

# COVID-19 AND CHILD MARRIAGE:

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How COVID-19's  
impact on hunger and  
education is forcing  
children into marriage

October 2021



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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Despite the global community's pledge to end child marriage by 2030 under target 5.3 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), progress remains slow. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic began, most experts estimated child marriage would continue for many more decades. Because the pandemic has increased poverty levels and hunger, and decreased access to education, the risk of girls becoming child brides is also increasing.

This report pairs data from World Vision's Youth Healthy Behaviour Survey with global literature to better understand the conditions that enable child marriage and how these conditions may be changing because of the global pandemic. The report analyses 14,964 observations from children and youth aged 12-18 years from World Vision programming sites in Ethiopia, Ghana, India and Zimbabwe. Case studies also provide insights into the lives of girls within these communities.

## **Our analysis found a strong correlation in three areas adversely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic: HUNGER, ACCESS TO EDUCATION, AND PARENTAL SUPPORT.**

The link between child marriage and hunger is clear. A child who experienced hunger in the four weeks prior to the survey is 60% more likely to be married than his or her peers who did not experience hunger. The already-strained global food system is challenged by the combination of poverty, climate change and conflict, all exacerbated by the pandemic. Although the analysis was unable to determine causation, this strong correlation between hunger and child marriage could be a sign of increased risk for girls.

Over the past 18 months, millions of adolescent girls were out of school for prolonged periods. The lack of access to online learning in the most impoverished communities created further gaps and inequalities throughout the world. Global literature establishes that

most girls get married after they have stopped attending school, setting them on a trajectory toward reduced job opportunities, economic instability and a lack of independence. Our analysis found that children who are not in school are 3.4 times more likely to be married than their peers who are in school.

Finally, our analysis also showed an inverse relationship between parental support and the likelihood of child marriage. In particular, as caregiver support and encouragement increase, the likelihood of an adolescent being married significantly decreased. It has been widely reported that the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic caused additional stress on parents, both mentally and financially, likely decreasing their ability to provide financial and emotional support to their children.

From this review and analysis, World Vision aims to bring attention to the new challenges the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have created in the global effort to end child marriage. We believe that a world without all forms of violence against children—including child marriage—is possible, but it will take renewed focus, attention and strategy.

Our analysis has shown the ways in which hunger, access to education, poverty, parental support and general well-being are all linked to child marriage. Although not an exhaustive list of factors related to child marriage risk by any means, they indicate clearly why a cross-sectoral approach to ending child marriage is so necessary.

Donors and governments must act quickly and decisively to respond to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and other humanitarian crises. Significant gaps in laws, policies and programmes also remain, with dire consequences for children and communities. Unless we accelerate action, more than 110 million girls will become child brides by 2030<sup>1</sup> and progress made towards ending child marriage in the past 20 years will be lost.

<sup>1</sup> UNICEF (2021) "[COVID-19: A threat to progress against child marriage.](#)"

# INTRODUCTION



There are currently **650 MILLION CHILD BRIDES**.  
**They live in every region of the world.**

Each year, **12 million girls are married** before they  
turn age 18, meaning **every minute, 22 more girls**  
**have their futures cut short.**



Whether a girl manages to complete her education and avoid child marriage will have a large impact on her well-being for the rest of her life, and on any future children she might have. Girls who are married before age 18 are statistically more likely to experience intimate partner violence, face higher risks of preterm delivery, low birthweight, maternal and infant mortality,<sup>3</sup> earn less money over the course of their lifetime<sup>4</sup> and have children who are more likely to suffer poor nutrition.<sup>5</sup>

Although almost every country in the world has pledged to end child marriage by 2030 under target 5.3 of the Sustainable Development Goals, progress has been slow. Over the past decade the number of girls married before age 18 has decreased from one in every four to just over one in every five.<sup>6</sup> At current trends, young girls are likely to continue to have their futures cut short for more than ten decades.<sup>7</sup>

Although data for 2020 is still patchy, both due to timeliness and access constraints, this report looks at how the effects of the pandemic for which there is ready data—poverty levels, rising hunger and access to education—seem likely to affect young girls and, specifically, their risk of child marriage. To do this, World Vision analysed rich data sets held by our child sponsorship projects to identify correlations between

child marriage and other issues affecting girls. This report focuses on three areas where the world has seen some of the biggest changes over the past 18 months: poverty and hunger; access to education, and parental support and mental health.

Almost two years after the first COVID-19 lockdowns, around the world families are still struggling to make ends meet, children are in and out of school, and protection services have closed and restarted several times. Multiple projections have been made by UN agencies and other members of the international community about the impact that the pandemic will have on child marriage rates; everyone agrees there will be an increase, the only question is by how much. UNICEF reports that an additional 10 million girls who would not otherwise have become brides are at risk of being forced into unions over the next ten years.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, we are already seeing this realised. 2020 saw the largest increase in child marriage rates in 25 years.<sup>9</sup> According to anecdotal data from our programmes, between March and December 2020, child marriages more than doubled in many communities compared to 2019.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Girls Not Brides (2021) [About child marriage](#).

<sup>3</sup> Ganchimeg, T., et al. (2014) "Pregnancy and childbirth outcomes among adolescent mothers: A World Health Organization multicountry study." *BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*. 121(S Suppl 1):40-8

<sup>4</sup> Berkeley Economic Review (2018) ["The Economics of Child Marriage."](#)

<sup>5</sup> Girls Not Brides, ICRW ["Taking action to address child marriage: the role of different sectors. Brief 6: Food Security and Nutrition."](#)

<sup>6</sup> UNICEF (2018) ["Child Marriage: Latest trends and future prospects."](#)

<sup>7</sup> UNICEF (23 October 2017) ["At current rates of reduction, it will take over 100 years to end child marriage in West and Central Africa."](#) Press release.

<sup>8</sup> UNICEF (8 March 2021) ["10 million additional girls at risk of child marriage due to COVID-19."](#) Press release.

<sup>9</sup> Save the Children (1 October 2020) ["COVID-19 places half a million more girls at risk of child marriage in 2020."](#) Press release.

<sup>10</sup> World Vision (2021) ["Breaking the Chain: Empowering girls and communities to end child marriages during COVID-19 and beyond."](#)

In an assessment drawn from conversations with children and families across nine countries in the Asia-Pacific region between April and June 2021,

**82%** of the married children wed after the beginning of the pandemic.<sup>11</sup>



Our analysis found that **a child who classifies himself or herself as thriving is 37.5% less likely to be married than a child who places himself or herself in the struggling category.**

The interconnected economic and social effects of the COVID-19 pandemic are expected to exacerbate the challenges that adolescent girls already face. Measures introduced to control the pandemic have impacted incomes, access to education and teen pregnancy—all factors that we know can lead to child marriage.<sup>12</sup> Parents with children at home, struggling to support their families in new circumstances where work is limited or hard to find, are facing untold stress.<sup>13,14</sup>

Children are suffering due to the effects of the pandemic. A recent assessment carried out by Save the Children in 46 countries found that COVID-19 is already having an alarming impact on children's lives. The effects of the pandemic and related containment measures have the potential to cause long-lasting disruption to children's access to health and nutrition, education, and protection from violence, and may result in millions of children sliding into poverty.<sup>15</sup> Some girls are being married off by their caregivers to alleviate their burden on household finances, or to protect them from increased threats of violence. This situation is likely to accelerate.

While this report uses data to examine relationships between different factors affecting young people and child marriage prior to the pandemic, the correlations it has found are an important way to estimate the hidden and alarming impacts that the pandemic is having on children. Hunger, access to education and levels of parental support all had clear correlations with child marriage in our analysis of data from countries spanning four regions.

Our analysis has found that **a child who experienced hunger in the four weeks prior to the survey is 60% more likely to be married**



**than his or her peers who did not experience hunger.** This increase, combined with the **global increase of almost 12 million children living in crisis levels of hunger<sup>16</sup> from 2019 to 2020**, could mean **an additional 3.3 million children will be married by age 18.**

11 World Vision (September 2021) "Unmasking the Impact of COVID-19 on Asia's Most Vulnerable Children." Married children made up less than 1% (52 out of 7,200 children) of the sample overall. Although every effort was made to reach the most vulnerable children, child marriage is often underreported. The assessment also took place in World Vision project areas, where child protection systems may have reduced overall child marriage rates. Still, the timing of the marriages is striking.

12 World Vision (2020) "[COVID-19 Aftershocks: Access Denied.](#)"

13 BBC (19 January 2021) "[Parents' stress and depression 'rise during lockdowns.'](#)"

14 Adams, Elizabeth L. et al. (2021) "[Parents are Stressed! Patterns of Parent Stress Across COVID-19.](#)" *Frontiers in Psychiatry.*

15 Save the Children (2020) "[Protect a Generation. The impact of COVID-19 on children's lives.](#)"

16 For the purposes of this report, we have used levels of hunger in IPC3 (Crisis) or above as a proxy for going to bed hungry. A full note on the numbers is in the Hunger section of the main paper.

## METHODOLOGY

This paper employs desk research on child marriage drivers and the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, combined with data analysis conducted using standard monitoring surveys in World Vision's child sponsorship development programmes. Youth Healthy Behaviour Surveys (YHBS) regularly survey children aged 12-18 years in our programme areas about their experiences and life situations.

The surveys are administered at regular periods in the project lifecycle, generally using Lot Quality Assurance Sampling (LQAS) methods,<sup>17</sup> following a standard template developed by World Vision International. Country offices then localise the survey questions depending on issues of high importance in their context. The methodology and application of LQAS was reviewed by the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine from 2016 to 2017 to provide guidance, and ensure that sampling and area selection for all monitoring, including YHBS, is as representative as possible.

In the case of this study, the data analysis used YHBS carried out by World Vision offices in Ghana, Ethiopia, India and Zimbabwe. Data was selected from the pool of country offices that include the optional child marriage questionnaire on their YHBS, and then narrowed to the most recent data and the best geographic coverage.

A total of 14,964 observations (almost all collected prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic) from children and youth aged 12-18 years were included in this analysis. However, the correlations identified are an alarming indication of how the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic may now be pushing more girls (and indeed boys) toward child marriage.

Questions were selected from the global YHBS template and then matched across the localised country sample. The analysis intended to focus on general well-being (poverty, hunger, access to education, parental support), as well as gender attitudes, and sexual violence and other forms of violence against children. However, due to the way in which the surveys were localised, the most robust findings focus on connections between general well-being and child marriage, with only limited country-level findings enabling examination of other variables.

For more on the limitations, analysis and demographics of the data and surveys used, please see [Annex A](#), [Annex B](#) details the different variables that were considered for analysis, and [Annex C](#) details which countries included which variables. [Annex D](#) contains the complete correlations for the logistic regressions for each country.



<sup>17</sup> Some countries and older years use alternate sampling methods that have similarly been independently reviewed. For instance, Ethiopia uses a conventional evaluation methodology using two-stage clustering. In each community, 20 clusters were selected, with 20 youth respondents per cluster for a total of 400 for each data set.

# CHILD MARRIAGE: RISKS AND PUSH FACTORS

The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have touched almost every facet of children's lives—from their health and social lives to education and relationships with their parents. Although we do not yet have results from a YHBS administered since the height of the pandemic, the YHBS from the four countries analysed provide a helpful starting point to understand how girls and boys viewed their own lives prior to the pandemic, and how they may have been affected over the past 18 months. The YHBS asks girls and boys to place themselves on a ladder, essentially providing a score from one to eight that describes the adolescents' view of their lives, where one is the worst possible life and eight is the best possible life. This eight-point scale can be aggregated to classify children as thriving, struggling or suffering.

After controlling for age, country, sex and education, **a child's ladder score is significantly associated with a child's marital status ( $p < 0.001$ ).** Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, unmarried children were likely to rate their lives much higher (thriving) than their married peers. In fact, a child who places him or herself in the thriving category is **37.5% less likely to be married than a child who places him or herself in the struggling category.** This finding was most significant in India where a child in the struggling category was 2.3 times more likely to be married than children in the thriving category.

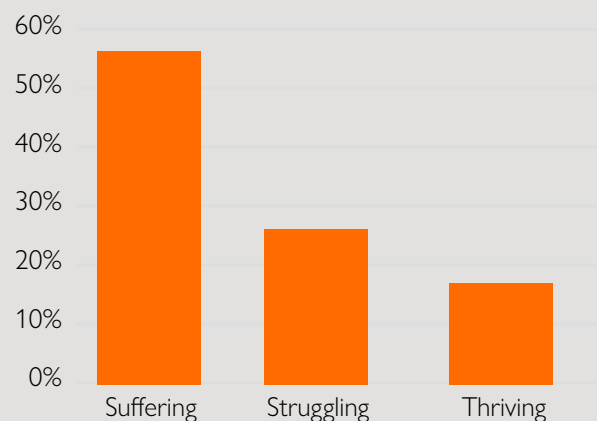
While it is easy to assume that this finding indicates that married children - who are often not in the education system, and are isolated from their peers and in stressed economic circumstances<sup>18</sup> – feel they are struggling, it is likely that the finding also works in the opposite direction. Before the pandemic, girls from poor families were already three times more likely to marry before the age of 18 than girls from wealthier families.<sup>19</sup> Families who are struggling economically often see the short-term 'value' of their daughters' marriages as a way of lifting their own financial burden.

In some cultures, a bride price could also be a means to provide for other children.

It is worrying to consider how adolescents would rate their lives now, after 18 months of school closures, confinement policies, limited social lives and degrading economic circumstances. The COVID-19 pandemic has thrown every country into an extended crisis, and children have suffered the consequences. In a global survey conducted last year, when asked how their lives had been affected by the pandemic, 82% of the young respondents said that COVID-19 had adversely affected their education; 67% also said it had affected their ability to socialise with friends. Eighty-one percent of children talked about violence, including child marriage, in their homes, online and in their communities.<sup>20</sup> Children have paid a high price for many of the measures enacted in response to COVID-19. A study of refugee and conflict-affected children by World Vision and War Child found that the number of refugee children who say they need mental-health support has more than tripled due to COVID-19.<sup>21</sup>

In the next three sections, we will examine key findings that detail the relationship between child marriage and how children have suffered over the past 18 months in the areas of hunger, access to education and parental support.

## Child placement in ladder categories



<sup>18</sup> UNICEF (2021) [Child marriage](#).

<sup>19</sup> Girls Not Brides, ICRW (2016) "[Taking action to address child marriage: the role of different sectors. Brief 4: Economic growth and workforce development.](#)"

<sup>20</sup> World Vision (2020) [Act Now: Experiences and recommendations of girls and boys on the impact of COVID-19.](#)

<sup>21</sup> World Vision (2021) "[The Silent Pandemic: The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Mental Health and Psychosocial Wellbeing of Children in Conflict-Affected Countries.](#)"



## HUNGER



A child who went to bed hungry is **60% more likely** to be married than his or her peers who did not experience hunger.



As of July 2021, more than **41 MILLION** girls, boys, women and men in over **40** countries worldwide are at risk of starvation.

**20 million more people** went to bed hungry due to food crises in 2020 than in 2019; almost **12 MILLION OF THEM ARE CHILDREN.**



In many countries in **East, Central and West Africa** and other regions have been **LIMITING ACCESSIBILITY TO FOOD** and other essentials.

When families are unable to meet household food needs, they are forced to adopt increasingly negative coping mechanisms: reducing the quality and quantity of meals, selling off livestock and other productive assets,<sup>22</sup> and in some extreme cases, marrying off their daughters. Giving a daughter in marriage means there is one less family member to feed and the bride price can be used to buy food for the girl's siblings.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, marriage rarely solves hunger for the girls themselves; girls married before age 18 have poorer nutrition than women married later.<sup>24</sup> The relationship between hunger and child marriage has been quantified by our analysis, which found that a child who experienced hunger in the four weeks prior to the survey was more likely to be married than a child who had not experienced hunger ( $p < 0.05$ ). This means **a child who went to bed hungry is 60% more likely to be married than his or her peers who did not experience hunger.**

This correlation is especially concerning given the sharp rise in acute hunger that the world is currently experiencing, with fragile contexts and humanitarian settings hit particularly hard. The increase in poverty due

to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic has deepened the already-severe impacts of climate change and conflict, which have led to a crippling increase in world hunger levels. Those most affected by economic shocks, climate change and conflict increasingly struggle to meet their daily survival needs. Gains that families had made to escape poverty prior to the pandemic are being reversed.

As of July 2021, more than 41 million girls, boys, women and men in over 40 countries worldwide are at risk of starvation.<sup>25</sup> Overall, **20 million more people went to bed hungry<sup>26</sup> due to food crises in 2020 than in 2019; almost 12 million of them are children.<sup>27</sup>** This is an unprecedented global hunger emergency.

Food price hikes and overall increased cost-of living<sup>28</sup> in many countries in East, Central and West Africa and other regions have been limiting accessibility to food and other essentials (even if food is available at increased prices in local markets). Since February 2020, food prices have risen by as much as 53.5% in Myanmar, 48% in Lebanon, 29% in Venezuela and 21% in Uganda—all countries with large numbers of

<sup>22</sup> USAID (2020) [Food For Peace Integrated Food Security Phase Classification \(IPC\) Explainer](#).

<sup>23</sup> Deane, T. (2021). "Marrying Young: Limiting the Impact of a Crisis on the High Prevalence of Child Marriages in Niger." *Laws* 2021.

<sup>24</sup> ICRW, World Bank (2017) [Economic Impacts of Child Marriage: Global Synthesis Brief](#).

<sup>25</sup> WFP, FAO (2021) [WFP and FAO \(2021\) Hunger Hotspots. FAO-WFP early warnings on acute food insecurity: August to November 2021 Outlook](#).

<sup>26</sup> For the purposes of this report, the IPC classification of crisis or above (IPC3+) is used as a proxy for "going to bed hungry."

<sup>27</sup> Analysis using data from WFP "[2021 Global Report on Food Crises](#)" and UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, [World Population Prospects 2019](#).

<sup>28</sup> FAO (2021) [Food Price Monitoring and Analysis](#).



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people who can least afford it.<sup>29</sup> In Asia, World Vision's regional assessments in 2020 and 2021 have shown that a reduction in income linked to the effects of the pandemic has led to a steady decrease in food budgets, from a 21% drop in 2020 to a 35% reduction in 2021.<sup>30</sup>

This drastic increase in acute hunger globally is likely to correspond to an increase in child marriage as well. We know that prior to the pandemic, girls experienced child marriage in the world's poorest countries at twice the rate of the rest of the world.<sup>31</sup> As many families face food shortages and decreases in household income and resources, the threat of child marriage has become even stronger. CARE has reported increasing numbers of young girls married to much older men for money in Afghanistan, as the pandemic and climate-induced drought has forced families into increasingly desperate negative coping measures.<sup>32</sup> When a family doesn't have enough money to feed all of its children, marrying off a daughter is one of those impossible choices that it faces in the hope that the daughter's new husband will take care of her, and they will have one less mouth to feed.<sup>33</sup>

**Given the increase in acute hunger figures from 2019 to 2020, we ESTIMATE THAT 3.3 MILLION CHILDREN IN THIS GENERATION ARE NOW AT HEIGHTENED RISK OF CHILD MARRIAGE, based on the increased hunger they are now experiencing.<sup>34</sup>**

<sup>29</sup> World Vision (2021) "[Price Shocks: How COVID-19 is triggering a pandemic of child malnutrition and what is needed to prevent this from happening.](#)"

<sup>30</sup> World Vision (September 2021) "Unmasking the Impact of COVID-19 on Asia's Most Vulnerable Children."

<sup>31</sup> UNICEF (2020) Child Marriage Global Databases, 2020 via <https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/about-child-marriage/why-child-marriage-happens/>

<sup>32</sup> CARE (2020) [Left Out and Left Behind: Ignoring Women Will Prevent Us From Solving the Hunger Crisis. Policy Report.](#)

<sup>33</sup> Girls Not Brides, ICRW "[Taking action to address child marriage: the role of different sectors. Brief 6: Food Security and Nutrition.](#)"

<sup>34</sup> Analysis using data from WFP "[2021 Global Report on Food Crises](#)"; UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, [World Population Prospects 2019](#); UNICEF global databases (2019) based on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys, Demographic and Health Surveys and other nationally representative surveys, 2006 to 2017. For detailed source information by country, see [data.unicef.org](https://data.unicef.org); UN Women (2018) [Cabo Verde Prevalence Data on Different Forms of Violence against Women](#); UNICEF (2019) "[A Profile of Child Marriage and Early Unions in Latin America and the Caribbean.](#)"

This estimate combines analysis using GRFC 2021 data and United Nations World Population Prospects 2019 to determine the number increase and gender of children in IPC3+, combined with UNICEF-published child-marriage rates for boys and girls in each country and the increased likelihood of a child being married found in the analysis. Where a UNICEF figure was not available, other sources were used. Cabo Verde was sourced from UN Women, Venezuela uses the regional average and Syria uses the pre-war figure, likely a significant underestimate. In some cases, there was no data available for boys, which likely results in a slight underestimate overall. Within the sample of World Vision programming sites in Ghana, Ethiopia, India and Zimbabwe, it was estimated that a child that went to bed hungry in the past four weeks is 1.3 times more likely to be married than his or her peers who were not reporting hunger.

## CASE STUDY: FOOD INSECURITY AGGRAVATED BY COVID-19 PUSHES A 14-YEAR-OLD INTO MARRIAGE

by Makopano Semakale, Communications Manager, World Vision Lesotho

The worsening food insecurity in Lesotho was originally caused by drought, but has now been aggravated by job losses as a result of COVID-19. For 14-year-old Lerato, the dearth of food to eat at home led her to marry an older man who promised to support her.

Since the lockdown, when schools closed and her brother and sister lost their jobs, Lerato's family has been struggling to eat. Her mother used to get ad hoc jobs as a domestic worker before COVID-19, but with the onset of the pandemic even small jobs are nearly impossible to come by. Lerato's siblings used to help by sending money home from their jobs in South Africa, but now they have gone quiet. Life for Lerato, her mother and her two younger siblings has become extremely difficult.

When the schools were still open, Lerato at least had breakfast every day, but with schools closed for months, getting food has become a problem.

"I could not bear it anymore," Lerato says. "Each day my mum had to worry about what we will eat and had

to literally knock door-to-door asking for food. If no good Samaritan came our way, we would go without food. I felt like staying in a home where at least there is food was better."

Lerato's case gives a glimpse into the deep-rooted problem of poverty, now worsened by COVID-19. According to a 2017 report by UNICEF, 17% of girls in Lesotho marry before age 18, and 1% marry before age 15. With COVID-19 and the mass destruction of family livelihoods that has resulted from containment efforts, it is highly likely that more girls will marry as a way to find some form of security.

"I feel Lerato was pushed into this marriage by the food insecurity situation we find ourselves in," her mother says sadly. "She was hoping that things would be better in her new home."

In response to the problem, World Vision Lesotho worked with the local chief and the police department's child and gender-protection unit to return Lerato home, and arrest her former husband.

"Men are taking advantage of young girls because of the problems families face during this pandemic," says Mr. Kalele, a community development facilitator.



## EDUCATION



**Children who are not presently in school are 3.4 TIMES MORE LIKELY TO BE MARRIED** than their peers who are currently in school

Time out of school due to closures during crises can also lead to **INCREASES IN TEENAGE PREGNANCY** by as much as **65%**.



**In September 2021, schools in Bangladesh reopened after remaining closed for 543 days. It was the world's longest country-wide school closure due to the pandemic, and one during which child marriage rates rose significantly.**



Perhaps one of the most startling changes brought by the pandemic has been the worldwide closure of schools. At one point in 2020, over 1.6 billion children were out of school.<sup>35</sup> This is worrying, because our analysis also confirmed a relationship between access to education and child marriage that has long been discussed in the literature.<sup>36</sup> We found that children who are currently attending school are significantly less likely to be married ( $p < 0.001$ ). Within our sample, **children who are not presently in school are 3.4 times more likely to be married than their peers who are currently in school.** Although this analysis is only able to show correlation, not causation, we know from other sources that access to education usually comes first—that is, most girls get married after they've already dropped out of school, or had to stop attending school for other reasons.<sup>37</sup>

Over the past 18 months, millions of adolescent girls have been out of school for prolonged periods with limited access to online and other learning programmes. UNESCO estimates that 5 million more primary and secondary school-age girls may be lost from school systems as a result of the crisis.<sup>38</sup> Time out of school due to closures during crises can also lead to increases

in teenage pregnancy by as much as 65%. Early or unintended pregnancy is another key driver of child marriage, as social norms and stigma about pregnancy out of wedlock pressure girls to marry and end their education in order to fulfil duties as mothers and wives. Their continued education is further hindered by policies and practices in a number of countries that expel pregnant girls from school and prevent the return of adolescent mothers.<sup>39</sup> In the absence of education to build their futures, children are increasingly being pushed into marriage.

Although schools have reopened in many developed countries following vaccine rollouts, during an assessment conducted between April and June 2021, two-thirds of children in the Asia-Pacific region reported that their schools were still closed, and **40% were not attending school in any way, including remotely.**<sup>40</sup> In September 2021, schools in Bangladesh reopened for the first time, after remaining closed for a total of 543 days.<sup>41</sup> It was the world's longest country-wide school closure due to the pandemic, and one during which child marriage rates rose significantly. BRAC, the Bangladesh-based NGO, reported that the number of marriages prevented by its staff in Bangladesh in 2020 increased by 63% compared to 2019.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> UNESCO (2021) "[Education: From disruption to recovery.](#)"

<sup>36</sup> Wodon, Q., Montenegro, C., Nguyen, H., and Onagoruwa, A. (2018) "[Missed Opportunities: the High Cost of Not Educating Girls.](#)" World Bank.

<sup>37</sup> Malhotra, A., and Elnakib, S. (2021) "[Evolution in the Evidence Base on Child Marriage: 2000-2019.](#)" UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to End Child Marriage. UNFPA, UNICEF.

<sup>38</sup> UNESCO (2020) "[COVID-19 Education Response: How many students are at risk of not returning to school?](#)"

<sup>39</sup> World Vision (2020) "[COVID-19 Aftershocks: Access Denied.](#)"

<sup>40</sup> World Vision (September 2021) "Unmasking the Impact of COVID-19 on Asia's Most Vulnerable Children." Refers to a survey in WV operational areas of 9 countries (Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam)

<sup>41</sup> Aljazeera (13 September 2021) "[Bangladesh reopens schools after 18-month COVID shutdown.](#)"

<sup>42</sup> Anadolu Agency (22 March 2021) "[Bangladesh: Child marriage rises manifold in pandemic.](#)"



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School closures are a problem not just for children's future livelihoods, but also because of the role good schools play in helping keep children safe. Suspicions about child marriage, child abuse and neglect are often reported by teachers and schools, health-care workers and other people or services with which children come into contact. The COVID-19 pandemic has greatly restricted movement and contact, potentially limiting opportunities for cases of child marriage or child abuse to be detected and reported. At the same time, the pandemic has affected the way families live and work, with many experiencing financial and other stresses.<sup>43</sup>

The economic impact of the pandemic is also affecting girls' chances of going back to school once they have finally reopened. Hunger forces children and teachers to abandon classes in search of food or the means to pay for that food. Hungry children cannot concentrate in class. Many children never go back. And in a dangerous

loop, girls from poorer families who are out of school are at higher risk of both child marriage and hunger.<sup>44</sup>

Higher levels of education reduces preventable child deaths, accelerates prosperity, enhances job opportunities and reduces poverty.<sup>45</sup> When girls don't have any other options—when there is a lack of money at home and they are not able to go to school—child marriage becomes one of the only options.<sup>46</sup> A qualitative study by the GAGE project in Ethiopia found that girls who were educated often gained more agency from their parents, or were more likely to outright oppose child marriage.<sup>47</sup> According to the World Bank and the International Center for Research on Women, each additional year that a girl is in secondary school reduces her risk of child marriage by an average of 6%.<sup>48</sup> Along the same lines, girls who complete secondary school are 64% less likely to enter into child marriage.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> World Vision (September 2021) "Unmasking the Impact of COVID-19 on Asia's Most Vulnerable Children."

<sup>44</sup> Girls Not Brides, ICRW "Taking action to address child marriage: the role of different sectors. Brief 6: Food Security and Nutrition."

<sup>45</sup> UNESCO (2013) "Education transforms lives."

<sup>46</sup> Jones, N., Presler-Marshall, E., Kassahun, G. and Hateu, M.K. "Constrained choices: Exploring the complexities of adolescent girls' voice and agency in child marriage decisions in Ethiopia." *Progress in Development Studies* vol. 20, no. 4 (October 2020): 296–311.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> ICRW, World Bank (2017) *Economic Impacts of Child Marriage: Global Synthesis Brief*.

<sup>49</sup> UNESCO (2013) "Education transforms lives."



## CASE STUDY: EDUCATION AND CHILD MARRIAGE IN UGANDA

by Jon Warren, Photojournalism Manager, World Vision USA

“My father never wanted me to continue with school after completing Year 6,” says Janet. “I think because he never went to school, he didn’t want me to go to school. He said that he did not have money for me to continue, and the only option I had was to get married and have a home.”

Janet wanted to be a doctor, not a bride. She had already seen what early marriage could do after her father forced her sisters to marry early. The sixth-born in a family of eight, Janet watched as her older sisters were pressured to leave school.

“My father always complained about having all of us in school at the same time,” says Janet. “I remember when my sister had just completed Year 7 in 2011, our father forced her to get married. Because she was still young, her marriage did not work out. But because the situation at home was not good at all, my second-born sister also got married.”

In Uganda, school dropout rates among girls are much higher than among boys. Marriage, pregnancy and financial constraints are the most common reasons that girls give for leaving. In the district of Nakasongola where Janet lives, 46.7% of women aged 20-24 reported that they were married before age 18.<sup>50</sup>

“Our stepmother teamed up with our father in support of me getting married, saying that there was no money to keep me in school,” says Janet. “At the time, I was never given money for lunch, but amidst all those challenges, I kept on going to school.”

“Janet came to school and informed me about how they were going to marry her off,” says Patrick Agaba, her schoolteacher and a member of a local citizens’ rights group. “She didn’t want it. She came crying and she didn’t want to go back home.”

“I called the chairman of the school management committee,” says Patrick. “He told me, ‘I’m going to her home now to see her father.’ But her father refused to pay Janet’s school fees. We got a nurse at the clinic to take her in. Janet went from the clinic to the school and stayed there for one year. When it was time for exams, she passed.”

Today, Janet is working hard to become a doctor and Patrick has high hopes for her future.

“She will come and help the community,” he says. “Janet encourages her friends to study. She has even talked on the radio about how children should not be mistreated at home and at school. Janet is happy now.”

<sup>50</sup> World Vision Uganda (2017) “End Violence Against Children Baseline 2017.” Research conducted by Columbia University, New York.

## PARENTAL SUPPORT AND STRESS

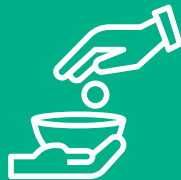


Comparing boys and girls, **BOYS WERE SIGNIFICANTLY MORE likely to report that CAREGIVERS SUPPORT and encourage them.**



As **CAREGIVER SUPPORT and encouragement increases, it significantly decreases the likelihood of an adolescent being married.**

**150 MILLION PEOPLE** were **PUSHED INTO EXTREME POVERTY** over the past one and a half years.



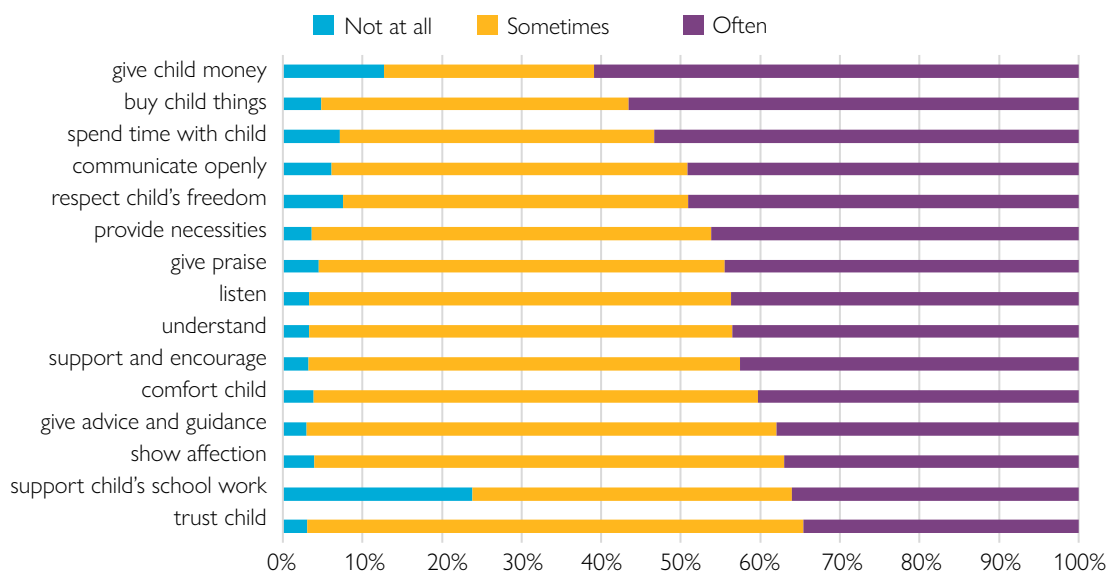
It has been widely reported that COVID-19 has caused a mental health crisis, with worrying implications for parent-child relationships. The data reveals a picture of stressed parental relationships and family finances prior to the pandemic that seems likely to have worsened during the lockdowns, school closures and financial struggles that have accompanied the pandemic.

Our data analysis found that **as caregiver support and encouragement increases, it significantly decreases the likelihood of an adolescent being married** ( $p < 0.001$ ). This relationship was

particularly evident in Ethiopia, **where children who report feeling supported and encouraged by their caregivers are 40% less likely to be married than their peers.**

A number of studies have detailed the ways in which parents' stress levels have skyrocketed during the pandemic and parent-child relationships have deteriorated.<sup>51, 52</sup> If children who do not feel supported by their parents are more likely to consider child marriage as a palatable alternative, it seems likely that a worsening situation at home might create another push factor.

### How often does the caregiver...



<sup>51</sup> Adams, Elizabeth L. et al. (2021) "Parents are Stressed! Patterns of Parent Stress Across COVID-19." *Frontiers in Psychiatry*.

<sup>52</sup> Chung, G., Lanier, P. and Wong, P. (2020) "Mediating Effects of Parental Stress on Harsh Parenting and Parent-Child Relationship during Coronavirus (COVID-19) Pandemic in Singapore." *Journal of Family Violence*.



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More than half of children surveyed thought that their parents and caregivers provided necessities only some or none of the time, and over one in ten said they never received money from their parents. Children overwhelmingly felt a lack of trust and affection from their parents and many felt unsupported with school.

Comparing boys and girls, **boys were significantly more likely (p<0.05) to report that caregivers support and encourage them, provide them with necessities (p<0.01) and that the caregiver buys the child things (p<0.01).** This suggests evidence of gender inequality, which itself is a strong predictor of child marriage.<sup>53</sup>

When children are out of school and family finances take a nose dive, parent-child relationships may be further stressed. A lack of help with schoolwork and support for their education might be counteracted by teachers in normal circumstances, but when schools are closed, children are even more likely to give up on their education. Increased poverty and a prioritisation of boys' material needs (which was highlighted by the analysis) mean that in stressed financial circumstances where parents have to choose which children to send back to

school, the girls are likely to stay home. As discussed in the section on education, this will certainly have knock-on effects for child marriage rates.

The pandemic has had a significant impact on the livelihoods and income of families around the world. Last year, 120 million people were pushed into extreme poverty. This was the first increase in 20 years.<sup>54</sup> In 2021, the continued effects of the COVID-19 pandemic mean an additional 30 million people will join them. Altogether, that totals 150 million people pushed into extreme poverty over the past one and a half years.

Although we are now in the second year of the COVID-19 pandemic, the economic impacts are still leading to detrimental effects on children's learning, well-being and protection. Regional assessments conducted by World Vision in Asia-Pacific show how widespread the economic effects of the pandemic have been. Sixty-four percent of households surveyed said their incomes had decreased in the second year of the pandemic; in May 2020, 70% had said the same.<sup>55</sup> The UN Global Protection Cluster reported that in 2020 it had seen an increasing risk of child marriage as an economic coping strategy.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Evenhuis, Mark and Burn, Jennifer. (2014) "[Just married, just a child: Child marriage in the Indo-Pacific region.](#)" Plan International Australia.

<sup>54</sup> World Bank (2021) "[Poverty Overview.](#)"

<sup>55</sup> World Vision (September 2021) "Unmasking the Impact of COVID-19 on Asia's Most Vulnerable Children."

<sup>56</sup> UN Global Protection Cluster (2020) "[Aftershock: Abuse, exploitation and human trafficking in the wake of COVID-19.](#)"



## CASE STUDY: PARENTAL SUPPORT AND CHILD MARRIAGE IN ZIMBABWE

by *Munyaradzi T. Nkomo, Communication Officer, and Shamiso Matambanadzo, Programme Manager, World Vision Zimbabwe*

Seventeen-year-old Thulie was not pregnant and was still in school when she decided to get married at the age of 15. Her marriage wasn't her parents' idea either. Thulie's father died when she was young. When her mother remarried, Thulie was sent to live with her maternal grandparents, who did their best to take care of her and paid her school fees. What got to her, Thulie says, is hunger and her uncles' constant bullying.

"Some days they would find me eating a meal and would take the plate from me," says Thulie. "They would beat me for no reason."

Thulie's boyfriend at the time was an orphan, and they decided they could take better care of themselves. Now 17, Thulie has a daughter of her own, and while she doesn't regret her decision, she's adamant that her daughter will finish her education.

"I would not want my daughter to get married early," says Thulie. "No, I want her to be a nurse so she can look after me in my old age!"

Child marriages in the area were high even before the COVID-19 pandemic began, says Never Zaina, an education facilitator with World Vision Zimbabwe. According to the last nationwide survey in 2019, around one in three young women in Zimbabwe were married before age 18.<sup>57</sup>

Crispen Ndiridza, a community child worker, explains that culture, religious beliefs and poverty are the reasons why young girls are being married off to older men.

Ree, 25, who lives in Thulie's community, got married after dropping out of school at age 16. In a story similar to that of Thulie, Ree's parents separated when she was a baby. Her mother remarried and left Ree with her elderly grandparents, who struggled to support her, as they were too old to work. Ree's schooling was supported by a donor programme until the end of primary school. Her uncle offered to support her to attend high school, but when he neglected to pay her fees, she was forced to drop out. Life with her grandparents was hard and sometimes all three would go for days without meals.

Ree decided to marry her boyfriend, an orphan who was struggling to support his four younger siblings. Although Zimbabwe recently prohibited practices that previously barred pregnant girls and young mothers from continuing their education, Ree, now a mother, has struggled to pay her school fees when she tried to go back to school between births, on top of the school fees for the family's children.

"Life is hard without an education," Ree says, when asked if she would allow her own daughter to get married early. "I would refuse and encourage her to go to school."

<sup>57</sup> (2019) "Zimbabwe Multiple Cluster Indicator Survey 2019." About one in three (34%) of women aged 20-24 were married or in union before age 18.

## CONCLUSIONS

At World Vision, we believe every child deserves the chance to experience life in all its fullness, to dream big dreams and to realise their God-given potential. Child marriage is a serious violation of a girl's rights and deserves a robust global response.

Child marriage is specifically targeted in the SDGs (SDG 5.3) and the eradication of this practice has implications for the achievement of many other global goals, as well. Ending child marriage would prevent and protect children from violence (SDG 16) and contribute to improved child and adolescent health and well-being (SDG 3). There is a growing consensus among governments, policymakers, practitioners and donors that ending child marriage is essential to reducing maternal and child mortality, universal access to education, and ending violence against women and children, as well as ensuring women's economic empowerment.

Conversely, child marriage will only be eliminated through a multi-sectoral response that contributes to the alleviation of poverty (SDG 1), improves food security (SDG 2), allows more girls to access quality education (SDG 4) and helps support positive parenting. Our analysis has shown the ways that hunger, access to education, poverty, parental support and general well-being are all linked to child marriage. Although

not an exhaustive list of factors related to the child-marriage risk by any means, they indicate clearly why a cross-sectoral approach to ending child marriage is so necessary.

The surge in child marriages over the past 18 months clearly indicates that more needs to be done. The root causes of child marriage drivers, such as hunger, poverty and access to education, must be urgently addressed. Donors and governments must act quickly and decisively to respond to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and other humanitarian crises. Significant gaps in laws, policies and programmes also remain, with dire consequences for children and communities. Unless we accelerate action, more than 110 million girls will become child brides by 2030<sup>58</sup> and progress made in ending child marriage over the past 20 years will be lost.

It is also important to not just see children as victims of the COVID-19 pandemic and its effects, but as partners in finding solutions and protecting their peers. Research has shown that children can be powerful allies when it comes to stopping child marriage in their communities.<sup>59</sup> Efforts should be focused on supporting them and tackling the root causes of child marriage—gender inequality, poverty, hunger and harmful traditional practices.

<sup>58</sup> UNICEF (2021) [“COVID-19: A threat to progress against child marriage.”](#)

<sup>59</sup> Tisdall, E. K. M., and Cuevas-Parra, P. (2019) [“Children's Participation in Ending Child Marriage: Exploring Child Activism in Bangladesh.”](#) University of Edinburgh and World Vision.

# CHILD-LED SOLUTIONS IN GHANA AND INDIA

## CASE STUDY: AYESHAITU'S STORY: CREATING HER OWN OPPORTUNITIES IN GHANA

by Abena Agyei-Boateng, *Communications Officer, World Vision Ghana*

"There is a lot of poverty here and that leads to child marriages," says Ayeshaitu, now 20, who lives in a village in Ghana's cocoa-growing Ashanti region. "I have nine siblings and I am the last-born. Four are girls. Two are married and one works because they were not able to further their education." Ayeshaitu was determined that she wouldn't fall into the same trap.

"Only the boys went to senior high school because of poverty," says Ayeshaitu. "I believe that we girls should have furthered our education so we could get better jobs, but my sisters were unable to do this. I have taken it upon myself to ensure that I improve my life."

Ayeshaitu failed her secondary school entrance exam the first time she took it three years ago, but she was determined that would not be the end of her education. A women's savings group had recently been formed in her community by World Vision's Cocoa Life programme. Ayeshaitu saw this as the best possible chance of finishing her education.

"The constitution of the savings group usually allows for people 18 years and older," says Isaachar, the Savings for Transformation group coordinator. "However, we had to make an exception for Ayeshaitu because we saw that she was very determined to improve her life. There are many young ladies who are getting pregnant in the community because they are following men, who promise them a better future."

The government in Ghana recently made secondary school free for any qualifying students, but there are still many associated costs that poorer families struggle to meet, including uniforms, textbooks and lunches. When parents struggle to support their children, they

often take up small jobs selling items on the side of the road, where they are then vulnerable to abuse and transactional relationships.<sup>60</sup>

"Due to poverty, many girls who get pregnant are forced to get married early. I did not want that for myself," says Ayeshaitu. "I wanted to go to school, and so I started my savings and used the money I earned to pay for the things I needed for school."

Back in school and able to cover her own needs, Ayeshaitu seems sure to achieve her dream of becoming a military woman. "I aspire to be an example for young girls in small communities in similar conditions like mine. It's possible to get to the top once you are determined," says Ayeshaitu with a smile.



©2020 Abena Agyei-Boateng/World Vision

<sup>60</sup> World Vision (2019) ["The Violent Truth about Teenage Pregnancy: What Children Say."](#)

## CASE STUDY: HENA GIRLS POWER GROUP ON THE FRONT LINES OF STOPPING CHILD MARRIAGE IN INDIA



by *Deborah Wolfe, Marketing Communications Coordinator, and Chelsea MacLachlan, Digital Storytelling Manager, World Vision Canada*

As the COVID-19 pandemic rages through India, girls in rural regions are at increased risk of forced marriage, child labour and human trafficking. The effects of the pandemic are leading despairing parents, who are fighting to keep food on the table, to consider desperate measures.

Eighteen-year-old Mousumi decided something had to be done, and formed the Hena Girls Power Group with other young women in her community. Their goal is to stop child abuse and child marriage—COVID-19 or not.

Joining forces with community leaders and authorities, the Hena Girls provide intelligence, reconnaissance and communication. They keep their ears open for conversations in the community. And when they hear adults talking at night about plans for their sisters, they act.

“Our first source of information is the Girls Power Group,” says Debu Patra, a World Vision technical specialist in West Bengal. “They are able to identify potential cases of child abuse and child marriage, and are aware of the vulnerable families and girls at imminent risk of trafficking in the village.”

Since the start of the pandemic, Mousumi and her all-female crew have helped stop eight early forced

marriages. The Girls Power Group model is rapidly being adopted across India. In West Bengal alone, 291 World Vision-supported Girls Power Groups have formed in two years.

Mousumi is proud of the work her team has done, but is worried about the impact of the pandemic. “[Because of the pandemic] our parents’ work has stopped,” she says. “They told us they have no income because of the lockdown. Schools are closed and that’s why they are arranging for their children to get married.”

The Hena Girls work with parents to educate them on the law and the devastating effects that child marriage has on girls’ lives, which far outweigh the economic incentives of marrying their daughters young.

Mousumi has even started to get calls about weddings in other areas. “I got a distressed call from a 13-year-old girl, who was in tears because she had been taken to another village [to be married],” says Mousumi. “Her parents knew that it would be difficult to conduct a wedding in our village because people would report it to us.”

Together they worked with the police and members of the local child protection committee, formed by World Vision, to stop the wedding.

In India, early marriages are on the rise. Families who may not have considered arranging marriages for their daughters so young have found themselves reconsidering their options since losing income during lockdowns.

COVID-19 restrictions preventing large gatherings have inadvertently created another incentive for early marriages: only having to pay for a small wedding is an attractive alternative to poor families. The traditional expectation that the brides’ family will pay for a large wedding can be crippling for poor families, especially on top of a dowry paid to the groom’s family, which normally gets higher as the girl gets older. Although the dowry system has been illegal in India since 1961, it remains a common practice, especially in rural areas.

Mousumi’s work with the Hena Girls is just the beginning. Although COVID-19 has kept her out of school this year, the experience of recent months has only added fuel to her dreams of becoming a lawyer. “I want to become an advocate and help people who are in trouble,” says Mousumi. “For my village, my dream is that child marriage, child labour and trafficking will stop.”

## RECOMMENDATIONS

World Vision believes that a world without all forms of violence against children—including the elimination of child marriage—is possible. Investment in ending child marriage has a ripple effect, empowering girls and women, as well as building stronger communities, societies and economies.

As national and global policymakers discuss how to build back better post-COVID-19, World Vision calls on all governments and donors to demonstrate stronger leadership to end child marriage by undertaking the following essential actions, including in humanitarian settings and marginalised communities:



1. Prioritise an inclusive, green economic recovery to improve household purchasing power and affordability of safe, nutritious food. Increase investment in social protection and economic strengthening interventions that can increase food security, such as livelihood support, cash and food assistance, microfinance, or group loans and savings.



2. Urgently put in place measures to ensure safe returns to school, especially for girls who dropped out during the pandemic, and ensure that every girl has access to free, inclusive, safe and child-friendly primary and secondary education. This should include eliminating policies and practices that prevent pregnant girls and adolescent mothers from continuing their education.



3. Increase and prioritise efforts to safely and meaningfully consult with adolescent girls and boys about their needs, priorities and solutions, and amplify their identified needs and solutions to shape norms, policies and activities related to ending child marriage.



4. Increase investment in comprehensive community-led and evidence-based prevention and response services for girls, such as scholarships, access to sexual and reproductive health, vocational training, and livelihood activities for children and their families.



5. Recognise the heightened risk of child marriage in fragile contexts and emergencies, including public health emergencies such as the COVID-19 pandemic, and dedicate resources and funding to prevent and respond to these risks from the outset of the humanitarian response.

We have made significant and undeniable progress toward ending child marriage over the past two decades, but many gaps remain in regions of the world, particularly those with high rates of gender inequality, and in fragile and humanitarian contexts. The COVID-19 outbreak is proving to be one of the biggest challenges across all contexts. While the international community can play a catalytic and supporting role, it is critical to include the voices of children and youth, and to mobilise donor and government support for social change. Together, we can turn our promises and commitments into a reality by 2030 and improve the lives of the world's most vulnerable people for generations to come.

# ANNEX A: FULL METHODOLOGY

## LIMITATIONS

### Variability of YHBS across countries

Ghana and Zimbabwe shared YHBS for all of their development programme communities, while India and Ethiopia sent a small sample of communities from each country. It is important to keep in mind that even in Ghana and Zimbabwe although the data covers all of the programmes in the country, it comes from communities within them where World Vision is focusing its development efforts, and which may have higher levels of vulnerability than the country as a whole. India selected data based on the high levels of child marriage in those communities so as to provide as much data as possible for analysis. Data from Ethiopia was selected randomly from the communities where the YHBS is conducted. Country comparisons should thus be avoided.

The goal of the analysis was not to define an absolute picture, but to provide an understanding of children's experiences in communities where child marriage is a particular issue, and investigate how child marriage might be related to other life experiences.

Because survey questions varied by country and year, some countries have missing data for key variables, reducing the power of the analysis and likelihood of finding significant correlations. Furthermore, the key variables of interest were limited across the datasets

available (see Annex B for details). Additionally, the results are not representative of the whole adolescent population in respective countries and are indicative of the experiences of surveyed respondents in assessed locations at the time of assessment.

## SAMPLE

Slightly over half (51.6%) of those in the sample were females. Data used was compiled from 2016 to 2020. The programme communities are overwhelmingly rural (86%), with India and Zimbabwe offering small urban representation.

Survey questions varied by country and year across nine individual YHBS datasets. The main results are drawn from a global dataset that analysts combined to include the most common variables from each country and year, totalling 14,964 observations.

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the sample by country, sex, and year.

YHBS surveys were sometimes administered alongside other survey tools (such as the Household Survey Tool in India), and sampling methodologies included purposive (with clusters), parallel and random sampling. For example, each community in Ghana surveyed exactly 95 respondents in 2018 using the Lot Quality Assurance Sampling (LQAS) method (the average dropped to 74 per community in 2019). Ethiopia sampled about 400

Country		Total N Surveyed	N Male Surveyed	N Female Surveyed
Ghana	2018	2183	1029	1154
Ethiopia	2016	1200	693	507
	2019	1200	665	535
India	2016	2249	1096	1153
	2019	2314	1095	1219
Zimbabwe	2018	1712	796	916
	2019	1373	671	702
	2020	2733	1188	1545
Total		<b>14964</b>	7233	7731

per community each year, 450 in India, and between 65-98 average per community in Zimbabwe across its three years of collection.

The average age of children in the sample is 15.1 years, with India's sample having a slightly younger average age of 14.6 years and Ghana having a slightly older average age of 15.3 years. While all children interviewed were from World Vision programme areas, about a quarter (24.0%)<sup>61</sup> of the sample is made up of children sponsored by World Vision supporters.

A large majority (96.4%) of those interviewed reported having attended school at some point. 79.6% of respondents reported being in school currently, although this does decrease with age. While 89% of 13–15-year-olds reported being in school currently, this decreases to 49% by the time the respondents reach the age of 18.

### Marital Status and Having Children

Overall, 92.7% of the children have never been married. Two percent (2%) of the sample are married, with 4.5% reporting living with a partner. Marital status is heavily dependent ( $p < 0.001$ ) on the country, with children in Ethiopia being more likely to be living with a partner and children in Zimbabwe and Ghana more likely to be married.

**Table 2 Marital Status by Country**

Marital Status	Ghana	Ethiopia
Never Married	98.0%	84.6%
Live with Partner	0.0%	11.4%
Was Married	0.2%	1.3%
Married	1.8%	2.7%

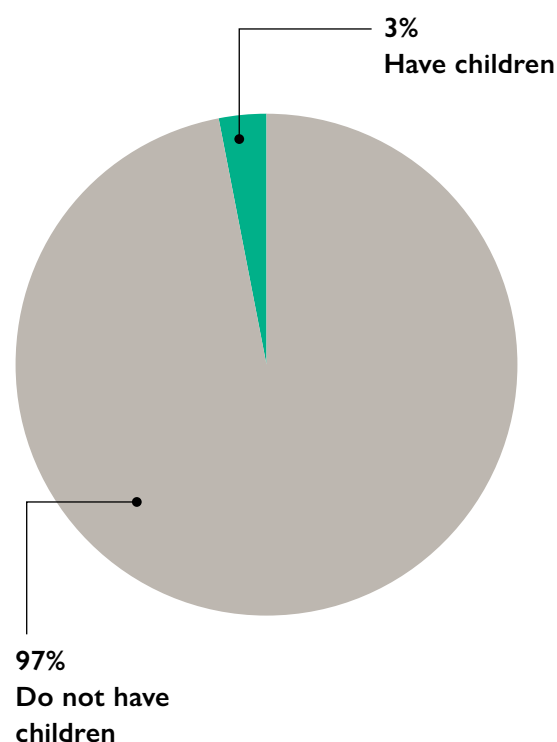
Marital Status	India	Zimbabwe
Never Married	94.7%	92.5%
Live with Partner	4.0%	3.6%
Was Married	0.6%	1.1%
Married	0.7%	2.8%

A very small proportion (2.9%) of the children

reported having children. This ranged from 0.4% in India to 4.2% in Ethiopia and 5.2% in Zimbabwe. The average age of a respondent who has a child is 17.5 years old although it ranges from 12 to 18 years of age. While most of the background characteristics were statistically the same between boys and girls, a significantly greater ( $p < 0.001$ ) proportion of girls reported having children than boys, 4.3% as compared to 1.0%.

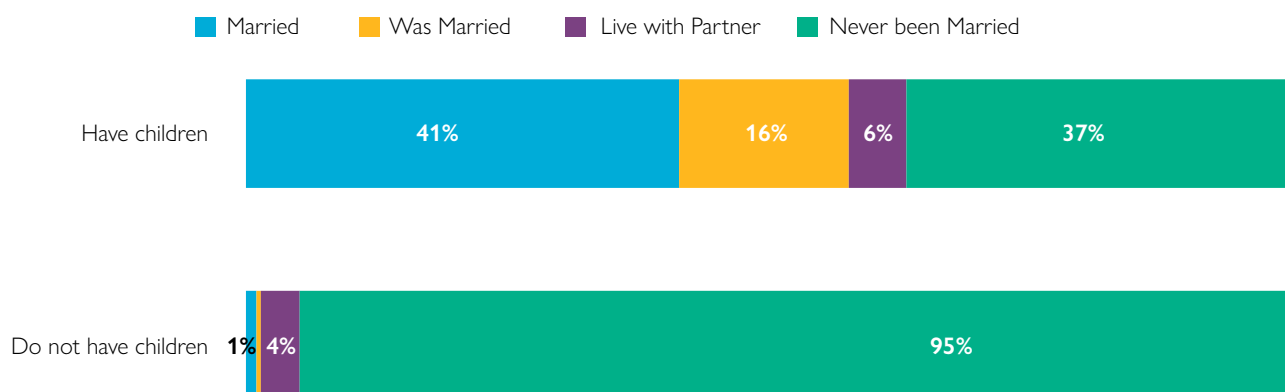
Among those respondents that are currently married, were previously married, or live with a partner, 27.0% have children. This is significantly ( $p < 0.001$ ) greater than the 1.2% of respondents who have never been married that have children. However, not all children with children are married either; of the 403 respondents who do have children, 37.2% have never been married, 41.2% are married, 16.1% were previously married and 5.5% live with a partner. These distributions are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

**Figure 1. Proportion of Respondents with Children**



<sup>61</sup> Ghana did not report sponsorship status so is not included in this calculation.

**Figure 2. Respondents having children and marital status**



## ANALYSIS

Analysis accounted for this sampling approach by clustering in t-tests and carrying out multilevel regression analyses. All datasets were analysed at a country level first, to identify potential trends within a country before incorporating into any cross-country analyses. Furthermore, findings from the analysis are presented as correlations and observed trends, not extending findings to the general population.

Distributions of all variables of interest are presented in Annex B. In addition, relationships between the outcome variables of interest and other variables of interest are examined through clustered t-tests and multilevel regression analysis.

Data were mapped using Excel, noting the variable names and values of response options for each country and year, as it differed. Each dataset (1 for each country and year or 1 for each community and year for India) were uploaded to STATA and cleaned individually. An annotated .do file outlines how each dataset was cleaned to align to the global dataset needs. Irrelevant variables were dropped from the dataset.

Once each dataset was cleaned, the datasets were merged into a global dataset using STATA. Correlations

and logistic regression analyses, clustering on individual communities, were run within STATA. Analyses were clustered at the community level to account for the assumption that children in one community are more likely to be like each other than to children in another community. Regressions considered the confounding variables of sex, sponsorship, current activities, and birth certificate.

Summary statistics are used to describe the data. In some cases, the average may not summarize the data well if, for example, the variables of interest were not normally distributed. Analyses highlight those cases and present distributions.

For comparisons and relationships, statistical inference was used. The report only presents disaggregations, comparisons, and relationships that were found to be statically significant with at least 95% confidence. In most cases, clustered t-tests and multilevel regressions were used to evaluate statistical significance and the average relationship between variables. These approaches adjusted standard errors for the fact that survey respondents are grouped in area programmes and are likely to share some variation for being in the same setting and/or similar living situations.



## ANNEX B: VARIABLES OF INTEREST

As this analysis was exploratory in nature, the analysis examined the following variables for distributions, correlations, and relationships that may help better understand adolescents within World Vision

programming sites in Ghana, Ethiopia, India and Zimbabwe. Variables are described in Annex B. Note that the main outcome variables of interest are those described in Table 3

**Table 3. Outcome Variables of Interest**

Variables of Interest	Notes / Description
<i>Outcomes of Interest</i>	
Marital Status	Each country asked the respondents their marital status with the following answer options: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Married</li> <li>• Was married</li> <li>• Live with partner</li> <li>• Never married</li> </ul> <p>Correlations were examined using this variable. In addition, a binary variable of married (yes/no) was created. The binary variable combined married, was married, and live with partner to 'married'. Never married mapped to not married.</p>
Has children	Has children is a binary variable that describes whether a survey respondent does or does not have children.
Sexual Abuse	Ghana and Zimbabwe asked some questions regarding sexual abuse although these questions were not aligned between the two countries. Questions related to age and circumstances of first sexual encounter.
<i>Potential Confounding Variables</i>	
Sex	Sex of the respondent; male/female
Age	Age of the respondent in years
Country and Community	Used within the clustering, to account for differences between countries and community programme areas, assuming that respondents within the same country/community are more likely to be similar than those from other countries/communities.
Education	Education was measured in three ways across the datasets. Measured as the highest grade achieved (standardised by age), ever having attended school, and whether or not the respondent is currently in school. Note that the highest grade achieved was dropped from the analysis due to inconsistencies and data quality issues. Specifically, large proportions of 10-12 year-olds claimed having completed secondary or tertiary schools.
Sponsorship status	Binary variable describing whether the respondent is sponsored by World Vision.

Variables of Interest	Notes / Description
<i>Independent Variables of Interest</i>	
Safety	Respondents were asked how safe they feel in their neighbourhood. Upon a response of somewhat or not at all, follow up questions on reasons for feeling unsafe. Options included fear of car accidents, no safe place to play, gang violence, thieves, fearing an attack, fear of receiving unwanted touching, actions of others as a result of drugs or alcohol.
Access to Services	Respondents were asked if they knew where to access emergency medical services as well as where to report abuse. Follow up questions included inquiry into whether these services are accessed when needed and, if not, why not.
Hunger	A binary variable that describes whether the respondent went to bed hungry at least once in the last 4 weeks.
Caregiver Support	A series of questions inquiring about the person who cares for the respondent the most at home. For each activity, the respondent explained if the activity happens not at all, sometimes, or often. Activities include: support and encourage, gives attention, shows affection, praises, comforts, respects freedom, understands, trusts, gives advice and guidance, provides necessities, gives money, buys things, has open communication, spends time, supports school work.
Outlook on Life (Child Ladder)	Each respondent placed him/herself on a ladder which has 8 rungs. The top rung (value of 8) represents that the respondent pictures his/her life as the best possible life. The bottom run (value of 1) represents the worst possible life.
Child Participation	Child participation questions were only asked in Ghana. Questions relate to the respondent's participation in Children's Groups as well as the decision-making process within those children's groups.

# ANNEX C: INDICATOR MAPPING ACROSS TOOLS

Variables Suggested for Analysis	Question from Global Tool	Ghana	Ethiopia		India		Zimbabwe			Notes
		2018	2016	2019	2016	2019	2018	2019	2020	
<b>Controls</b>										
Urban/Rural		rural	rural	rural	rural	rural	rural	rural	rural	Informed looked this up for each AP and added it manually
Length of sponsorship programming		Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	
<b>YHBS</b>										
Child Marriage (YAY16)	YAY16: Are you or have you ever been married?	CPCM0010: Are you or have you ever been married?	YAY03	YAY03	YAY03	YAY03	YAY03	YAY03	YAY03	In the merged global dataset, all countries have this variable which is now marital_status
Age child marriage (YAY17)	YAY17: At what age did you first get married?	CPCM0010_a: At what age did you first get married?	YAY04	YAY04	YAY04	YAY04	YAY03a	YAY03a	YAY03a	In the merged global dataset, all countries have this variable which is now age_married
Children/pregnancy (YAY18, YSF01-04)	YAY18: Do you have any children?	CPCM0010_c: Do you have child/children?	YAY05	YAY05	YAY05: do you have any children?	YAY05: do you have any children?	YAY04a	YAY04a	YAY04a	
	YSF01: Are you currently pregnant? YSF02: Have you ever been pregnant? YSF03: At the time of your most recent pregnancy, did you want to become pregnant then, did you want to wait under later, or did you not want to have any more children? YSF04: Do you currently want to become pregnant?	CPC-M0010_d: Are you currently pregnant?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	

Education (YAY25)	YAY25: Are you currently attending school?	adolescent_ currently_in_ school: Are you currently attending school or preschool?	YED04: What do you do now?	YED04: What do you do now?	YED05: what do you do now?	YED05: what do you do now?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	No Country Offices included this particular question. However, we were able to extract it from the "What are you doing now?" question so there is now a variable in the global dataset that says 'in_school'. If they answered 'education' to the question "What are you doing now?" then they have a response of 'yes' to 'in_school' otherwise 'no'
Level Education (YAY28)	YAY28: What is the highest level of school you completed?	adolescent_ highest_level_ school: What is the highest level of school you attained?	YED03: What is the highest level of school you have completed?	YED03: What is the highest level of school you have completed?	YED03: What is the highest level of school you have completed?	YED03: What is the highest level of school you have completed?	YE03: What is the highest level of school you completed?	YE03: What is the highest level of school you completed?	YE03: What is the highest level of school you completed?	This has been aggregated in the global dataset as highest_level
Education Service Satisfaction (QDI01)	QDI01: In the last 6 months, has your child had difficulty accessing school infrastructure/ facilities	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	This was not included in any of the surveys
Working or education (YAY29)	YAY29: What do you do now?	FSAO035: What do you do now?	YED04: What do you do now?	YED04: What do you do now?	YED05: what do you do now?	YED05: what do you do now?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	This is included in the current global dataset and analysis. Variable: do_now; Although not requested by the ToR, I did include ever_attend (did you ever attend school?) because it was in each dataset.

Hunger (YAY30)	YAY30: In the past four weeks, did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	AHBS01_ bed_hungry: In the past four weeks, did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	YWB02: In the past 4 weeks did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	YWB02: In the past 4 weeks did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	YWB02: In the past 4 weeks did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	YWB02: In the past 4 weeks did you go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	This is included in the current global dataset and analysis. Variable: slept_hungry
Hunger frequency (YAY31)	YAY31: How often did this happen?	AHBS02: How often did this happen?	YWB03: How often did this happen?	YWB03: How often did this happen?	YWB03: How often did this happen?	YWB03: How often did this happen?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	This is included in the current global dataset and analysis. Variable: hungry_freq
Sexual abuse (YSV01, YSV02)	YSV01: In the last 12 months, has a parent or adult caregiver... YSV02: Thinking of all these experiences how many times has a parent or adult caregiver done this to you in the last 12 months?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	This was not included in any of the FO contextualized surveys
Attempted rape (YSV03-06)	YSV03: In the last 12 months, has anyone ever tried to make you have sex against your will but did not succeed? YSV04: The person who tried to make you have sex this last time, what was this person's relationship to you? YSV05: Has anyone else ever physically forced you to have sex against your will and did succeed? YSV06: The person who tried to physically force you to have sex this last time, what was this person's relationship to you?	CPSC045: Have you been sexually abused in the past 12 months? CPSC045_ I: Perpetrator of Sexual Abuse	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	YSR04a: Did anyone force you to have sex with them? YSR04ai: Who are they? YSR04b: Who did you report the abuse?	YSR04a: Did anyone force you to have sex with them? YSR04ai: Who are they? YSR04b: Who did you report the abuse?	In Zimbabwe's 2018 dataset there is a YSR04 but it has values like '15' and '19' - then no follow up questions (it moves on to YSR05).

<p>Pressure to have sex (YSV07/08, YSR15, YSR17)</p>	<p>YSV07: Has anyone else every pressured you to have sex, through harassment or threats and did succeed?                  YSV08: The person who tried to pressure you to have sex this last time, what was this person's relationship to you?                  YSR15: If someone tried to have sex with you or touch you sexually and you did not want them to, would you be able to stop them?                  YSR17: Which of the following statements most closely describes your experience the first time you had sexual intercourse?</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>YSR11: Which of the following statements most closely describes your experience the first time you had sexual intercourse?</p>	<p>YSR11: Which of the following statements most closely describes your experience the first time you had sexual intercourse?</p>	<p>YSR11: Which of the following statements most closely describes your experience the first time you had sexual intercourse?</p>	
<p>Bullying with sexual jokes (YBV01-e)</p>	<p>YBV01-e: During the past 12 months, how were you bullied face-to-face most often? (Answer option e: I was made fun of with sexual jokes, comments, or gestures)</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	

<p>Intimate partner violence (YIV02-06)</p>	<p>YIV02: In the last 12 months, has a partner...                      YIV03: Thinking of all these experiences, how many times has a romantic/dating/intimate partner done this to you in the last 12 months?                      YIV04: The romantic/dating/intimate partner who did this to you the last time, what was this person's relationship to you?                      YIV05: In the last 12 months has [partner]...                      YIV06: The romantic/dating/intimate partner who did this to you the last time, what was this person's relationship to you?</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	
<p>Safety (YFS01, YFS02-6)</p>	<p>YFS01: Are you currently pregnant?                      YFS02: Have you ever been pregnant?                      YFS03: At the time of your most recent pregnancy, did you want to become pregnant then, did you want to wait under later, or did you not want to have any more children?                      YFS04: Do you currently want to become pregnant?                      YFS05: Some young people use various ways or methods to delay or avoid a pregnancy. Are you currently doing something or using any method to delay or avoid getting pregnant?                      YFS06: Which method are you using?</p>	<p>CPC-M0010_d: Are you currently pregnant?</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Note that these questions are marked as 'intervention mandatory' in the global YHBS notes. Are the APs that we were given carrying out this intervention? Note that none of them included these questions.</p>

Talking to parents about sex (YSR01)	YSR01: In the past 12 months, have you had a discussion with your parents or caregivers about sex and sexual relationships?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	YSR02: In the past 12 months, have you had discussion with your parents or caregivers about sex and sexual relationships?	YSR02: In the past 12 months, have you had discussion with your parents or caregivers about sex and sexual relationships?	YSR02: In the past 12 months, have you had discussion with your parents or caregivers about sex and sexual relationships?	Again, this question is marked as 'intervention mandatory' but not included in any of the datasets provided to us.
Sexually active (YSR03-04, YSR18)	YSR03: Have you ever had sex with someone? For this survey, sex can mean either vaginal or anal penetrative sexual intercourse. YSR04: How old were you when you first had sex? YSR18: In the past 12 months, which of the following statements most closely describes your experience with all the sexual relationships you've had?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	YSR03: Have you ever had sex with someone? YSR04: How old were you when you first had sex?	YSR03: Have you ever had sex with someone? YSR04: How old were you when you first had sex?	YSR03: Have you ever had sex with someone? YSR04: How old were you when you first had sex?	Note that these questions are marked as 'intervention mandatory' in the global YHBS notes. Are the APs that we were given carrying out this intervention? Note that none of them included these questions.
Safe sex (YSR05)	YSR05: The first time you had sex, did you use a condom?	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	YSR05: Did you use a condom the first time you had sex?	YSR05: Did you use a condom the first time you had sex?	YSR05: Did you use a condom the first time you had sex?	Again, this question is marked as 'intervention mandatory' but not included in any of the datasets provided to us.



<p>Gender Equality (GB C4B.26085 QGN01-12)</p>	<p>QGN: The respondent is asked to rate their perception on a 3-point scale from Agree to Partially Agree to Disagree for the following 12 items:                  There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.                  A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.                  It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won't have sex with him.                  A man using violence is a private matter.                  Changing diapers, giving the kids a bath, and feeding the kids are mother's responsibility.                  A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.                  You don't talk about sex, you just do it.                  A woman should obey her husband in all things in the home.                  It is the man who decides what type of sex to have.                  It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.                  A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.                  It disgusts me when I see a man acting like a woman.</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	<p>Not asked</p>	
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Child Participation	<p>YCP01: In the last 12 months, have you participated in a children's group at least once a month?</p> <p>YCP02: How are children involved in deciding the content and direction of your children's group? Please circle the one answer that best applies to your group:</p> <p>YCP03: How do children participate in the selection of the leaders for your children's group?</p> <p>YCP04: In the last 12 months, can you think of a time when the local government asked for your opinions and ideas?</p> <p>YCP05: Do you feel your ideas were then put into place?</p>	<p>CPCG0027: In the last 12 months, have you participated in a children's group at least once a month?</p> <p>CPCG0028: How are children involved in deciding the content and direction of your children's group?</p> <p>CPCH0029: how do children participate in the selection of the leaders of your children's group?</p>	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Not asked	Specific questions were not included in the request but all surveys were checked were for any questions within the Child Protection module.
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# ANNEX D: LOGISTIC REGRESSION OUTPUTS

The regression analyses were carried out which informed the results presented in this report.

**Table 1. Logistic regression, marital status outcome, all countries**

Married	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Female	-.04	.094	-0.43	.669	-.224	.144	
Age (yrs)	.12	.028	4.26	0	.065	.176	***
School attendance	-.4	.293	-1.37	.172	-.973	.174	
Highest grade	.562	.087	6.44	0	.391	.733	***
Doing now	-.364	.062	-5.86	0	-.485	-.242	***
Birth certificate	-.197	.099	-1.99	.046	-.39	-.003	**
Feel safe	-.173	.069	-2.49	.013	-.309	-.037	**
Slept hungry	.263	.113	2.33	.02	.041	.485	**
Supported and encouraged	-.28	.079	-3.54	0	-.435	-.125	***
Country	-1.212	.109	-11.12	0	-1.425	-.998	***
Constant	.528	.696	0.76	.448	-.837	1.892	
Mean dependent var		0.085	SD dependent var		0.279		
Pseudo r-squared		0.100	Number of obs		13878		
Chi-square		380.059	Prob > chi2		0.000		
Akaike crit. (AIC)		3438.003	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		3519.374		
*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1							

**Table 2. Logistic regression, marital status outcome, Ghana**

Married	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Female	1.764	.476	3.71	0	.831	2.697	***
Age (yrs)	.926	.169	5.48	0	.595	1.258	***
School attendance	.389	.857	0.45	.65	-1.291	2.07	
Highest grade	-1.985	.719	-2.76	.006	-3.394	-.576	***
Doing now	-.35	.161	-2.17	.03	-.665	-.034	**
Birth certificate	-.61	.418	-1.46	.144	-1.428	.209	
Feel safe	-.148	.323	-0.46	.646	-.782	.485	
Slept hungry	.825	.405	2.04	.042	.03	1.619	**
Supported and encouraged	-.701	.322	-2.18	.03	-1.333	-.069	**
Constant	-13.847	3.163	-4.38	0	-20.046	-7.648	***
Mean dependent var		0.018	SD dependent var		0.131		
Pseudo r-squared		0.330	Number of obs		2110		
Chi-square		122.868	Prob > chi2		0.000		
Akaike crit. (AIC)		269.700	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		326.245		
*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1							

**Table 3. Logistic regression, marital status outcome, Ethiopia**

Married	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Female	-.124	.123	-1.02	.31	-.365	.116	
Age (yrs)	.168	.037	4.57	0	.096	.24	***
School attendance	.419	.771	0.54	.587	-1.092	1.931	
Highest grade	.053	.145	0.37	.713	-.231	.338	
Doing now	-.245	.095	-2.58	.01	-.431	-.059	***
Birth certificate	.339	.123	2.75	.006	.098	.581	***
Feel safe	-.224	.083	-2.69	.007	-.387	-.061	***
Supported and encouraged	-.297	.093	-3.20	.001	-.48	-.115	***
Constant	-2.695	1.021	-2.64	.008	-4.697	-.694	***
Mean dependent var		0.150	SD dependent var		0.357		
Pseudo r-squared		0.034	Number of obs		2331		
Chi-square		66.787	Prob > chi2		0.000		
Akaike crit. (AIC)		1923.097	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		1974.883		
*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1							

**Table 4. Logistic regression, marital status outcome, India**

Married	Coef.	St.Err.	t-value	p-value	[95% Conf	Interval]	Sig
Female	.064	.149	0.43	.665	-.227	.356	
Age (yrs)	.087	.045	1.93	.054	-.001	.175	*
School attendance	-.949	.349	-2.72	.006	-1.632	-.266	***
Highest grade	.913	.118	7.75	0	.682	1.144	***
Doing now	-.453	.083	-5.42	0	-.616	-.289	***
Birth certificate	-.954	.163	-5.83	0	-1.274	-.633	***
Feel safe	.08	.128	0.63	.53	-.17	.33	
Slept hungry	.35	.246	1.42	.154	-.132	.832	
Supported and encouraged	-.316	.14	-2.26	.024	-.59	-.042	**
Constant	-3.059	.93	-3.29	.001	-4.881	-1.237	***
Mean dependent var		0.049	SD dependent var		0.216		
Pseudo r-squared		0.116	Number of obs		4256		
Chi-square		192.895	Prob > chi2		0.000		
Akaike crit. (AIC)		1494.418	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		1557.978		
*** p<.01, ** p<.05, * p<.1							

**Table 5. Logistic regression, marital status outcome, Zimbabwe**

<b>Married</b>	<b>Coef.</b>	<b>St.Err.</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>	<b>[95% Conf Interval]</b>	<b>Sig</b>
Female	.662	.127	5.21	0	.413 .911	***
Age (yrs)	.273	.045	6.05	0	.185 .362	***
School attendance	-.281	.308	-0.91	.362	-.884 .323	
Highest grade	.02	.123	0.16	.871	-.222 .262	
Doing now	-.372	.044	-8.54	0	-.457 -.287	***
Birth certificate	-.475	.187	-2.53	.011	-.842 -.108	**
Feel safe	-.045	.111	-0.41	.682	-.262 .171	
Supported and encouraged	-.256	.11	-2.33	.02	-.472 -.04	**
Constant	-4.9	.868	-5.65	0	-6.602 -3.199	***
Mean dependent var		0.070	SD dependent var		0.256	
Pseudo r-squared		0.101	Number of obs		4486	
Chi-square		231.026	Prob > chi2		0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		2067.689	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		2125.368	

\*\*\* p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \* p<.1

**Table 6. Regression, ladder categories, all countries**

<b>Ladder Category</b>	<b>Coef.</b>	<b>St.Err.</b>	<b>t-value</b>	<b>p-value</b>	<b>[95% Conf Interval]</b>	<b>Sig</b>
Married	-.184	.024	-7.60	0	-.232 -.137	***
Female	-.02	.012	-1.62	.105	-.043 .004	
Age (yrs)	-.031	.004	-8.67	0	-.038 -.024	***
School attendance	.006	.035	0.16	.873	-.063 .074	
Highest grade	-.025	.013	-1.96	.05	-.049 0	*
Doing now	.01	.007	1.52	.129	-.003 .024	
Birth certificate	.046	.014	3.36	.001	.019 .073	***
Feel safe	.086	.011	7.97	0	.065 .107	***
Supported and encouraged	.069	.011	6.26	0	.047 .091	***
Country	-.305	.006	-47.85	0	-.318 -.293	***
Constant	2.59	.079	32.84	0	2.435 2.744	***
Mean dependent var		1.652	SD dependent var		0.769	
R-squared		0.196	Number of obs		13056	
F-test		317.431	Prob > F		0.000	
Akaike crit. (AIC)		27370.257	Bayesian crit. (BIC)		27452.504	

\*\*\* p<.01, \*\* p<.05, \* p<.1

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