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_____   _____

Grace Morrow   Date

Comparing adolescent boys' and girls' perspectives on social norms surrounding child marriage in Nepal

By

Grace Morrow
Masters of Public Health
Hubert Department of Global Health

_____
Cari Jo Clark, ScD
Committee Chair

_____
Kathryn M. Yount, PhD
Committee Member

_____
Anne Laterra, MPH
Committee Member

_____
Irina Bergenfeld, MPH
Committee Member

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By

Grace Morrow
Bachelor of Arts
American University 2012

Thesis Committee Chair: Cari Jo Clark, ScD

Thesis Committee Members:
Kathryn M. Yount, PhD
Anne Laterra, MPH
Irina Bergenfeld, MPH

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Abstract

Background: Child, early, forced marriage (CEFM) is a human-rights violation that also carries numerous health risks. More research is needed on social norms about CEFM among adolescent boys to identify ways of engaging them in normative change. This study seeks to describe adolescent boys' perceptions of empirical and normative expectations around CEFM and to identify commonalities and differences in adolescent boys' and girls' perceptions of empirical and normative expectations around CEFM in Nepal.

Methods: This study is a mixed methods secondary analysis of the CARE Tipping Point Initiative. The baseline survey had 1,134 adolescent girls and 1,154 adolescent boys participate. The baseline survey included a social norms assessment with a Likert scale consisting of 16 items, 11 of which were relevant to this analysis. Descriptive analyses of the Likert scales were calculated. Qualitative data consisted of 30 in-depth interviews and 16 focus group discussions with adolescent boys and girls. We used a modified Grounded Theory approach for their analysis. Data represented in both the social norms scales and the qualitative data were used to guide the development of the themes for thick descriptions. Four thick descriptions were written including: gender roles and responsibilities, employment, mobility, and marriage as the themes. Analytic comparisons at the intersection of key themes examined interconnectedness and synergies, and thick descriptions were generated to interrogate these intersections. Structured comparisons by gender were described in a matrix detailing their impact on each key aspect of social norms, including normative and empirical expectations, and sanctions.

Results: Gender roles and responsibilities are the foundation on which social norms around mobility, marriage, and employment interact, though they are connected by subthemes (household chores, interaction between unmarried adolescent boys and girls, education and financial stability, maintaining honor and reputation, and parents as decision-makers). Boys and girls agree most saliently on the division of labor between the sexes, women's employment, and the role of parents as decision-makers. Areas of difference include repercussions for interactions with the opposite sex, girls' limited mobility, attributes of the ideal woman and the importance of maintaining family honor.

Discussion: Many of the findings are supported by previous research, though there are some nuances this analysis highlights. Recommendations for future programs include use of bystander training for boys to prevent eve teasing and programming that allows boys to better understand girls' experiences and perspectives. Further areas of research include factors that motivate boys to sexually harass girls and defining what masculinity and femininity mean for adolescents in Nepal.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Around 650 million women and girls who are alive today married in childhood, before they turned 18 years old [1]. If the current rates of child, early, forced marriage (CEFM) prevail until 2030, another 150 million girls will marry during their childhood [1]. CEFM is considered a human rights violation and is associated with numerous negative health risks and outcomes [2, 3] including intimate partner violence, rapid repeat childbirth, pregnancy complications, maternal mortality, infant and child mortality and morbidity, and depression and suicidality [2-6]. CEFM also reduces women's agency, work opportunities, decision-making power, independence, and ability to finish their education [3, 7]. In the last decade, global rates of CEFM declined from 1 in 4 to 1 in 5 girls [8]. South Asia saw the most substantial reductions in rates of CEFM, going from 50 percent to 30 percent in the last ten years; however, much of that progress is due to changes in the rates of CEFM in India [8]. In Nepal, 40 percent of married women aged 20-24 years married by age 18 [9]. The drivers behind CEFM are complex and inter-related; economic needs, gender inequality, deeply ingrained cultural traditions, the caste system, and social norms all contribute to the practice of CEFM [2, 3, 7].

Many programs aim to encourage communities to change the social norms around CEFM [7, 8, 10-12]. Social norms are expectations of behavior social groups create and sustain, and that influence individual and group behavior [13]. Changes to social norms often starts with a small number of individuals, but sustained change eventually must incorporate the majority of community members [13]. Social norms often associated with CEFM include a need to protect girls' purity, expectations of dowry or bride price, parents as primary decision-makers, and girls viewed as burdens on their families [3, 7, 14, 15]. To support sustainable change in CEFM, programs increasingly began to include men and boys as participants [16]. Early adolescence— from age 10 to 14—is a crucial time for social norms programming since youths' beliefs and attitudes are still developing [16]. Given adolescent boys' status as future husbands, fathers, uncles, and community leaders, increasing their engagement in social norms change around CEFM is salient [16]. While programs currently include boys in the efforts to encourage communities to abandon CEFM, there is a need for more insight into the ways adolescent boys experience social norms around CEFM and how best to engage them. This thesis will address this need by examining critically how adolescent boys in Nepal view social norms around CEFM.

Research Aims

This thesis has two research aims:
- To describe adolescent boys' perceptions of empirical and normative expectations around CEFM in Nepal
- To identify commonalities and differences in adolescent boys' and girls' perceptions of empirical and normative expectations around CEFM in Nepal.

Significance Statement

This analysis will highlight adolescent boys' empirical and normative expectations for CEFM and how these norms influence boys' behavior. Empirical expectations are norms that individuals follow because they believe that others follow it, and normative expectations are norms that individuals follow because they believe others think the norm should be followed and

are willing to sanction those who do not [13, 17, 18]. This information can help hone existing programming for adolescent boys so as to effectively support them in adapting and committing to new social norms, a crucial step toward ending CEFM in Nepal.

Note on Definitions
In this thesis, CEFM is defined as marriage before the age of 18, as the Convention on the Rights of the Child defined children as individuals under the age of 18 years old [2, 3].

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Child, Early, Forced Marriage in a Global Context

Child, early, forced marriage (CEFM) is a global issue that harms children and their communities. CEFM is the marriage of a person under the age of 18 years [3]. Parents, family members and local leaders frequently arrange CEFM without the input of the child [2]. While boys and girls experience CEFM, the practice disproportionately affects girls [2, 3]. Globally the prevalence of CEFM of boys is only one fifth that of the girls [19]. Over 650 million women and girls alive today married as children, and 12 million girls under the age of 18 marry each year [1]. Global rates of CEFM have decreased by 15% within the past decade, resulting in 25 million fewer marriages[8]; however, by 2030, an estimated 150 million girls will marry before they turn 18 if the rates of CEFM remain unchanged [1]. CEFM is a human rights violation and results in adverse health outcomes. As such target 5.3 Sustainable Development Goal focuses on its eradication [3, 14, 20].

The Effects of CEFM on Adolescent Girls

CEFM is both a cause and a symptom of girl's disenfranchisement and disempowerment. It denies them their agency and autonomy as they cannot decide when and whom to marry. This often leads to the denial of other rights such as the right to make decisions regarding sex and family planning [3]. These girls miss out on their childhood and often have to leave school which can prevent them from gaining financial independence and moving out of poverty [2, 3]. These circumstances contribute to the cycle of CEFM.

The adverse health outcomes associated with CEFM are well documented. Women and girls who experience CEFM are more likely to experience physical and sexual intimate partner violence (IPV) than women who married after they were 18 years old [4, 21]. A study of 34 countries where CEFM occurs found that across the sample size, 29% of women who married as children experienced physical and/or sexual IPV within the year preceding the survey compared to 20% of women who were married as adults [4]. CEFM is also associated with an increased risk of women experiencing violence and abuse from natal family members and in-laws [2].

Girls who experience CEFM also may experience poor mental health outcomes. In parts of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, married girls younger than 18 have an increased risk of depression and suicidality [2]. These girls can experience isolation when they move to their husbands' homes where they may feel little connection to their husbands or in-laws [3]. They are often responsible for household chores and are expected to have children as soon as they move in with the family [3].

CEFM is associated with poor maternal health outcomes, as these girls often become mothers before they are ready physically or emotionally. Adolescent mothers (aged from 10-19 years old) are at increased risk of pregnancy complications such as eclampsia, puerperal endometritis, systemic infections, hypertension, obstructed labor, and fistula [2, 3, 22]. Pregnant girls have a higher risk of malaria-related complications, including severe anemia, pulmonary edema, and hypoglycemia [3]. Additionally, pregnancy and childbirth complications are the leading cause of

death for girls aged 15 to 19 years old globally [23]. After they reach adulthood, girls who experienced CEFM are more likely to have unplanned pregnancies, use less contraception early in their marriages, have more children, and have low birth spacing between children when compared to women who married over the age of 18 [2]. There is growing data that links CEFM to increased rates of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV [3]. Adolescent wives engage in more unprotected sex, have greater difficulty in negotiating condom use, and have less access to sexual health information [2]. Adolescent mothers' children are also at risk. In Nepal, India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, countries with a high prevalence of CEFM, 1 in 14 children born to women under the age of 18 dies within the first year of life [24]. Mothers under the age of 18 have up to a 55% higher risk of delivering a preterm or low-birthweight baby than mothers older than 19 years [3].

Causes of CEFM

The practice of CEFM has numerous drivers depending on the context wherein it occurs. However, globally there are some universal causes and correlations of CEFM such as poverty, lack of education, social norms, and gender inequality [3, 25, 26].

Studies show that CEMF is more likely to occur in rural and impoverished places [2]. Families have two main economic incentives for their daughters to marry early; the first is to ensure their daughters' financial security and the second is to save the family the financial burden of raising a another child [3, 25]. Economic transactions that occur during the marriage process in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asian nations can be a hindrance or of use to a girl's family [26]. In sub-Saharan Africa, the custom of bride price—the groom's family gives money and material gifts to the bride's family—is practiced, and younger brides result in a higher bride price [26]. In many South Asian cultures, the family of the bride pays a dowry to the groom's family and a younger bride grants a lower dowry price [7, 26]. Thus, in both sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia there are real economic incentives to marrying daughters while they are young.

Poorer access to education and low levels of education are associated with the risk of CEFM [2, 26]. If girls must leave school early, they are more vulnerable to CEFM, as girls' economic options are limited without education [16]. Additionally, after they are married, girls are less likely to continue their education, in part because parents and in-laws see no reason for it [2, 27].

Social norms are also an important driver of CEFM. Social norms are the codes of conduct that influence and direct both individual and group behavior within social groups [13, 28]. The social norms that influence CEFM vary based on the community and cultural context but there are some overarching social norms related to CEFM. Controlling women's and girls' sexuality is related to CEFM, as in many cultures, a girl's virginity is highly valued and families fear girls may engage in premarital sex, or may be sexually assaulted, making them "unmarriageable" in the eyes of their community [2, 3, 26]. Women's need for a guardian influences CEFM, as some cultures believe that women and girls need the protection of men and that men must provide for their material and financial well-being [29]. Thus, marrying girls is a way to ensure they are cared for and protected [7, 14]. Adolescent children, particularly girls, are rarely consulted while their families begin the marriage process and must comply with their elders' decisions [3, 7, 14, 26].

CEFM in Nepal

South Asia has the highest rates of CEFM in the world, as 45% of all women aged 20-24 years marry before the age of 18 and 17% of girls marry before the age of 15 [30]. Though still high, the prevalence of CEFM in South Asia is decreasing, particularly among girls younger than 15 years old [8, 30]. However, these girls are still vulnerable to CEFM when they are 15-17 years old [31]. With 40% of women aged 20-24 married before age 18 in Nepal, many CEFM interventions occur within the country [9].

In Nepal most people eventually get married all ethnic, caste, and religious groups [7]. However, there are stark differences in when men and women marry. The median age of first marriage among women and men increased by a year within the past decade; however women still marry on average 4 years earlier than men (17.9 vs. 21.7 years respectively) [9]. Due to the difference in age at the time of marriage, 77% of women aged 20-24 are married in Nepal compared to 44% of men in the same age group [9]. Looking at a broader age (25-49 years old) 13% of women married by age 15 and 52% by age 18, compared to only 3% of men married by age 15 and 19% by age 18 [9]. While adolescent boys in Nepal experience CEFM, far more adolescent girls marry before age 18 than boys.

Nepal is a religiously diverse country. Hindu families of various castes participate in CEFM, though the lower castes, such as the Dalits, experience higher rates [7]. Muslim families also practice CEFM, though to a lesser degree than among Hindu families [7]. Muslims, though not part of the caste system, experience discrimination similar to the lower-caste groups and are economically and socially marginalized [7]. While CEFM is often connected to religion, it is a traditional practice that is associated with religion, rather than a practice that is driven purely by religious beliefs [26]. Marriage among Hindu families generally begins with male relatives initiating the marriage negotiations between the families, resulting in the groom's family naming a dowry price that is publicly announced after it is agreed upon [7]. After families agree to proceed, a Hindu priest will determine the most auspicious wedding date [7]. Certain castes observe the Hindu marriage tradition of *gauna*, wherein girls married under the age of 18 stay with their natal families after the marriage ceremony until they are ready to move in with their husbands' family after their *gauna* ritual. They consummate the marriage after *gauna* occurs and the girl leaves her natal home [7]. Among Muslim families aunts and uncles often initiate marriage discussions though the final decisions rest with a girl's parents, particularly her father [7]. Both Hindu and Muslim families practice dowry, even though it is illegal [7]. In Nepal, dowry is an essential aspect of marriage; ability to pay dowry is vital to maintaining social standing [7]. Dowry covers the cost of girls who are joining a husband's family, as families often view girls as an economic burden [7]. Dowry can be extremely expensive for families, who sometimes pay up to 4 times their yearly income [32]. Due to the cost of paying dowry, families may try to marry their daughters young as the price of dowry increases with a girl's age [7, 16, 32].

After girls marry and their *gauna* ritual is complete, their lives dramatically change. They dress differently to convey their married status, experience more limited mobility and preform numerous domestic duties (such as cooking and cleaning), they may also experience increased

social status within their community [3, 33]. They are expected to submit to the sexual desires of their husbands and follow their in-laws' expectations for childbearing [7]. This frequently prevents girls from continuing their education after marriage [3, 33]. Boy's lives also change drastically after marriage, as they must provide financially for their wives and children. These expectations and the frequent teasing they experience by their peers can lead married adolescent boys to end their academic careers and become migrant workers [7].

While CEFM is illegal in Nepal under the Children's Act 2075, there is low awareness of the legal age of marriage, and generally, as in countries with similar laws, the law is weakly enforced [3, 7, 8]. CEFM also persists in light of its illegality because the drivers of CEFM continue to persist [7]. The gender inequality, economic hardship, and strictly enforced social norms all contribute to upholding CEFM in Nepal. The people who most frequently practice CEFM in Nepal are among the most disadvantaged in terms of caste and socioeconomic status. The high unemployment and the limited economic opportunities for women and girls contributes to the prevalence of CEFM [7]. Access to education is limited due to poverty but also to a lack of resources within communities, as secondary schools may be located outside of the community [7]. Additionally, transportation due to poor roads, concerns for safety, and distance make it difficult to send children to school, even when families want to continue a child's education [7]. The social value placed on a girl's virginity and the belief that girls must be cared for by male protectors also contribute to CEFM [7]. For families concerned with losing their social status and experiencing stigma, CEFM can protect the family's honor [7]. For example, inter-caste marriages and love marriages are not socially acceptable, and parents often fear their daughters will elope if they do not marry early [7]. The fear of elopement is not unfounded as the rates of self-induced CEFM in Nepal are rising, with 1 in 5 girls under the age of 18 married by eloping without their parents' approval [8].

Using Social Norms Change to Address CEFM

Efforts to end CEFM range from providing cash incentives to families to advocating for policies and laws [3, 34]. Programs that offer cash incentives and/or help girls remain in school have shown to be effective at reducing CEFM [27, 33, 34]. Continuing education, particularly ensuring girls finish primary school and enter secondary school, is associated with decreased rates of CEFM [33]. However, like other strategies that do not target social norms change, increased education is not enough to halt CEFM [33]. Interventions that promote the equality of girls, advocate for girls as part of the decision-making process of marriage, and involve the community as a whole (parents, community and religious leaders) have shown great promise toward shifting the traditions that encourage CEFM, as has building girls' agency and helping families see the benefits of delaying marriage [2, 8, 14, 35]. Interventions that address social norms work best with a multi-layered approach that targets multiple harmful gender norms and involves adolescent girls and boys, their families, and community leaders [36].

In recent years engaging men and boys in the efforts to address CEFM has become increasingly important [16]. Fathers, male community leaders, and extended male family members are in unique positions as decision-makers to prevent CEFM and support the empowerment of women and girls [16, 36]. A study in India and Ethiopia found that a father who believed his daughter was not ready for marriage was a key factor in delaying or cancelling a girls' marriage [14].

Researchers are also discovering the importance of engaging adolescent boys since they are future grooms, fathers, fathers-in-law, brothers, and community leaders [16, 36, 37]. Social norms take years to become ingrained within individuals, and intervening during adolescence is a crucial pathway to promoting norms change, as adolescents are in a better position to question harmful gender roles and discrimination [36]. Despite this, little research has been done on the effectiveness of engaging men and boys in preventing CEFM and in understanding how programs can be designed to most effectively target them [36]. There is a need for more research on how to engage adolescent boys and create safe spaces for them to question social norms [16, 36]. This thesis seeks to address this gap in understating how to best engage adolescent boys by understanding their perspectives on CEFM in Nepal.

Chapter 3: Manuscript

Abstract

Key Words: social norms, child marriage, adolescent boys, adolescent girls

Background: Child, early, forced marriage (CEFM) is a human-rights violation that also carries numerous health risks. More research is needed on social norms about CEFM among adolescent boys to identify ways of engaging them in normative change. This study seeks to describe adolescent boys' perceptions of empirical and normative expectations around CEFM and to identify commonalities and differences in adolescent boys' and girls' perceptions of empirical and normative expectations around CEFM in Nepal.

Methods: This study is a mixed methods secondary analysis of the CARE Tipping Point Initiative. The baseline survey had 1,134 adolescent girls and 1,154 adolescent boys participate. The baseline survey included a social norms assessment with a Likert scale consisting of 16 items, 11 of which were relevant to this analysis. Descriptive analyses of the Likert scales were calculated. Qualitative data consisted of 30 in-depth interviews and 16 focus group discussions with adolescent boys and girls. We used a modified Grounded Theory approach for their analysis. Data represented in both the social norms scales and the qualitative data were used to guide the development of the themes for thick descriptions. Four thick descriptions were written including: gender roles and responsibilities, employment, mobility, and marriage as the themes. Analytic comparisons at the intersection of key themes examined interconnectedness and synergies, and thick descriptions were generated to interrogate these intersections. Structured comparisons by gender were described in a matrix detailing their impact on each key aspect of social norms, including normative and empirical expectations, and sanctions.

Results: Gender roles and responsibilities are the foundation on which social norms around mobility, marriage, and employment interact, though they are connected by subthemes (household chores, interaction between unmarried adolescent boys and girls, education and financial stability, maintaining honor and reputation, and parents as decision-makers). Boys and girls agree most saliently on the division of labor between the sexes, women's employment, and the role of parents as decision-makers. Areas of difference include repercussions for interactions with the opposite sex, girls' limited mobility, attributes of the ideal woman and the importance of maintaining family honor.

Discussion: Many of the findings are supported by previous research, though there are some nuances this analysis highlights. Recommendations for future programs include use of bystander training for boys to prevent eve teasing and programming that allows boys to better understand girls' experiences and perspectives. Further areas of research include factors that motivate boys to sexually harass girls and defining what masculinity and femininity mean for adolescents in Nepal.

Introduction

Child, early, forced marriage (CEFM) is the marriage of a person under the age of 18 years [3]. CEFMs are often arranged by the parents of children, other family members, and local leaders, generally without the consent or input of the child [2]. While both boys and girls experience CEFM, it disproportionately affects female children [2, 3]. Six hundred fifty million women and girls alive today were married as children and 12 million girls under the age of 18 are married each year [1]. Global rates of CEFM have decreased by 15% within the past decade resulting in 25 million fewer CEFMs [8]; however, by 2030, an estimated 150 million girls will marry before they turn 18 if the rates of CEFM remain unchanged [1].

Health Effects of CEFM

CEFM is not only a human rights issue but also a practice that harms children and their communities. There are significant adverse health outcomes associated with CEFM documented within the literature. Women and girls who experience CEFM are more likely to experience physical and sexual intimate partner violence (IPV) than women who marry after age 18 [4]. CEFM is also associated with an increased risk of women experiencing violence and abuse from natal family members and in-laws [2]. Studies in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia found increased rates of depression and suicidality among women married as children [2]. CEFM is also associated with poor maternal health outcomes. Adolescent mothers (between 10-19 years old) are at increased risk of pregnancy complications such as eclampsia, puerperal endometritis, systemic infections, hypertension, obstructed labor, and fistula [2, 3, 22]. Additionally, pregnancy and childbirth complications are the leading cause of death for girls aged 15 to 19 years old globally [23]. After they reach adulthood, girls who experienced CEFM are more likely to have unplanned pregnancies and more children, are less likely to use contraception early in their marriages, and have lower birth spacing between children than women married over the age of 18 [2]. The health of children of adolescent mothers is also at risk. In Nepal, India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, countries with a high prevalence of CEFM, 1 in 14 children born to mothers younger than 18 die within their first year of life [24]. Additionally, mothers under the age of 18 have up to a 55% higher risk of delivering a preterm or low-birthweight baby than mothers 19 and older [3].

Social Norms as a Driver of CEFM

The practice of CEFM has numerous drivers depending on the context wherein it occurs. However, there are some factors universally associated with CEFM such as poverty, restrictive gender and social norms, and gender inequality [3, 25, 26]. Recently, research and interventions have increasingly identified the importance of targeted social norms change to combat CEFM. Social norms are the codes of conduct that influence and direct both individual and group behavior within social groups [13, 28]. Theorists categorize norms differently, but generally there are two types of overarching norms described. An empirical expectation is a norm that individuals follow because they believe that others follow the same norm, and a normative expectation is a norm that individuals follow because they believe others think the norm should be followed and are willing to sanction those who do not [13, 17, 18].

While social norms that influence CEFM vary based on the community and cultural context, there are some social norms that are common in communities and contexts where CEFM is widely practiced. Many of the social norms related to CEFM are rooted in gender inequality and inequitable expectations of women and girls. Controlling women's and girls' sexuality is related to CEFM. In many cultures, a girl's virginity is highly valued and families fear any engagement in premarital sex, and the threat of sexually assault, both of which would make girls "unmarriageable" in the eyes of their communities [2, 3, 26]. Women's need for a guardian influences CEFM, as some cultures believe that women and girls need the protection of men and that men must provide for their material and financial wellbeing [29]. Thus, marriage is a way to ensure girls are cared for and protected. The need for women's guardianship is also apparent in men's role as the expected family decision maker as adolescent children, particularly girls, are rarely consulted while their families begin the marriage process and must comply with their elders' decisions [3, 7, 14, 26].

CEFM in Nepal

In Nepal, 40% of women aged 20-24 married before they were 18 years old [9]. Women marry, on average, 4 years earlier than men (17.9 vs. 21.7 years respectively) [9]. Of women aged 25-49 years old, 13% marry by age 15 and 52% by age 18. In comparison, only 3% of men 25-29 married by age 15 and 19% by age 18 [9]. While adolescent boys in Nepal experience CEFM, it is adolescent girls who overwhelmingly are subjected to marriage before they turn 18.

While CEFM is often connected to religion, it is a traditional practice that is associated with religion, rather than a practice that is driven primarily by religious beliefs [26]. Within Nepal, Hindu and Muslim families are known to participate in CEFM. Hindu families of various castes participate in CEFM, though the lower castes, such as the Dalits, experience higher rates [7]. Marriage among Hindu families generally begins with male relatives initiating the marriage negotiations between the families, resulting in the groom's family naming a dowry price that is publicly announced after it is agreed upon [7]. After families agree to proceed, a Hindu priest will determine the most auspicious wedding date [7]. Some families observe the Hindu marriage tradition of *gauna*, wherein girls married under the age of 18 stay with their natal families after the marriage ceremony for one to several years (the length of time varies by caste and age at marriage) before moving in with their husbands after their *gauna* ritual. They consummate the marriage after *gauna* occurs and the girl leaves her natal home [7]. Among Muslim families aunts and uncles often initiate marriage discussions though the final decisions rest with a girl's parents, particularly her father [7]. Both Hindu and Muslim families practice dowry, even though it is illegal [7]. In Nepal, dowry is an essential aspect of marriage; ability to pay dowry is vital to maintaining social standing [7]. Dowry covers the cost of girls who are joining a husband's family, as families often view girls as an economic burden [7, 32] Due to the cost of paying dowry, families often strive to marry their daughters while they are still [7, 16, 32].

While CEFM is illegal in Nepal under the Children's Act 2075, there is low awareness of the legal age of marriage, and generally, as in countries with similar laws, the law is weakly enforced [3, 7, 8]. CEFM also persists in light of its illegality because the drivers of CEFM continue to persist [7]. Gender inequality, economic hardship, and strictly enforced gender and social norms all contribute to upholding CEFM in Nepal. The people who most frequently

practice CEFM in Nepal are among the most disadvantaged in terms of caste and socioeconomic status. Gender norms that situate earning as a man's purview and offer limited economic opportunities for women and girls contribute to the prevalence of CEFM as CEFM is seen as best option for a young girl to reduce her "burden" to her family and gain status within her community [7]. Access to education is limited due to poverty but also to a lack of resources within communities as secondary schools may be located outside of the community [7]. Family also tend to prioritize boys' secondary education over girls. This combined with the expectations of girls as caretakers of the home reduces the value of educating girls through secondary school or higher and girls who are not in school are at higher risk of CEFM [7, 29, 38]. The social value placed on a girl's virginity and the belief that girls must be cared for by male protectors also contribute to CEFM [7]. Families are concerned with losing social status and experiencing stigma if their daughters do not uphold certain social practices, and CEFM can protect the family's honor [7]. For example, inter-caste marriages and marriage without parental consent are not socially acceptable, and parents often fear their daughters will elope if they are not married early [7]. The fear of elopement is not unfounded, as the rates of CEFM via elopement in Nepal are rising, with 1 in 5 girls under the age of 18 eloping without their parents' approval [8].

Using Social Norms Change to Address CEFM

Efforts to prevent CEFM range from providing cash incentives to families to advocating for policies and laws [3, 34]. Programs that offer cash incentives and help girls remain in school have been shown to be effective [27, 33, 34]. Continuing education, particularly ensuring girls finish primary school and enter secondary school, has long been associated with decreased rates of CEFM [33]. It is not clear, however that this relationship is causal and indeed increased education rates have not, typically been matched by comparable reductions in the practice of education CEFM [33]. Interventions that promote the equality of girls, advocate for girls as part of the decision-making process of marriage, and involve the community as a whole have shown great promise toward shifting the traditions that encourage CEFM, as has providing girls more agency and helping families see the benefits of delaying marriage [2, 8, 14, 35]. Interventions that address social norms work best with a multi-layered approach that targets multiple harmful gender norms and involves adolescent girls and boys, their families, and community leaders [36].

The importance of engaging men and boys is a long acknowledged aspect of encouraging communities to abandon CEFM, but there is much work yet to be done on operationalizing this aspect [16]. Fathers, male community leaders, and extended male family members are in unique positions as decision-makers to prevent CEFM and support the empowerment of women and girls [16, 36]. Likewise, researchers are also discovering the importance of engaging adolescent boys as future grooms, fathers, fathers-in-law, brothers, and community leaders [16, 36, 37]. Social norms change often starts with a small number of individuals, but must eventually incorporate the majority of community members to achieve sustainability [13]. Adolescence is a crucial time for social norms intervention since youths' beliefs and attitudes are still developing [16]. Despite this, there is little research on the effectiveness of engaging men and boys in efforts to prevent CEFM and in understanding how programs can be designed to most effectively target them [36]. More research is needed on how to engage adolescent boys in particular and create safe spaces for them to question social norms [16, 36]. Through secondary data analysis, this

study seeks to address this gap in understanding how to best engage adolescent boys by exploring their perspectives on CEFM.

Methods

Ethical Considerations

The study team obtained ethical approval from the Emory University Institutional Review Board (IRB00109419) and the National Health Research Council in Nepal (161/2019).

Study Overview

This thesis is a mixed methods secondary analysis of data collected during an ongoing parent evaluation of the CARE Tipping Point Initiative (TPI: CARE Tipping Point Baseline Evaluation) in two districts in Nepal (Rupandehi and Kapilvastu) [39, 40]. Tipping Point is an initiative in Nepal and Bangladesh that seeks to alter community social and gender norms that perpetuate the practice of CEFM and increase the capacity of adolescent girls to act as agents of change in their communities to reduce the risk of CEFM [41]. The 18-month program focuses on the engagement of adolescent girls and boys, parents/community members, and community leaders around four programmatic pillars [41]. The four programmatic pillars include; social norms, access to alternatives to CEFM, adolescent sexual and reproductive health and rights, and girl-centered movement building [39]. TPI designed a core package called TPP, which includes a foundational set of the components designed to facilitate self-efficacy, confidence, and agency of adolescent girls and to encourage conversations and negotiations between them and their family members. TPI is also testing an enhanced package, TPP+, that, in addition to the elements of TPP, includes enhanced social norms and collective action components [39, 42-47]

The evaluation is a mixed-methods, three-arm cluster-randomized control trial. The first arm received the core TPP package, the second arm received the enhanced package, TPP+, and the third arm served as a control [40, 41]. Adolescent girls and boys and adult community members completed a baseline quantitative survey in 54 wards within the two districts. Adolescent girls and boys and adult community members also participated in key informant interviewers, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions in 54 wards within the two districts [39]. We conduct this analysis with these data. A fully detailed description of the parent study, including sampling methods, data collection, and analysis for both the qualitative and quantitative data is available in the full study protocol [41].

Study Sample

The study sample was achieved by creating clusters of approximately 200 households in the study areas. A household enumeration within the clusters informed sample eligibility. A household census provided a list of boys and girls eligible intervention participants that were then invited to take part in the TPI. Adolescents that consented to participate in TPI then formed the sampling frame for the baseline survey. The total sample size desired for adolescent girls and boys was 1,242 each. The achieved sample size was 1,134 for adolescent girls and 1,154 for adolescent boys.

Qualitative data were collected through 30 in-depth interviews (IDIs) with 20 adolescent girls and 10 adolescent boys, and 16 focus group discussions (FGDs), eight FGDs with adolescent girls and eight with adolescent boys. Focus group discussions and interviews were done in four wards in each district.

Data Collection

Quantitative
The baseline survey included a module that assessed the perceived social norms among adolescent girls and adolescent boys surrounding employment, marriage, mobility, menstruation, gender roles, and collective action. This analysis considers the responses for all social norms except for menstruation and collective action. Adolescents did not frequently discuss menstruation or collective action in the qualitative data, so it was not included in this analysis.

Qualitative
IDIs with adolescents provided in-depth narrative data on individual perceptions, practices, and experiences of gender roles and responsibilities, educational and employment aspirations, decision-making around marriage, girls' safety and security, and girls' mobility. FGDs with adolescents took a vignette approach based on CARE's SNAP framework [48], with narratives highlighting social norms surrounding girls' mobility and decision-making around marriage.

Measures

This analysis specifically considered the social norms item sets among adolescent respondents, which consisted of 16 social norms items. This analysis used 11 of the social norms items surrounding women's and girls' employment, marriage, girls' mobility, and gender roles. The responses from the sixteen social norms items were used to create a Social Norms scale with a range of 0-48, with higher scores indicating a stronger perception of gender equitable social norms. Reliability of the scale (Cronbach's alpha) was 0.84 for adolescent boys and 0.88 for adolescent girls. Each social norm item was assessed with a four-point Likert scale (fully disagree, partly disagree, partly agree, fully agree). The item questions for employment were most people in my village will approve: if a non-school going, unmarried girl works outside home to earn money; if a married woman goes out of house to work. The item questions for marriage were most people in my village will approve: of a girl under 20 getting married if her family honor is at risk; if a girl expresses her opinion regarding her marriage to her parents; if a girl had a love marriage. The item questions for mobility were most people in my village will not approve: if a girl goes to the bazaar alone; of a girl going outside the village alone; if a girl rides a bicycle for leisure; if a girl walks alone to visit her friend in her free time. The item questions for gender roles were most people in my village will not approve: if a boy regularly cooks food for his family; if a boy regularly does household chores (washing, sweeping) for his family.

Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis
For the baseline report [39], descriptive analyses of Likert scales for women's and girls' employment, marriage, girls' mobility, and gender roles within the social norms scale were calculated. These descriptive quantitative findings were mixed with the qualitative themes, prior

to the qualitative analysis to add an additional element of comparison for similarities and differences in boys and girls agreement, and degree of consistency with the qualitative findings.

Qualitative analysis

The IDIs and FGDs were transcribed from Nepali to English and de-identified. A modified Grounded Theory approach [49] was used in the qualitative analysis by implementing the following steps: 1) identify themes and develop a codebook, 2) code data, 3) conduct descriptive and comparative analysis, 4) develop conceptual framework of findings, 5) triangulate data from the qualitative and quantitative data sources. A codebook developed by icddr,b for the TPP Bangladesh evaluation was the basis for the Emory team's codebook; the codebook was revised to fit the Nepal data. The TPP Bangladesh codebook was revised by streamlining its existing codes and adding new codes that emerged from the Nepal data [50]. The initial round of changes were made based on readings and memoing of 10 transcripts from all respondent types and were discussed with CARE and iccdr,b. The researcher and two members of the Emory team used the revised codebook to conduct two rounds of inter-coder reliability testing using 7 of the transcripts (evaluated using Cohen's kappa) [39]. After each round of testing team debriefs were held to resolve discrepancies in coding and make modifications to codes and definitions. The codebook was then used to code a subset of 20 transcripts, and the research team finalized the codebook. All remaining transcripts were coded by the Emory research team. MAXQDA 2018 software was used for the coding, cross-classification, inter-coder reliability testing, and analysis [51].

For this analysis, thick descriptions were created based on the social norms items examined in the quantitative data. Data represented in both the social norms scales and the qualitative data were used to guide the development of the themes for thick descriptions. Four thick descriptions were written including: gender roles and responsibilities, employment, mobility, and marriage as the themes. Analytic comparisons at the intersection of key themes examined interconnectedness and synergies, and thick descriptions were generated to interrogate these intersections. Structured comparisons by gender were described in a matrix detailing their impact on each key aspect of social norms, including normative and empirical expectations, and sanctions. Documentation of the analytic process through memos and triangulation across data collection methods allowed for validation at each phase of the analysis.

Results

The thick descriptions showed that the four themes, gender roles and responsibilities, mobility, employment, and marriage, are connected and reciprocally influential. Gender roles and responsibilities are the foundation in which social norms around mobility, marriage, and employment interact, though subthemes further connect them as seen in Figure 1. These subthemes include household chores, interaction between unmarried adolescent boys and girls, education and financial stability, maintaining honor and reputation, and parents as decision-makers. This analysis will explore the similarities and differences within girls' and boys' response by examining the identified sub-themes. Table 1displays the descriptive analysis from the survey. Table 2 displays the similarities and differences within the qualitative data.

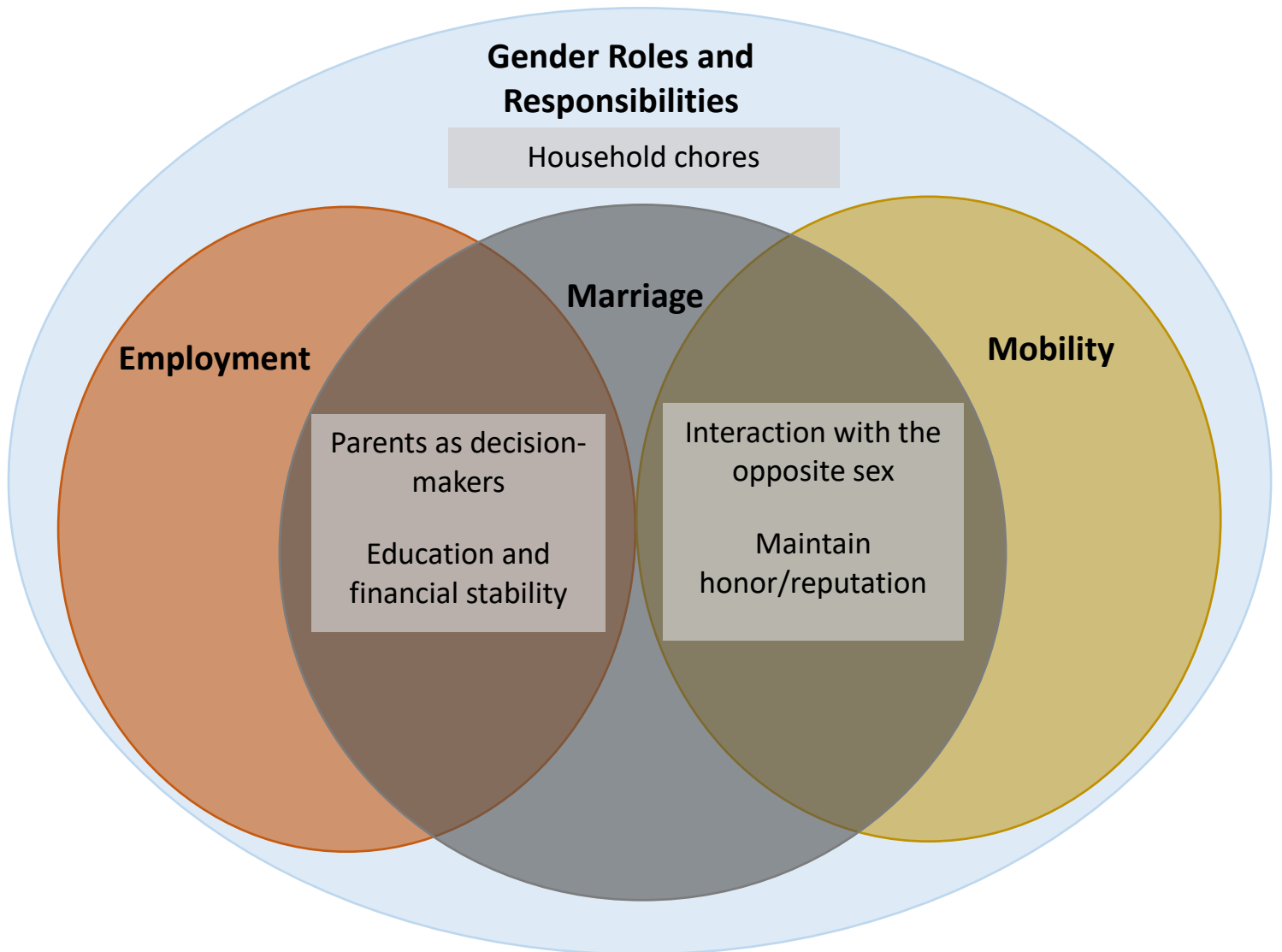**Figure 1.** Relationship between themes and subtheme

Table 1 Similarities and differences between boys and girls regarding household chores, interactions with the opposite sex, education and financial stability, maintain honor/reputation, and parents as decision makers

Subtheme & Aspect	Boys say:	Girls say:
Household chores		
Girls are responsible for household chores	✓	✓
Boys are responsible for:		
Going to school	✓	✓
Working on the farm	✓	✓
Play/roam around	✱	●
Boys do household chores when women/girls are not able to do them	✱	✱
Household chores is suitable work for women/girls	✓	✓
Men/boys contribute to the home with farm work and work outside the home	✓	✓
Women who work outside the home are still responsible for the household chores	✱	✱
Interaction with the opposite sex		
Girls should not be seen interacting with boys	✓	✓
Due to interacting with boys girls may:		
Get married	♦	✱
Be beaten	✱	✱
Be scolded	✱	✱
Be forced to stay at home	●	✱
Stop going to school	●	✱
Not leave their house alone	♦	♦
Do extra household chores	✱	--
Be physically prevented from leaving the house (hands tied, locked inside)	✱	--
Boys who interact with girls are thought of negatively by the community	✱	✱
Adults may think a girl who is teased by a boy is ready for marriage	✱	--
Girls' are forbidden to go to places where boys spend time	✱	●
Girls cannot walk alone due to fear of eve teasing, and physical or sexual assault	♦	●
Boys will not tease girls who are not alone	✱	✱
Education and Financial stability		
Ideal man:		
Is employed and supports his family financially	♦	♦
Respects elders	✱	●
Does not get in fights	✱	●
Betters his community	✱	✱
Is educated	✱	●
Ideal woman:		
Has a job/earns money	●	✱
Is educated	●	♦
Stays at home	♦	✱
Does household chores	●	♦
	✱	●

	Col 1	Col 2
Respects elders	✷	♦
Helps her community	✷	✷
No one should start a family before they can financially support one	♦	--
Adolescent children cannot financially support a family	●	✷
Dowry depends on the wealth of the bride's and groom's families	♦	--
Educated women can work outside the home	✷	--
Uneducated women should remain at home	●	✷
Uneducated women should learn a skill like tailoring to earn income	✷	✷
Parents value boys education over girls	✷	●
Parents will postpone marriage so girls can finish school	●	●
Adolescents should finish school before getting married, ideally around age 20	♦	♦
Adults believe a girl who is under 20 but no longer in school should get married	✷	✷

Maintain honor/reputation		
Marriage can save a girl's and her family's reputation		
A girl who does not want to marry could be convinced to marry for the sake of honor and reputation	♦ ●	✷ ✷

Parents as decision-makers		
Parents are supportive of girl's employment goals	--	♦
Parents have the final decision regarding their children's future employment	--	●
Parents have the final decision regarding their child's marriage	♦	✓
Arranged marriages are standard and/or love marriages are not acceptable	♦	✓
Children can communicate their marriage preferences to their parents	♦	♦
Adolescent girls can sometimes convince their parents to postpone a marriage	✷	✷

Table Legend

Near Universal	✓
Most	♦
Some	●
A few	✷
Generally not discussed	--

Table 2 Descriptive analysis of social norms item sets on employment, education, mobility, gender roles among adolescent girls and boys

Most people in my village will APPROVE…	Unmarried Adolescent Girls 12–16 Years (N = 1,134)				Unmarried Adolescent Boys 12–16 Years (N = 1,154)			
	Disagree		**Agree**		**Disagree**		**Agree**	
	Fully	Partly	Partly	Fully	Fully	Partly	Partly	Fully
Employment								
if a non-school going, unmarried girl works outside home to earn money	24.6	19.3	32.7	23.4	27.7	22.1	24.4	25.8
if a married woman goes out of house to work.	22.8	20.1	32.3	24.8	25.8	19.0	27.8	27.5
Marriage								
of a girl under 20 getting married if her family honor is at risk.	15.5	15.3	38.0	31.2	15.7	13.7	35.3	35.4
if a girl expresses her opinion regarding her marriage to her parents.	18.4	20.6	38.3	22.7	14.8	17.8	32.8	34.7
if a girl had a love marriage.	41.8	18.6	27.9	11.6	23.8	20.2	30.3	25.7

Most people in my village will NOT APPROVE…	**Disagree**		**Agree**		**Disagree**		**Agree**	
	Fully	Partly	Partly	Fully	Fully	Partly	Partly	Fully
Mobility								
if a girl goes to the bazaar alone.	26.0	27.0	23.5	23.5	35.4	24.9	21.3	18.5
of a girl going outside the village alone.	22.2	26.7	27.5	23.7	30.1	25.5	24.2	20.1
if a girl rides a bicycle for leisure.	48.0	25.6	16.6	9.9	50.2	30.6	11.7	7.6
if a girl walks alone to visit her friend in her free time.	28.9	26.6	25.3	19.2	32.6	27.4	19.6	20.4
Gender roles								
If a boy regularly cooks food for his family.	32.8	28.6	19.8	18.9	49.1	24.4	14.2	12.2
if a boy regularly does household chores (washing, sweeping) for his family	32.4	25.3	20.6	21.6	47.8	26.8	13.7	11.8

Table adapted from baseline evaluation report with permission of authors [39]
Tipping Point Program Impact Evaluation: Baseline Study in Nepal. Copyright © 2019 Emory University and Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc. (CARE). Used by Permission

Household chores

Boys and girls were generally in agreement when it came to expectations around household chores. They almost universally agreed girls are expected to be responsible for household chores, that household chores is suitable work for women/girls, that men/boys contribute to the home via farm work and working outside the home, and that boys are expected to be responsible for going to school and working on the farm. A few boys and girls agreed that boys will do household chores when women/girls are not able to do them and that women who work outside the home are expected to complete household chores. Boys and girls did have a slight difference when describing boys as responsible for playing or roaming around their community. Only a few boys described themselves this way while several girls described boys as such. A comparison of these expectations can be seen in Table 1.

In this data gender roles and responsibilities appear to be the driving force behind some of the social norms thought to be most related to CEFM. The belief that men and women have different aptitudes, capabilities, and purposes centers their expectations of the goals, aspirations, and behaviors, of women and girls and men and boys. For example, adolescents described the ideal man as employed and supporting his family, along with respecting his elders, not getting into fights, and working to better his community. Both boys and girls frequently described the ideal woman as responsible for household chores, listening to her elders, and helping her community. The most immediate theme that appeared within gender roles and responsibilities was the daily activities of boys and girls. Almost universally, adolescents said girls were responsible for household labor as part of their daily activities, "The work I get involved in and the work my brother gets involved in is totally different. Boys don't do the same type of work as girls do" (Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi). Occasionally, adolescents mentioned girls going to school, working on the farm, and that if they had free time, roaming around. Adolescents described boys' responsibilities as going to school and studying more than anything else, though working in the fields or family shops also was mentioned. Few adolescents mentioned boys doing household work as part of their responsibilities. When they did, it generally was because their sisters or mother were sick or busy. A few girls said that if boys helped with household chores, community members would not approve and boys may be teased. In contrast, in the quantitative data, only 26.4% of boys compared to 38.7% of girls at least partially or fully believed people in their village would disapprove of a boy regularly cooking food for his family. Similarly, 25% of boys and 42% of girls at least partially agreed that people in their village would not approve of a boy regularly doing household chores for his family. It is possible this difference is due to parents and girls facing the most criticism for boys preforming household chores. Girls described community members as negatively speaking about the parents and sisters of a boy who does household chores more than boys, however boys and girls did mention a boy may experience teasing for assisting with household chores. Given this, boys may view the potential social consequences of assisting with household chores differently than girls.

When discussing employment and gender roles and responsibilities, most adolescent girls and boys consistently described household chores as the work suitable for women and girls and farming or working outside the home for boys and men. A few girls expressed a desire for equal treatment, though only one said it should be normal for boys to help with household work. Another girl described social expectations for men and women as different but said in her family, the emphasis was placed on the importance of working together to succeed as a family over the fear of a negative public opinion.

A girls needs to work inside of the house and the boys needs to work outside of the house. We have such custom in the society. Every household follows the same. If son get involved in household activities then people will ask them if they don't have daughters in the family. They think negative about it but my father and mother have told each and every one of us that we need to cooperate with each other if we have to eat. Generally, everyone tells the same thing. — Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi

In the qualitative data a few adolescent boys expressed conflicting opinions, stating that while men and women were responsible for different types of work, they would support their female family members who wanted to work outside the home. For example, an adolescent boy stated that women in general and his future wife should only work inside the home. However, when discussing his sister's ambitions for employment, he said he would respect whatever decision she made: "My sister hasn't told anything [about her employment aspirations] and I will accept her decision [about her future employment] as she is my sister and I have to respect her decision" (Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu).

In their interviews and focus group discussions adolescents indicated that it is acceptable for educated girls to work outside the home but girls still would have the responsibility of maintaining the household while working. One girl mentioned her community and family were supportive of her working outside the home with the stipulation that she was still capable of finishing her household chores. Another girl also discussed concerns over being able to fulfill household duties while working outside the home, saying that "it is almost impossible for [a woman] to work outside the house" (Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi) after she is married.

Interaction between unmarried adolescent boys and girls

Boys and girls had several differences and a few agreements when it came to expectations around interactions between unmarried adolescent boys and girls. Universally they agreed that girls should not be seen interacting with boys. While discussing possible consequences of a girl interacting with a boy, adolescents were more likely to disagree, particularly when it came to marriage as a potential consequence. Though most boys and girls did agree a girl would be asked not to leave their house alone after being seen interacting with a boy. Boys and girls also disagreed on limits to girls' mobility, with girls more frequently than boys associating the places they could and could not go with boys' presence. Boys and girls did agree that girls are more likely to be teased if they walk alone and that girls cannot walk alone due to fear of eve teasing and/or physical and sexual assault. A comparison of these expectations can be seen in Table 1.

Boys described their interaction with girls as an important part of their life. Boys said that if a girl was seen speaking with a boy, it would negatively affect her reputation. For example, one boy said if he was seen talking with a girl, he would explain to his mother that it was school-related so the girl would not experience any negativity. Boys said, as a result of interacting with boys, girls might be forced to stop their education, get married, not be allowed to leave the house alone, be locked in her room, have her hands tied, or be given extra household chores so they will not leave their home. "They will ask her to stay home, they will marry her off at her young age. If she doesn't listen they will marry her off. They will stop her education" (Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi). Boys mentioned marriage and not being allowed to leave the house alone more than any other possible consequence of a girl interacting with a boy. Most girls agreed that parents

and community members would not want girls to go anywhere alone after such incidents. They also mention girls might be beaten, scolded, or forced to stay at home, but very few girls suggested marriage as a possible response: "They [the parents] will stop her, scold her, and beat her and won't allow her to go out of the home because people from the village are taking it negatively" (Adolescent Girl, Kapilvastu). While stopping a girl's education was also mentioned as a response, it came up less frequently in the girls' conversations than in the boys' conversations. Boys also indicated that the community thought negatively of boys who interacted with girls, discussed girls among their friends, or who teased them. One boy applied this thinking to adult men, saying that the ideal man "shouldn't look badly (with wrong intention) to others' daughters*" (Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu). Several boys stated parents and community members would believe a girl was ready for marriage if she was old enough to be teased by boys.

> The parents (mother, father) will say, now you are old enough, get married. Since you big enough the boys will tease you. When you walk in the roads they will misbehave with you. That's why you are big enough, now get married.— Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi

Adolescents described girls' mobility as limited in part because they may interact with boys while outside of the home. Most girls mentioned locations they were not allowed to go or feared to go, such as the river, gardens, *melas* (fun parks or markets), or the road. Typically, boys did not mention specific places girls were forbidden to go, but one boy said girls could not visit the same places where boys like to spend their time. The presence of boys was the most salient factor in where girls can and cannot go, and locations were prohibited to girls if they were known as gathering places for boys.

> Girls are prohibited to visit those places where boys stroll around. It is said that if girls visit such places then they will get spoiled and will get into bad things. —Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu

> Yes, we don't go to the road nearby or to places where there are boys because they tease us. –Adolescent Girl, Kapilvastu

The possibility of experiencing eve teasing, which is a common term for public sexual harassment or other forms of harassment, was often given as justification for the restriction of girls' mobility especially if they were alone. Most boys mentioned that girls could experience eve teasing when they leave their homes, mainly if they are alone. "When girls are with their friends then the boy won't be able to tease her. If boys try and tease them the girls walking in the group, the girls can respond back to the boys as well" (Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi). Additionally, a few boys said girls might experience physical or sexual assault. Girls also agreed that they were most at risk of being teased when they were alone and rarely described themselves as going anywhere alone. A few specifically mentioned they do not travel alone to avoid being eve teased by boys. Most girls indicated that their mobility was less restricted if others accompanied them. For example, several girls mentioned they could go to marriage ceremonies, but only if they are with friends or family members.

The results of the quantitative data on girl's mobility seem to reflect the qualitative data. Compared to girls, boys seemed to believe girls had slightly more freedom to go places alone,

with 39.7% of boys partially or fully agreeing community members would disapprove of a girl going to a bazaar alone, 39.1% partially or fully believing community members would disapprove of a girl going outside the village alone, and 40% partially or fully agreeing community members would disapprove of a girl walking alone to visit her friend. Girls, however, were more likely to say community members would disapprove of the same actions, with 47% partially or fully agreeing community members would disapprove of a girl going to a bazaar alone, 51.2%, partially or fully believing community members would disapprove of a girl going outside the village alone, and 45% partially or fully agreeing community members would disapprove of a girl walking alone to visit her friend.

Education and financial stability

Boys' and girls' agreement varied when it came to expectations around education and financial stability. Around the expectations for ideal men and women most girls and boys agreed the ideal man is employed and supports his family financially. However, boys and girls mentioned other traits to different degrees regarding the ideal man and woman (see Table 1). They also had differing agreement around education and financial stability, with girls not commenting on some expectations at all (such as uneducated women should remain at home, or educated women can work outside the home). They were however, in agreement that adolescents should finish school before marriage and that adults believe a girl who is under 20 and no longer in school should get married. A detailed comparison of these expectations can be seen in Table 1.

Having an education and ensuring financial stability frequently were referenced when discussing, gender roles and responsibilities, marriage, and employment. Boys more frequently described the ideal man as educated, but it was occasionally mentioned by girls. Boys and girls differ in their description of the ideal women, with girls overwhelmingly describing the ideal woman as educated and very few girls describing her as staying at home. Whereas boys most often described the ideal women as staying at home, they did occasionally describe them as educated or employed. The quantitative data seems to reflect the qualitative with most of adolescent boys (55.3%) and girls (57.1%) at least partly agreed their community would approve of a married woman working outside the home, though girls were less likely fully to agree with this compared to boys.

Several boys mentioned the difficulty of raising children without sufficient income and few boys believed that both husbands and wives should work to earn money to provide for their children. These boys indicated that no one should start a family or get married before they can support a family, "If we both are educated, then we can both find jobs. If we have not learn how to work then we cannot raise our kids, it will be hard for us to raise them" (Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi). They also highlighted how age is a factor in being financially stable, suggesting that adolescent children are not capable of providing for a family if they were to marry. Unlike boys, girls did not explicitly discuss the importance money when raising a family. Boys also discussed dowry in the context of financial stability. A few boys described understanding the economic standing of the bride's family as a necessity when setting a dowry price. Many of the boys who discussed dowry said they would not ask for a large dowry or a dowry at all depending on the wealth of their bride's family. Similarly, one boy said only families that lack wealth ask for a dowry.

When discussing their ideal future wives, most adolescent boys approved of educated women working outside of the home, though few boys mentioned knowing of women who worked outside of the home: "If she is educated, I don't think it is good to stay at home after marrying, it would be good for her to be employed" (Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu). Most girls echoed boys' sentiments on the value of a women's education with regards to employment. Many of the girls expressed a desire to continue their education, and some mentioned having goals to obtain specific jobs: teacher, doctor, government worker, or a bank manager. With regard to employment for uneducated married women, boys were split on what was appropriate. Some felt that uneducated women should remain at home to take care of household chores, while others wanted them to learn a skill like tailoring to earn an income while they worked at home. A few girls also indicated that an uneducated woman could earn money at home by learning how to sew, with one girl saying that marriage should only occur after a girl/woman has learned how to tailor or sew.

> If she [his future wife] is not educated, then she needs to stay at home, cook food and take care of the family members. She will be required to offer food and water to the father when he comes from outside. – Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu

> She should be working in some bank or must have gotten a training to sew and stitch clothes. This way, she should be able to stay at home and do the tailoring work. – Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu

> If the girl is not educated, she can take stitching and tailoring trainings which can help her earn some money. She should only get married after that. –Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi

A few girls described the expectation that if money was limited their families would prioritize their brothers' education and girls would stay home so their brothers could go to school. Generally, they said this difference occurred because girls are expected to leave the family home when they are married, whereas boys are expected to stay and help provide an income. One girl also cited this as the reason why girls were taught to focus on household chores.

> This is the only reason why they involve the daughter in the household activities because they will have to [go to] their husband house, leaving their parental home and they need to do this kind of work in her husband house.—Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi

Boys and girls described education as an important factor in marriage. They described finishing school as a reason why parents would allow girls to postpone marriage until they are 20 years old. Though overall most adolescents said boys and girls should not get married until they were at least 20 years old, citing dangers in childbirth and poor health for babies born to young mothers as reasons to postpone marriage. Boys and girls thought adolescents of both sexes should finish school before being married: "I didn't like [the marriage proposal] because [she] wants to study and she wants to become something that's why she doesn't want to get married" (Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi). However, boys and girls also said that if a girl were no longer studying, even if she were younger than 20, her friends, family, and community would expect her to get married, especially if her reputation was being called in to question. Some boys also agreed with this sentiment, saying that marriage is an ideal step for girls to take if they have stopped their education. Some boys described a girl quitting school as an accepted indicator that

she was ready for marriage, regardless of her age. A few of the girls mentioned that within their communities, girls as young as 15 or 16 were married once they stopped going to school.

> If a daughter is studying then [age of marriage] is 20 years of age or else, if she is not studying then they think of getting her married right from the age of 16 years and they have got them married as well. They think that an uneducated daughter may have affairs with someone after she became grown up and it could damage the reputation of the family. So they conduct her marriage at the early age. — Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi

A few boys also described a difference in how educated and uneducated families would handle marriage. Boys described educated families as less adamant in marrying a daughter who was seen interacting with a boy over those who were less educated. While girls discussed differences between educated and uneducated families less, they described educated families as being more willing to listen to their daughters' wishes and uneducated families more likely to ask their daughter to get married early.

> Families that are educated (पढेलेखेको) would think and would give her a "chance". But those families that are not educated would just be adamant on marrying her off or they would make her quit studying and stay at home.—Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi

Maintaining the honor and reputations of girls and their families

Boys and girls did not seem to agree on expectations regarding the honor and reputations of girls and their families. Boys discussed this more overall than girls and most believed that a marriage can save a girl's and her family's reputation while some believed a girl who does not want to marry could be convinced to marry for the sake of honor and reputation. Overall, girls agreed with these expectations less than boys, though a few did mention it. A comparison of these expectations can be seen in Table 1.

Maintaining honor and reputation was discussed in term of marriage, mobility, and gender roles and responsibilities. A few boys discussed the importance of their wives maintaining the family's honor, which girls never explicitly mentioned. One boy framed this around his future wife by saying she should accept their marriage and follow orders. Interestingly, throughout the interviews, neither boys nor girls discussed the importance of men or boys maintaining their honor. Boys mentioned their actions could damage their own reputation; however, family honor was not discussed in the context of boys' behavior. The honor of a girl or her family was frequently mentioned when discussing marriage and mobility by boys. Boys seem to be more sensitive towards changes in a girl's reputation than their own. However, this could be due to the question guides as they were focused on boys' perceptions of girls' experiences.

> A girl should also accept this marriage as her acceptance plays more importance. She should be able to put the family prestige on priority. She should be able to do the thing that has been ordered. She should be respecting the words of my parents. — Adolescent Boy, Kapilvastu

As previously mentioned, when a girl's reputation was at risk, due to her speaking with a boy or being teased by one, most boys and a few girls said that marriage would often be considered to save the girl's and her family's reputation within the community. Girls more frequently

described a girl rejecting a marriage proposal as something that would bring shame or disapproval from community members rather than getting married as a route to save her reputation. However, girls still described a close relationship between a girl's and her family's honor and marriage. A girl in this situation who did not get married was often described as being humiliated and dishonoring her family and her community, as one girl who misbehaves could reflect upon the broader community. Some adolescents also said that girls could be convinced to marry against their wishes if they were told their reputation may suffer. Similarly, in the quantitative data 70.7% of boys and 69.2% of girls said people in their village would at least partially approve if a girl under 20 married to protect the family honor.

Parents as primary decision-makers

Boys and girls had varied agreement around expectations of parents' role as the primary decision-makers. More girls agreed that parents make the final decision regarding marriage than boys. More girls also agreed that arranged marriages are standard and love marriages are not acceptable than boys. Girls also discussed how supportive parents are girls' employment goals and described parents as the final decision-maker in terms of employment, whereas boys did not discuss this at all. However, girls and boys both agreed that children are able to share their marriage preferences with their parents and that girls can sometimes convince their parents to postpone a marriage. A comparison of these expectations can be seen in Table 1.

Most adolescents described their parents and fathers in particular as the final decision-makers within their families for all major choices in children's lives. They also described the parental expectation that children would adhere to their parents' decisions even if they strongly disagreed. Parents as decision-makers frequently came up when adolescents discussed employment and marriage. When discussing employment, girls generally reported their parents were supportive of the girls' employment goals or shared in them, with some saying their parents made plans to continue their education in order to ensure they would have the skills needed for employment. A few girls mentioned their parents would have the final decision in their future career choices and while boys did not contradict this, they did not describe their parents as deciding factors in their career choices.

Most of the boys who discussed their desires for marriage preferred an arranged marriage. They cited respecting community tradition, trusting their parents to choose wisely for them, and a distrust in themselves to choose a good wife as justification for arranged marriages. Several of these boys said they wanted and could have a say in their marriage and that they wanted to meet their prospective bride before getting married. When discussing the decision-making process for girls' marriage, boys and girls said their parents' opinions would be the deciding factor, "Father and mother make every decision about marriage. It is not acceptable that one should marry on her own wish" (Adolescent Girl, Rupandehi).

In the quantitative data, there was a stark difference to the qualitative data and between boys and girls with 56% of boys and 39.5% of girls, saying people in their village would at least partially approve if a girl had a love marriage. Additionally, there was a notable difference between girls and boys who said people in their village would fully approve this, with 25.7% of boys saying they would compared to 11.6% of girls. Adolescents generally describe parents as the primary

decision-makers concerning marriage and employment. However, it was not unusual for adolescents to say that a girl was allowed to make her preferences known to her parents or for her parents to ask her questions about whom she would like to marry. This was apparent in the quantitative data, as 67.5% of boys and 61% of girls said people in their village would at least partially approve if a girl expressed her opinion about her marriage to her parents. Adolescents said daughters could change their parents' minds by telling them they were too young to marry or that they wanted to finish school or work before getting married. However, it was possible for parents not to be swayed by their daughter's wishes and to force/convince her to marry. It is important to note that several boys felt very strongly that a girl would not get married if she did not want to, despite her parents' wishes. Boys appear to believe parents take adolescents' opinions into greater consideration around these decisions than girls. Boys also appear to believe it is easier for girls to convince her parents not to marry her than what girls describe.

> Parents will tell their daughter to get married but, daughter will say that no I won't because I have some dreams and I want to fulfill it, I want to work in future and then only I will get married. — Adolescent Boy, Rupandehi

Discussion

While there is research on communities adapting social norms change to decrease incidences of CEFM, most of this research focuses on the perspective of women and girls, while research on the perspective of adolescent boys is lacking. This study addresses this gap by interrogating adolescent boys' perspectives of the social norms that influence CEFM and the differences and commonalities in adolescent boys' and girls' perspectives on these norms through a mixed-methods approach. Findings identify broad similarities in expectations but also nuanced differences that collectively provide valuable insight into programming that engages adolescent boys and girls supporting norms change toward the prevention of CEFM.

Customary gender roles
Our research shows that while boys are willing and even see the necessity of having women share the burden of supporting their families financially, there is still an expectation that women will adhere to their traditional gender role as caretaker. Girls appear to share this expectation, however at least a few girls discussed being aware of how much additional burden this expectation places upon working women. The expectation that girls and women satisfy their role as the caretaker of their homes and families is in alignment with prior research in Nepal which has found that women and girls are the caretakers or nurturers within the family through a process of socialization that starts at birth [38, 52, 53]. In contrast, boys did not discuss potential difficulties women working outside the home may face when they are also expected to manage the household with no additional help from boys/men, the focus was on future wives alleviating some of their future burden to financially provide for the family. Previous studies of a program aimed at producing more gender equitable perspectives among youth aged 10-14 show that boys can be encouraged to critically reflect on the imbalance, leading to an increase in boys' participation household chores [38]. Research among men in Nepal has found similar impacts [54]. Continued investment in change in men's and boys' expected gender roles is needed to minimize the effect of the current imbalance on girls' employment, mobility, and their marriage practices.

Reputation and honor as driving forces in girls' lives
While both boys and girls discussed family honor and girls' reputations, boys discussed this more frequently than girls and in the qualitative data were more inclined to say girls will marry to protect family honor, even if they did not wish to marry. This difference may indicate that boys hold honor and reputation to greater importance than girls or that perhaps they view honor and reputation as a larger influencer on CEFM than girls do. The importance of honor and reputation is linked to the value placed on girls' virginity in South Asia as most cultures expect girls to refrain from sexual intercourse before marriage and premarital sex is viewed as disgraceful for a girl's family [2], even suspected transgressions can result in social and familial repercussions [39]. Research has shown within Nepal that even though there is an increased understanding of the negative consequences of CEFM the social norms around girl's chastity and family honor are of a higher priority for families [29].

Reputation and honor are also linked to girl's mobility. Adolescents reported that girls' mobility is restricted out of concern that they will interact with boys, including experiencing eve teasing/sexual harassment, or physical assault. Adolescents also responded that girls will face repercussions within their community for interacting with boys. Previous studies show there is an expectation that girls tolerate violence they may experience from their family, peers, and community [55], and that boys and girls believe girls have a responsibility to avoid boys' interest [56]. While our data does indicate that girls and boys expect girls to alter their behavior to avoid boys, it also indicates that girls and boys both perceive boys as risks to a girl's reputation. Boys and girls described boys as the instigators during these interactions. This perception of boys as risky is similar to findings in another study in Nepal, which found participants described that girls, by their nature, have better behavior than boys while boys, by their nature, have more difficulty in following the prosocial behavior expectations of their communities and are given greater latitude to violate these expectations [53].

The role of education
There is growing awareness of the importance of educating both boys and girls in Nepal [57]. Further, education is required for girls to work outside the home, especially in a professional capacity. Most boys and nearly all girls interviewed supported the idea of women working outside the home, primarily educated women. Additionally, boys described an expectation for uneducated women to stay at home and learn to sew/tailor, which is another gendered task. Public support for women's employment outside the home was also apparent within the quantitative data. Most girls mentioned having plans to work outside the home after they have finished their education, which is supported by other studies, including a baseline assessment of an evaluation of Room to Read's Girl's Education Program in the Nuwakot and Tanahun districts in Nepal. When asked about their future, 99% of girls currently enrolled in school reported a desire to be employed as adults and 99% believed they would be able to achieve this goal [58]. In our study adolescents said finishing school is an acceptable reason for parents to postpone their daughter's marriage. This may be reflected in another study which found that 41% of women in Nepal who had no formal education married before they were 16 years old and 86% married before they were 20, while 68% of women who completed the 10th grade married at or after age 20 [15]. In our study boys and girls also agreed that ending school, can be an indicator that a girl is ready for marriage; alternatively, expectations that girls are of a marriageable age by their mid-teens, which is prior to the end of secondary school, lead parents to withdraw girls

from school, or to provider greater assistance at home and train for the housework they will be expected to perform after marriage [39] regardless of whether they work inside or outside of the home. This links back to the underlying expectation that girls labor outside the home is not as valued as boys, as they will leave the natal home after marriage and that they are often seen as economic burdens to their families [59]. In our data girls were very aware of this viewpoint and frequently referenced this throughout their discussions, only a few boys however seemed aware of the decreased value placed upon girls by their families. Those few boys who were aware of this difference described it as unjust and expressed a desire for change. Education is a precondition for not only for women's employment outside the home, but also for higher quality jobs for men [57]. While there is growing appreciation for the necessity of educating both boys and girls, and that both may obtain gainful employment in the future, realizing both boys and girls aspirations for employment will require continued investment in critical reflection among men and boys of the disconnect between this aspiration and girls' treatment in the home, along with the provision of viable work opportunities for both, as gainful employment for men and women remains short of current demand especially in rural areas [7]. The continued shortage of viable work opportunities for women reinforces familial expectations that home-based work is the most likely trajectory for girls, undermining the value and necessity of their education, and that foreign employment is most viable for boys, which places additional home-related responsibilities on women, further undermining the value of their education.

Parents remain the primary decision-makers
When discussing how adolescent girls could express disapproval of a marriage proposal to their parents, boys and girls both cited a desire to finish their education and the inappropriateness of marrying before age 20 as typical responses. While it seems clear that adolescents now have greater freedom and capacity to express their thoughts to their parents, it appears that the decision of marriage still rests primarily with parents. This is already well documented within the literature [7, 14, 29, 57], and there is also evidence that today girls have a more significant role in the decision-making process [29]. Very few adolescent boys or girls described when they would marry and who they would marry as a decision they would make together with their parents, even if they could express their opinion. Conversely, with regards to employment, adolescent girls described parent's aspirations matching their own while boys rarely described their parent's wishes when discussing their own employment.

There was also a contrast between the qualitative and quantitative data with regards to approval of love matches. In the qualitative data both boys and girls indicated that non-arranged marriages would face disapproval and a loss of honor from their families and communities. Whereas in the quantitative data 56% of boys and 39.5% of girls said people in their village would at least partially approve if a girl had a love marriage. This difference may be due to how boys and girls define a love marriage. For example, if a love marriage means boys and girls approve of the match their parents have chosen, or of if the parents ask if their daughter has a specific boy in mind to marry, this would appear to be consistent with the quantitative data. If love marriage implied elopement or marriage outside of one's caste, the quantitative data may have looked different, as qualitatively boys and girls both describe elopement and inter-caste marriage as unacceptable.

Limitations and strengths

With all studies, there are limitations and strengths to the data. The baseline survey may not be representative of the eligible residents within the wards surveyed as not all participants were randomly selected to participate in the survey due to some challenges in recruiting participants, especially since staff members had to find participants that were not randomly selected to participate in the program or the survey. Additionally, analyzing the transcripts in Nepali might have yielded more nuanced aspects of the data. However, the analysis was systematic and used Grounded Theory to help ensure reliable findings. It is also possible that adolescents mentioned the response they believed the interviewers desired to hear.

Implications for programming
Identifying the nuanced differences between boys' and girls' views on social norms surrounding CEFM can help to target programming geared towards boys. Boys frequently discussed the importance of girls' maintaining their honor and also identified the actions of boys as having severe effects on girls. Boys and girls frequently mentioned eve teasing and the effect it can have on a girl's reputation and her family honor. While the boys in this study did not seem to approve of eve teasing, they did not discuss why boys participate in this and what they do when they witness it. This indicates that boys may benefit from culturally appropriate active bystander training, wherein they could discuss harmful actions committed by their peers, such as eve teasing, and strategize ways to prevent them. This recommendation is also congruent with the TPP baseline evaluation [39]. Additionally, programming should address the norms underlying CEFM that are related to control over girls' sexuality that manifest in controlling their mobility and their interactions with boys, which could weaken the expectation that honorable girls do not interact with boys and that girls whose honor is in question should marry. Much of our data indicates that boys underestimate the strength of the social norms that restrict girls' opportunities and that support CEFM and girls report more restrictive expectations for themselves. Programming that allows boys to better understand girls' experiences and perspectives may help them better understand the inequalities within traditional gender roles. While some evidence exists to support this [38], more is needed to determine the best frameworks for programming.

Implications for research
While this analysis has provided a window into boys' perceptions and how they differ from girls', it has also highlighted areas of further research. In these data, boys did not discuss why eve tease occurs. Learning more about what drives boys to harass girls would be invaluable to future programmatic efforts. Additionally, many social norms around CEFM center around gender roles and responsibilities, future research should carefully examine what masculinity and femininity mean for adolescents in Nepal. This is particularly true since much of the programming around gender-based violence and CEFM uses a gender transformative framework. Gender transformative frameworks, while powerful tools, have been criticized for sometimes reducing the complex nature of masculinity to problematic male attitudes and behaviors, which puts pressure on individual men to change societal level problems [60]. A deeper understanding of how masculinity develops, including the acknowledgment of structural factors such as caste systems, poverty, and migration, could help identify deeply held beliefs that must be addressed to alter harmful gender roles and social norms [60]. Additionally, our findings support the need for further research into the complex relationship between education and CEFM. More understanding of the value girls' continued education has for families and communities is needed especially when compared to the potential value of marriage.

Conclusions
CEFM is a human rights abuse that many are trying to prevent. While the social norms and structural factors that sustain CEFM are complex and challenging to address, increased research and understanding of adolescents' perspectives can help to address them. The importance of understanding adolescent boys' perspectives and developing programming attuned to their perceptions and experiences is critical for their ability to prevent CEFM. Our analysis shows that boys view expectations for girls as less restrictive than girls do, which indicates a need for more programming that allows boys to understand girls' experiences and research that explores how boys view masculinity and femininity.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Recommendations

Discussion

While there is research on communities adapting social norms change to decrease incidences of CEFM, most of this research focuses on the perspective of women and girls, while research on the perspective of adolescent boys is lacking. This study addresses this gap by interrogating adolescent boys' perspectives of the social norms that influence CEFM and the differences and commonalities in adolescent boys' and girls' perspectives on these norms through a mixed-methods approach. Findings identify broad similarities in expectations but also nuanced differences that collectively provide valuable insight into programming that engages adolescent boys and girls supporting norms change toward the prevention of CEFM.

Customary gender roles
These results indicate the social norms that direct gender roles and responsibilities support CEFM. The widespread expectation that girls and women must satisfy their role as the caretaker of their homes and families is in alignment with prior research in Nepal which has found that husbands, fathers, or brothers are viewed as women's guardians who are supposed to protect and support women [52], whereas women and girls are the caretakers or nurtures within the family [38, 52]. Our research also shows that while boys are willing and even see the necessity of having women share the burden of supporting their families financially, there is still an expectation that women will adhere to the caretaker gender role. Girls appear to share this expectation, however at least a few girls discussed being aware of how much additional burden this expectation places upon working women. In contrast boys did not discuss potential difficulties women working outside the home may face when they are also expected to manage the household with no additional help from boys/men. Previous studies of programs aimed at producing more gender equitable perspectives among youth aged 10-14 show that boys can be encouraged to share the burden of household chores with their sisters [38]. Continued investment in change in men's and boys' expected gender roles is needed to minimize the effect of the current imbalance on girls' employment, mobility, and their marriage practices.

Implications of household chores
Since girls and women are responsible for household chores, they are expected to put these tasks first, even if they have employment outside of the home. The commitment to completing household chores without the assistance of boys and men affects girls' mobility since they have less free time between household chores and school. While girls did say boys frequently assisted with outside chores such as working in the fields, girls and boys both mentioned that girls also assisted with this work. Girls' participation in field work further limits their time and mobility. While boys were associated with having more time to play and roam around the village, girls' access to play was more limited due to their obligations. This inequitable distribution of work further contributes to girls' loss of their childhood and further limits their opportunities to focus on their education. Interestingly, while some boys seemed aware of girls' increased workload, they did not describe this as being unfair or unjust. These findings are reflective of previous research that has shown that girls are responsible for assisting with housework while boys are not

expected to and that Nepalese women on average have higher work-loads than the global average [61].

Reputation and honor as driving forces in girls' lives
Boys and girls described the connections between marriage, honor, and girls interacting with boys. Boys and girls are not meant to speak or spend time with each other, especially alone. Girls who are seen speaking with boys face a loss of reputation and family honor within their communities, especially if they do not marry or if they continue to interact with boys after their family or community finds out. While boys and girls discussed family honor and girls' reputations, boys discussed this more frequently than girls and in the qualitative data were more inclined to say girls will marry to protect family honor, even if they did not wish to marry. This difference may indicate that boys hold honor and reputation to greater importance than girls or that perhaps they view honor and reputation as a larger influencer on CEFM than girls do. The importance of honor and reputation is likely linked to the value placed on girls' virginity in South Asia as most cultures expect girls to refrain from sexual intercourse before marriage and premarital sex is viewed as disgraceful for a girl's family [2]. Research has shown within Nepal that even though there is an increased understanding of the negative consequences of CEFM the social norms around girl's chastity and family honor are of a higher priority for families [29]. Despite this expectation of virginity, however, the Global School Based Student Health Survey conducted in Nepal in 2015 found that 20.8% of adolescent boys and girls had sex, and among those adolescents, 66.9% had sex before age 14 [62]. Additionally, incidents of adolescents eloping are increasing, which among other things, may in part be due to a desire to become sexually active or a desire to save a girl's reputation if she is believed to have had a "love affair" [29, 58, 63].

Reputation and honor are also linked to girl's mobility. Adolescents reported that girls' mobility is restricted out of concern that they will interact with boys, including experiencing eve teasing/sexual harassment, or physical assault. Adolescents also responded that girls will face repercussions within their community for interacting with boys. Previous studies show there is an expectation that girls tolerate violence they may experience from their family, peers, and community [55] While our data does indicate that girls and boys expect girls to alter their behavior to avoid boys, it also indicates that girls and boys both perceive boys as risks to a girl's reputation. Boys and girls described boys as the instigators during these interactions. This perception of boys as risky is similar to findings in another study in Nepal, which found that participates said girls, by their nature, have better behavior than boys while boys, by their nature, have more difficulty in following the prosocial behavior expectations of their communities and are given greater latitude to violate these expectations [53].

The role of education
There is growing awareness of the importance of educating both boys and girls in Nepal [57]. Further, education is required for girls to work outside the home, especially in a professional capacity. Most boys and nearly all girls interviewed supported the idea of women working outside the home, primarily educated women. While it is clear there is acceptance of women working outside the home, this generally seems to be conditional. Women who work outside the home need to be educated and some boys and girls stated that a working woman, still needs to fulfill her household duties. Additionally, boys described an expectation for uneducated women

to stay at home and learn to sew/tailor, which is another gendered task. Public support for women's employment outside the home was also apparent within the quantitative data. Most girls mentioned having plans to work outside the home after they have finished their education, which is supported by other studies including a baseline assessment of an evaluation of Room to Read's Girl's Education Program in the Nuwakot and Tanahun districts in Nepal. When asked about their future, 99% of girls currently enrolled in school reported a desire to be employed as adults and 99% believed they would be able to achieve this goal [58]. Additionally, the majority of girls currently enrolled in school reported their parents tried to help them succeed in their efforts, girls also reported having some input into deciding how much education they would receive [58].

Adolescents said finishing school is an acceptable reason for parents to postpone their daughter's marriage. Other studies in Nepal found a correlation between a women's age at marriage and her level of education. One study found that 41% of women in Nepal who had no formal education married before they were 16 years old and 86% married before they were 20, while 68% of women who completed the 10th grade married at or after age 20 [15]. In contrast to this another study focusing on CEFM and girl's education found that while having an education is considered a good quality within a girl, it is not valued strongly enough to make an educated girl more desirable for marriage [29]. In our study boys and girls also agreed that ending school, can be an indicator that a girl is ready for marriage; alternatively, expectations that girls are of a marriageable age by their mid-teens, which is prior to the end of secondary school, lead parents to withdraw girls from school, or to provider greater assistance at home and train for the housework they will be expected to perform after marriage [39] regardless of whether they work inside or outside of the home. This suggests that while continued education may be correlated with reduced incidences of child marriage, it does not address the underlying social norms and traditional gender roles that drive CEFM. It is difficult for children in Nepal to attend secondary school, particularly for female children, whose education, as described in this data and other research [7, 29, 38], is often of secondary importance to families. This links back to the underlying beliefs that girls are not as valued as boys and that they are often seen as economic burdens to their families [59]. In our data girls were very aware of this viewpoint and frequently referenced this throughout their discussions, only a few boys however seemed aware of the decreased value placed upon girls by their families. Those few boys who were aware of this difference described it as unjust and expressed a desire for change. Education is a precondition for not only for women's employment outside the home, but also for higher quality jobs for men [57]. While there is growing appreciation for the necessity of educating both boys and girls, and that both may obtain gainful employment in the future, realizing both boys and girls aspirations for employment will require continued investment in critical reflection among men and boys of the disconnect between this aspiration and girls' treatment in the home, along with the provision of viable work opportunities for both, as gainful employment for men and women remains short of current demand especially in rural areas [7]. The continued shortage of viable work opportunities for women reinforces familial expectations that home-based work is the most likely trajectory for girls, undermining the value and necessity of their education, and that foreign employment is most viable for boys, which places additional home-related responsibilities on women, further undermining the value of their education.

Parents remain the primary decision-makers
Most adolescents described parents as the decision-makers within their families, with some girls specifically mentioning their fathers as the final decision-makers. This is already well documented within the literature [7, 14, 29, 57], and there is also evidence that today girls have a more significant role in the decision-making process [29]. Almost universally, adolescent boys described a desire for an arranged marriage, and most adolescent boys also seemed confident that they would be allowed to marry someone who they met and who they and their parents approved. Adolescent girls described this less but both boys and girls indicated that many girls share their thoughts and feelings about marriage prospects with their parents. When discussing how adolescent girls could express disapproval of a marriage proposal to their parents, boys and girls both cited a desire to finish their education and the inappropriateness of marrying before age 20 as typical responses. While it seems clear that adolescents have greater freedom and capacity to express their thoughts to their parents, it appears that the decision of marriage still rests primarily with parents. Very few adolescent boys or girls described when they would marry and who they would marry as a decision they would make together with their parents, even if they could express their opinion. Conversely, with regards to employment, adolescent girls described parent's aspirations matching their own while boys rarely described their parent's wishes when discussing their own employment. There was also a contrast between the qualitative and quantitative data with regards to approval of love matches. In the qualitative data both boys and girls indicated that non-arranged marriages would face disapproval and a loss of honor from their families and communities. Whereas in the quantitative data 56% of boys and 39.5% of girls said people in their village would at least partially approve if a girl had a love marriage. This difference may be due to how boys and girls define a love marriage. For example, if a love marriage means boys and girls approve of the match their parents have chosen, or of if the parents ask if their daughter has a specific boy in mind to marry, this would appear to be consistent with the quantitative data. If love marriage implied elopement or marriage outside of one's caste, the quantitative data may have looked different, as qualitatively boys and girls both describe elopement and inter-caste marriage as unacceptable.

Norms
This analysis also sheds light on the many similarities and the key differences of adolescent boys' and girls' descriptions of social norms. Knowing that boys and girls agree on the appropriate age for marriage (20 years old) and the exceptions that encourage girls to marry earlier provides a base for what social norms programming can try to influence. For example, adolescents believe they should not get married until age 20 but also described incidents where girls would get married under the age of 20. Perhaps highlighting this belief as a positive normative expectation around CEFM can be used to weaken the descriptive expectations that encourage CEFM. This use of positive normative expectations to address social norms change is also present in the literature around the social norms of drinking on college campuses [64]. In addition to education as a compelling reason to postpone marriage, the data suggests that if girls stop their education, there is an expectation they will fulfill traditional roles that may lead to CEFM. This indicates that while education is essential, there are underlying gender roles and expectations that need to change to curtail CEFM. There was also an interesting difference between the boys and girls interviewed of the consequences of girls interacting with boys between the boys and girls interviewed. Boys more frequently cited marriage as a consequence than girls. Girls most frequently mentioned not being allowed to leave the house alone. The

reasons for this difference are not clear; it is possible that boys, while understanding the taboo behind girls interacting with the opposite sex, might not be made aware of sanctions families place on girls.

Limitations and strengths
With all studies, there are limitations and strengths to the data. The baseline survey may not be representative of the eligible residents within the wards surveyed as not all participants were randomly selected to participate in the survey due to some challenges in recruiting participants, especially since staff members had to find participants that were not randomly selected to participate in the program or the survey. Additionally, analyzing the transcripts in Nepali might have yielded more nuanced aspects of the data. However, the analysis was systematic and followed the grounded theory method helping to ensure reliable findings. It is also possible that boys mentioned the response they believed the interviewers desired to hear.

Conclusions
CEFM is a human rights abuse that many are trying to preven. While the social norms and structural factors that sustain CEFM are complex and challenging to address, increased research and understanding of adolescents' perspectives can help to address them. The importance of understanding adolescent boys' perspectives and developing programming attuned to their perceptions and experiences is critical for their ability to prevent CEFM. Our analysis shows that boys view expectations for girls as less restrictive than girls do, which indicates a need for more programming that allows boys to understand girls' experiences and research that explores how boys view masculinity and femininity

Recommendations for programming and research

Implications for programming
Identifying the nuanced differences between boys' and girls' views on social norms surrounding CEFM can help to target programming geared towards boys. Boys frequently discussed the importance of girls' maintaining their honor and also identified the actions of boys as having severe effects on girls. Boys and girls frequently mentioned eve teasing and the effect it can have on a girl's reputation and her family honor. Moreover, while adolescents discussed parents', community members', and girls' reactions to eve teasing, little was said about boys' reactions. While the boys in this study did not seem to approve of eve teasing, they did not discuss why boys participate in this and what they do when they witness it. This indicates that boys may benefit from culturally appropriate active bystander training, wherein they could discuss harmful actions committed by their peers, such as eve teasing, and strategize ways to prevent them. This recommendation is also congruent with the TPP baseline evaluation [39]. Some boys also expressed a genuine desire for girls to have the ability to fulfill their school, marriage, and career aspirations. Finding ways to promote boys' ability to advocate for their female relatives in these regards as they age, could help prevent future occurrences of CEFM. Additionally, programming should address the norms underlying CEFM that are related to control over girls' sexuality that manifest in controlling their mobility and their interactions with boys, which could weaken the expectation that honorable girls do not interact with boys and that girls whose honor is in question should marry. Much of our data indicates that boys underestimate the strength of the social norms that restrict girls' opportunities and that support CEFM and girls report more

restrictive expectations for themselves. Programming that allows boys to better understand girls' experiences and perspectives may help them better understand the inequalities within traditional gender roles. While some evidence exists to support this[38], more is needed to determine the best frameworks for programming.

Implications for research
While this analysis has provided a window into boys' perceptions and how they differ from the perceptions of girls, it has also highlighted areas of further research. In these data, boys did not discuss why they eve tease girls. Learning more about what factors encourage boys to eve tease girls would be invaluable to future programmatic efforts. Additionally, while social norms are a crucial driver of CEFM, it may be useful to determine how, if at all, structural factors such as poverty influence the social norms around CEFM. Since many social norms around CEFM center around gender roles and responsibilities and adolescent boys and girls have a strong sense of what is appropriate for men and what is appropriate for women, future research should carefully examine what masculinity and femininity mean for adolescents in Nepal. This is particularly true since much of the programming around gender-based violence and CEFM uses a gender transformative framework. Gender transformative frameworks has been criticized for sometimes reducing the complex nature of masculinity to problematic male attitudes and behaviors, which puts pressure on individual men to change societal level problems [60]. A deeper understanding of how masculinity develops, including the acknowledgment of structural factors such as caste systems, poverty, and migration, could help identify deeply held beliefs that must be addressed to alter harmful gender roles and social norms [60]. Additionally, our findings support the need for further research into the complex relationship between education and CEFM. More understanding of the value girls' continued education has for families and communities is needed especially when compared to the potential value of marriage.

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