support UNFPA country offices and partners in the region to implement social and gender norm change programmes to address gender-based violence and harmful practices, including child marriage and female genital mutilation. The Tip Sheets are designed to complement UNFPA's forthcoming global **Toolkit on Transforming Gender and Social Norms**.

*Not all harmful practices are social norms or gender norms, and norm change is not always necessary to change harmful behaviours and practices. Increased access to opportunities, services and infrastructure, and legislative and policy reforms can also help shift harmful behaviours. Even where a harmful practice is not itself a norm, powerful indirect social and gender norms may influence the practice. **Norm diagnosis**¹ can help to determine whether a harmful practice is a social or gender norm, or if other indirect norms are an important influence maintaining the practice, in the specific setting where the behaviour takes place. **Norm change interventions to address child marriage and early union should be included as part of a comprehensive, multisectoral approach to address harmful practices across the socioecological model.***

What's included here:

- Key definitions
- Is it a norm?
- Which norms are we trying to change?
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¹ See Tip Sheet #2: **Norm Diagnosis**.

Table 1: Definitions²

Attitudes	What I think. My personal opinions.
Behaviour	What I do. Individual or collective actions and practices.
Personal normative beliefs	<p>What I think I should do, and what I think others should do as well.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudential³ normative beliefs: What I think is in my own and others' best interests. • Non-prudential normative beliefs: What I think is the right thing to do, based on ethical or moral convictions and values.
Social norms	<p>Patterns of behaviour that are motivated by a desire to conform to the shared social expectations of a community or group. The "rules of action" shared by communities or groups that define what is considered normal and acceptable behaviour. Social norms include beliefs about what most other people do (what is common) and approve of (what is expected):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Descriptive norm: What I think most others do. What is considered typical or common. Sometimes called empirical expectations. • Injunctive norm: What I think most others approve of and expect me to do/what I should do according to other people. What is considered appropriate and "normal." Sometimes called normative expectations.
Direct norm	When a practice is itself a social and/or gender norm and directly determines people's behaviour. Social expectations are one of the main reasons people practice the behaviour. I conform to the practice because I think most others do (descriptive norm) and they expect me to as well (injunctive norm). ⁴
Indirect norm	Norms ⁵ that help keep a practice in place as part of a wider system of social expectations. These include closely related norms—such as proximal norms, which strongly influence behaviour and create a favourable environment for it, and deeply rooted "meta-norms" that contribute to and uphold gender inequality.
Gender norms	Social norms defining acceptable and appropriate actions for women and men as well as girls and boys in a given group or society.
Reference group	The specific community or group of people whose opinions, expectations and behaviours influence an individual's attitudes and actions around a particular practice. Reference groups can differ for specific norms. Reference groups may also be virtual and online communities.
Sanctions/benefits	<p>Outcome expectations: a person's beliefs or expectations about how others will respond if they comply with or resist the norm. These anticipated reactions help enforce compliance to the norm. They include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sanctions/consequences of non-compliance with the norm. Social pressure or other forms of punishment. A negative outcome expectation. • Benefits and rewards for complying with the norm. Social approval or other rewards. A positive outcome expectation. <p>Power dynamics: those with the power to impose sanctions have greater (relative) power.</p>
Positive deviance	When individuals in a community act in ways that significantly differ from prevailing social norms but achieve more positive outcomes, despite the risk of sanctions for challenging social expectations.

2 Definitions are drawn from the UNFPA's forthcoming global Toolkit on Transforming Gender and Social Norms, as well as other sources cited in this Tip Sheet.

3 In this context, "prudential" refers to beliefs concerned with protecting the wellbeing of oneself, others or the wider community.

4 This is known as "conditional preference," where people choose to act based on what they think most others in their reference group do and expect of them.^{xiii} The concept is important for norm diagnosis as it helps distinguish socially motivated behaviours from those driven by other factors, such as moral convictions or material realities. Conditional preference can be measured in both quantitative and qualitative studies through hypothetical scenarios or vignettes (see Tip Sheet #6: **Measurement**).

5 Throughout the Tip Sheets, "norms" is used as shorthand for social and gender norms, per the definitions in this table.

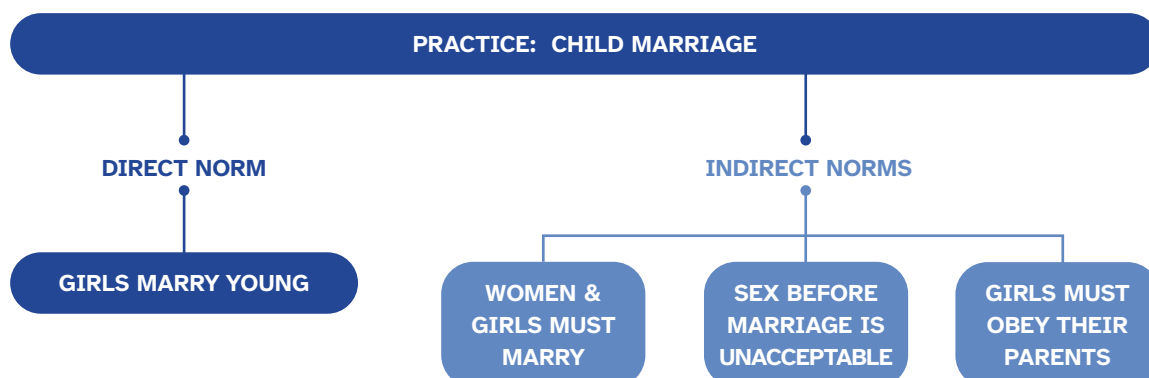
Is it a norm?

Child marriage is **not always** a direct norm. In high-prevalence settings, where most people marry their daughters at a young age, it may be a norm. Girls themselves may want to marry young because they see their peers doing so (it is perceived to be common or typical—a descriptive norm). Parents may marry their daughters early, even when they don't want to, because they think it is expected (it is an injunctive norm). There may be sanctions (negative consequences) for marrying later, such as higher dowry for older brides. In low-prevalence settings, child marriage may not be a norm. **For example, in disaster- and conflict-affected settings, people may feel they have no choice but to marry off their daughters, even though they do not want to and it is neither common nor expected.**⁶

Table 2: Norm Diagnosis Examples

	Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm	Sanctions	Conditional preference
Child marriage likely IS a social norm when...	Most people believe that most other people in their community marry their daughters early	Most people believe that most others in their community expect them to marry their daughters early, too	Most people believe they will face negative consequences if they do not marry their daughters early	Based on these social expectations, most people choose to marry their daughters early
Child marriage is NOT likely a norm when...	Most people believe that most other people in their community do not marry their daughters early	Most people believe that most others in their community do not expect early marriage	Most people do not face serious consequences if they choose not to marry their daughters early	People make marriage decisions guided by personal preferences, morals or values rather than conformity

Figure 1: Direct and Indirect Norms. Adapted from: Cislighi and Heise 2018.



6 See Tip Sheet #2: **Norm Diagnosis** for further guidance on assessing whether practices are social and gender norms.

Even where child marriage is not a direct norm, **indirect** norms may support and reinforce the practice, including social and gender norms that penalize adolescent sexual activity, value sons over daughters, expect children to obey their parents, and make marriage “compulsory” for women and girls, as shown in Figure 1.^{i,ii}

Child marriage is complex, and drivers vary across settings and population groups. Common drivers include poverty and insecurity, economic inequality, and lack of access to education and services, together with adolescent pregnancy, limited access to contraception, and lack of access to sexual and reproductive health services and comprehensive sexuality education. Economic participation and education have a direct impact on prevalence of child marriage. Child marriage often declines when incomes rise, and daughters with more educated mothers are less likely to be married young. **Yet even in settings where poverty and economic insecurity have decreased, when social and gender norms that support child marriage remain strong, the practice may continue.**ⁱⁱⁱ *For example, in some communities in Bangladesh and India, some wealthier men prefer to marry younger women. Norms around chastity, women’s obedience to their husband, and perceptions that younger brides are more malleable may be more influential than economic drivers among better off households.*

Norm change efforts must be designed to address the drivers of child marriage and early union and the direct and indirect norms that support the practice. Formative research can help to understand whether child marriage is a norm, and how influential norms are relative to other drivers, in specific settings and groups.

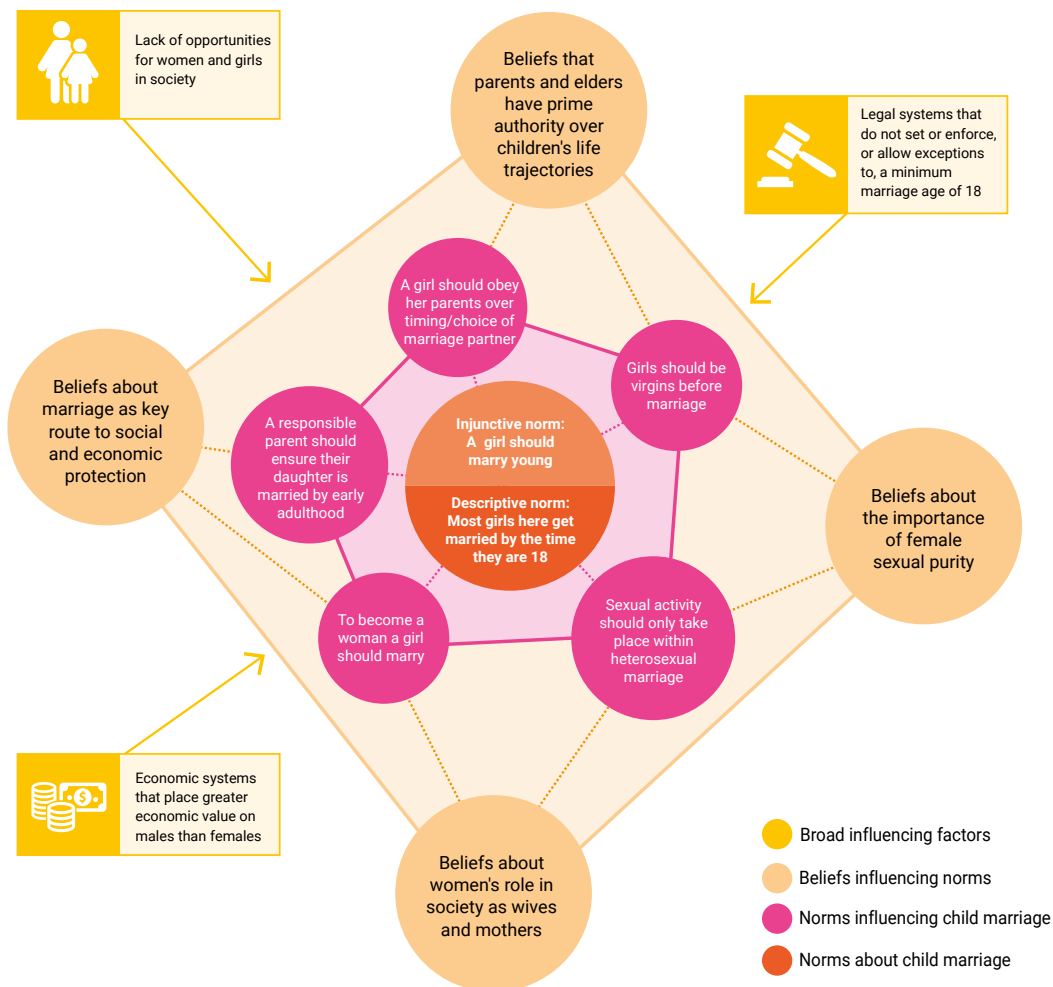
Because child marriage is complex, social norm change interventions alone are unlikely to change the practice. To date, there is limited evidence for the effectiveness of social norm change approaches in reducing child marriage and changing the norms that support it.^{iv-vi} **Social and gender norm change interventions should only be undertaken when formative research shows that norms are a significant driver of the practice, and should be implemented as part of a comprehensive approach addressing drivers across the socioecological model.**

Often programme interventions to end child marriage, including programmes that specifically aim to change norms, do not measure social and gender norm change.^{vii} Measuring norm change in child marriage programming can help to understand what impact different interventions are having and demonstrate effectiveness of norm change interventions. In addition, measures to assess shifts in norms can be included in national surveys such as the DHS and MICS as well as large-scale education, health or social protection programme monitoring and evaluation efforts. *For example, a question on the perceived ideal age of marriage could be included. Doing so may help assess programme impact on both the underlying norms driving child marriage and the practice itself. For example, economic incentives such as cash transfers may help keep girls in school or delay marriage without shifting the underlying norms that support child marriage and early union. The risk is that when the incentive ends, the practice may re-emerge.*

The **Global Programme to End Child Marriage** Theory of Change is an example of a comprehensive approach that aims to change the practice through interventions at individual, community, systems and societal levels. Social and gender norm change is included as one strategy among others. The programme has stepped up efforts to be more gender transformative, to change social and gender norms that support child marriage, and to measure change in social and gender norms.^{viii,ix}

Which norms are we trying to change?

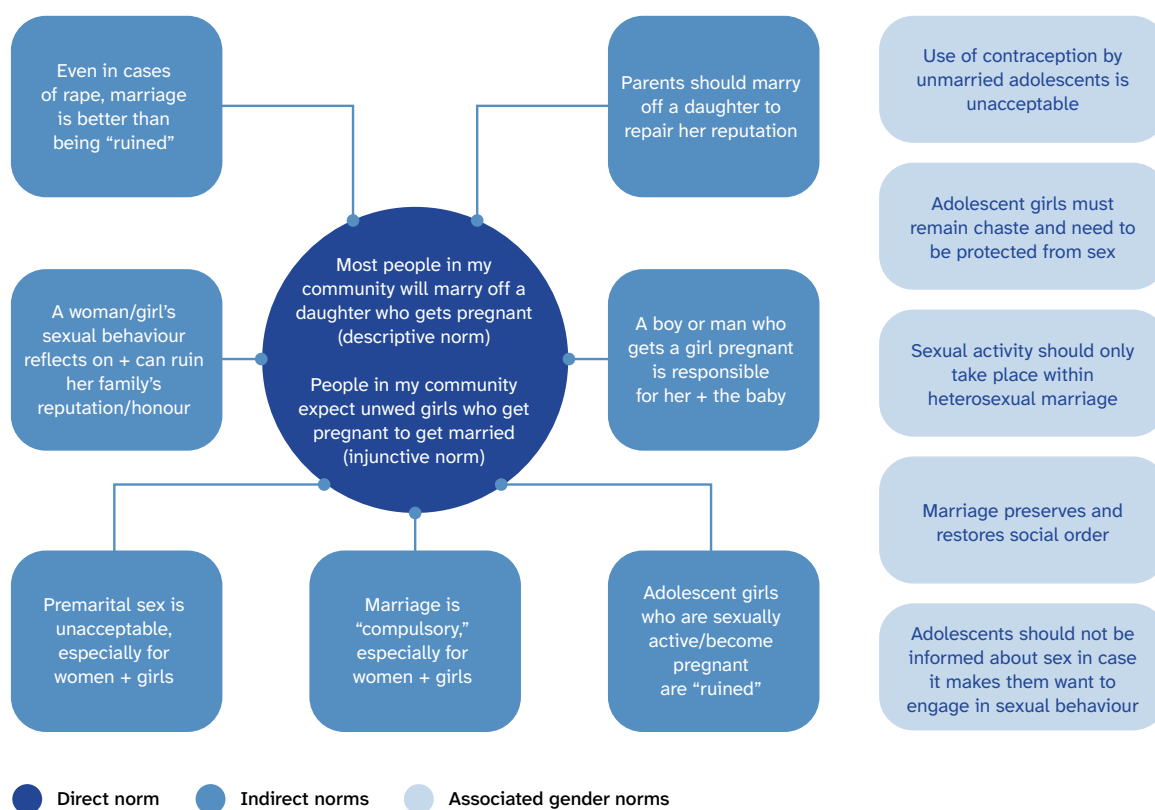
Figure 2: Gendered Norms and Beliefs Contributing to Child Marriage.
Source: UNFPA 2025, adapted from ALIGN platform.



Norms that support child marriage include **direct** norms: people think that girls should marry young (it is acceptable and expected) and that most girls are married by the age of 18 (it is common or typical). Examples of **indirect** or proximal norms that support child marriage include: girls should be virgins before marriage; girls should obey their parents over timing and choice of marriage partner; responsible parents ensure their daughters are married early; girls should marry to become women (“compulsory” marriage); and sexual activity outside marriage is not acceptable, especially for girls. Other influences include wider “meta-norms” regarding parents and elders’ authority over children and their life choices, marriage as a pathway to social and economic protection, the importance of female sexual purity, and beliefs about women’s role as wives and mothers. Material factors also drive the practice, as shown in Figure 2.ⁱⁱ

Because child marriage and adolescent pregnancy are closely interlinked, including in settings where adolescent pregnancy precedes and is a driver of child marriage and early union, norms around adolescent sexuality, premarital sex and sexual violence should be addressed. Norms that impede access to contraception, comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) and sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services should also be addressed. **“Circumstantial” marriage** to resolve reputational concerns linked to adolescent sexual activity or unintended pregnancy, including pregnancies resulting from sexual violence, is a common pattern in the Asia-Pacific region, even in contexts where most childbearing happens within marriage.^x Norms associated with adolescent pregnancy, premarital conception and circumstantial marriage are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Gendered Norms and Beliefs Contributing to “Circumstantial” Marriages and Unions



Self-initiated marriages and unions are common among adolescents in some countries and are increasing even in settings where arranged marriage has traditionally been the norm. The drivers of self-initiated marriages may include the desire to be treated as an adult, to escape a difficult or abusive family situation, or to avoid arranged marriages. Norms around marriage, adulthood, sexuality and independence are also likely to play a role in these marriages and unions (Figure 4). Self-initiated marriage or union may not be a direct norm in many communities, meaning it is not expected, accepted or considered typical. *For example, in settings where young people feel the need to “run away” or elope without parental consent, self-initiated marriage is unlikely to be a direct norm.* Self-initiated marriage is more likely to be a direct norm in contexts where adolescent informal union and cohabitation are seen as acceptable or common. In some contexts, it may be becoming a norm among young people but not among parents and elders in the community.

Before undertaking any social or gender norm change intervention to address child marriage and early union, it is important to understand the drivers as well as which norms are especially salient, how strong they are, who influences and enforces them (reference group), and what sanctions apply for non-compliance. **Because patterns of child marriage, early union and associated norms vary between settings and communities, formative research is important to determine which norms to change.**

Figure 4 shows self-initiated marriage as a direct norm in the centre, surrounded by indirect norms influencing and maintaining the norm.

Figure 4: Gendered Norms and Beliefs Contributing to Self-initiated Marriages and Unions



What does the evidence say?

To date, there is limited evidence of effectiveness of interventions to change social and gender norms related to child marriage. However, a recent meta-analysis conducted in South Asia found that social norm interventions can have a significant effect on prevalence of child marriage; the effect increases when norm change is combined with empowerment and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) components. Interventions targeting norms related to education appear to be more effective than tackling harder-to-shift norms around gender roles and relations.^{vi} In addition, interventions are more effective when they engage a wide range of stakeholders, including decision makers, parents (both mothers and fathers) and wider communities, and use diverse modalities for norm change that include a full package of community mobilization, mass and interactive media, sensitization and training. However, only a small number of studies (seven) were included and some norm change interventions did not significantly shift attitudes or behaviours.^{vi}

A recent global review found that norm change interventions had limited impact and were more likely to impact behaviour, for example by delaying marriage, than to shift the underlying norms that support child marriage.^{ix} Access to economic and income-generating opportunities for girls and their families was more likely to shift norms, while economic incentives such as cash transfers were successful in delaying marriage but did not shift underlying norms. One of the challenges in evaluating effectiveness is that interventions to address child marriage aim to shift a wide range of norms and attitudes, such as women and girls' participation in decision-making about marriage, gender roles in the household and community, education for girls, age of marriage, and the right to refuse marriage, making change hard to measure. In addition, norm change is sometimes measured among adolescent girls but not in the wider reference groups, including parents and community members who have power to influence the practice.^{vii}

CARE's Tipping Point was designed to shift harmful social and gender norms that support child marriage. Implemented in Bangladesh and Nepal, Tipping Point aimed to increase girls' agency, shift relationships to be more supportive of girls' rights, weaken norms that drive child marriage and reduce incidence of the practice. The intervention measured the existence and strength of norms related to child marriage. In both settings, formative research helped identify and prioritize contextually specific norms. The intervention included three arms, one of which focused on gender-transformative norm change. The core package included sessions with adolescent boys and girls and parents, while the additional norm change component included activist training for girls, boys and parents; community-level social norm change activities led by adolescent girls' groups; and intergroup dialogues. There was evidence of a positive shift in social norms around girls' agency and mobility in both settings. Incidence also fell in Bangladesh, though not in Nepal where it was already low. However, material drivers, such as poverty and inequality, remained strong. There was also evidence that girls' relationships with their parents were less close after the intervention, an unintended consequence^{i,xi}

Norm change programming on child marriage

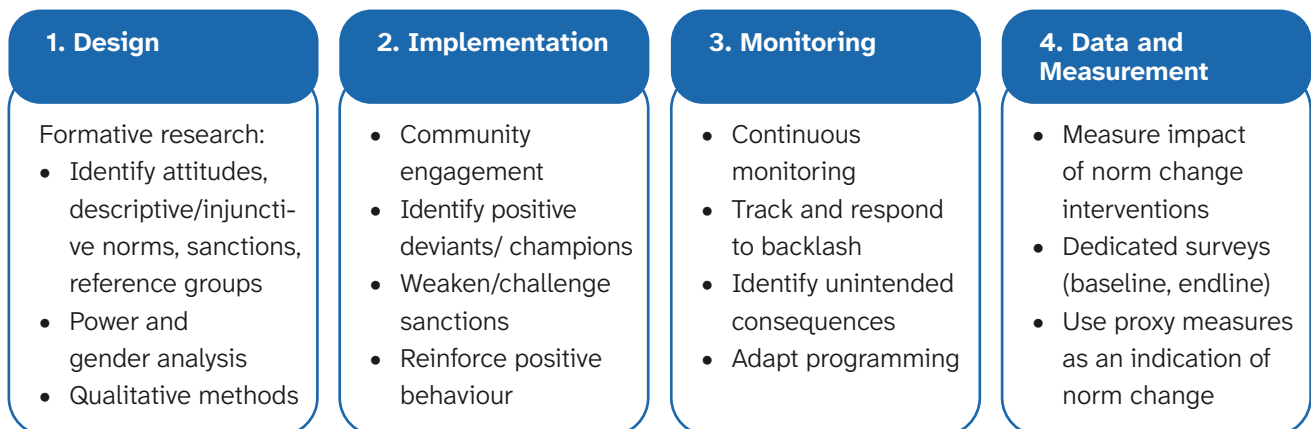


Table 3: Norm Change Programming Process

1. Design formative research

Prepare for and conduct formative research.

- a. Determine which **settings/communities** are a priority for norm change programming, *for example, settings where prevalence of child marriage remains high, where it is declining and change can be accelerated, or where it is increasing due to crises, shocks, migration or internal displacement*. Because child marriage is not always a norm in all settings, and norms may be less influential than other factors driving the practice, it is important to carefully consider whether norm change interventions should be prioritized in child marriage programming. If a social and gender norm change component is included, it should be implemented with other complementary interventions at the individual, community, social and systems levels, rather than as a standalone activity. For more on norm diagnosis, see Tip Sheet #2, as well as Module 4 of the UNFPA's forthcoming global **Toolkit on Transforming Gender and Social Norms**.
- b. Review **available data and research** on targeted settings/communities, where available, to identify prevailing attitudes and beliefs and prevalence of the practice, to guide formative research.
- c. Conduct **formative research** in targeted settings/communities to help tailor norm change interventions to the specific drivers and norms that support child marriage in the local context. This process can help determine whether child marriage is a **direct norm**, which **indirect norms** are salient (important), and which norms should be prioritized in norm change interventions. Formative research can support prioritization by identifying which norms are most powerful, influential and "sticky" (hard to change), and which are already shifting and therefore may be easier to change. *For example, norms around adolescent sexuality may be harder to shift than norms around girls' mobility or education*. It can also examine the **rewards and/or sanctions** (consequences) for non-compliance, and their consistency and strength, which provides clues about the strength of the norms.

Positive, **protective norms**—*for example, parents' desire to protect their children or the value placed on education*—may also be important leverage points to build on. Formative research can help reveal these.

Identifying the **reference groups** for the direct and indirect norms that support child marriage—such as young people themselves, parents, religious and community leaders, and service providers—is another important aspect of formative research, as this helps determine who the intervention should engage. Reference groups are likely to differ for specific norms, and formative research can help clarify this. *For example, religious leaders may reinforce norms around women and girls' mobility or adolescent sexual activity*.

Qualitative methods are recommended for formative research, including use of vignettes (see Tip Sheet #6 on **Measurement** for an example of a vignette on child marriage).

- d. Conduct a dedicated **gender and power analysis**. Harmful norms and their impacts are often compounded by multiple, intersecting forms of discrimination and vulnerability. Therefore, a gender and power analysis should be undertaken to reveal these intersections and inform intervention design. This process can help determine how child marriage and the priority norms that support it intersect with gender inequalities, power dynamics and other forms of inequality and discrimination—including disability, age, ethnicity, migrant/refugee status, caste and socio-economic status. It should also analyse how gender roles, gender inequalities and other forms of inequality, exclusion and discrimination affect adolescent girls' access to services, resources and opportunities, as well as decision-making around child and early marriage. It is also important to understand who has a vested interest in maintaining harmful/inequitable norms that support child marriage (and why), and who has the power to impose sanctions for non-compliance. *For example, this might include exploring who holds power in decision-making about marriage and how this power is exercised; and what are the economic and social costs and benefits for different stakeholders in maintaining or changing the practice?* For more on gender and power analysis, see Module 5 of UNFPA's forthcoming global **Toolkit on Transforming Gender and Social Norms**.

2. Determine programme implementation strategies

Determine programming approach to norm change based on formative research. This can be done by:⁷

Locating where the norm occurs (e.g. community-level vs. society-wide) and the strength of the norm. For example:

- a. If **norms are specific to the setting/community**, dedicated community engagement approaches can be used. *For example, this may include norms around dowry, bride price or bride exchange in specific communities.* See point "i" below for more on community engagement.
- b. If **norms are widely held across population groups or society**, mass media/awareness raising can complement other interventions. *For example, this may include norms around women's responsibility for childbearing, childcare and domestic work.* See point "j" below for more on mass media approaches.
- c. If most people's **individual attitudes and beliefs align with child marriage norms**, interventions can target attitude as well as other norm change strategies by combining awareness raising and community-based norm change approaches. *For example, most people in a community may think it is acceptable and normal to marry girls young.* See more on community-based approaches below.
- d. If **individual attitudes and beliefs diverge from the norm**, engage communities in norm questioning to highlight the gap between individual beliefs and social expectations. *For example, sometimes parents may not think it is acceptable to marry their daughters young but do so because they believe others expect them to.*
- e. If most people assume others are complying with the norm when in fact this is not the case—called "**pluralistic ignorance**"—raise awareness that prevalence is lower than people think or is declining, and make it visible that others are also changing. *For example, if most people believe girls in their community are usually married under the age of 18 when this is not happening any longer.*
- f. Formative research may show that some people don't follow the norm—they are "**positive deviants.**" These individuals can serve as examples and/or champions. See point "j" below for more on positive deviance approaches.

⁷ This is a high-level overview of norm-change programme considerations and possibilities, not a comprehensive or prescriptive guide.

- g. Similarly, if research identifies that sanctions are weak or inconsistently applied—for example *girls can travel outside their communities for school and employment but not for leisure*—this can also be a lever for awareness raising. If sanctions remain strong/punitive, interventions can focus on **weakening sanctions**—for example *by discouraging gossip about and harassment of unmarried girls and highlighting the benefits of education for girls*.

Selecting specific programming approaches based on the considerations above. For example:

- h. **Community-led and community-based approaches** have proven effective in changing child marriage norms. These can include locally based community engagement, such as group dialogues and community conversations. They can also involve engagement via large-scale programmes, including health, education and social protection initiatives, as well as interactive and mass media. Sustained, intense interventions that engage communities over time (1.5-3 years) are more effective than short-term or one-off initiatives. The timing required will depend on the readiness of the community and scope of intervention, including the number of communities targeted.
- i. Community-led, community-based approaches that **engage all key actors in reference groups** for child marriage norms—as identified by formative research and likely to include parents, young people, community and religious leaders, and service providers—are also more likely to be effective. In line with a “do no harm” approach, community engagement and empowerment interventions should not focus only on those who are most impacted by the practice/more vulnerable, such as adolescent girls, without also focusing on those with greater power, including parents and religious authorities. This is also important to avoid backlash.
- j. **Edutainment and mass and social media awareness campaigns**, tailored to specific settings and contexts and tested with stakeholders and communities, can **complement** community-based interventions, especially where child marriage is a norm and attitudes support the norm. However, raising awareness that a practice such as child marriage is widespread can inadvertently reinforce the norm. Public awareness messaging for the general community should highlight the positive stories of people who **do not marry their daughters under the age of 18**, the extent of positive deviance if it is significant or growing, and any evidence that the prevalence of child marriage or related norms is decreasing.

3. Monitoring

Throughout implementation, undertake continuous monitoring of social and gender norm change programming to track changes in child marriage norms and prevalence of the practice. This can include monitoring shifts in **behaviour**, in **individual attitudes**, in **norms** that support child marriage, and in **sanctions** for non-compliance with the norm. *For example, more girls staying in school; a change in the proportion of people in the community/setting who intend for their daughters to marry under the age of 18; easing of restrictions on girls’ mobility; or less gossip about or social exclusion of adolescent girls who remain unmarried.*

Monitoring is also critical to track and respond to **resistance** to child marriage and/or norm change initiatives, including by those with vested interests in maintaining the practice. *For example, norm change interventions may drive the practice underground by prompting people to start marrying their girls in secret, or taking them to other areas to get married, or not registering marriages until the adolescent girl turns 18.*

Monitoring is also important to identify other potentially harmful **unintended consequences** of norm change interventions, such as **backlash**, and it can support **adaptation and learning**. *For example, empowering girls to question marriage norms and delay marriage when education and income generation opportunities are not available as an alternative to marrying young can cause tension and backlash in communities. Interventions that challenge traditional roles and decision-making around marriage may also incite opposition and pushback.*

Monitoring can include tracking of activities and participation, as well as directly observing changes in communities (*for example, on a monthly basis*). It can also involve key informant interviews and focus groups with participating communities. Additionally, monitoring may cover changes in local institutions and policies (*for example, on a quarterly or biannual basis*), depending on the length and intensity of the programme. For more on monitoring and measurement, see Module 11 of the UNFPA's forthcoming global **Toolkit on Transforming Gender and Social Norms**.

4. Measurement

Where child marriage programmes include norm change interventions, it is important to measure their impact, as well as the effect of other interventions designed to address child marriage and related norms that support the practice. While randomized controlled trials are considered the “gold standard,” often resources are not available to support this kind of evaluation. Instead, other approaches can be used, such as mixed-methods research at the formative/baseline and endline stages.

Where norm change programming is not a major component in interventions to address child marriage and early union, less cost- and time-intensive methods can be used. These can include qualitative research with target communities to assess whether norms are changing, taking into consideration the impact of interventions across the socioecological framework. Data on prevalence and attitudes can also be used as a proxy for norm change: if prevalence is declining and attitudes that support child marriage are less widely held, this can be a sign that norms are changing. Data should be collected and disaggregated to understand impacts on different groups.

National population surveys such as the DHS and MICS include data to measure prevalence of child marriage, spousal age difference, early childbearing and experience of sexual violence. Data on attitudes towards ideal age of marriage and acceptability of violence are also available in these surveys. Disaggregation by age, geographic location, socio-economic status, ethnicity and disability (where available) is important to track differences in any shifts among specific vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. Secondary analysis can identify associations between child marriage and attitudes towards violence and women's say in decision-making. *For example, secondary analysis of the DHS has found that attitudes accepting wife-beating are associated with marriage under the age of 18.*^{xii}

World Values Survey data is available for 13 countries in the Asia-Pacific region⁸ and includes questions on attitudes to premarital sex and gender equality in education and employment.

However, data on descriptive and injunctive norms and sanctions is usually not available and has to be collected through dedicated studies.

⁸ World Values Survey data is available for the following countries: Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Maldives, Mongolia, Myanmar, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Viet Nam. Not all countries have data for all gender attitude related questions.

For dedicated norm change programming, formative/baseline and endline studies should be conducted to assess changes, not only in behaviour and attitudes, but also in descriptive and injunctive norms and sanctions. Sometimes child marriage norms change but behaviours do not, and sometimes behaviours change but norms remain strong. Measurement is essential to understand how change happens and to inform and adjust programming.

Several indicator frameworks are available that include measures of changes in child marriage prevalence and associated norms. For example:

- Girls Not Brides provides recommended indicators for measuring child marriage and related norms.
 - Plan International's child marriage acceptability index includes useful questions to measure attitudes towards child marriage and supporting norms.
 - The Global Programme to End Child Marriage developed a resource on qualitative indicators for assessing progress towards ending child marriage. This includes specific indicators for measuring norm change around marriage decision-making by girls and their families, age of marriage, adolescent girls' sexuality, girls' education, and men and boys' support for ending the practice. See Tip Sheet #6 for more on **Measurement**.
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Selected resources

Understanding child marriage norms, evidence base

[Social and Gender Norms and Child Marriage: A reflection on issues, evidence and areas of inquiry in the field](#) – **ALIGN** (2019)

[Technical Note on Gender Norms](#) – **UNICEF and UNFPA** (2020)
[Scope, range and effectiveness of interventions to address social norms to prevent and delay child marriage and empower adolescent girls: a systemic review](#) – **Greene et al** (2024)

Child marriage norm change programming

[Tipping Point Initiative](#) – **CARE** (website)

[‘Umang: A Norm-shifting and Empowerment-focussed Model’ to address child/early marriage of adolescent girls in Jharkhand](#) – **PCI India** (website)

[Norms for Change: Changing the Way You See the World](#) – **UNICEF and UNFPA** (2022)

Measurement

[Measuring Progress: Recommended Indicators For Girls Not Brides Members Working To Address Child Marriage](#) – **Girls Not Brides** (2015)

[Getting the Evidence: Asia Child Marriage Initiative](#) – **Plan International**
[Qualitative Indicators and Approaches: for assessing progress on Ending Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Unions](#) – **Global Programme to End Child Marriage** (2024)

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