The Decade of Scalability: What have we learned from child marriage programs?

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- **Researchers, activists and practitioners** working on child, early and forced marriage

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CONTEXT
CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE IN CONTEXT

• Driven by structural, gender and social normative drivers:
  • Poverty, economic resources, education
  • Gender norms about sexuality and fertility
  • Social norms about family formation and marital ‘market’

• Consequences include girls’ curtailed education, greater risk of maternal and child mortality, and greater spousal abuse and violence

• Increased funding for research, programs and advocacy over last decade

(Photo credit: Amnesty International)
PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS ON CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE, 1999-2019

(Data Source: Dimensions, https://app.dimensions.ai/discover/publication)
EXISTING EVIDENCE BASE OF INTERVENTIONS

Since 2007, reviews of child, early and forced marriage interventions have found that:

1. Different normative and structural approaches found to be effective, but little known about the different pathways of change

2. Need for rigorous evaluations, in addition to process evaluation approaches

3. Little known about scale and sustainability of intervention outcomes

SCALE-UP DEFINITIONS 101

Scale-up:

“Deliberate efforts to increase the impact of successfully tested health innovations to benefit more people and to foster policy and programme development on a lasting basis.”

Horizontal scale-up:

“Expansion or replication, such as expanding an intervention to nearby geographic areas”

Vertical scale-up:

“Institutionalization through policy, political, legal, budgetary or other systems change”

(Sources: WHO Expand Net; Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change)
REVIEW SEARCH STRATEGY

Selection criteria

• Describes a programmatic intervention
• Published in peer reviewed or grey literature between 2012 to 2018
• Include a type of program evaluation design (experimental, quasi-experimental, observational)
• Did not have to specify ‘scale-up’ or be effective at scale

Search Strategy

• On-line database search engines
  o Search terms: ‘child marriage’ and ‘early marriage’
• Organization websites (Population Council, ICRW, Save the Children, Girls not Brides) and professional networks
REVIEW SEARCH STRATEGY

Screening and Selection Process

• All titles, abstracts and/or executive summaries screened
• Of 58 papers identified, a total of 15 papers included for review

Limitations

• Ongoing interventions (e.g. co-panelists!) not included
• Skewed toward English, limiting diversity of interventions published
FINDINGS
INTERVENTION REGIONS AND APPROACHES

Intervention Approaches:

- Structural interventions to keep girls in school or enter workforce (n=5)
- Community norms and girls’ empowerment (n=5)
- Combination of structural and normative approaches (n=5)
SUMMARY OF SCALE-UP APPROACHES AND COMPONENTS

• **Vertical integration:** Five interventions were integrated institutionally within large-scale government programs and labor market (Duflo, Dupas & Kramer, 2015; Hallfors, et al. 2015; Handa, et al., 2015; Jensen 2012; Raghavendra & Anderson, 2013).

• **Horizontal scale:** Only two of the 15 interventions were horizontally scaled and adapted to other geographic areas (Buehren, et al. 2017; Erulkar, Medhin and Weissman 2017).

• **Costing:** Two described interventions provided costing information at pilot and scale (Buehren, et al. 2017; Erulkar, Medhin and Weissman 2017).

• **Sustainability:** No descriptions on intervention sustainability, but two papers examined long-term intervention effect on delaying marriage age (Jejeebhoy, et al. 2015; Nanda, et al., 2016).
## FINDING 1. VERTICAL SCALE CONDUCTED THROUGH GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVENTION / PAPER</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>KEY FINDINGS</th>
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</table>
| Kenya Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable children [Handa, et al., 2015] | • Randomized controlled trial of national unconditional cash transfer program
• Implemented by the Kenya Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development | • Program *reduced likelihood of adolescent pregnancy but not adolescent marriage*
• No information provided about further scale-up or sustainability                                                |
| Duflo, Dupas & Kramer (2015)                     | Randomized controlled trial *tested three interventions* in partnership with Kenya Ministry of Education:
• **Education subsidies** for school uniforms;
• **HIV prevention** program as per Kenya’s HIV/AIDS program, and;
• **Combination** of education subsidies and HIV prevention | • Education subsidies only arm *reduced adolescent marriage, pregnancy and fertility*
• No information provided about further scale-up or sustainability                                                |
**FINDING 2. VARIED EFFECTIVENESS DURING HORIZONTAL SCALE IN NEW SETTINGS**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>INTERVENTION</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>KEY FINDINGS AT SCALE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment and Livelihood for Adolescents (ELA)</td>
<td>• Piloted in Uganda and then <strong>replicated in</strong> Tanzania&lt;br&gt;• Randomized controlled trial&lt;br&gt;• Program focused on life skills and livelihoods training</td>
<td>• Not effective at scale in Tanzania due to implementation gaps&lt;br&gt;• Program at scale <strong>more costly</strong> than pilot</td>
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<td>[Buehren et al., 2017]</td>
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<td>Berhane Hewan program</td>
<td>• Piloted in Ethiopia and <strong>adapted</strong> to other parts of Ethiopia, Tanzania, Burkina Faso&lt;br&gt;• Quasi-experimental evaluation&lt;br&gt;• Different packages tested:&lt;br&gt;  1. Community norms dialogues&lt;br&gt;  2. School supplies and/or fees&lt;br&gt;  3. Conditional asset transfer&lt;br&gt;  4. Combination package</td>
<td>• <strong>Combination model</strong> showed effect among 12-13 year old's in Tanzania&lt;br&gt;• <strong>Conditional assets</strong> more effective for older adolescent girls in Tanzania and Ethiopia&lt;br&gt;• <strong>Varying degrees of coverage and effect</strong> depending on the package</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Erulkar, Medhin &amp; Weissman, 2017]</td>
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FINDING 3. FOCUS ON AVERAGE PACKAGING COSTS ‘PER GIRL’

- **ELA Program**: Program costs during pilot estimated at ~ $17.9 per girl in program in Uganda (Bandiera, et al., 2012), but program was more costly at scale replication in Tanzania.

- **Berhane Hewan program**: Tested costed minimum-packaged interventions at scale (Erulkar, Medhin & Weissman, 2017). Cost per girl/person served per year, by model and country:

FINDING 4. MIXED-RESULTS ON SUSTAINING LONG-TERM EFFECTS

- **Apni Beta Apna Dhan (ABAD):**
  - Conditional cash transfer program in India showed no long-term effect on marriage before 18 years among girls who participated in the program as children
  - **But** this was most likely due to increasing national trends in increasing age at marriage (Nanda, et al., 2016).

- **PRACHAR:**
  - Community norms in India shifted long-term to discuss topics about sex and contraception openly, with long term effect in contraceptive uptake among participants
  - **But** no long-term effect in delay of marriage age among communities (Jejeebhoy, et al. 2015).
IMPLICATIONS
WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED FROM CHILD, EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE INTERVENTIONS AT SCALE?

1. There are two current models of scale: Structural ‘vertical’ programs reaching large population coverage, and horizontal scaling of community-based normative programs to other geographic areas.

2. Horizontal scale-up may not always have similar results in pilot due to: 1. Extent of adaptation, 2. Limited coverage and reach, and 3. Costs and implementation gaps.

3. Single-component packages have lower costs and may be as effective as a comprehensive package, as long as these are tailored to the right audience and context.
WHAT’S NEXT? MOVING BEYOND THE “SCALE” VERSUS “DEPTH” DEBATE

• Cross-pollinate vertical and horizontal scale-up approaches undertaken by public health researchers/practitioners and development economists/randomistas

• Use of process and feminist evaluation approaches, to document scaling components while keeping voice of girls and women at center of the scale-up process

• Synchronize existing child, early and forced marriage interventions with scale-up initiatives:
  • Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change
  • UNFPA-UNICEF Global Programme to Accelerate Action to End Child Marriage

(Picture credit: Girls Not Brides)
MERCI

GRACIAS

OBRIGADA

THANK YOU

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