

The Child Marriage Research to Action Network (the CRANK)

Research Meeting: Learning from the latest evidence on child marriage prevention laws and their implications – Considering context, challenges and opportunities

18 June 2024

Key takeaways

- **Legal reform can signal high-level commitment to addressing child marriage and act as an entry point for investment in related areas, but there is often an over-reliance on the law as a tool for social change.** Laws are often difficult to communicate, implement and evaluate, especially where there are conflicting laws, norms and practices around child marriage. Punitive approaches can be seen as a replacement for investment in structural change and girls' wellbeing (e.g. education and health), which would provide alternatives to child marriage.
- **Introducing or changing laws has mixed results, often only working for a subset of the population and/or over the short term, and risking negative consequences for those with the fewest alternatives.** Negative impacts include the criminalisation and stigmatisation of adolescents and marginalised groups, increases in informal unions, and adolescents' restricted access to other protective systems like justice, social support and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).
- **Adolescents' evolving capacities^a need to be recognised and integrated into international and national law on marriage and sexuality.** Such laws need to be rights-based, gender-transformative and intersectional, informed by the different factors that put girls at risk and reduce their choices – like their age, gender, class, race, ethnicity, caste, location and citizenship. Laws should focus on evolving capacities alongside age to balance protection from exploitation and abuse with the promotion of autonomy and agency. Sexual consent and marriage should not be conflated in law.
- **Comprehensive and interconnected laws, policies and services work better than those that focus on age of marriage or sexual consent alone.** For example, introducing child marriage laws alongside free secondary education policies could reduce the likelihood of marriage before age 15 by 55%.^b Such combined policies can address the structural drivers and create alternatives to child marriage, influence adolescent and family decision-making, and expand access to gender-equitable services – like education, poverty alleviation, social protection, economic opportunities, SRHR and gender-based violence (GBV).
- **Multisectoral approaches are needed to build and maintain the necessary political will and technical capacity to address child marriage and secure girls' rights at scale.** This means promoting intentional, coordinated collaboration across government departments, international agencies, community leaders and civil society organisations; and identifying,

^a "Evolving capacities" refers to the way young people gradually develop the ability to take responsibility for their own actions and decisions. Applying the principle means recognising the changing relationship between parents and children as they grow up, and focusing on capacity, rather than age, as the determinant in the exercise of human rights

^b Results from a forthcoming natural experiment, presented by Rachel Kidman from Stony Brook University, See p. 8 for details.

training and funding those responsible to implement clear strategies, including in humanitarian contexts.

- **Laws and their impact need to be context-specific and continuously evaluated to ensure they have the intended outcome, to identify effective (combinations of) interventions and to ensure the legal system works for those who need it.** Girls and adolescents – including those in informal unions and/or experiencing forced marriage – should be involved in gathering evidence, advocating, creating and implementing laws that respond to their lived realities and needs. Mixed-method studies may be an effective way to gather qualitative evidence where data is limited. Researchers, practitioners and advocates can also engage with feminist, violence against women and girls, HIV, SRHR and abortion movements to learn more about the role and limitations of the law – especially punitive approaches – and adolescent girls’ rights and agency.

Introduction

Sara Martínez, Coordinator of the Adolescence, Autonomy and Sexuality Programme, Balance, Mexico.

- Laws are an expression of aspiration, which need continuous evaluation to ensure there is a direct and causal link between the passing of laws and reductions in child marriage.
- Laws have helped focus attention on child marriage, and the need for social transformation.
- Laws have unintended consequences, including the criminalisation and stigmatisation of already marginalised groups – like Indigenous communities – and increases in informal unions, denial of rights and reduced adolescent autonomy.
- Laws are necessary, but: a) Why have they not worked as expected? b) Where they have worked, why are they detrimental to those they aim to protect?, and c) What is next and how do we move forwards?

Learning from the evidence: Implications for research, practice and policy

Sajeda Amin, formerly Senior Associate at the Population Council, drawing on the evidence review for updated WHO guidelines on minimum age at marriage laws.

- Work with the WHO, Population Council and UNFPA to update the 2011 guidelines, assessing the evidence on formulating and implementing laws.
- It is not that there was no evidence in 2011; the WHO followed a process which generated strong recommendations:
 - To encourage political leaders and planners to formulate and enforce laws and policies to prohibit the marriage of girls before age 18.
 - To undertake research to identify effective interventions to formulate, enforce and monitor laws and policies, including unintended consequences.
- The update looked at what the existence of child marriage prevention laws in line with international treaties do to:
 - decrease child marriage;

- increase awareness and/or support for child marriage prevention laws.
- Methodology:
 - Review all papers from five previous relevant systematic reviews, adding more recent publications, including observational studies (eight on child marriage laws).
 - Screen and review these studies, excluding those that did not align with the research questions or where there were concerns about study design or statistical method.
 - GRADE the evidence, looking at the outcome and quality of the evidence. This left three viable studies, all of which were observational studies or natural experiments that compared before and after a law was enacted to see if the law had an effect; all focus on changes in minimum age of marriage laws.
- Findings:
 - Results were mixed: in some countries, laws had an impact; some laws had an impact on some groups but not others.
 - The introduction or change in child marriage laws do not consistently work to reduce child marriage. Where they do seem to work, statistically significant results only hold for a subset of the population.
 - While there was a decline immediately after implementation, this was not sustained over time.
 - This translated into the “low certainty” description of the evidence base.
- Why is the evidence of low certainty?
 - Research on laws is difficult to conduct. Laws do not exist in a vacuum, so it is not easy to determine causality.
 - In most high child marriage prevalence settings, there is a plurality of practices and laws associated with child marriage because of diverse groups (civil, religious, ethnic diversity and practices), so there is a bigger space setting moral standards around child marriage.
 - Religious laws and cultural practices are resistant to change and can create backlash:
 - Criminalisation of child marriage can drive the practice underground.
 - Changes in the law may be difficult to implement.
 - The language of the law is not every-day language, so communication is difficult.
- In Bangladesh, the [Child Marriage Restraint Act of 2017](#), under which the legal age of marriage is 18 for women and 21 for men. It also changed previous laws to:
 - Bring in stronger punishments (up to 2 years imprisonment and/or fine of US\$1,250) for any adult marrying an underage person. The underage boy or girl also faces punishment (1 month’s imprisonment and/or fine of US\$625).
 - Introduced an **exception clause** allowing marriage under the legal age (without limit) with parental or court consent, if it is deemed “in the best interest of the child”.

- The Act does not include any annulment option for child marriage.
- ➔ Amirapu et al. 2020 [experimented](#) in communicating these laws found that the exception led people to conclude it was more acceptable to marry girls at a younger age. That is, the exception provision legitimised marriage under age 18 because it aligned with what people believed.
- What next?
 - Laws are necessary but not sufficient.
 - Laws need to go alongside addressing other structural drivers to reach and make sense to people. E.g. they need to address alternatives to child marriage (like education and economic opportunities) rather than limit them.
 - We need to think about when pre-marital sex and pregnancy drive child marriage, looking at associated laws – like guardianship – which underly why girls and/or their families still choose child marriage.
 - We need to look at unintended consequences and where they come from (e.g. legal exceptions in Bangladesh and complications around communication).
- Do we need more/different laws? We need to look at:
 - Context (plurality of laws and practices), thinking about how much this plays into legal implementation.
 - Ability/capacity to implement laws.
 - Child marriage bans increasing informal unions and how to address this (e.g. Mexican ban which drove child marriage underground as informal unions).

Katherine (Kat) Watson, lawyer and freelance consultant, giving an introduction to the evidence on the impact of minimum age (and sexual consent) laws on child marriage and girls’ rights, with more details available in the full [report](#).

- Primary research question: what are the impacts of child marriage and sexual consent laws on child marriage prevalence, and girls’ rights and agency?
- Methodology: Included grey literature, no GRADEing, so broader than the WHO process, consultation with *Girls Not Brides* member organisations based in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and South Asia.
- Impact on child marriage prevalence:
 - Literature base is small and emphasises the *content* of the law, that is, how national laws align with international human rights law.
 - Most do not measure the “before and after” effect of a new law/reform, or analyse how the law is implemented in practice.
 - Laws have had a limited impact on prevalence, but may have contributed to raising the age of marriage in some contexts.

- Laws have contributed to changing dynamics around marriage and union, impacting adolescents' decision-making.
- Impact on girls' rights and agency. We need to look at how laws construct adolescence, and the concept of "evolving capacities".
 - "Adolescence" is a relatively new legal category that challenges the historical binary between child and adult.
 - The international human rights concept of "evolving capacities" is rarely applied in the formulation/interpretation of national law, and minimum age laws still dominate (in marriage and consent, and other civil and political rights including health care and voting). There is a default protectionist approach where adolescent autonomy is seen as a necessary sacrifice for their protection, rather than autonomy being seen as a protectionist mechanism in itself.
 - Judges can apply evolving capacities in their interpretation of individual cases. E.g. UK Gillick competency test (1986); and India case law affording self-determination to girls through best interest and assessing capacities in cases of marriage or sex below the legal age.
- Understanding the impact of punitive approaches to regulating adolescents, their sexuality and marriage in the context of a trend towards this in national-level law:
 - Criminalising adolescent sexuality and/or raising the age of sexual consent does not reflect the reality of adolescents, who are largely sexually active before age 18.
 - Criminalisation leads to the (self-) stigmatisation of adolescents, reflecting the evidence from studies on criminalisation of abortion or HIV.
 - Restricted access to SRH information and services, and fear of legal repercussions lead to unwanted pregnancy in adolescents, which drives child marriage in many contexts.
- Understanding the impact of punitive approaches to access to support, leading to further rights violations:
 - Pushing the practice underground puts girls at greater risk, as they cannot access services and social support or justice, putting them out of reach of other protective systems of the state.
 - Criminal law can exacerbate existing marginalisations. E.g. in Mexico, there are aggravated penalties for people of Indigenous or Afro-Mexican descent.
 - Girls face harassment or emotional abuse by law enforcement officials when they make complaints, bringing their safety in this system into question.
 - Punitive approaches are often seen as a replacement for state investment to enhance girls' and communities' welfare (e.g. education and health).
- Who and what is protected by the law? Is the law protecting those it aims to protect?
 - On the one hand, laws are used to punish adolescents who express self-determination on sex and marriage; they are used by parents to break up marriages and unions of which they disapprove.
 - On the other, the girls most in need of the law's protection (those being forced into non-consensual marriages and relationships) can rarely access legal redress. E.g. In Partners for Law and Development's analysis of 83 cases seen by the courts around child marriage, only

four involved forced marriage and the rest involved parents using the law to break up unions or marriages of which they disapproved.

- Challenges within the legal system:
 - Lack of anonymity in reporting cases of child marriage to the police.
 - Uncertainty due to conflicting laws between formal and informal law.
 - State birth and marriage registration systems are often under-resourced and staff are unprepared.
 - Lack of awareness in communities around laws and policies.
 - Girls cannot access legal systems without a legal adult.
 - Financial barriers due to the cost of legal representation.
- Implications:
 - We need more research and greater understanding of what works for girls:
 - Specificities of how laws impact the whole population, and girls in all their diversity – we need to ask them!
 - Legal advocacy informed by deep understandings of evolving capacities in each context and how/if this can be promoted in tandem with a minimum legal age approach.
 - Understanding how (criminal) laws shape and respond to different types of marriage and unions, and the interplay between marriage and sexual consent laws.
 - We need to ensure that the legal system works for those who need it:
 - Legal literacy campaigns for girls and their communities to increase awareness of the law and the rights and protections it offers for girls.
 - Working with girls to understand their needs and advocating with them for changes.
 - Ensuring support services and legal aid are available to girls who have been forced into marriage.
 - We need to understand the role of the law in the broader context of a more comprehensive approach to girls' rights and agency.

Q&A and discussion

If there is little evidence/data around the law and child marriage, there is even less around informal unions – what is the solution?

Sajeda: If there is no evidence in your context, then you can start with mixed-methods studies to generate qualitative evidence and understand the reality; these kinds of studies will contribute to generating evidence at the broader level.

What would an alternative to having a legal minimum age of marriage law look like? Judges are not always primed to look at adolescent evolving capacities or consent.

Kat: There are different models – fixed age limits model (as we have just looked at), no legal age limits, combinations of the two, mixed models that differentiate between rights. The issue is we don't have enough evidence to really understand what works in each context, but have gone forwards with a one-size-fits-all

model globally. It is time to reassess this, and think about what the alternatives might be – this will probably look different from context to context. We need to understand how evolving capacities can fit in with our current legal approaches, and what the consequences are of not doing that.

Comment from participant at the University of Nigeria Nsukka: First, child marriage laws are made by the same people who violate them and enter into child marriages. Second, thinking about the lack of evidence: perhaps we need to make the research local to find out what is happening in more places. We see a lot of child marriage in rural communities in Nigeria, but those working at the community level do not have the capacity to do the research or generate evidence. We need to collaborate to do this, because without evidence, we cannot address the issue. In this context, the law does not seem to have any bearing on stopping child marriage.

Contextual considerations: Strengthening practice and policy response

Sally Ncube, Southern Africa Regional Representative, Equality Now, looking at the challenges in the implementation of domestic laws and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Model Law on Ending Child Marriage.

- East and Southern Africa has some of the highest child marriage prevalence in the world, at 31% of girls.
- With UNFPA, looked at the existing evidence, country-specific, contextual issues that make the law work.
- The SADC Model Law asks member states to domesticate international and regional human rights instruments that contribute to ending child marriage, with 18 as the minimum age of marriage. Contains prevention and mitigation measures.
- Challenges in implementing the law:
 - Uganda: poor awareness of the laws (language); lack of harmonisation with other laws, creating grey areas; in marginalised communities, high numbers of unregistered unions, lack of access to documentation to prove the age of the child; cultural and religious belief systems undermining the law; poverty creating a conducive environment for child marriage; access to SRHR and services for adolescent girls; negative health care experiences for adolescent mothers, with inadequate information for them and for duty bearers.
 - Malawi: lack of documentation (birth registration is only 67.8%, low registration of marriages); cultural practices that enable child marriage; poverty; inadequate knowledge of the law; what happens after a girl leaves a child marriage; low budget to enforce child protection programmes and laws.
 - Zambia: low education levels in some parts exacerbating child marriage, under-resourcing of educational programmes, inadequate awareness by stakeholders (e.g. comprehensive sexuality education or re-admission of learners); cultural beliefs; capacity gaps of key institutions with mandates provided by the law (e.g. courts that deal with GBV); taboos and mystery around child marriage.
- Recommendations:
 - Undertake legal reforms – laws need to be adapted to context, harmonised and funded (alongside programmes like poverty alleviation and social protection), and oversight mechanisms put in place.

- Strengthen mechanisms and the capacity of mandate-holders at different levels – create service provision architecture for reporting and response; establish protection/support mechanisms to accompany ever-married girls; build partnerships with other stakeholders and policymakers.
- Continuous (investment in) capacity enhancement, including justice delivery, health care and education personnel; culturally respectful and appropriate ways to engage communities; look at mechanisms to ensure interventions are grounded in international law and provisions, and contribute to the transformation of harmful practices.
- Multisectoral approach and pillars – what next after the law is in place?
 - Making child marriage a national priority, by law (using the SADC Model Law national plan of action): Intentional and coordinated collaboration among stakeholders – government ministries, international agencies, community leaders and gatekeepers – to end child marriage.
 - Defining the government organ and department responsible for ending child marriage. This should be a convener with political power to implement a multisectoral approach.
 - Ensuring a coordinated response among government sectors, departments, organs. E.g. looking at where girls are and who is responsible for them. Need a coherent strategy and clear allocation of resources.
 - Draw together state and non-state actors to coordinate partnerships and expertise.
 - Consolidate state and non-state technical expertise.
- Challenges to multisectoral approaches:
 - Funding is needed – you cannot fund one pillar of implementation, you need adequate resources at all levels of the ecosystem.
 - De-prioritisation of child marriage (e.g. humanitarian contexts, climate crisis) and prioritisation of rapid emergency response or economic recovery.
 - Lack of political will and capacity to implement the multisectoral approach.
 - Poverty and natural disasters.
 - Inadequate implementation, monitoring and learning.
 - Community resistance.
- Recommendations for parliamentarians
 - Strengthen parliamentary oversight mechanisms to monitor the effective implementation and enforcement of laws and policies, through a multisectoral approach.
 - Harmonise laws, ensuring they are enacted and implemented, with adequate funding through national budgets.
- Recommendations for civil society organisations:
 - Strengthen local and regional coordination, mapping the strengths and work of different civil society organisations to avoid duplication and siloed working. Strengthen research and learning, and monitor evidence.

- Align work plans with national action plans, with continuous contextualisation and monitoring.
- Meaningfully engage young people and those who have experienced child marriage in advocacy and programming, designing programmes that best serve their interests. Provide technical support.
- Advocate for the domestication of international and regional human rights instruments, and promote effective enforcement and implementation.

Rachel Kidman, Stony Brook University, focused on West, Central, East and Southern Africa, presenting evidence around whether a combination policy approach (free secondary education and minimum age of marriage) reduces child marriage and early childbearing more than one policy alone.

- Existing evidence on whether child marriage laws work is mixed, e.g. sometimes laws work in the youngest groups, or in urban but not rural settings.
- Child marriage laws focused on setting a minimum age are not the only national policies to address early marriage and pregnancy.
- There is some evidence that primary education could delay marriage, and laws that allow girls to continue into secondary school could also have this potential to prevent/delay child marriage (only one study looked at this) – we could look at these laws together.
- Child marriage laws alone may set social values associated with women, but secondary education allows them to have an alternative path. The beginning of secondary education is a key time while girls and their families are making life decisions. That synergy of laws may be the most powerful thing we can do to delay marriage.
- Undertook a rigorous natural experiment, drawing on policy data from WORLD Policy Analysis Center, UCLA: policy data on the legal minimum age of marriage from 1995, and secondary tuition from 1995.
 - What is happening on age of marriage laws now? Most countries in Africa have a protective marriage law in place setting the age of marriage at 18, but often have loopholes like parental consent.
 - Is beginning secondary school free? Many countries have free primary, but not free secondary for all.
- Merged this policy data with data on about 0.25 million women aged 15-26 years in 16 countries in West, Central, East and Southern Africa over the same period to conduct a natural experiment, looking at those women in countries where there was no change in policy, and where one or both policies changed.
- Findings:
 - Neither policy alone had a significant impact on age at marriage or childbearing.
 - Introducing both policies reduced odds of early marriage (by about 55% before aged 15).
 - Reduced odds of early childbirth (by about 37% before age 15).

- Limitations: only looking at if there is a law but not how well it is being implemented or enforced; only looking at lower secondary (if girls started secondary, but not if they completed it).
- Key takeaways:
 - Protective marriage policies alone are not enough.
 - Decisions around child marriage and education are not independent, so the potential of both these laws may only be met when they are implemented together – when girls are told there is a legal prohibition against marriage before age 18 *and* given a viable alternative (e.g. access to secondary school) is when we see large drops in child marriage (especially before age 15).
 - We need to look at a combination of policies to evaluate the synergies.

Q&A and discussion

Sara:

- It is important to think about context. In Mexico, we have had three different experiments in using the law to reduce child, early and forced marriage and unions: 1) Minimum age of marriage set at 18 in civil codes; 2) Removing exceptions for parental consent; and 3) Prohibition and criminalisation of forced (informal) unions. These types of interventions have not reduced the impact of child, early and forced marriage and unions (CEFMU), but have led to an increase in informal unions.
- Policies to increase access to public education (especially middle and secondary school) do not necessarily translate into practice in our context. In rural, poor and/or insecure areas, with the military doing civil tasks, travelling to school is difficult. How do we make education accessible in these contexts? What are the other spaces where adolescents can develop their potential, beyond school, e.g. recreational spaces, and spaces for sharing decision-making tools?
- We need to think about including other policies, which respond to context and which also impact on CEFMU.

Sajeda: We need to look at the intent of the law. Legal processes are so involved that looking to the courts to resolve an issue is an impossible task. But there are useful things to say about the law, about its expressive intent, and the importance of legal advocacy.

At what point do we begin to worry about over legislation around child marriage?

Kat: There is a lot to learn from other sectors and movements (e.g. HIV, abortion rights). What can we learn from these movements about the over-reliance on the law to bring about a social justice aim? What is the role of the feminist movement? There are resources that we have not yet tapped into as a movement.

Can or how can laws change norms?

Kat: Relying on judges to make the law for us is imperfect. Looking at the UK as an imperfect example, where these laws have been widely socialised (in the legal system, sexuality education, health care spaces); these things can seep into other sectors and influence the way we view adolescents' capacities more broadly.

Unintended consequences

Sally: We need to look at property rights, custody, inheritance in the event of death – looking at other social protection requirements when a marriage is voided.

Sara: In Mexico, raising the age of marriage led to an increase in informal unions; this is problematic because a) unions moved underground and b) we do not have data on them. We need to think about the impact of unions on adolescent girls once they have happened – access to health and education; and the stigmatisation experienced by – particularly – Indigenous girls.

What's next? How can this evidence inform or change our approach going forwards?

Rachel: So much of this is difficult to evaluate – we need to work together to figure out how we can implement good studies that can really pick up the impact in different combinations of laws and changes to laws; do some qualitative work on what is really informing girls' choices, and looking at how they affect each other. In Malawi, parents know the law – it is not the law that is determining behaviour, it is the lack of opportunities; we need to capture and make a case for investment in other types of support for girls, beyond these prohibitions.

Sally: We are all responsible for continuous learning as the law evolves and realities vary. E.g. in Uganda, they had to engage with the criminal court; in Malawi, they had to engage with traditional leaders to look at by-laws and community practices; in Zambia access to education was important. In documenting and gathering evidence on how society is pushing back, we need to look at the emerging alternatives, evidence and realities. Look at opportunities for strategic influencing for laws to make sense, because it is not just the law itself, it is also the actors who are mandate-holders, the accountability mechanisms, adequate resourcing of making the law part of education curricula, learning and strengthened accountability mechanisms.

Sarah Green, [CEFMU and Sexuality Working Group](#): Upcoming Global Dialogue on age of marriage laws, to take the conversation towards concrete recommendations on how to ensure laws work for girls and women – stay tuned!

Daniela, MEXFAM, Mexico: Mexico is a progressive country in some ways, in that it recognises the initiation of sexual activity during adolescence, which is something to study. MEXFAM and IPPF presented a study for Mexico's [Universal Periodic Review](#) (UPR), from which the state signalled they will adopt three recommendations, including one on CEFMU. This is important because the country has two laws on CEFMU; but the state still recognises further actions are needed. The UPR is one way to keep influencing actions beyond laws towards addressing the structural drivers of CEFMU, including adolescents and youth – recognising their evolving capacities – and implementing public policies to address these structural drivers.

Research updates

Evita Mouawad, Regional Action Forum to End Child Marriage in Arab States/Middle East and North Africa (RAF).

- Met last month to discuss the latest study in the region – one of the outcomes was the need to map legislation, and a more contextualised approach to prevention and response.
- Of the 22 countries in MENA, 15 have set the legal age at 18, but all of those have exceptions – we need to engage with caregivers and religious and tribal leaders to avoid exceptions, and keep girls and boys involved in the discussions because they know what works for them.

- The RAF was founded in 2017 after a multi-country study on child marriage in MENA. It is co-chaired by UNICEF and UNFPA, and brings together more than 40 member organisations in the region and globally to learn from each other and develop a common agenda to address child marriage and respond to emerging issues, including protracted conflict (and crisis and displacement).
- RAF activities include:
 - Thematic webinars – cash assistance, child marriage prevention in conflict.
 - Joint advocacy – International Day of the Girl, Arab Girls’ Summit.
 - Research Initiatives to fill gaps identified by members – e.g. desk review on the impact of child marriage on girls living with disabilities in MENA.
 - Close coordination with members and coordination mechanism working on child marriage, e.g. *Girls Not Brides* and the CRANK.
- If you are interested in joining the platform, reach out to Evita: emouawad@unicef or Jean Casey: jean.casey@girlsnotbrides.org.

Jean Casey, *Girls Not Brides*

We have refreshed the CRANK [online research tracker](#) after piloting it for a year. The tracker is a curated coordination tool open to everyone, designed to support us to avoid duplicating research and to identify trends and priority research areas. In the tracker, you can search for ongoing and completed research by research area, country, region and intervention approach/research theme.

Please [submit your research](#) to be included in the tracker and support a harmonised and coordinated research agenda!

For reflection

- How should adolescents' evolving capacities be integrated into international and national law on marriage and sexuality?
 - Is age a sufficient indicator of adolescents’ capacity to make such decisions?
 - If not, then what could replace it in law?
- How, if at all, should the criminal law be used in relation to marriage and sexuality during adolescence?
- What is the broader suite of social policies needed to have a meaningful impact on child marriage?

Resources shared

- The CRANK [research tracker](#) and research [submission form](#).
- *Girls Not Brides*, 2024, [The impact of the law on child marriage and girls’ rights](#).
- *Girls Not Brides*, 2024, [Learning series: The impact of age of marriage and sexual consent laws on child marriage and girls’ rights](#).

- Girls Not Brides, 2024, [Leveraging United Nations human rights mechanisms to end child marriage: A step-by-step toolkit for civil society organisations.](#)
- Angelides, S., 2004, [Feminism, child sexual abuse and the erasure of child sexuality.](#)
- JASS, 2024, [Understanding structural violence for feminist action.](#)